

A HISTORY OF THE WORK OF THE REVEREND HENRY BUDD  
CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF  
THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY  
1840-1875

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". . . it was not in the power of the Indians to prevent the Gospel from spreading among them, for it is God's work . . . and He hath commanded His Gospel to be preached throughout the world to every nation under heaven . . . ."

Reverend Henry Budd (1851)

"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."

Wulluck Twatt, Thick-wood Cree (1852)

## PREFACE

The central theme of this thesis is an investigation and an analysis into the history of the work of the missionary, the Reverend Henry Budd, a Cree Metis who was employed in the services of the Church Missionary Society during the years 1837-1875. The history is essentially one of inland expansion of the Church Missionary Society through its use of both European and native agents. Previous to the establishment of the first inland station at The Pas in 1840, the Reverend John West, the first chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company (1820) at the Red River Settlement had established the Upper Church or St. John's near the forks of the Assiniboine and the Red Rivers. In 1825, Reverend David Jones erected a church at Image Plains, known as Middle Church or St. Paul's. Four years later, a mission station was founded at Grand Rapids and the Lower Church, or St. Andrew's was built. In 1833, an Indian mission for the Saulteaux and the Cree had been established thirteen miles below the Grand Rapids which was known as the Indian Settlement or St. Peter's.

The district in which Budd had laboured for some thirty-five years as a missionary was that of the Cumberland District. This area included the Hudson's Bay Company posts of The Pas, Cumberland House, and Fort a la Corne, around which Henry Budd centred his activities.

Although the primary purpose of the thesis is to trace the history of the work conducted by Reverend Budd under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, an analysis of the change of the native populations for which he was responsible does form an important part of the investigation. The native peoples which came under the minister's influence

included the Swampy (Muskego), Woodland, and the Plains Cree, the latter being the least affected by his presence among them. The main emphasis, therefore, has been upon the mechanics of proselytization in the north as conducted by the Reverend Henry Budd from 1840-1875.

A number of people have been responsible for facilitating the research involved in this study. I would like to thank my advisor, Professor W. Smith and my Thesis Committee. I am indebted to the help offered by Reverend T. Boon, the Reverend A. Thompson, and the Venerable A. Cuthand. A special thank you is also due to Professors D. Moodie and W. Koolage. In addition, acknowledgements are due to Mr. John Bovey, head archivist of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and his staff for their assistance, and also the staff of the Provincial Library. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the help of my husband, Leo, for his encouragement while this study was undertaken.

## INTRODUCTION

### THE PROSELYTIZER AS AN AGENT OF CULTURE CHANGE

As an agent of cultural change, the nineteenth century missionary played a major role both as an integrative and a disintegrative force upon the Indian of Rupert's Land. For while the missionary assisted in the accommodation of the Indian to the disruption brought on by white fur trading contacts, the adjustment necessitated the destruction of the indigenous cultures. Characterized by religious dogmatism and ethnocentrism, the Victorian proselytizer tended to perceive the Indian as indolent, lazy, selfish, occupying a world shrouded in the darkness of heathenism and sin. Thus he came to the Indian with a predisposition to affect change, a change which involved not only conversion to Christianity, but also necessitated the acculturation of the Indian to middle class Victorian values and life-style.<sup>1</sup>

Previous white contacts such as that of the fur trader predetermined to a certain degree the relative success of proselytizing efforts. In Rupert's Land, prior to the arrival of the first Anglican missionary, acculturative forces had already been in operation in the form of the various fur trading elements; i.e., the Hudson's Bay Company and its rivals. Through the vehicles of commerce and "intermarriage" the European culture, albeit to varying degrees, had been slowly diffused throughout

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<sup>1</sup>For an excellent discussion on the middle class Victorian proselytizer see J. Usher, "William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1968), Chapter I.



every area of contact. One of the primary determinants of the rapidity of the process of proselytization was the extent of contact and the resultant dependency of the Indian upon European goods as the basic necessities of life and their relative roles in the fur trade. For example, the Swampy Cree who were in constant contact with the trader through the practice of "intermarriage" and their participation as crewmen for the Company's brigades, were more susceptible to proselytizing efforts than were the Plains Cree who came into contact with the fur trader only two or three times throughout a year. Therefore, while the Swampy Cree were ". . . quite ripe to receive the Gospel wherever they are met with . . ." <sup>2</sup> the reverse was true for the Plains Cree who, because the majority of their basic needs were supplied by the buffalo remained ". . . much more independent and therefore more haughty." <sup>3</sup>

Since the success of proselytization relied heavily upon the maintenance of a relatively stable population, the rate of conversion usually was determined by the ability of the missionary to discourage the semi-nomadic life perpetuated by the fur trading interests. In essence, the influence of the fur trader was intended to be a limited one which involved the process of educating the Indian in the techniques which would make them ". . . sufficient suppliers of furs and other desired commodities, and consumers of the items that the fur trader had to offer in exchange." <sup>4</sup> In view of this restricted objective, new material needs were

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<sup>2</sup>CMS/A79 Henry Budd, Nepowewin, to Reverend J. Tucker, January 13, 1853.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>C. Hendry, Beyond Traplines, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p. 22.

introduced, such as pots, axes, cooking utensils, clothes, guns, twine, ammunition, and luxury items. Stocked trading posts were often obliged to relieve starving bands and to render aid to the sick and wounded. In 1837, Governor George Simpson stressed this role of the fur trader as follows:

Our different trading establishments are the resort or refuge of many natives, who, from age, infirmity or other causes, are unable to follow the chase; they have the benefit of the care and attention, free of expense, of our medical men, . . . every trading establishment being, in fact, an Indian hospital; advantages which . . . could not have been afforded them during the competition in the trade.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to the integrative role played by the fur trade in cultural change there was also a disintegrative force. The relatively rapid change in the economic base of the Indian who participated intensely in the fur trade had severe socio-political implications. The rise and fall of the demand for furs in Europe provided a rather shaky guarantee for native prosperity. Competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West prior to the Union of 1821, which on the one hand increased the availability of semi-luxury and luxury items of trade, also encouraged the depletion of fur and game resources. As the natives became more specialized in obtaining furs and working as tripmen on the Company brigades, they became more dependent upon European commodities. Furthermore, the introduction of liquor as a trade article and the contraction of white diseases in epidemic proportions served as additional negative influences

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<sup>5</sup>George Simpson, cited in correspondence to Governor J. Pelly, London, February 1, 1837, in F. Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 337.

upon the native populations. Thus, the frame of reference in which the Indian received the proselytizer was predetermined by his previous contacts with the trader. As a result, a differentiation was not made between the proselytizer and other European elements with the consequence that the missionary was often treated as a trader and a prospective supplier of European goods rather than as a conveyer of a new religion.

Both the missionary and the fur trader represented mere "subcultures" within the total structure of Western culture. In comparison to the trader, the proselytizers

. . . profess and, in general, observe a more rigid adherence to our formal sexual code; they profess and observe a greater technical honesty; . . . and they are more intensely concerned with the minor taboos of our culture: tobacco, drink and verbal prohibitions against obscenity, profanity, and blasphemy.<sup>6</sup>

Because the trader and the missionary represented diametrically opposed elements and interests, they often served purposes which were antagonistic to one another; the reason being "that part of their cultural inventory which they do transmit is conditioned primarily by their reasons for making the contact . . . ." <sup>7</sup> Thus, while the prosperity and perpetuation of the fur trade depended upon sustaining the semi-nomadic habits of the native, the proselytizer could only be effective through the maintenance of a relatively stable population.

Evidence of conflict between these two agents of cultural change can be found in the journals of every nineteenth century missionary.

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<sup>6</sup>G. Brown, "Missions and Cultural Diffusion", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, No. 3, (November, 1944), p. 214.

<sup>7</sup>The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953, "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation", American Anthropologist, Part I, Vol. 56, No. 1, (December, 1954), p. 979.

Governor George Simpson was noted for his hostile attitude towards the proselytizer, particularly in areas where the trade was prospering. Denouncing the educated Indian as ". . . good for nothing . . .", and feeling as he did that the philanthropists ". . . will be attended with little other good than filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmaster and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence . . ." <sup>8</sup>, the governor served as a persistent check upon the expansionist activities of the Church Missionary Society. However, in spite of his personal opposition Simpson was forced to bow to the will of the London Committee which included members who were directly involved in the Evangelical movement in Britain. <sup>9</sup> It was the directors of the London Committee who promoted the support of the Church Missionary Society in Rupert's Land for the benefit of their own employees and the native population.

Crucial to an appreciation of the proselytizer as an agent of cultural change is the realization that the evangelizers were concerned with more than the directive which instructed them to "Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to every people". The acceptance of Christianity by the Indian meant a transition into a new mode of life and the acceptance

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<sup>8</sup>George Simpson quoted in correspondence A. Colville, Fort Garry, May 20, 1822, in F. Merk, op cit., p. 181.

<sup>9</sup>Examples of Evangelical-oriented directors on the London Committee included Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Clapham Sect, who was largely responsible for the arrival of Reverend John West in 1820; Nicholas Garry, who with West, founded the Auxiliary of the Bible Society at York Factory; and Andrew Colville.

of its values as was interpreted by each missionary. In addition, the extension of the function of the proselytizer from solely a religious one to an area involving social reform

. . . broadened a movement for religious conversion into one active in such fields as medicine, schooling, agriculture, health and hygiene. On a secondary level particularly as regards the activities of certain denominational missions, it became one which promoted the values of democracy, individual initiative and those other articles of Euroamerican faith which, developed in societies with a strongly evangelistic bent, were kneaded as a leaven into the acculturative dough . . . .<sup>10</sup>

An unwillingness to accept the indigenous Indian cultures on their own terms was a result of the ingrained belief in the superiority of the Victorian way of life which was perpetuated by the supremacy of the British Empire. For the proselytizer, native values were totally antagonistic to the acceptable standards of a civilized Christian society. As a result of this attitude the missionary, while adopting the Indian language, completely rejected all other elements of the native culture. Culture norms, which were acceptable within the indigenous society were neither completely understood nor tolerated, and were often misinterpreted as indolence and superstition.

The role of the native agent in the field of proselytization as conducted by the Church Missionary Society became an extremely important one. It was recognized as such by the Home Committee of the Church Missionary Society particularly under the secretaryship of the Reverend Henry Venn who laid the groundwork for a working policy governing the

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<sup>10</sup>M. Herskovits, The Human Factor in Changing Africa, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 198.

establishment of a Native Ministry and Native Churches. The positions open to a native agent ranged from a labourer, schoolmaster, lay reader, catechist, to full priesthood within the institution of the Church of England. Frequently the occupant of one of these positions was obliged to perform other duties as well; for example, interpretation, the writing out of translations, or clerical work. All native work was conducted under the strict supervision of a European missionary. The Society had always remained consistent in its policy of maintaining a surveillance over the Native Churches although religious leadership was transferred to the members of the Native Ministry.<sup>11</sup> As Bishop Robert Machray advised the Home Committee in 1870, the purpose of the policy was to ensure the Society that ". . . the spiritual work of the Native Agents was according to your mind and wishes . . . ."12

Often the agent of cultural change consisted of members of the native congregations who spread by word of mouth those parts of the doctrine of Christianity to which they had been exposed or which they remotely understood. In Rupert's Land, this role was filled by the Devon and the Cumberland House Indians. Conjurers and headmen of local bands were also spontaneous and effective agents of proselytization once they had been converted and persuaded to practice agriculture, and it was towards these influences that the missionary generally directed his greatest efforts.

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<sup>11</sup>CMS/A80, The Bishop of Rupert's Land, Bishop's Court, Manitoba, to Reverend C. Fenn, December 17, 1870.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

Therefore, in Rupert's Land, there were several agents of cultural change operating simultaneously, some of which complemented each other, while others functioned in spite of the other. Whatever the objective, all were directed toward a specific purpose, that being, the accommodation of the Indian to the required contact situation. While the fur trader concentrated upon the economic adaptation of the native to the policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, the proselytizer hoped to relieve what disintegration had occurred under this contact by offering an alternative lifestyle, that of the middle class Victorian Christian with agriculture as an economic base and a vehicle for civilization.

The use of ethnohistorical approaches to historical evidence has served to broaden the perspective of analysis of the mechanics of proselytization upon native populations. Any investigation into an historical contact situation necessitates a degree of understanding of the indigenous native cultures and the various types of degrees of contact. For example, in order to comprehend the influence of the missionary upon the Indian populations dealt with in this study, an understanding of the process could be achieved only through the comprehension of the autochthonous in combination with the influence of fur trading contacts.

One of the basic concerns in this study of historical contact is in the realm of analysis of change throughout time. In order to facilitate this investigation an historical approach to the methodology employed by the ethnohistorian was utilized to a limited degree. In 1970, H. Hickerson, in his study entitled, The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory defined ethnohistory as a method which

. . . in its most technical aspect, . . . consists of the use of primary documents -- library and archival materials -- to gain knowledge of a given culture as it existed in the past, and how it has changed . . . .

In its broadest sense, ethnohistory employs a number of research techniques to see in what way the present-day culture is similar or dissimilar to ancestral cultures; to what degree, in other words, the culture has changed, and what the distinctive historical factors were in determining such change.<sup>13</sup>

As an ethnographer, Hickerson views the ultimate direction of the data as its employment towards a solution of general laws of culture change.

In the purely historical sense of the term, ethnohistory may be defined as the use of a variety of historical techniques ". . . for the purpose of reconstructing given cultures of the past, the relationship of environmental factors to socio-cultural change in such cultures, and the reconstruction of the movement and location of identifiable populations".<sup>14</sup>

For Hickerson, the use of an historical approach to evidence does not negate the employment of the data as ". . . a foundation for the formulation of general laws: in a word, ideographic means to nomothetic ends".<sup>15</sup>

The role of the historian in the area of analysis of historical contacts between European and native cultures does not lie either in the purely descriptive realm of the ethnographer nor the mere historical chronicler. Rather, it is in the field of the establishment and investigation of historical relationships between two or more agents of contact. An example of this type of methodology may be found in the study of

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<sup>13</sup>H. Hickerson, The Chippewa: and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), p. 6.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>15</sup>H. Hickerson, op. cit., p. 18.



the relationship between the European and the Eastern Algonkian cultures by A. Bailey.<sup>16</sup>

More specifically, in an investigation of the relationship between the fur trader or the proselytizer with a native culture, a direct historical approach involving the use of historical documents can be complemented with available ethnographic evidence. Confronted with the problem of a lack of sufficient native documentation, the incorporation of these materials is necessary in order to facilitate a more pragmatic and balanced approach to the history of the Indian peoples of Canada. Although direct field work may be considered as an optional research device, its use may be particularly valuable if the population has been relatively stable or resisted change. Implicit in this approach in historical change is an awareness of the value of up-to-date theories of acculturation and ethnohistory.

The following study deals primarily with the history of proselytization efforts of the Reverend Henry Budd at The Pas, Cumberland House, Nepowewin, and peripheral outstations which came within his sphere of influence. Although the effects and responses of the native populations to the missionary are included in the study, the central theme is the influence of one man, the Reverend Henry Budd in the process of cultural and social change.

The sources for the research of the above-mentioned analysis were obtained from the manuscript and book collection of the Archives of the

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<sup>16</sup>A. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), Second Edition.

Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and the extensive microfilm collection of the Church Missionary Society, both of which are located at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.<sup>17</sup> In addition to purely historical evidence, available ethnographic and ethnohistoric material pertaining to the native peoples of the regions under study were also employed.

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<sup>17</sup> Note that the abbreviation, ARL., M/S is used to indicate the manuscript collection, Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. The individual reels of microfilm from the collection of the Church Missionary Society are indicated with the abbreviation CMS which refers to the collection and the figure A and the appropriate number represent the reel number as catalogued in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIVE MINISTRY IN RUPERT'S LAND

1824-1875

#### I. The Church Missionary Society and the Native Church

The Church Missionary Society was the product of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century as were its predecessors, the Baptist Missionary Society of 1792 and the Methodist London Missionary Society of 1795.<sup>1</sup> In 1799, the organization of the Church Missionary Society was initiated through the efforts of several evangelicals of the Church of England and became the first Anglican society devoted solely to the evangelization of the heathen.<sup>2</sup> The Home Committee of the Society served as a centre for the collection and redistribution of funds and donations in kind in addition to sponsoring the training of missionary agents for world-wide proselytization. Until 1820 the Society had concentrated its efforts in the areas of Africa, India, the Far East, and New Zealand. However, through a request to the Society on the behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, the first step towards the establishment and the interest of the Society in a North West America Mission was realized. Since the concern of the Society was directed towards the

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<sup>1</sup>H. Cnattinguis, Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850, (London: Society For the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1952), pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup>E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work, Vol. I, (London: The Church Missionary Society, 1899), p. 62.

evangelization of the heathen who represented the majority of the colonial population in the British Empire, a program consisting of the function of the native within the organization of the Society and its objectives evolved. In effect, this scheme, which was world-wide in its applicability, served to delineate the strategy of proselytization for the North West America Mission.<sup>3</sup>

The responsibility for the promotion of a formalized policy for the establishment of Native Churches within the spheres of influence of the Church Missionary Society rested with the Reverend Henry Venn, who from 1841-1872, virtually dominated the organization as policy maker.<sup>4</sup> According to Venn's biographer, the Reverend W. Knight, most of Venn's policies and measures were construed toward the achievement of

. . . the formation, wherever the Gospel was proclaimed, of a Native Church which would gradually be enfranchised from all supervision by a foreign body, and should become . . . self-supporting, and self-extending.<sup>5</sup>

For Venn, the creation of a number of Native Christian Churches in areas into which the Society had penetrated formed a cornerstone in the program

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<sup>3</sup>It should be noted that the Church Missionary Society received supplementary funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the British and Foreign Bible Society.

<sup>4</sup>A biographical account of the secretary can be found in a memoir written by the Reverend W. Knight. Dedicated to the evangelical cause and functioning as a systematic and thorough organizer for the Society, Venn, according to Knight, would have probably ranked his efforts toward the creation of Native Churches as the main work of his career. See Reverend W. Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D., (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1880) p. 276

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

of foreign evangelization. Within this scheme, careful discrimination was made between European and foreign elements, and Christianity which had become indigenous to the native culture and consequently embodied in the institution of a National Native Church.

It was after Venn's assumption of the secretaryship in the Church Missionary Society that a precise enunciation of the concept of a self-supporting Native Church as a primary function of proselytization efforts can be discerned. A perusal of the Secretary's addresses and correspondence reveals the development of his extremely conscientious and systematic scheme for the realization of his Native Church policy. His insistence that foreign missionaries, i.e., European, must acquaint themselves with the national character and the racial differences of their colonial charges was indicative of his desire to accommodate the institution of the Anglican Church to the needs of the people to which it was exposed.

We of the Church of England are bound by our fundamental rules to train up every congregation gathered from the heathen according to the discipline and worship of the Church of England. But our own Prayerbook has laid down the principle that every national church is at liberty to change its ceremonies, and adapt itself to the national taste . . .<sup>6</sup>

The role of the proselytizer as an agent of the Society went far beyond mere conversion since he was expected to prepare the groundwork for the transition of the native congregation to that of an Ecclesiastical establishment. Essentially, Venn proposed that the position of the

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<sup>6</sup> Reverend H. Venn, On Nationality. Instructions of the Committee, June 30, 1868, cited in Reverend W. Knight, op cit., p. 286. Supporting the ultimate abrogation of denominationalism, Venn was more concerned with conversions to Christ rather than the transposition of the Church of England at every mission station. See H. Venn, Speech at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, April 30, 1861, cited in Reverend W. Knight, op. cit., p. 248.

European missionary should be external to the independent Native Church and that ". . . the most important duty he has to discharge towards that church is the education and training of native pastors and evangelists, especially in the knowledge and use of the Bible . . . ."7 Once a Native Christian community had been established, the role of the missionary was that of mediator and guide rather than a leader in religious functions.8

The mechanics involved in the establishment of independent, self-supporting Native Churches were intricately defined by Venn in a series of papers delivered in 1851 and 1861.9 Local church organizations and funds were to contribute towards the foundation of Christian communities among the heathen which included the maintenance of churches, schools, and the boarding and clothing of the students. 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.

. . . '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'.10

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>8</sup> According to Venn, a missionary was one who preached to the heathen, while a pastor ministered ". . . in holy things to a congregation of native Christians". See Reverend H. Venn, The Native Pastorate and Organisation of Native Churches, 1851, cited in Reverend W. Knight, op. cit., p. 305. In a paper issued by Venn in 1866 a distinction was made between a mission, or ". . . the agency employed by a Foreign Missionary Society to evangelise any people . . .", and a Native Church, or ". . . the agency to be employed in pastoral ministrations to Christian congregations". Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix I and Appendix II for elaboration of these policies.

<sup>10</sup> Reverend H. Venn, The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches, 1851, Ibid., p. 307.

Contrary to the qualifications expected from a European who was usually educated at an institution of higher learning, the native minister was never encouraged to attain the intellectual standard of his European peers, nor would such a policy have corresponded with the rationale behind the establishment of Native Churches. Recognizing in part the mechanics involved in cultural and social change, Venn insisted that the native population would be virtually alienated from proselytization efforts if national differences were emphasized and would result in a lack of identification with the superior white element. With this in mind, Venn had warned the missionary agents under his supervision against ethnocentrism and advised that precautions were to be taken in order to ". . . guard native teachers from contracting habits of life too far removed from those of their countrymen".<sup>11</sup> The prerequisite qualifications for native aspirants to the ministry were based upon criteria, the foremost of which included personality and personal dedication to the cause of the church.

If a man be a gracious man, well versed in his own vernacular scriptures, apt to teach, who, by service as a catechist, has purchased to himself a good degree, has obtained influence with the seriously minded members of the flock, and had a good report amongst the people generally, he is a proper person for admission to the native pastorate.<sup>12</sup>

However, candidates were required to train in scriptural studies under the supervision of a European missionary before ordination.

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<sup>11</sup>Reverend H. Venn, The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches, 1851, cited in Reverend W. Knight, op. cit., p. 306.

<sup>12</sup>Reverend H. Venn, cited in The Church Missionary Intelligencer: A Monthly Journal of Missionary Information, (London: Church Missionary House, 1856), p. 37.

Theological training did not necessarily imply the assimilation of the candidate for the Native Ministry, although admittedly, there were several instances where this occurred. Members of the Native Ministry were never regarded as sharing the same relationship with the Society as their European counterparts. This is revealed in the significant differences in salaries and contingent privileges which were enjoyed by the European agent; for example, whereas provisions were made for the education of the children of the European missionary in England, rarely were such concessions granted to the native offspring of local agents. In Venn's communication of Native policy as devised by the Home Corresponding Committee to Bishop David Anderson of Rupert's Land in 1849, he specified that the salary of the prospective native ministers should be fixed in accordance with the ". . . Native wants and habits and not to European requirements".<sup>13</sup> The rationalization behind the policy was the prevention of native pastors from being ". . . thrown out of their proper position to become too European in their habits and the Native Churches to look to the Society for the perpetual support of a Native Ministry".<sup>14</sup> In order to supply funds for the establishment of the groundwork for a "flourishing Native Church" in the Red River Settlement area, the Bishop was directed to form a local Financial Committee to consider the financial and temporal matters in connection with the North America Mission.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>ARL., M/S, Reverend Henry Venn to the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, June 5, 1849.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.



As early as 1824 the Reverend D. Jones who was then stationed at Red River realized the value in the employment of the half-breed agent in the proselytization movement in the Hudson's Bay Territory:

Should God make the Half-breeds subjects of grace they are the Missionaries for this country; they are initiated into the habits of the Indian . . . they speak the language;--and can bear all the hardships that the Indian himself can.<sup>16</sup>

After a consultation with Governors Pelly and Simpson at Fort Douglas, Jones received a promise from the latter to send 'gratis' a minimum of thirty-two Indian children from various tribes inhabiting the territory under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Mission School at Red River.<sup>17</sup> According to Reverend Jones the objective of the undertaking was the education of the Indian and the half-breed children for the preparation of their future employment as ". . . useful assistants to persons situated as Schoolmaster among the various tribes to which they originally belonged".<sup>18</sup>

In 1845 the Reverend J. Hunter who was then employed at Cumberland Station recommended the utilization of the native catechist for the purpose of breaking new ground in the field of evangelization.<sup>19</sup> By sending

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<sup>16</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend D. Jones, Journal, Red River, July 24, 1824.

<sup>17</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend D. Jones, Journal, Red River, June 12, 1824. Simpson had promised Jones ten Muscaigoes, five Thick Wood Assiniboines from Saskatchewan, five Crees from Isle a la Crosse and Athabaska, five Chippeways from Great Slave Lake, five New Caledonia Carriers, and two more from Columbia.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, February 25, 1845.

native agents among the small and scattered hunting bands of the north, he hoped to render new impetus to the missionary movement in the northwest. Essentially Hunter's plan would have entailed the establishment of a number of inland posts which would be operated by several dedicated catechists under his personal supervision. In this manner he sought to acquire more Indian children for instruction, to build schools, and to instruct the adult population in Christianity.

Directives concerning the establishment of a Native Ministry in Rupert's Land were explicitly communicated to Bishop Anderson in 1849. In the records of the Home Committee of Correspondence of that year mention is made of a grant from the Jubilee Fund which included the sum of five hundred pounds for the purpose of establishing ". . . 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".<sup>20</sup> Additional provisions were to have been made for the maintenance of a number of native catechists and other pupils in the institution at the expense of the Society.

Contrary to Venn, Anderson felt that an academically poorly qualified catechist would be unable to exert the necessary influence over the

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<sup>20</sup> ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence of the Church Missionary Society, May 25, 1849. One of the primary objectives of the fund was to supplement the local Native Church expenses in order to facilitate the growth of self-support, thus relieving the Society to concentrate their efforts elsewhere. A total sum of ten thousand pounds was pledged for the purpose, the monies coming from both the Local and Home Committees. See Reverend H. Venn, Native Church Endowments in the Mission, 1866, cited in Reverend W. Knight, op. cit., pp. 330-33.

native population.<sup>21</sup> In effect, Anderson disagreed with proposals made by the Home Committee for the retention of native agents at established mission stations in order to allow the European proselytizer the freedom to make advances inland to search for new converts. As an alternative, the Bishop posed a scheme whereby the native catechist would be employed to break new ground while the European agent remained at the established stations in a supervisory capacity and as a coordinator of activities in his area.<sup>22</sup> This difference in opinion over the employment of native catechists was undoubtedly due to the result of Anderson's ability to adapt the policies of the Home Committee to the realities of the North American proselytizing environment. In a report to Reverend H. Venn after his visit to the Cumberland Station, Anderson advised that

. . . here it is impossible to imagine that the Natives can for many years support their own Minister not in our life time or long after. They have no money of any kind at present and never see it, and on that account we had no collection at the Lord's Table.<sup>23</sup>

By 1850, Reverend J. Hunter became more explicit in his plans for the extension of the work of the Church Missionary Society inland through the agency of a Native Ministry.<sup>24</sup> He recommended the further appointment

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<sup>21</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to the Reverend H. Venn, November 22, 1849.

<sup>22</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to the Reverend H. Venn, August 7, 1850.

<sup>23</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to the Reverend H. Venn, August 7, 1850.

<sup>24</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Christ Church, Cumberland, to Reverend H. Venn, July 30, 1850.

of native pastors or curates to the areas of The Pas, Cumberland House, Moose Lake, and Nepowewin under the superintendency of a single European missionary. In this manner, the euthanasia of the North West America Mission would occur in the establishment of a system of European proselytizers assisted by a native pastor at every important post occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company. Furthermore, he proposed that every outpost should be equipped with a native pastor. From a practical point of view the Church Missionary Society would have been relieved of a portion of their financial burden in the expansion of their mission work, for the native agent was expected to operate on half the salary allotted to the European. By hiring local native agents, additional savings would have also been made due to the fact that the voyage from England and outfitting would be unnecessary. The ultimate purpose of Hunter's plan was to allow the European proselytizer the freedom to execute duties strictly of a missionary nature while the native agent would be gradually training and preparing to occupy the ground. In agreement with Bishop Anderson, Hunter was unable to foresee an independent Native Church in the northern areas of Rupert's Land:

They are too poor and the only thing at present valuable is the Fur, which they exchange with the Company for Clothes and not for money. They are too fond of hunting and wandering to remain long settled, they have an immense Country to range over and are too indolent to adopt a life which, although it may bring increased advantages, will also bring increased toil and labour.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Christ Church, Cumberland, to Reverend H. Venn, July 30, 1850. Hunter's conclusion was supported by the Local Finance Committee who issued a recommendation in 1855 stating that "They . . . cannot venture to entertain any sanguine hope, that the native converts will for many years to come to be able to support their own native pastors, from the poverty of the Indians . . ." See ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Church Missionary Society, October 31, 1855.

And yet, in spite of his apparent pessimism, Hunter strove to establish a Native Ministry in Rupert's Land stating with some spark of optimism that within a few years he expected that the work would ". . . be carried on principally by native agents; in my own District I hope I am raising up a native agency that will carry the Gospel far and wide . . . ."26

The fear of deviation from the pure doctrine as propounded by the Anglican faith on the part of the members of the native agency was a motivating factor in the decision of the Society to exercise supervision over them. As an example, in 1866, Charles Pratt was advised by the Local Corresponding Committee ". . . that if any more rum is sold at the Touchwood Hills by his son-in-law, McNab, he will be removed from that Station".27 Pratt himself had been admonished by the Society for his adaptation of Christianity to the indigenous religion which he felt was ". . . more suitable to the understanding and conditions of the Indian than the higher truths of Christianity".28 However, despite reports of such occurrences, few would have denied the importance of the native agent in the proselytizing machine.

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<sup>26</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Annual Report for the Year Ending July 31, 1853, Christ Church, Cumberland. Hunter himself personally supervised the education of several Native youth in preparation for the Native Ministry, including two sons belonging to Reverend H. Budd; Henry Jr. and John Work West.

<sup>27</sup>ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, St. Andrews, March 22, 1866.

<sup>28</sup>I. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1913), p. 235.

. . . as 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.<sup>29</sup>

In practice, the European proselytizer was not only responsible for communicating Christianity as a new religion which would serve as a vehicle of salvation for the heathen, but also as a way of life which promoted values of industry, self-support, and temperance. Anderson's successor, Bishop Robert Machray, in support of Venn's policy for the creation of the institution of a Native Church, emphasized that the Indian ". . . ought . . . to be impressed with the fact, that Christianity imposes practice as well as belief, and that it recognises as a first duty the being temperate and industrious, so as to be independent of the help of others . . . ."30 Once self-support had been attained, the contingent privileges of self-government were also important to enable the natives to have a voice in the dispensation of their offerings to the Church.<sup>31</sup>

Until 1865 the native catechists and pastors of Rupert's Land had received only a minimum degree of training at the Red River Academy. A response to Bishop Machray's concern over the calibre of the native agent came in the form of a recommendation from the Local Corresponding Committee

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<sup>29</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Annual Report for the Year Ending July 31, 1853, Christ Church, Cumberland.

<sup>30</sup>ARL., M/S, Robert Machray Papers, Report of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, by the Bishop and Clergy at the Red River Settlement, 1865, (Crown Court, W. M. Watts, 1865), Pamphlet.

<sup>31</sup>ARL., M/S, Robert Machray Papers, Report of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, op. cit.

stating that the Indian catechists ". . . should, before being advanced to the Ministry receive a fuller and better regulated course of instructions than they can possibly receive under the circumstances of this wilderness, from the superintendence of the Missionary."<sup>32</sup> Apparently difficulties had arisen over the practice of "farming out" native agents at outposts where communications with the European supervisor were so poor that any effective form of surveillance was an impossibility. Confronted with this situation, a proposal was put forward which provided for a formalized course of instruction ". . . for that soundness of faith and that knowledge of principles of the Church which are essential for the Ministry".<sup>33</sup> Consequently, a program was devised for the training of native agents, a move which was in part necessitated by the drive for inland expansion by the Church Missionary Society.

By 1870 the Anglican Church, through the auspices of the Society remained relatively unsuccessful in its attempts to establish a Native Ministry and had become discouraged through two or three disappointments at the Red River College (St. John's). This failure may in part be attributed to an increasing awareness by the half-breed of the apparent stigma placed upon the natives who were in the employ of the Society. Evidences of this feeling can be identified as early as 1846 when Joseph Cook, a native school teacher and interpreter at Red River, lodged a formal complaint

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<sup>32</sup> ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Church Missionary Society Correspondence Committee, Bishop's Court, December 28, 1865.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

to the Lay Secretary of the Home Society urging that there could be no cooperation between the European missionary and the native agent for the propagation of the Gospel ". . . if this great distinction which has been made between the European Catechists which is so glaring , . . is not abolished".<sup>34</sup> As previously indicated, the Society paid its native agents only approximately half the wage given to the European in addition to refusing to allow the native agents to trade for the goods which they needed. The accusations professed by Cook claiming that the Indian agents were regarded as common labourers rather than proselytizers was supported in several instances. For example, in the year previous to the complaint, two native employees, James Settee and Henry Budd, then stationed at the Cumberland Station, objected to their duties as interpreted by the Reverend J. Hunter, for, as Settee indicated ". . . not even a Saturday but must be devoted to labour, and leave those our Heathen brethren uninstructed . . . ."35

Clearly the European missionary tended to regard the native agent as a servant particularly when he was employed in the lower echelons of the proselytizing hierarchy. The performance of secular duties which was

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<sup>34</sup>CMS/A78, Mr. Joseph Cook, Red River, to the Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July 29, 1846. By 1846 Joseph Cook had voluntarily offered his services to the Reverend W. Cockran as a school teacher, clerk, and interpreter for fifteen years. Although he had to support fourteen of his own children, his salary remained at a constant annual payment of fifty pounds. He was also warned against trading his goods for wood for a larger house.

<sup>35</sup>CMS/A78, J. Settee, The Pas, to J. Cook, October 7, 1845.



so necessary during the embryonic stages of a mission station demanded a sacrifice on the part of the eager proselytizer of his strictly missionary duties. Many European missionaries, feeling that it was their primary function to proselytize, preferred to leave the labourious and comparatively dull duties of mission building to the native agent.

Thus, prospects for the establishment of an independent Native Church in the Diocese of Rupert's Land were still remote by 1870. Sympathising with the plight of the native assistants, Bishop Machray personally admitted that they ". . . have been too much ordered about--no doubt from the exigencies of the service--but I fear with less consideration than in the case of the European Missionaries".<sup>36</sup> Although he continued to support the idea of the creation of a Native Ministry, Machray was forced to confess that the situation in Rupert's Land was ". . . far from this".<sup>37</sup>

The practicability of pursuing a policy for the establishment of a Native Church became more questionable and unrealistic with the prospects of future white colonization after confederation. As far as the existent church organization was concerned, Archdeacon Abraham Cowley, who desired an extension of mission work westward, felt that whether the two races, i.e., European and Indian, amalgamated or not, their church organization

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<sup>36</sup>CMS/A80, The Bishop of Rupert's Land, Bishop's Court, Manitoba, to Reverend C. Fenn, December 17, 1870. Also see CMS/A99, Bishop W. Bompas, Bishop's Court, Manitoba, to the Reverend C. Fenn, December 17, 1870, in which the Bishop admitted to the fact that there were some Native clergy who were more efficient living on half the salary of the European agents, simply because they were Native.

<sup>37</sup>CMS/A80, The Bishop of Rupert's Land, Bishop's Court, Manitoba, to the Reverend C. Fenn, December 17, 1870.

was ". . . so simple and so admirably adapted to habits and views of our Native Christians, that little or no difficulty need be anticipated".<sup>38</sup> Machray had differed with his predecessor concerning the employment of natives, preferring to retain the European missionary in his proselytizing role while the native pastors assumed charge over the established mission sites. Such a compromise was made despite his hopes for the utilization of European missionaries solely for the purpose of superintendency. With regards to a National Native Church, Machray continued to insist upon the impracticability of such an institution for, as he explained, "a Model Native Church in a heathen City like Calcutta or Madras is admirable. A Native Christian Church amid the white Christian Churches has no meaning".<sup>39</sup>

In the final analysis, the policy for the establishment of self-supporting Native Christian Churches in Rupert's Land was never realized by the Society during the first fifty years of its occupancy in the area. The failure was in part due to the lack of a sufficient number of trained native clergy. Dedicated native aspirants to the offices of the Anglican Church became disillusioned by the apparent discriminatory practices of the Society whose financial limitations forced the imposition of a rigid policy of economy.<sup>40</sup> The burdensome routine of secular duties served as a

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<sup>38</sup> CMS/A80, Archdeacon Abraham Cowley, Manitoba, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 30, 1871.

<sup>39</sup> CMS/A80, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Westminster, to Reverend C. Fenn, December 14, 1871.

<sup>40</sup> By 1870, two supporting societies, one of which included the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were no longer able to supply large funds of money grants to the Church Missionary Society. See CMS/A99, Bishop W. Bompas, Bishop's Court, Manitoba, December 17, 1870.

source of discouragement for the native agent. Furthermore, in some instances, the very authority of the Native Ministry was challenged by the prospective converts. For example, in 1844, the Beaver Creek Indians insisted that James Settee, who was their appointed catechist at that time, was an Indian and that the Society should have sent to them ". . . a white man . . . who can teach more perfectly".<sup>41</sup> The rationale operating here was that only a white man could teach the white man's religion. Such an attitude tended to prejudice the Indian against the work of the native agent.

Due to the realization that a Native Church was an impossibility because of the poverty of the area, an alternative had been proposed in the form of the concept of a "self-supplying mission". This policy had first been proposed by Bishop Anderson and was promoted through the work of Reverend J. Smithurst and Reverend W. Cockran who envisioned the agricultural mission of St. Peter's both as a model station and as a supplier of goods to out-stations.<sup>42</sup> Once the station of Nepowewin, across from Fort a la Corne had been established in the early half of the 1850's, others envisioned this fertile area as a supplier of produce for surrounding areas as far north as the Mackenzie.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, received on October 16, 1844.

<sup>42</sup>The Church Missionary Board, Volume XII, (London: L & G Seeley, 1842), contains a report by the Reverend J. Smithurst in reference to this scheme. During the period 1841-42, wheat, barley, and potatoes were donated by the Indians of the Manitoba Station to the Cumberland Station.

<sup>43</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Cumberland, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 20, 1873.

Thus, the system of hinterland missions as it was developed in Rupert's Land remained a relatively simple one. Once a missionary station was established in a strategic area, i.e., near places which the Indian gathered, a model agricultural village was almost immediately initiated. Through this method the missionary sought to entice the Indian to settlement. However, the harsh environment to which the northern missions were subjected rendered the majority of the mission stations dependent upon the Hudson's Bay Company, the Indian, and other mission establishments further south.

#### II. The Creation of a Native Proselytizer: Henry Budd

This School is for thy service rais'd  
 Here thou art to be sought and prais'd,  
 Thy gospel learnt -- thy day rever'd  
 Thy will obey'd -- thy threatenings fear'd.

Teach us Oh Lord to know thy word,  
 And better learn thy will  
 Our minds with sin and folly stor'd  
 Do thou with wisdom fill.<sup>44</sup>

On May 27, 1820 the Reverend John West left from England aboard the Eddy-stone to fulfill his new appointment as chaplain for the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>45</sup> Struck with the impoverished condition of the half-breed children around York Fort, West immediately embarked upon a plan for the education and upbringing of this progeny of the fur trade. By bringing these children to the Red River Settlement, West felt that they could be effectively

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<sup>44</sup>CMS/A77, A hymn written by Henry Budd dated June 26, 1823.

<sup>45</sup>West's duties were to have been directed towards the active and retired servants of the Company for the purposes of instructions and amelioration of conditions. His work obviously extended to the Indian population. See J. West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, (London: L. B. Seeley and Sons, 1824), p. 2.

instructed, since they would be thus separated from tribal influences or the "bad" white examples of European life. This objective was supported by the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815, 1816 and again in 1818 when the members inquired if the Indian parents could be persuaded to allow their children to be placed in schools for their instruction and civilization.<sup>46</sup>

The first step taken by West was ". . . to establish the principle, that the North American Indian of these regions would part with his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion",<sup>47</sup> when West brought two half-breed youths with him to Red River. The first youth was the son of a York Factory Indian, Withewacapo, later baptized as John Hope. The second native was a Swampy Cree named Sakachuwescam (Going Up The Hill) from Norway House. He was later given the name of Henry Budd. There is relatively little known about Sakachuwescam who was approximately eight years old at the time he was brought to the Red River Settlement. West's own entry of the boy is as follows:

I obtained another boy for education, reported to me as the orphan son of a deceased Indian and a half-caste woman; and taught him the

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<sup>46</sup>Fifteen to sixteen years prior to the arrival of Reverend West, the Hudson's Bay Company had employed a number of schoolmasters, all of whom had become distracted in their efforts by the temptation of wealth offered by the fur trade. J. West, op. cit., p. 13, For inquiries into the education of the Indian on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, refer to A. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1939), p. 631, where he traces an inquiry to the date of February 1, 1815. See also ARL., M/S, the Hudson's Bay Company to R. Semple, May 8, 1816 and correspondence from the same to J. Bird, May 20, 1818.

<sup>47</sup>J. West, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

prayer . . . which he soon learned:-- 'Great Father, bless me, through Jesus Christ'.<sup>48</sup>

The fond attachment which West developed for the youth is revealed through the naming of the boy after his former rector, the Reverend Henry Budd of White Rothing, in 1822. A personal interest in his namesake was expressed by the Reverend Henry Budd through monetary aid and donations of books to the youth. The youth himself corresponded with the Reverend Budd whom he addressed as 'father' until the latter's death in 1853.

The training which the young Henry first received at the Red River School was conducted by the schoolmaster George Harbridge and supervised by West himself. West concentrated upon the spiritual as well as the temporal development of his students, believing that ". . . the primary object in teaching them, was to give them a religious education".<sup>49</sup>

Individual garden plots were allotted to each child in order that ". . . the children may be educated, and trained to industry upon the soil, in the hope that they may be recovered from their savage habits and customs . . . ."<sup>50</sup> The philosophy behind this program of education in its practical sense, was aptly summarized by West himself:

. . . a child brought up in the love of cultivating a garden will be naturally led to the culture of the field as a means of subsistence: and educated in the principles of Christianity, he will become stationary to partake of the advantages and privileges of civilization.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>J. West, Church Missionary Society Proceedings, Diary of Reverend John West, October 4, 1820. Two more boys were brought down from the north by West in the spring of 1821 and 1822. The educational costs of the four boys were deferred until October 1, 1822 by Benjamin Harrison, Esq. By 1824 ten children of Native background had been gathered at the Red River School. In the fall of 1822, Henry was reunited with his mother and a sister, Sarah.

<sup>49</sup>J. West, Substance of a Journal, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-18.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

Academically, the program consisted of a basic training in the English language, writing, mathematics, reading, knowledge of the Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, and Watt's Catechism. Tardiness and other offences were punishable corporally or through the retention of privileges.

That Henry was a superior student is evidenced in a report by the schoolmaster, George Harbidge, who, in 1824, described him as superior to his classmate James Hope:

Henry is perhaps the most amiable disposition of them all; he is remarkably still and quiet, and apparently of a more thoughtful turn of mind than the rest, and a boy in whom I can confide for the truth.<sup>52</sup>

These learning qualities in combination with the endowment of natural abilities of "quickness of apprehension",<sup>53</sup> the ability to read well and answer promptly to questions from the Church Catechism, Christian doctrine, and the Bible, destined Henry Budd for a future role in the field of Native proselytization.<sup>54</sup> By 1823, both James Hope and Henry Budd were bilingual in English and Cree. West's successor, the Reverend D. Jones, taught the youths the mechanics of grammar in order to perfect their translation techniques.

Within the atmosphere of paternalism, Henry Budd acquired the values of the middle class Victorian to which he was exposed in the school. The

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<sup>52</sup>CMS/A77, George Harbidge, Red River, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July 1, 1824.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid. See also, CMS/A77, Reverend D. Jones, Journal, "Particulars respecting the Schools at Red River Settlement during the Summer of 1824".

dissemination of Christian morality ". . . grounded in freedom, self-responsibility, and in the need to bear responsibility for others--not least through the functions of leadership . . .",<sup>55</sup> was designed to promote the emergence of an efficient Christian Native leadership in Rupert's Land. That Budd was able to assimilate and retain these values in spite of his "nativeness" elevated him as an exceptional student in the eyes of his instructors and the Society. In comparison, other native pupils had been a source of discouragement for although they tended to view the European missionary as their 'adopted' parent, who supplied them through the boarding school with the basic necessities of life, they were reported to be ". . . as fond of the Indian maxims, fashions, and customs as ever . . . ."<sup>56</sup>

The type and standard of education received by Henry and his peers was essentially that of an English parochial boarding school. The standard of education was, of course, largely dependent upon the calibre of the instructors. Efforts on the part of the Reverend D. Jones to have George Harbidge recalled in 1824 leads one to cast aspersions upon the quality of training received by the Indian during his career as a schoolmaster.<sup>57</sup> Future plans for the employment of these native students once

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<sup>55</sup>J. Melling, Right to a Future: The Native Peoples of Canada (Ontario: published jointly by the Anglican Church of Canada and The United Church of Canada, 1967), p. 17.

<sup>56</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend W. Cockran, Red River, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, July 30, 1827. See also CMS/A77, Reverend D. Jones, Red River, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July, 1827.

<sup>57</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend D. Jones, Red River, to the Reverend J. Pratt, July 24, 1824. Harbidge was accused of "self-aggrandizement" and lack of education.



they had been educated were not explicitly formulated by the Local Committee at this early stage of proselytization. Seemingly unable to divest the pupils of their "nativeness", and feeling that ". . . sending them to the wilderness at present, under the idea of propagating the gospel, would be indulging in too sanguine an expectation . . . ,"<sup>58</sup> Jones proposed a more realistic and practical scheme. As a resolution to the problem, theological training was to be balanced with the acquirement of a trade. While the boys were to be engaged in agriculture and carpentry, the girls were to be employed in the use of the loom and the spinning wheel.<sup>59</sup> In this manner, it was felt that the Indian students could be accommodated to the needs of the Red River Settlement.

Leaving the Red River School in the summer of 1828, Henry Budd went to the Lower Church district in the following year to assist his mother and his brother's widow on their farm which was located near the church.<sup>60</sup> Henry's brother, known as "The Cask", had come from Norway House late in 1827 and had been given the name James Budd in 1828 in expectation of conversion. However, James died before he could be baptized. According to the Reverend James Settee, Henry Budd joined the services of the Hudson's Bay Company as a voyageur for three years (probably around

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<sup>58</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend D. Jones, Red River, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, July, 1827.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend W. Cockran, Red River, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 5, 1829. Also information was obtained through Rosemary Keen, Archivist, Church Missionary Society, London.

1832), leaving it around 1834 to resume his farming at the Grand Rapids. During this time period he was married in 1836 to Betsy Work, the daughter of one of the Company's officers in New Caledonia. In 1837, Budd replaced Peter Garrioch as schoolmaster of the Upper Church. The reason for his retirement from the employ of the Company is not clear, but he may have in fact, as was claimed, ". . . longed for the privileges of God's house, and wished to settle at "The Rapids" on the Red River, where he knew he should find a missionary settlement".<sup>61</sup> Apparently his years of service with the fur trade had few negative effects upon him, for according to Reverend D. Jones, Budd had borne the "best of character" while in the employ of the Company.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, by the year 1840, Henry Budd had experienced all the facets of life of the "Old Northwest". Raised in the traditions of the Swampy Cree culture at Norway House until eight years of age, he was naturally skilled in communicating with the Cree Indian. During his sojourn at Red River, he was enculturated with the values of the middle class Christian Victorian which included the evangelistic dedication to bring the Gospel to his countrymen. The degree of his assimilation can be measured in part by his journals and correspondence which differ little in style and attitude from those of his European counterparts. Furthermore, the

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<sup>61</sup> H. Budd, A Memoir of The Reverend Henry Budd: Comprising an Autobiography: Letters, Papers & Remains, (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1855), p. 542.

<sup>62</sup> CMS/A78, Reverend D. Jones, Red River, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, May 17, 1837.

secretary of the Church Missionary Society himself, in recognition of Budd's singular qualities as a native agent, recommended the equalization of his salary with that of the European proselytizer. In 1851, Venn had communicated that the Society members were aware ". . . that Mr. Budd has been so much identified with English habits that the salary was quite proper in his case".<sup>63</sup> In addition, the experience which he gained while in the service of the Company undoubtedly prepared him for his future dealings with both the fur trader and the Indian. This, in combination with his previous occupations in the areas of cultivation and education, including his inherent natural abilities, rendered him a prime candidate for the position of catechist and schoolmaster at the proposed Cumberland Mission in 1840.

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<sup>63</sup>CMS/A76, Reverend H. Venn, the Church Missionary Society, to Reverend R. James, April 4, 1851.

## CHAPTER II

EXPANSION INTO THE CUMBERLAND DISTRICT BY THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE CREE FREQUENTING THE PAS, CUMBERLAND HOUSE AND FORT A LA CORNE.

### I. Hinterland Expansion by the Church Missionary Society

Prior to 1839, the Church Missionary Society had limited its operations in Rupert's Land to the immediate area surrounding the Red River Settlement. Other than the two churches which had been erected at Red River, namely, that of the Upper Church and Middle Church, only two more stations had been initiated.<sup>1</sup> In 1829 the Reverend W. Cockran had founded the Grand Rapids Mission Station. Four year later, in 1833, another station for the Saulteaux and the Cree had been established some thirteen miles below the Grand Rapids, with the Reverend J. Smithurst assuming charge of the mission in 1839. For its part, the Hudson's Bay Company had done little to encourage any penetration inland by the Society. Its concern for the moral fibre of its employees at the various Company establishments was a limited one as far as the outposts were concerned.

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<sup>1</sup>In 1834, a church called the Upper Church (St. John's) had been erected by Reverend J. West near the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Two years later in 1825 a second church was built by the Reverend D. Jones at Image Plains (St. Paul's) which was known as Middle Church. Reverend W. Cockran's Church at the Grand Rapids was named the Lower Church (St. Andrews). The Indian mission under Smithurst's charge was referred to as the Indian Settlement (St. Peter's). Refer to Map I, Appendix II for mission locations during the period 1820-1872. By the early 1830's day schools had been established in each parish, in addition to the sponsorship of Sunday Schools by the clergy.

The interest in the spiritual welfare of the Company's servants was expressed through a ruling in the form of "Regulations for promoting Moral and Religious Improvement". The order, which was issued by the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, is indicative of the humanitarian factors operative in London:

Resolved. 1. That for moral and religious improvement of the servants, and more effectual civilization and instruction of the families 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 . . . 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 may be proper to invite.<sup>2</sup>

A further ruling recommended the responsibility of the parents for the instruction of their children in Catechism and the three R's.

Although the Hudson's Bay Company, through money grants, and material support, encouraged both the religious and spiritual education of its servants at the Red River Settlement, its policy towards the establishment of inland stations was not one of encouragement. Essentially, the reception of the proselytizer at the various posts was largely dependent upon the attitudes of the individual fur traders. Like Simpson, many of the traders refused to bear the burden of support of starving missionaries:

. . . the Country is now so much exhausted in Animals that single families frequently undergo very great hardships from the scarcity of Provisions. In the neighborhood of Red River however . . . the experiment might be tried with some prospect of success after a few good Crops have been raised . . . . All that appears possible to be done

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<sup>2</sup>E. Oliver, ed., The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records, 2 Vols. (Ottawa: Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9, 1914-15), Vol. II, pp. 755-56.

by us towards this important object is to take every opportunity of incalculating (sic) morality on the minds of the Indians when they pay their Spring and Autumn visits at the Forts which will be the groundwork for Religious instruction when a proper plan is digested . . . for this most desirable work.<sup>3</sup>

An example of the type of dependency which Simpson desired to avoid occurred with the establishment of a station at Fort Pelly without the sanction of the Company. In a despatch to the Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1853, Simpson alleged that the fort people were forced to come to the aid of the starving occupants of the station, and that the mission ". . . became a rendezvous for the Red River traders, the wife of the interpreter actually rendering her services to the opposition, by collecting furs for them at the mission house . . . ." <sup>4</sup> However, in spite of its reluctance to allow missionaries into areas which remained viable trading centres, the Hudson's Bay Company viewed the proselytizer as the proper vehicle for the instruction and guidance of the inhabitants of its vast territory.

There were several factors involved in the decision of the Society to move inland to the Cumberland District. Strategically, the Cumberland House site attracted a significant native population for the purposes of trade for it was well located in the heart of two major fur trading routes; one leading west and southward down the Saskatchewan River, and the other north and northwest to the Hudson's Bay Lowlands.<sup>5</sup> Its central position

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<sup>3</sup>George Simpson to the Governor and Committee, York Factory, July 16, 1822, cited in R. Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert's Land. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940), Appendix II, pp. 352-53.

<sup>4</sup>ARL., M/S, Bishop David Anderson Papers, Extract of a Despatch from Sir George Simpson, dated Norway House, Rupert's Land, June 20, 1853.

<sup>5</sup>E. Voorhis, Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies, (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, National Resources Intelligence Branch, 1930), pp. 56-57.

also rendered it an important depot for furs from the northern woodlands while pemmican and buffalo hides were transported from the plains to the fort.

The continuous increase of migrations from York Fort, Norway House, and Cumberland House districts to the Red River Settlement were partially responsible for the impetus behind the drive for hinterland stations. As early as 1832, the Swampy Cree were reported by the Reverend W. Cockran to have been drifting in ". . . from year to year till the Settlement is really full of them".<sup>6</sup> Attracted to the colony by the presence of their relatives, the availability of a relatively stable food supply, and the opportunity for employment, the migrations, particularly from the Cumberland House region, increased steadily. Another important source of encouragement for the migrants was the desire as enunciated by the Red River Indians to have their relatives share in the "better life". In 1839, Reverend Cockran had reported that the Red River Crees had communicated the message of the Gospel to their relatives of Cumberland House:

And so anxious were they to have them enlightened that they would have brought them had we not from time to time persuaded them to let the matter rest till we were fairly established . . . .<sup>7</sup>

However, contingent upon any expansion by the Church Missionary Society into the Cumberland District was the support of such a scheme on

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<sup>6</sup>CMS/A77, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, October 20, 1832.

<sup>7</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 2, 1839.

the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. The increase of Indian migrations from the north to the Red River Settlement was viewed by Simpson as a source for future disorder in the colony. The original support which Cockran had received for the establishment of the Indian Settlement at Netley Creek was hardly motivated by altruistic reasons. Essentially, the Governor saw the Indian village as a means whereby the native population would be attracted away from the Red River colony. Undoubtedly, more crucial to the fur trading interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, was the rationalization on the part of Simpson that by concentrating the native population about Netley Creek, the native traders would be effectively isolated from the growing competition offered by the free trader and the American fur trader.<sup>8</sup> As the village grew due to the increase of migrations, Simpson became more insistent that settlement at Netley should be arrested. Consequently, on October 8, 1834, Simpson apparently reversed his former decision, and as Cockran related:

. . . he told me that the land on which I had commenced the Indian Settlement was Colony property, and under the direction of the Executors of Lord Selkirk, and that he as an agent for the said Executors would not tolerate the location of the Indians upon it.<sup>9</sup>

However, upon Cockran's request that Simpson put his orders in writing, the Governor refused to oblige, and thus the station was left intact.

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<sup>8</sup>Reverend A. Thompson, "The Expansion of the Church of England in Rupert's Land from 1820-1839 under the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1962), p. 294.

<sup>9</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, October 23, 1834.



To further discourage the native migrants, the Governor introduced a regulation forbidding the employment of Red River natives as tripmen for the Company brigades.<sup>10</sup> To entice the Cumberland Indians to remain in the north, Chief Factor John Rowand, in charge of the Saskatchewan District, received instructions from Simpson advising him to promise the natives of that area a clergyman if they would initiate an agricultural village in The Pas area.<sup>11</sup>

Proposals had also been made by the Society for the establishment of a Cumberland House Mission as a replacement for the Indian Settlement at Netley Creek.<sup>12</sup> Adamantly opposed to the suggestion, both Cockran and Smithurst refused to desert some fifty housed Indians and forty-four communicants. Instead, Smithurst urged the Society to keep its promise of posting a missionary at Cumberland House, for as he explained, ". . . the Indian . . . has that shrewdness which will soon detect any discrepancy between promises & performances; & if he once suspects that we are playing into the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company we shall assuredly lose his confidence, & may as well leave the country".<sup>13</sup> He also warned that it would

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<sup>10</sup>Reverend A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, George Simpson to John Rowand, February 8, 1838, cited in Reverend A. Thompson, p. 312.

<sup>12</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, November 15, 1839.

<sup>13</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, November 15, 1839. It had been originally suggested by the Society that Smithurst should be transferred to the Cumberland House site.

be impossible to raise sufficient crops at Cumberland House to support a substantial mission station. As a solution to the incapacity of the station to support itself, a reality which had to be faced in connection with other northern missions, Smithurst recommended the enlargement of the Indian Settlement farm which would serve as a supplier of goods for future inland stations.

Apart from the general unwillingness of the Red River Cree to abandon their established farms and migrate to Cumberland House, where many of their relatives were in fact starving, the controversy surrounding the location of the new station had become a question of principle. Embittered by the opposition displayed by the Hudson's Bay Company towards uncontrolled expansion inland by the proselytizer, Smithurst felt ". . . if the Station is transferred the Hudson's Bay Company would have gained their point, but our cause would sustain a blow that I should never expect . . . it to survive".<sup>14</sup>

A further threat to the augmentation of proselytizing efforts by the Society involved financial problems which had beset the organization in the early 1840's. The monetary support which was to have been forthcoming from the Estate of James Leith was delayed when the viability of the estate was contested in the Chancery. Contained in the bequest dated February 20, 1835, were provisions for a portion of the estate to be invested in stocks by the heirs, the proceeds of which were to be laid aside ". . . for the purpose of establishing propagating and extending the Christian Protestant

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<sup>14</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, November 15, 1839

Religion amongst the native aboriginal Indians in that part of America formerly called Rupertsland".<sup>15</sup>

The failure on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to support the Society in their expansion program was revealed through its refusal to consider an application which would have allowed for the passage for two Anglican missionaries destined for the Cumberland region. And yet, much to the displeasure of Cockran and Smithurst, the Company had assented to sponsor the passage of three Wesleyan missionaries and a schoolmaster who included: Reverend J. Evans, superintendent of missions at Norway House, Mr. Jacobs, a schoolmaster for Norway House, Reverend W. Mason at Lac la Pluie, and Reverend R. Rundle at Edmonton.<sup>16</sup> Priority claims to the Cumberland House district on the part of the Society was contained in a promise made by Benjamin Harrison, Esq. in March of 1839 wherein he had granted the Anglicans permission ". . . to locate, evangelize, and civilize Indians there in the same manner as . . . on the Red River."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>James Leith had joined the services of the X Y Fur Company in 1798, later transferring his services to the Northwest Company in 1804. In 1821, he assumed the position of Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company which he maintained until his retirement in 1830. The validity of the will was upheld in 1849 and according to Bishop G. Mountain of Montreal, the sum bequeathed amounted to ten thousand pounds which was to be used to further the Gospel and the establishment of a mission and a school at Cumberland House. See G. Mountain, The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal, During a Visit to the Church Missionary Society's North West America Mission, (London: T. C. Johns, 1845), p. 166. Ultimately the accumulated interest of the above sum together with a voluntary grant from the Hudson's Bay Company of three hundred pounds went towards the creation of a Bishopric in Rupert's Land. See T. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 59. For reference to the quotation in the text, see T. Boon, Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>16</sup>ARL., M/S, Osborne Scott Papers, Minutes of Council, Northern Department, Red River, June 10, 1843.

<sup>17</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, The Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 4, 1841.

Reverend Cockran, in particular, was enraged over the preference given by the Company to the Wesleyans:

. . . in the Fur Trade are enemies to Christianity and Civilization. The Fur Trade can only be a lucrative concern while the inhabitants are in a state of barbarism . . . . This will enable you to understand why the Company are giving preference to the Wesleyans . . . . Mark the doctrine of the Wesleyans. We will not civilize one family. Rupert's Land is destined by God to remain forever in a state of barbarism. We shall only preach the Gospel to the Indian to comfort him when he is travelling thro the wood.<sup>18</sup>

Eventually the issue was decided when Governor Simpson, having been approached by the superintendent of the Wesleyan missions to remove the Church Missionary Society from Cumberland House refused to do so, and gave the Anglicans his permission "to persevere".<sup>19</sup>

The Wesleyan agent, Reverend James Evans, was conciliatory towards the occupation of The Pas and the adjacent area by the Anglicans. On December 22, 1841, Evans recorded during a brief stay at The Pas Station, that Henry Budd appeared to be ". . . an excellent young man. I gave him such encouragement as I would offer to any of our own teachers, and am satisfied that a mutual feeling of esteem existed between us".<sup>20</sup> The relationship between the native schoolmaster and the Wesleyan proselytizer was one of cordiality. On January 6 of the following year, a second visit was made by Evans to The Pas Mission where he preached and spent an extra day at the station upon Budd's personal request.

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<sup>18</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, The Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1840.

<sup>19</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend Cockran, The Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 4, 1841.

<sup>20</sup>E. Young, The Apostle of the North, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 215. Also recorded in the same entry was the fact that Henry Budd was complaining of aggressive opposition to his work at The Pas.

Competition with the Roman Catholic Church for new fields of proselytization served as a further impetus for inland expansion. In 1840 Smithurst reported to the Home Committee of the Church Missionary Society that ". . . we have been informed from an undoubted source that it was the intention of the Roman Catholic Bishop to fix a priest . . ."21 at Cumberland House. This threat from the Catholic quarter motivated Smithurst and Cockran to assume personal responsibility for the initiation of the Cumberland Station. Financial expenditures were defrayed in part by Smithurst who furnished Budd's outfit with stock from the Indian Mission articles, and Cockran who contributed produce from his station at Grand Rapids.

The choice of Henry Budd for the positions of catechist and schoolmaster for the first Anglican inland mission was a deliberate one. His performance as a schoolmaster at Upper Church had been deemed satisfactory by Cockran and his farm at the Lower Church had been relatively successful. Moreover, his unique qualities as a native convert which were not shared by the European agents serving the Society were also high determinants in the acquirement of his new position with the missionary organization. Not only was Budd a former native from the Cumberland House district, but he also understood and spoke Cree fluently. Given the nomadic tendencies of the natives of the area, Cockran realized that a successful mission did not solely depend upon the attributes of piety and an ability to preach

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<sup>21</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 3, 1840.

the Gospel. In essence, Cockran considered the creation of a new station as an extension of the model agricultural village at the Indian Settlement of Netley Creek. Thus, the candidate for the station was required to possess the skills and the ability to assist the Indians ". . . in building houses, making farms, rearing cattle, and managing all their concerns prudently and economically".<sup>22</sup> Such prerequisites were necessitated by the fact that the task of the proselytizer during the embryonic stages of a mission station were of a secular nature.

In effect, fur trading interests determined the rate of penetration by the Society into the hinterland. Where fur bearing animals were rapidly being exterminated and scarcity had forced the native to assume a parasitic existence upon the nearby forts, the Company favoured the establishment of missions. All applications for new stations were to have been authorized by the Council of the Northern Department with arrangements for free passage of the missionaries being supplied with the consent of the Governor and the London Committee. Caution was recommended to the Society by the Governor and the Committee against the practice of employing inexperienced and unqualified persons for the Company was unwilling to come to the support of the starving native congregations which had been gathered by a missionary agent.<sup>23</sup> No opposition was displayed towards the establishment of

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<sup>22</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 9, 1842. An additional factor of the employment of a native agent was that the Society would only be obliged to pay him half the salary of a European agent.

<sup>23</sup>ARL., M/S, Bishop David Anderson Papers, G. Smith, Hudson's Bay House, to the Bishop of Rupert's Land, April 21, 1854. Also from the same collection see Extract of a Despatch from Sir George Simpson, Norway House, Rupert's Land, June 20, 1853.

mission station at Cumberland Lake or The Pas by the Northern Council. However, due to the rather unreceptive atmosphere of the traders at Cumberland House, the actual mission site which was at first located at the Cumberland Lake was removed to The Pas. The transfer was considered to be a prudent step by Cockran, who explained that since ". . . we had no reason to expect the cordial support of the Company, we thought it better to be a little distance from their Fort; that there might be no room for anything disagreeable occurring".<sup>24</sup>

## II. The Native Populations Frequenting The Pas, Cumberland House, and Fort à la Corne Districts

The native population with whom Henry Budd was to labour for some thirty-five years consisted primarily of the Cree. The Cree peoples, or Nethewak (Exact People) as they referred to themselves, are linguistically typed as Algonkian.<sup>25</sup> Although the dialectical variations are understood among the diverse bands of the Cree, other Algonkian languages, for instance, that spoken by their neighbors to the south, the Saulteaux, are not comprehended. The term Christinaux, and variations thereof, have been applied to denote the Cree in general, by early European explorers and usually refers to those peoples who occupy the western inland-lake region and the lower Saskatchewan River.<sup>26</sup> Due to the diversity of the

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<sup>24</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, The Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 4, 1841.

<sup>25</sup>See A. Fisher, "The Cree of Canada: Some Ecological and Evolutionary Considerations", The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1969), pp. 7-8 for a listing of related Algonkian groups to the Cree.

<sup>26</sup>Refer to Map II in Appendix IV for the distribution of the Cree.

ecological regions inhabited by the Cree, environmental characteristics have directed the development of the numerous bands. According to R. Knight,

. . . the temporal and spatial variability of these ecological communities in the Canadian-Muskeg-Shield bush regions may be seen as contributing to the variability of the Cree culture "type", either in internal conditions or in terms of geographic distribution of these "types".<sup>27</sup>

As a result, at least three major divisions of the Cree can be discerned, divisions which are recognized by the Cree themselves:

The swampy lowlands between the Hudson Bay and Lake Superior are inhabited by maskekowak ('swamp people'). In the forested areas of northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba are the sakawiyiniwak ('woods people'). Those who later forsook their aboriginal Woodlands culture for that of the plains region became known as paska-wiyiniwak ('prairie people').<sup>28</sup>

The Swampy Cree were the occupants of that extensive northern belt of forest running northward from the Laurentians, Lake Superior, the Lake of the Woods, and northwestward along the northern boundary of the Assiniboine Valley to the Rockies and Mackenzie River region.<sup>29</sup> An average precipitation of approximately twenty inches supports a variety of deciduous and coniferous trees. The area is relatively flat and rocky, containing numerous lakes, rivers, streams, sloughs, swamps, and extensive areas of

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<sup>27</sup>R. Knight, "A Re-examination of Hunting, Trapping and Territoriality Among the Northeastern Algonkian Indians", in A. Leeds and A. Vayda, eds., Man, Culture, and Animals, Publication No. 78, (Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1965), p. 12.

<sup>28</sup>L. Mason, The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation, Anthropology Papers, No. 13, (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1967), p. 3.

<sup>29</sup>A. Morton, op. cit., p. 2.



muskeg. This belt of semi-arctic land with its harsh climate has a limited range of flora and fauna which are fluctuating in character:

. . . cycles occur in different areas at different times and with different demographic peaks and depressions . . . the game density of 'family territory' sized tracts of land (approximately 400 to 450 square miles) varies considerably from tract to tract at any one time and on any one tract over time.<sup>30</sup>

The Pas and Cumberland House are included in this geographical region and it is with its occupants, the Swampy Cree and the Woodland Cree that this next section will be concerned.<sup>31</sup>

In his accounts of the Cree, Robert Ballantyne, in a depiction of those Cree inhabiting the woodland country occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, described them as possessing ". . . fine intelligent countenances, and a peculiar brightness in their dark eyes, which from a constant habit of looking around them while travelling through the woods, are seldom for a moment at rest".<sup>32</sup> Most traders, coming into contact with these peoples have tended to portray them as a friendly and hospitable people. Mgr. A. Tache referred to them as ". . . gentle, averse to bloodshed, easy to influence, and less superstitious . . .",<sup>33</sup> than their neighbours, the Sauteaux.

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<sup>30</sup>R. Knight, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>31</sup>The Woodland and Swampy Cree will be treated as one and the same. D. Jenness states that the Woodland Cree are usually termed the Swampy Cree or the Muskegon which include bands from the southern part of Hudson's Bay those of the Peace, Athabaska, and Slave Rivers, and the inhabitants about the Athabaska and Great Slave Lakes. See The Indians of Canada, Anthropological Series No. 15, Bulletin 65, (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1963), p. 284.

<sup>32</sup>R. Ballantyne, Hudson's Bay, (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1848), p. 42.

<sup>33</sup>Mgr. A. Taché, Sketch Of The North-West of America, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1870), p. 122. See also I. Cowie, op. cit., p. 122.

Prior to European contact, the economic base of the Swampy Cree had essentially consisted of hunting, fishing, and gathering. A flesh diet of fish, duck, goose, caribou, moose, deer, beaver, and rabbit was balanced with berries and other fruits available in the summer season. Subsistence patterns were strictly controlled by the natural cycles of the woodland area whereby ". . . the greatest food abundance occurred in the summer season, or rather late spring and early summer and again in the late summer and the beginning of the autumn season".<sup>34</sup> While larger game were present, the harsh climate scattered these animals into small groups, making hunting more difficult. Those natives living around the Cumberland House and The Pas area, therefore, depended upon fish for the greater part of the year.

Because of their great dependency upon the hunt for survival and the relative scarcity of game in comparison to the plains area, the entire life and movement patterns of the Swampy Cree was centred around the hunt and the local fisheries. Hides provided the material for both clothing and the conical skin tents which served as the primary type of shelter. A sophisticated stone tool technology was developed specifically for the hunt along with small game snares and for the fisheries, bark and leather-thonged nets. To facilitate movement from area to area, birchbark canoes were utilized in the summer, while the snowshoe and the sled were used for winter transportation.

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<sup>34</sup>A. Ray, "A Special Kind of Boundary", Proceedings of the Canadian Association of Geographers, (University of Manitoba, 1970), p. 275.

The loose social structure of the Muskegon was also an adaptation to the harsh environment. Due to the sparseness of game, particularly during the winter months, they were forced to gather in small family units which often consisted of two or three nuclear families who were usually related. The subsistence and land-owning unit was the family hunting band with the in-gathering of several bands occurring for ceremonial purposes or for trading activities at the Company posts.<sup>35</sup> According to D. Jenness, in his broad generalization concerning the migratory Indian and the concept of property:

"Real" property he had none, for the hunting territory and the fishing places belonged to the entire band, and were as much the right of every member as the surrounding atmosphere. Members of other bands might use them temporarily, with the consent of the owner band, or they might seize them by force; but land could not be sold or alienated in any way.<sup>36</sup>

As a result of the lack of development of a sophisticated social structure, political controls were minimal.<sup>37</sup> Any form of leadership was temporary in nature and created to meet specific needs such as war, the hunt, or trading expeditions. Similarly, formalized social controls were obscure. Ostracism, displeasure of the deities, the fear of witchcraft, and blood feuds operated as effective deterrents to wrongdoers. Being a patriarchal society, the onus of authority rested with the head of the family, but ". . . he sought and respected advice of older and more experienced men who loosely controlled the camp".<sup>38</sup> Usually the oldest male was considered

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<sup>35</sup> A. Fisher, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> D. Jenness, op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>37</sup> See L. Mason, op. cit., pp. 47-50 for a discussion of the social life of the Swampy Cree. Sororal polygyny was practiced whereby the second wife might be the sister of the first. Various social controls and taboos operated within the society.

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as the head of the extended family, but in practice he had little or no authority over the other members. The term 'chief' was applied to indicate a "quasi" position of leadership which was held in some instances by the medicine men. This type of leadership existed in the form of the initiation of seasonal feasting and ceremonies which were attended by the bands at specific times of the year.

The initiation of trade with the Cree in 1611 by the European at the lower end of the Hudson Bay was to result in a lasting and influential relationship between the Swampy Cree and the European trader. The negative results instigated by the severe competition for furs on the part of the French and the English has been recorded in many of the contemporary journals. Debauched by the free flow of liquor, destroyed economically by the lack of conservation and the loss of hunting skills, the relative prosperity of the Swampy Cree dropped proportionately to the increased penetration of the Hudson's Bay Company into the hinterland.

The indigenous lifestyle of the Swampy Cree was greatly altered by the contact with the fur trader. The most immediate and observable change occurred in the material and economic elements of their culture. Moose and deer hide clothing were replaced with native adaptations to European clothing styles.<sup>39</sup> With the close of the eighteenth century, the dependence of the Muskegon upon the trader became cemented through the use of the credit system. Outfits of clothing, ammunition, and other goods were

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<sup>39</sup>See R. Ballantyne, op. cit., pp. 43-45 for descriptions of native adaptations to European clothing.

supplied on credit to the natives in the early fall in preparation for the winter trapping season. In the spring the outfit was paid for in part or in full with the furs obtained from the hunt. Through this method the Indian was kept in a state of debt and obligation to the Company since he had become almost totally dependent upon European commodities. Furthermore, the availability of odd jobs about the forts and the opportunities for employment as tripmen on the brigades during the summer months led to increased specialization and dependence. As middlemen for the fur trade, the Swampy Cree became an indispensable asset in the extension of trading operations inland. Renowned for their canoemanship and their skill as guides, the Muskegon played a vital role in the fur trading scheme of the Hudson's Bay Company.

As the types of furs sought by the Company increased in variety, so did the demand for a larger variety of trade articles. In 1821, Nicholas Garry listed cloth, flints, duffel for socks, guns, ammunition, tobacco, blankets, shirts, vermillion, rum, jackets, playing cards, and hats, as the more popular trade items.<sup>40</sup> Metal fish hooks, copper kettles, metal knives, metal spearheads, twine for lines and nets, linen thread and glass beads replaced the corresponding traditional articles constructed from native materials.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>N. Garry, "Diary of Nicholas Garry, Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-1835, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd Series, Vol. 6, Sec. 2, (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1900), p. 200.

<sup>41</sup>L. Mason, op. cit., p. 19.

The introduction of the firearm to the Cree enabled him to acquire an adequate food supply while concentrating his efforts upon trapping. In addition, the gun served as a vehicle for the westward movement of the Muskegon. The Woodland Cree around the Cumberland House were reported to have been known to ". . . have made war excursions as far to the westward as the Rocky Mountains, and to the northward as far as McKenzie's River . . . ."42 Dependency upon the fur trader for ammunition led to a further strengthening of ties between the Indian and the white man. However, the relationship was a symbiotic one for the trader, in turn, not only relied upon the natives for furs, but also in many instances for his very survival. Thus, while the diet of the Indian was complemented with articles of flour, tea, sugar, and rum, the European depended upon the native for fresh supplies of game. Early traders had been quick to point out that ". . . if it was not for the Liquor and Tobacco We should not get a bit of Victuals to put in Our Mouths, but what We would have caught ourselves".43

Alterations also occurred in the social structure of the Swampy Cree society as a result of exposure to European culture. Leadership qualifications were adapted to meet the demands of the fur trade. A 'captain', the term applied to the head of a trapping band, retained his position through the ability to bargain and lead an expedition. This delegated

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<sup>42</sup>Dr. Richardson, cited in Sir J. Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819-20-21-22, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1910), p. 66.

<sup>43</sup>E. Rich, ed., Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journal, 1775-82, 2 Vols., (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1951-52), Vol. I, p. 80.

authority did not extend beyond the realm of trade. Special recognition advanced to these leaders was evidenced through the practice of gift giving and ceremonialism displayed by the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>44</sup> Former prerequisites of leadership, such as success in warfare were discouraged, and as Mandelbaum indicates,

. . . since the traders favored the peaceful industrious trappers and discouraged the aggressive troublesome warriors, in late years certain chiefs arose whose war achievements were not particularly outstanding.<sup>45</sup>

Further adaptations to the fur trade in the social structure were evident. D. Jenness proposed that

. . . the unusual feature of family land ownership bears an intimate functional relationship to the highly specialized economy introduced by the fur trade. Fur-bearing animals, especially the beaver, may be husbanded in relatively small areas. Barter of pelts with the white man for other goods enables a group to subsist on an area which is smaller than would otherwise be possible.<sup>46</sup>

Traditional family cycles, which included puberty rites, courting rites, inter-familial taboos slowly disintegrated through interracial "marriage".

Reports of the result of European contact by traders and travellers frequenting Swampy Cree country were consistently of a negative nature reflecting severe criticism of the Company's policy on the use of liquor as a trade item. During his residence at Cumberland House in 1820,

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<sup>44</sup>R. Hood, in a partial printing of his diary in "Some Account of the Cree and Other Indians, 1819", Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 15, No. 1, (Winter, 1967), p. 16.

<sup>45</sup>D. Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree", Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, (1939), p. 223.

<sup>46</sup>D. Jenness, cited by J. Steward, "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands", Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), p. 339.

Dr. Richardson of the famed Franklin Expedition, recorded that many of the natives around the fort had died of whooping cough and measles. Others who were fortunate enough to survive, were too weak to hunt and consequently starved.<sup>47</sup> Much of the native behaviour which Richardson disapproved of was attributed to ". . . a lamentable want of morality . . . displayed by the white traders in their contests for the interests of their respective companies . . . ."48 The over-zealousness exhibited by the trader who wished to acquire furs at an advantage, often produced a parallel behaviour in the Indian, for Richardson claimed ". . . the Indians, long deceived, have become deceivers in their turn, and not unfrequently after having incurred a heavy debt at one post, move off to another, to play the same game".<sup>49</sup>

"Marriages" contracted between the trader and the native women often proved to be of a temporary nature and in many cases resulted in the abandonment of both wife and offspring. Thus, in addition to sharing camp provisions with the infirm and the old, the Cree at Cumberland House, for example, were reported to have afforded ". . . a certain asylum to the half-breed children when deserted by their unnatural white fathers . . . ."50 By the 1820's the Swampy Cree of the Cumberland House District were almost wholly reliant upon the European for the basic necessities of life and

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<sup>47</sup>Dr. Richardson, cited in Sir J. Franklin, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 63.



had lost their former stature of power amongst the neighbouring tribes. Consequently, they were considered to be ". . . perhaps, the most harmless and inoffensive of the whole Indian race".<sup>51</sup>

One of the more important aspects of the indigenous culture of the Swampy Cree which remained relatively stable throughout contact with the trader was their religion.<sup>52</sup> The concepts of Good and Evil were represented by corresponding deities. A supreme being, Kitci Manitu of the 'Master of Life' was all-benevolent and responsible for the temporal benefits received by the Native. However, due to the incapability of this deity to render evil, all offerings and supplications were directed towards Matci Manitu who was held accountable for all negative experiences of man. Other acknowledged deities were representative of a vague hierarchy of anthropomorphic spirits. The foremost of these were the Witiko which were believed to ". . . fly through the night, breathing flame, in an eternal search of victims to satisfy a craving for human flesh".<sup>53</sup> The conception of these spirits is closely intertwined with the realities of the harshness of the environment in which the Swampy Cree lived. Witiko personalities were usually associated with those who had succumbed to anthropagy and could be killed on sight if seen. According to Cree mythology, these symbols of the cold winters could only be destroyed by the smashing of their icy hearts.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>52</sup>The following information on the traditional religion of the Swampy Cree has largely been abstracted from L. Mason, op. cit., pp. 57-64.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

The Swampy Cree of both the lower Saskatchewan and Manitoba represented death through a spirit which assumed the form of an animated human skeleton travelling across the sky. Known as Pahkuk, miniature effigies of moosehide and birchwood were used as protective measures against this feared spirit.<sup>55</sup> The counterpart of the deity, according to Mason, called 'Keepoochikawn' or 'Gepuchikan', was worshipped by the Cumberland House Cree through the employment of wooden images; most of the supplications being made for an abundance of food.<sup>56</sup>

Other environmental phenomena such as the aurora borealis, was accorded anthropomorphic qualities and was considered to be the "Dance of the Spirits". Mists from bogs and swamps symbolized those souls whose possessions were not properly buried at the time of their death. Every element of nature -- the rivers, lakes, rapids, and the wind were perceived as Manitu-wuk which demanded placation with small sacrifices such as tobacco. Thunder and lightning were embodied of the symbolic "Thunderbird". According to L. Mason, Cree folklore reveals a close identification between the native and the animals of his environs which possess human personalities. The ability to communicate with these animals is evidenced through the character Wisaketchak, a trickster, who played ". . . pranks on his animal brethren".<sup>57</sup>

In 1850, Chief Louis Constant of The Pas band identified deities which were representative of the natural features of ice and snow. While

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<sup>55</sup>F. Russell, Explorations in the Far North, (Iowa: The University Press, 1848), p. 180.

<sup>56</sup>Dr. Richardson, cited in Sir J. Franklin, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

<sup>57</sup>L. Mason, op. cit., p. 59.

the deity of the ice presided over the fish, the beaver, the otter, and other water animals, the latter ruled over the land animals.<sup>58</sup>

Some conception of reward and punishment in the afterlife was evident through the portrayal of the journey of the soul into an afterlife. While the good were rewarded with a life of plenty, the selfish souls were doomed to spend eternity in a cold and barren land.<sup>59</sup>

Much of the ceremonialism and ritualism were directed toward the achievement of temporal prosperity and longevity. For instance, a small ceremony which might accompany eating involved the offering of a small piece of food into the fire with the words ". . . "I wish to live", "Give me long life", "Give me plenty of Moose to kill", "Give me plenty of fur to trade", "Take from the life of another Indian, and add it to mine". . .<sup>60</sup>

Feasting and ritualism accompanied group supplication to the various deities. The most prevalent seasonal feast about The Pas area was the Goose Feast which was held in the fall. The Reverend J. Hunter, witnessing the proceedings of the feast in 1846, described the feast as consisting of offerings of geese to the deity (symbolized by a goose image), in order to secure an abundance of waterfowl during the annual fall hunt.

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<sup>58</sup>CMS/A90, Reverend J. Hunter, Cumberland Station, to Reverend H. Venn, December 6, 1850.

<sup>59</sup>J. Dragge, An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage, 1745-47, 2 Vols., (London: Mr. Joliffe, 1748-49), Vol. I, pp. 228-229.

<sup>60</sup>CMS/A90, Reverend J. Hunter, Cumberland Station, to Reverend H. Venn, December 6, 1850. Small offerings of rags, small pieces of tobacco, broken bits of iron, crockery, were also presented to the deity.

Complex initiation rites of men and women into shamanism were practised at the Metawin or Medicine Feast. Offerings of goose fat, maple sugar, marrow, tobacco, and a dog were made to the deity of the Metawin who was believed to preside over life and death. Other than for the purpose of initiation, the Reverend J. Hunter, after witnessing the feast at The Pas in 1848, noted that the objective of the rites was to attain longevity and temporal prosperity.<sup>61</sup>

Due to their claim over the control of the supernatural, the religious leaders of the Cree were undoubtedly the most powerful and influential factors of social control in the band. The knowledge of curative powers and herbs elevated the position of the medicine men within the native society. The shaman also served as an exorcist and an advisor to those with personal problems. The acquisition of such powers involved both spiritual revelation and practical training usually during the stage of puberty. For advice concerning the reasons for the failure of a hunt or trade, the causes of disease, a conjuring tent was erected and the "shaking tent" ceremony was conducted. During the performance of this rite, the conjurer revealed prophecies by acting as a medium for communication with the supernatural.

The importance of the function of conjuring in Indian society has been emphasized by A. Hallowell in his work entitled, The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society.<sup>62</sup> His conclusions have important implications for

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<sup>61</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, May, 1848. The feast was held in the spring before the spring hunt.

<sup>62</sup>A. Hallowell, "The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society", Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).

the comprehension of the relative lack of influence by the missionary upon the indigenous religion of the Cree. In practice, the supernatural powers of the shaman reinforced the basic values and belief system of the native society.<sup>63</sup> Visual evidences of the shaman's ability to converse with the supernatural served as a reinforcing factor. The attribution of causes of illness to deviations from societal norms placed into the hands of the medicine men a significant degree of social control. In this manner, social cohesion was perpetuated. Furthermore, dependency upon the conjurer was encouraged through his capacity to protect the band from famine and disease. In the psychological sense, the influence of the medicine man over the individual was significant. An example of this type of control was recorded by Robert Hood, a member of the Franklin Expedition:

An Indian labouring under the ban of a conjurer, imagines if he misses his aim at an animal, that an evil spirit has assumed that shape to torment him, and he pines or starves to death unless accident throws provisions in his way. Such was the case of the Indian who lived on Moose skins at the Basquiass Hill . . . .<sup>64</sup>

Sympathetic magic was often employed to inflict 'bad luck' or death upon an undesirable. One of the forms which this magic might take was described by Peter Erasmus in 1852, who was then schoolmaster at The Pas:

. . . an image cut in the earth resembling a man with a stick reddened with ochre stuck in the breast & another in the shoulder; near the stick stuck in the heart were some fringes of a Red belt, which were taken as they say from the belt of the person whose death was meditated . . . the fringes had been put into bad medicine in order to take away the life of the owner of the belt.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>64</sup>R. Hood, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>65</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, September 24, 1852.

Since the conjuring ceremonies were generally practiced in the full view of the public, ". . . the concrete demonstration in case after case of the way in which the dynamic forces of the universe can be mobilized for the benefit of man creates a sense of security and confidence".<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, the degree of influence the trader might have had over the religion of the Swampy Cree is difficult to determine. Dr. Richardson found that the Cumberland House Cree had interwoven European ideas of religion into their own traditions.<sup>67</sup> To what extent this occurred is obscure.

Thus, by 1840, with the arrival of Henry Budd to The Pas area, the Swampy Cree, with the possible exception of their religious traditions, had experienced much change through their contact with the European fur trader. And by 1837, the contact seemed to have had more negative effects than positive, as reported by John McLean from York Factory:

. . . the Swampies are a degenerate race, reduced by famine and disease to a few families; and these have been still farther reduced by an epidemic which raged among them this summer. They were attacked by it immediately on their return from the interior . . . and remained in hopes of being benefited by medical advice and attendance. Their hopes, however, were not realized; they were left entirely in charge of a young man without experience and without humanity; and the disease was unchecked.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>A. Hallowell, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>67</sup>Dr. Richardson, cited in Sir J. Franklin, op. cit., p. 69. See also R. Hood, op. cit., p. 11. The Cree had their own indigenous version of a Universal Flood whereby the hero, Woesackootchacht saved his family and numerous animals from drowning by building a raft. Although Hood also mentioned the intermixing of Christian and Cree religion, no specific examples are mentioned.

<sup>68</sup>McLean, J., McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory, 2 Vols., ed. by W. Wallace, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1932), Vol. I, pp. 194-95.

The natives of the Fort à la Corne or the Nepowewin area consisted largely of the Woodland Cree who occupied the forests to the north of the fort and the Plains Cree who lived to the south and the southwest.<sup>69</sup> The fort was also frequented by bands of Assiniboine and Saulteaux. Because Budd's influence over the Plains Cree, the Saulteaux, and the Assiniboine was negligible, these cultures will not be described in any detail. The Assiniboine, a plains people of Siouan heritage did not come under the influence of the native proselytizer who was unable to communicate with them in their language. A brief introduction to the Plains Cree will serve to indicate some of the major differences from the Muskegon and will further the comprehension of Budd's lack of success in gaining proselytes among them.

The Plains Cree were a post-1800 development. Originally Woodland Cree, these people were once confined to the forest between the Hudson's Bay and Lake Superior.<sup>70</sup> With the establishment of trading posts from 1690 to 1740 and the consequent exploitation of the land for fur-bearing animals, a movement westward, aided by the possession of firearms, occurred. At first commuting between the plains and the woodland region as middlemen for the fur trade, some of the Woodland Cree were inhabiting the plains by 1820 and had adopted its culture. Their adaptation of the "Plains Culture"

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<sup>69</sup>The Fort à la Corne area was penetrated by the Church Missionary Society in the early 1850's.

<sup>70</sup>D. Mandelbaum, op. cit., p. 187.

was ". . . facilitated by their alliance with the Assiniboine and Blackfeet".<sup>71</sup> Although identified as Plains Cree, these natives were actually a Parkland people with the northern part of their environs being the woodland area and the southwestern zone consisting of short-grass prairie.<sup>72</sup> Since their existence depended almost wholly upon the buffalo, the movement patterns of the Plains Cree were largely determined by the availability of this food staple. In the summer they roamed the plains between the Grand Couteau of the Missouri, the Saskatchewan, and the Qu'Appelle River Valleys. In the winter season, the Plains Cree scattered into the northern Woodlands with the buffalo.<sup>73</sup>

Economically, the buffalo, the horse, and the dog were the mainstays in the subsistence pattern of these native people. Large game such as moose and elk were obtainable in the woodland hinterland, but these were not frequently the objects of the hunt. Mandelbaum attributes this to the fact that the Plains Cree had become extremely specialized in the buffalo hunt to the extent where men hesitated to hunt in small numbers, in addition to a resulting loss of the techniques of forest hunting.<sup>74</sup> However, their diet was supplemented with small game, waterfowl, fish, berries, roots, and in the spring, maple sugar.

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<sup>71</sup>L. O'Brodovich, "Plains Cree Acculturation in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Injustice", Napao, A Saskatchewan Anthropology Journal, Vol. 2, No. 1, (1969), p. 7. Refer to Map III, Appendix V, for the locations of the various bands belonging to the Plains Cree inhabiting the prairies.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>73</sup>D. Mandelbaum, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 198.



Fisheries and hunting or trapping grounds were not considered as the property of any one individual and like the Swampy Cree, other bands were allowed to hunt in a productive area which had been settled by another. In connection with the buffalo hunt, communal sharing of food was enforced. Although the concept of individual property was not as absolute as in the European culture, certain goods were recognized as belonging to the individual.

In general, the bands of the Plains Cree tended to be larger than those of the Woodlands due to the relative abundance of game. Often the bands themselves would incorporate a blend of various tribes including the Swampy Cree and the Ojibway (Saulteaux) who frequently hunted the buffalo with the Plains Cree.<sup>75</sup> Despite this cooperation in the area of subsistence, the Plains Cree viewed the Saulteaux and the Swampy Cree as ". . . 'bad medicine' men who fought by magical means rather than by the strength of arms".<sup>76</sup> As with the Swampy peoples, the government structure of the Plains Cree was vague, although each band did in effect have a policing agent through the establishment of a Warrior Society whose activities were essentially confined to the buffalo hunt.<sup>77</sup> Bands converged during certain times of the year for the celebration of the Metawin and the Sundance.

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<sup>75</sup>H. Hind, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 121.

<sup>76</sup>D. Mandelbaum, op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>77</sup>D. Mandelbaum, Anthropology and People: The World of the Plains Cree, University Lectures, No. 12, (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1967), pp. 9-10.

Because of their dependency upon the buffalo and their relative in-dependency of the white man, the Plains Cree were not as susceptible to proselytization as the Swampy Cree. It was not until the severe effects of the vanishing buffalo herds and small pox epidemics were felt that the Plains Indian was reduced to a parasitic existence upon the European.

". . . by the mid-1870's, the whiskey trade became a major factor in the northern Plains. The Cree and Assiniboine became dependent on the Indian officials of the Canadian Northwest Territories . . . .<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>J. Bennett, "A Cree Reserve", in Minority Canadians I, Native Peoples, ed. by J. Elliott, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971), pp. 102-3.

## CHAPTER III

### REVEREND HENRY BUDD: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

1840 - 1853

#### I. Cumberland Station

On June 21, 1840, with supplies of tobacco, ammunition, and flour, Henry Budd embarked for Cumberland House in the company of his wife and mother. The extent of authority in connection with his mission was made explicit by the Society which instructed him to ". . . collect some children for instruction, & speak to the Indians on the subject of our Mission".<sup>1</sup> Once a European missionary had arrived at the station Budd was to assume the additional task of interpretation. Prior to Budd's departure, Reverend J. Smithurst, revealing his concern over the mission for which the native agent was now responsible, met with him to emphasize his duties as an emissary of the Society:

I was anxious to set before our brother Budd the importance of being actuated by feelings of love in seeking to instruct the Indians, for nothing but a proper sense of God's love in giving his son to save them, and being ourselves influenced by the same love will enable us to exercise the patience which is requisite in encountering barbarism and its attendant evils apathy, obstinacy, and indolence.<sup>2</sup>

From the initial stages of his role as proselytizer, Budd had sensed the importance of the position which he, as a native agent was required to fulfill. Sharing the evangelistic fervour of his European counterparts,

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<sup>1</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 6, 1840.

<sup>2</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Journal, Indian Settlement, June 21, 1840.

Budd persistently appealed in his correspondence to be made ". . . more zealous, more active, and more successful in the missionary cause".<sup>3</sup>

That he had been inculcated with Victorian values during his period of instruction at the Red River school is evidenced in Budd's attitude towards his own countrymen. Feeling a deep sense of obligation to the Society for his training and the 'Almighty' who was responsible for making him different from his countrymen, the native catechist welcomed the opportunity to instruct his people who were still in ". . . ignorance and destitute of the knowledge of the truth . . . ."4

Unfortunately, there is little information available in Budd's records concerning his brief sojourn at a site on the Cumberland Lake in 1840. As previously indicated, due to the hostility displayed by the traders at the Cumberland House Fort, the mission station was removed to The Pas.<sup>5</sup> At the new location, very few of the local natives were willing to patronize the catechist. Budd recorded that only one man, John Turner, who was also considered to be the 'father' of The Pas band, expressed any degree of hospitality towards him.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Reverend H. Budd, op. cit., Correspondence cited from Henry Budd, Red River Settlement, to Reverend H. Budd, June 18, 1840, p. 543.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>CMS/A78, Henry Budd cited in Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, November 2, 1840. A letter had been forwarded by Budd to the Reverend W. Cockran inquiring for a letter to show to Mr. Macpherson of Cumberland House for he had been informed that ". . . we shall not get much from them if we have nothing to show".

<sup>6</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, April 2, 1868.

By 1840, The Pas Fort, or Paskayac, first established by the eldest living son of Pierre Gaultier, Sieur de la Verendrye (probably in 1749), was a mere winter outpost. However, it still served as a gathering place for the Swampy Cree of the Cumberland Lake and the Churchill River areas who not only traded at the fort but held their annual feasts nearby. In his journals, Henry Y. Hind has described the mission site as being located twenty-two miles below the Big Bend at the confluence of the Saskatchewan and Basquia Rivers on the right or south side of the Saskatchewan River.<sup>7</sup> Strategically, the location for the site of the new mission was excellent for in the proximity of Muddy Lake there was an island in the Saskatchewan River which grew poplar (the only substantial stand of wood for miles), and here the Swampy Cree held their great councils, dog feasts, and Metawin. Its name in Swampy was Kash-Ke-Bu-Jes-Pu-Qua-Ne-Shing, signifying according to Hind, "Tying the mouth of a drum".<sup>8</sup> It was also at this locality that the Indians found camping and fishing highly favourable. Near Riviere du Pas itself resided the M. Constant band, the leader being an old Canadian guide who had been in the Northwest since

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<sup>7</sup>The Big Bend is located at the point where the Fishing-Weir Creek connects with the Saskatchewan. It is the most northerly point on the river approaching the 54th parallel. See H. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858, 2 Vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), Vol. I, p. 452.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 456.

1783 and had a ". . . large family of half-Indians, who seemed to claim him as their sire".<sup>9</sup> However, the post, being too far from the plains area and surrounded by numerous lakes and swamps, lacked any constant supply of buffalo meat with the result that fish served as the primary source of food.

Obliged to found a new station on merely one hundred pounds annually, a stipend which included his salary, the native catechist obviously laboured under trying conditions and was often forced ". . . to give away his own clothing in payment for work in the erection of his house and schoolroom".<sup>10</sup> Upon his arrival at the site few were disposed to offer their aid in the construction of the necessary buildings. Due to this display of apathy, in addition to the lack of proper equipment and draught animals to haul the wood, building was slow. The structure which was later to serve as a home and a schoolroom was purchased from Joseph Turner, an English boat captain in the service of the Company.

The Church Missionary Society had always encouraged their missionaries to form liaisons with the local leaders in the hope of gaining followers through their influence. Employing this strategy, Budd had made contact with a chief of the Whitefish River band and the leader with a few followers attended his evening prayer sessions regularly. Besides placing

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<sup>9</sup>W. Wallace, op. cit., p. 194. The Reverend R. Horsefield in his article entitled, "Willows and Hard Rock", The Journal of The Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. III, No. IV, (February, 1958), p. 2, makes reference to a Joseph Constant, a French Canadian from Three Rivers, Quebec with his Ojibway wife. His son Antoine became the first chief of The Pas band.

<sup>10</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1842.

ten of his own children in the newly established school, the chief influenced other members of his band to do the same. But, clearly the arrival of the proselytizer was received with mixed feelings. Budd's own general impression indicated the anxiousness of the Indian to receive education although at least three principal men violently opposed his presence and intentions. These medicine men were reported to have secretly exercised ". . . so much sway over the rest . . ." <sup>11</sup> that they presented a significant barrier to proselytization. Obviously, these traditional leaders would have perceived the catechist as a rival for their positions as leaders of societal traditions.

For any proselytizing effort to be successful, settlement was a necessary corollary to Christianity. Plans for the development of the Cumberland Station included designs for the transformation of the semi-nomadic Muskegon from a hunter into an agriculturalist. One of the major problems which presented itself was the refusal on the part of Chief Constant to allow his territory to be used for purposes of cultivation. The authority of Budd was not impressive enough to overcome this difficulty. This situation was not remedied until the summer of 1842 with the arrival and inspection of the Reverend J. Smithurst. Resistance to Budd apparently arose from a misunderstanding of his position and intentions in the area. Reassurances from Smithurst that the

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<sup>11</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst's Account for the Cumberland House, June 1, 1841. Although the report refers to Cumberland House, mention was made of the station at The Pas at this time, therefore, it is assumed that Budd had already moved to the new location. Soon after, the station was called Cumberland Station to distinguish it from Cumberland House.

missionaries did not ". . . set up . . . as Chiefs", and that the proselytizers ". . . have nothing to do with men in their civil capacity",<sup>12</sup> in combination with offerings of tobacco as a peace token served the purpose. In the company of the chief, Smithurst marked out lots of land for the accommodation of a mission farm, a mission house, a church and burial ground. A compromise was reached whereby Chief Constant agreed to the non-interference with those of his people who wished to convert, but for his part, refused to make any personal commitments concerning his own conversion.

As a schoolteacher, Budd's primary concern had been the establishment of educational facilities for both the children and adult population. The inducement of the adult sector to conversion and the gaining of their permission to allow their offspring to be taught in the school was practiced with caution for Budd preferred to refrain from the employment of either force or material incentives. Instead, he felt that the revelation and the comprehension of the rationale of his intentions would act as sufficient enticements; therefore he simply told them:

. . . that I am amongst them and their children, the true way of being comfortable here, and everlastingly happy hereafter, that if they chose to put themselves under the instruction of God's word, I would, by his grace and assistance, do all in my power to teach them, but if not, I could not force them, and they must abide the consequences.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1842. It is interesting to note that there are evidences of correspondence between the Chief and Smithurst after the latter returned to Red River.

<sup>13</sup>CMS/A78, Henry Budd, Riviere du Pas, to the Reverend J. Smithurst, January 22, 1824.



By the summer of 1841, a year's proselytization in the area had resulted in the collection of at least thirty day scholars. In spite of his efforts to withhold material inducements to attract pupils, the school did offer a positive advantage for the parents. Nearly half of these children were lodged and fed while the elders were participating in the seasonal hunts and the total school population received a daily ration of food. Regular school hours were scheduled and subjects including the three R's and the recitation of hymns, prayers, and catechism formed the basis of the curriculum.

The sincerity exhibited by the local population to submit their children to schooling was questionable. While Budd, somewhat optimistically, felt that the desire for education and self-improvement was genuine, he nevertheless was forced to admit that there were others " . . . who are willing to send their children to school, who do not manifest a wish to know, and serve the living and true God . . . because they do not send them so regular now as they did in winter . . . ." <sup>14</sup> The attitude of the children themselves toward instruction varied with age, with the more impressionable young being easier to manage. Budd felt that more success would have been forthcoming if the parents could have been persuaded to part with their children for the whole year and to cease the practice of withdrawing their children during the seasonal hunts. With this rather sporadic system of education, the Indian pupils no longer under the watchful eye of the schoolmaster, would relapse into

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<sup>14</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst's Account for the Cumberland House Station, June 1, 1841.

their traditional behaviour and forget most of what they had learned while attending the school.

Confronted with these difficulties, the fact that Budd managed to gather and maintain thirty-one pupils by 1842 was a significant feat. Furthermore, in his reports, he claimed that he was able to obtain as many more, but that the scarcity of supplies obliged him to enforce a quota upon the number of pupils which the school could effectively accommodate. A number of the adult population received a small amount of education through the vehicle of their own children who were allowed to take their books home for this specific purpose.

In spite of the opposition displayed by the principal men of The Pas band, forty-one adults were under scriptural studies in preparation for baptism and an average of nineteen adults attended Sunday services in addition to evening prayer meetings, only two years following his arrival at the site. Owing to the burden of secular duties and the dispersal of the families to their appropriate hunting grounds during the week, the contact which Budd initially experienced with The Pas Indians was minimal and essentially limited to weekends when the converts would return to the mission for Sunday services.

A visit conducted by the Reverend J. Smithurst to the Cumberland Station in 1842 serves to illustrate the progress during Budd's some eighteen months at the station. The accomplishment of the native schoolmaster at the station went beyond the supervisor's ". . . most sanguine expectation".<sup>15</sup> As for the temporal state of the mission, the site

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<sup>15</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1842.

included Budd's dwelling house on the south side with the children's dwelling to the north. An effort had been made at cultivation for the slopes from the houses to the river had been broken and to the rear an acre had been fenced and planted. The subsistence base of the mission consisted of wheat, barley, and potatoes from the mission farm. Fish was obtained from the local fisheries and fresh game was supplied by the local Indian traders.

In Smithurst's estimation, the native catechist had ". . . laboured with a degree of zeal and diligence which does him the highest credit. His piety, perseverance and devotedness to the Missionary work fit him admirably for the duty . . . ."16 The first fruits of the implementation of the policy for the employment of native agents for the extension of proselytization inland seemed to be promising at this point. The school children were described as "neat and clean"<sup>17</sup> and a total of forty-seven youths and thirty-eight adults were baptized. Impressed with the responses of the new converts to his examination, Smithurst had felt that there had appeared in each candidate ". . . a deep conviction of the errors of heathenism an earnest desire to seek salvation through Jesus Christ, and

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. That Budd's work fully satisfied his supervisors became evident in 1842 when Cockran opposed the appointment of a Mr. Roberts as his replacement, claiming that Roberts did not display a sufficient amount of sympathy for the Indian. See CMS/A78, Reverend W. Cockran, Grand Rapids, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 9, 1842.

<sup>17</sup> CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1842.

a determination to live according to the word of God . . . ."18

During the embryonic stages of the Cumberland Station Budd was unable to establish the principle of self-sufficiency to any significant degree. Although most of the converted portion of the population were willing to participate in instruction while they were at the station, few were tempted to sacrifice their hunts and employment with the Company as tripmen for the practice of agriculture. Environmental conditions were partially responsible for the lack of response on the part of the natives to live off the soil. The unpredictability of the climate, annual flooding, rocky soil, early frost, and the destruction brought on by the grubs tended to discourage would-be cultivators. The lack of proper equipment only added to the problems with the result that the converts preferred to take their chances with the hunt and the fisheries. Without the supplies received from Red River and England, the survival of the station at this time would have been an impossibility. Flour, barley, fat, shot, gun flints, twine, and fish hooks which were essentials for both subsistence and trading purposes were imported.

The absence of a sufficient labour force also hindered the growth of the mission. Most of the young men, being in constant debt to the Company, were forced to uphold their trading commitments in order to pay for their winter outfits. Those few who could be persuaded to offer their services expected to be paid and would work only under the personal

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<sup>18</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Indian Settlement, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1842.

supervision of Budd. To compensate for this lack of native assistance, the school children were used to assist with the necessary work about the mission premises. The older boys were employed in stoning the fields and gathering firewood. Along with what women could be induced to work, the school girls worked in the mission garden in addition to cleaning the mission buildings and operating the school kitchen.

Pressure from the Hudson's Bay Company post upon the catechist was evident from the moment he arrived. The operators of Cumberland House were not generous with the fort supplies and demanded full price for all provisions. In order to compete with the post for fresh supplies of meat, Budd was forced to pay more for them to the native suppliers than would be offered at the fort.<sup>19</sup> The traders frowned upon this competition and accused the proselytizer of usurping their meat supply through free trading activities.<sup>20</sup> Opposition towards the scheme of settling the natives as agriculturalists was reflected in a variety of ways. Favours such as a new suit of clothes for the chief were doled out by the fort manager, Mr. Harriott, as a means of retaining the loyalty of the band to the Company and the fur trade.<sup>21</sup> Cleverly playing upon the natural value conflicts which arose between the future-oriented catechist and the present-oriented Indian, charges were pressed against

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<sup>19</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst's Account Current for Cumberland House, June 1, 1841. Budd reported that the natives would ask for two and a half skins from him for leather, but only two skins from the Company.

<sup>20</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Rivier du Pas, to Bishop Anderson, January 22, 1844.

<sup>21</sup>CMS/A78, H. Budd, Rivier du Pas, to Reverend J. Smithurst, January 22, 1844.

Budd by one of the traders who claimed that the schoolmaster was keeping the mission provisions for himself while the school children suffered from not being properly fed. Unfamiliar with the rationing system of the Europeans, these charges were conceivable to the Indians:

. . . I do not allow them their whole stock of provisions to eat up in one day; but serve it out to them so much each day; and the custom of the Indians in general, and of these in particular is, to eat up this day all they got and tomorrow will look out for itself . . . .<sup>22</sup>

It was only through the means of this type of rationing system that Budd was able to relieve the starvation which set in during the winter months.

The year 1844 seemed to be the catechist's worst with the Company for in addition to the aforementioned difficulties, was an order sent to Smithurst to investigate Budd's immoral conduct at Cumberland House. However, no proof was ever presented to support the allegation.<sup>23</sup> A similar charge had been laid against James Settee, another Native agent for supplying liquor to the Indians of his area. Apparently, evidence was available which supported this charge.

Prior to the arrival of the European missionary, the native catechist had his first taste of sectarianism in 1843. Camped within one hundred yards of his school, a priest attempted to draw away his congregation.

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<sup>22</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Rivier du Pas, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 2, 1844.

<sup>23</sup>CMS/A76, The Church Missionary Society, to Reverend J. Smithurst, April 2, 1844.

Budd, acting upon the advice of Smithurst was to have left ". . . the matter in the hands of God".<sup>24</sup> Expecting little competition from this professional source of rivalry, Smithurst reasoned that the Cree were naturally prejudiced against the French and would remain loyal to the English who offered them food, clothing, and instruction. This new experience served to sharpen Budd's awareness of the purity of his own teachings and led him to resolve to ". . . be cautious not to introduce into our school or meetings any new . . . imitation of a Church but our own".<sup>25</sup> Therefore, any plans which Budd may have entertained over the adaptation of the Christian religion to indigenous beliefs were discouraged. As far as Budd's journals reveal, he sought to disseminate only the pure doctrines expounded by the Anglican Church throughout the remainder of his service with the Society.

The differing messages of salvation which the two denominations projected to the Indians only served to confuse them, and in effect actually delayed the conversion process. Whereas previously the Indian had a choice between merely two religions, i.e., his own and that of the Anglicans, he now had a third to contend with. This bewilderment over denominational rivalry was aptly summarized in an appeal from Chief Louis Constant to the Reverend J. Smithurst: "My mind is troubled now about

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CMS/A78, Reverend J. Smithurst, Red River, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, December 22, 1843.

CMS/A78, H. Budd, Rivier du Pas, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 2, 1844. Sunday services and Wednesday evening meetings were conducted according to the Church of England. Mrs. Budd assisted her husband by conducting the Bible and Testament classes.

these different religions which I see before me, and my people, nearly the whole of them have left me, and gone to your religion, and I think I shall soon be alone . . . ."<sup>26</sup> The priest, Reverend Jean Darveau, had only limited success at The Pas, and managed to baptize only a few of the Constant children. During his visit to the Cumberland Station in the early fall of 1843, Darveau claimed that he was subjected to persecution and threats from the Protestant sympathizers:

They came to warn me, evidently bent on intimidation, that if I did not depart they were going to drive me away . . . . They would come and snatch away the young people from the catechism to make them go to school . . . . To render Catholics more odious they give them the name Windigo, a fantastic being whose name suffices to make children tremble and puts to flight grown-up people.<sup>27</sup>

Blame for the murder of Darveau at the Baie des Canards was attributed by A. Morice to the hostility towards the Roman Catholic Church which was perpetuated by Budd.<sup>28</sup>

During Budd's some three and a half years as a schoolmaster and catechist prior to the arrival of Hunter, the groundwork was laid for future proselytization in this northern area. In order to alleviate the starvation which plagued the congregation, he had entertained optimistic hopes for the development of a mission farm which would have been worked by the converts until their own farms were flourishing. Although farm lots had been measured by most of the converts, their agricultural activities were limited to the cultivation of potatoes at a farm belonging

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<sup>26</sup>CMS/A78, Louis Constant, Rivier du Pas, to Reverend J. Smithurst, June 14, 1844.

<sup>27</sup>Reverend J. Darveau cited in Reverend A. Morice, History of The Catholic Church In Western Canada From Lake Superior to the Pacific (1659-1895), Vol. I, (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Limited, 1910), pp. 177-78.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 182. There are several variations of the priest's death. One version includes death by drowning, while another claims that he was murdered because he was held responsible for an epidemic which killed a number of children whom he had baptized.



to Charles Cook. At the mission site itself, only one native home had been erected. Due to the fact that The Pas site was considered as being temporary, permanent building was delayed. The progress of the school was also impeded. Burdened with secular responsibilities attached to a developing station, the catechist was unable to hold instruction as regularly as he desired. Both Smithurst and Budd laid the greater part of the blame for the lack of advancement in the field of education with the Company's men whom they felt were prejudicing the natives against the school.<sup>29</sup> In spite of these problems, by 1844 there were a total of ninety-two people listed as candidates for baptism. Any spare moment which the catechist managed to have were spent on writing out translations from various Biblical texts.

The long expected arrival of the Reverend James Hunter in September of 1844, gave a new impetus to the Cumberland Mission.<sup>30</sup> His demands for an increased grant for a church, a new school house, a parsonage, supplies, and livestock revealed his intentions to establish The Pas Station as a viable agricultural Christian village. Plans to move the site to

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<sup>29</sup>CMS/A78, H. Budd, Rivier du Pas, to Reverend J. Smithurst, January 2, 1844.

<sup>30</sup>Hunter had received his education at his hometown in Barnstaple, North Devon. After employment as a conveyancing clerk and a schoolmaster he entered the Church Missionary Society College at Islington in preparation for mission work. Here he was ordained to the Diaconate in 1843 and the priesthood in 1844. His acquirement of the knowledge of medicine which he received while working in the London hospitals was to add greatly to his influence. After the loss of his first wife in November 1847, he was remarried in July 1848 to Jean Ross, the daughter of Donald Ross, Chief Factor at Norway House, who contributed much to his translations. In 1853, Hunter was established as the first Archdeacon in Cumberland.

Cumberland House were discarded once it was discovered that the provisions were in greater need there than at The Pas. For repairs and new construction, a carpenter from Norway House was hired for a three year period.

The new arrival was not impressed with the condition of his charge:

I have to mourn over the covetousness, ingratitude and selfishness of my people, their disposition to find fault, and their apathy in rendering me assistance; - this arises . . . no doubt from their long intercourse with the fur trade . . . .<sup>31</sup>

The source of opposition to his work was with certain members of the Constant party, some of whom preferred to remain heathen while others favoured Roman Catholicism. The degree of discontent on the part of the leaders in particular was significant enough to warrant an attempt on Budd's life during this period.<sup>32</sup> During his ten year residence at the Cumberland site, Hunter was nevertheless able to establish the mission upon a solid footing. The mission farm produced a variety of goods including wheat, barley, potatoes, and numerous garden vegetables. Logs were rafted with the aid of Budd and other hired labourers for the proposed buildings. In 1845 the mission consisted of three main structures: one which housed the Hunter and Budd families, another which was divided into sleeping quarters for the native girls where the kitchen was also located, and the schoolroom where the boys were lodged and the services

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<sup>31</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Cumberland Station, to Reverend R. Davies, September 9, 1845.

<sup>32</sup>W. Heeney, Leaders of The Canadian Church, (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1920), p. 83.

were held. A third building consisted of a storehouse. By 1853, Hunter reported that the mission buildings were completed. In the centre of the settlement were the mission buildings and the farm surrounded by stables and the Indian dwellings with their small garden plots. A lime-kiln had been erected and a steel handmill, which was purchased from Smithurst, was used for grinding cereals. All ironwork was done at the Cumberland House fort.

Believing that Christianity and civilization were complementary objectives, Hunter endeavoured to raise the temporal condition of his charges. Towards this end, he promoted the disintegration of the traditional belief system and attempted to discourage the dependency of the Indian upon the fur trade. To implement this strategy, efforts were made to entice the natural leaders of the band to conversion. Material inducements such as winter outfits of clothing, tobacco, and ammunition were given to a chief who had refused to take a second wife and had refrained from participating in heathen ceremonies.<sup>33</sup> The chief, in turn promised to return in the spring to finish a house and to begin a farm. Willing natives were hired as labourers about the farm and in the building of the various mission structures, which Hunter maintained ". . . not only assists them in a pecuniary point of view, but has made them more industrious, and capable of doing things for themselves; they are now able to

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<sup>33</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, September 28, 1844. One of the first steps which the proselytizer generally took towards the disintegration of the indigenous social system was the discouragement of the practice of polygamy.

construct their own houses and make their Farms".<sup>34</sup> In 1854, Hunter reported that thirty to forty houses which were occupied by the converts existed on either side of the river. Some attempt had been made at agriculture since a few of the families possessed horses and cattle, in addition to small fields of potatoes, barley, and garden vegetables. Most of the residences, however, were occupied for only part of the year by all the members of the family. The women were the most stable sector of the population and were generally left to tend the fields and the cattle while their men went tripping or participated in the fishery systems of nearby lakes. During the winter season, the majority of the population abandoned the village; the women and children operating the fisheries while the able men took advantage of the winter hunt. Only a few were left behind to tend to the cattle at the station, and this element was usually composed of women and a few children. Furthermore, the sick and the infirm were left behind to seek shelter, subsistence, and medical aid at the mission where their survival would be less precarious.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, the previous settlement patterns of the Swampy Cree about The Pas area were modified with the arrival of the proselytizer. Through the influence of Hunter and Budd, the population was becoming more stabilized about the mission premises, and clearly a "quasi" village pattern

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<sup>34</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Cumberland Station, to the Reverend H. Venn, August 2, 1849.

<sup>35</sup>Reverend Hunter's knowledge of medicine increased his influence over the native congregation to the point where the medicine men themselves, while continuing to reject his teachings, submitted to his care. Refer to CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, February 25, 1825.

of residence was replacing the traditional hunting semi-nomadic unit.

In order to ensure the conversion experience of his charges, Hunter felt that it was essential that the abrogation of indigenous beliefs must be foremost in his objectives. Converts were discouraged from attending traditional annual feasts. To further his insight into the values of the natives, Hunter attended their feasts when invited and held frequent discussions with the chief which are meticulously recorded in his letters and journals. At baptism the convert was endowed with a European name to signify the conversion and to further alienate the Native from his traditional ties. During his visit to the Northwest missions in 1844, Bishop G. Mountain of Montreal had advised against the practice of replacing the traditional Native surname as well as the first:

The retention of their original names, with the Christian name as a prefix . . . would have served as a constant mark and of their memento of their having been gathered, with their posterity as a consequence, into the bosom of the Church of God from a state of heathenism; and wherever an individual is made prominent as a Clergyman, a Catechist, or a Schoolmaster, or a helper, in any way, of the cause, an increased interest would be communicated to the report of his proceedings at home -- as in the case of some Oriental converts -- if he were noticed under his Indian appellation.<sup>36</sup>

Physical evidences of the old religion were also objects for attack. For example, a huge stone which had been once worshipped by the Swampy Cree at The Pas called the Painted Stone or Ka Mik Wa Pisa Sik, was rolled into the river.

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<sup>36</sup>G. Mountain, The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal During a Visit to the Church Missionary Society's North-West America Mission, (London: T.C. Johns, 1845), p. 73.

Viewing the European missionary as their rival, the conjurers continued to pose the greatest barrier to proselytization. It was difficult for these traditional leaders to sacrifice their positions of influence within the native society. As noted by Big Buck (Mistahpao),

. . . it was much easier for the other Indians than for persons of his class, to renounce their heathen rites and ceremonies and embrace the white man's religion; many of the Heathen Indians regarded him as their leader, especially in conducting their religious feasts . . . .<sup>37</sup>

However, Hunter felt that the payments received for their medicines and conjurations offered a greater incentive for persistence.<sup>38</sup> It is interesting to note that the European missionary was able to destroy a significant amount of influence which had been enjoyed by the conjurer, at least the more obvious manifestations of it. Mistahpao himself relied upon Hunter for medical supplies for his family. In 1847, two notable conjurers, Okakeek and Nahwaht were baptized along with their families. In the early fall of 1848, the chief, Louis Constant, surrendered his sacred birch-rind roll to the missionary, an object which he had employed as the leader of the Metawin. Four years later, Mistahpao and his family were converted and his son, after being married in the Church, brought Hunter ". . . his conjuring rattles, medicine bags . . . and gave them . . . as proof of his sincerity in embracing Christianity . . . ." <sup>39</sup>

Personal friendships were established with the principal men in order to win their confidence.

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<sup>37</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, February 25, 1845.

<sup>38</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, June 10, 1846.

<sup>39</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, December 26, 1852.

Hunter's first impressions of the school at his arrival in 1844 had been negative. Criticisms were lodged against the lack of a system of instruction, the absence of discipline, and the untidy state of both the children and the school.<sup>40</sup> His general disapproval of the situation was not intended as an attack on Budd's character or his efforts for Hunter attributed this state of affairs to the heavy burden of secular duties which the native catechist had been obliged to execute single-handedly. It was through education that Hunter sought to raise a ". . . more enlightened & less indolent generation . . . ."41 Character development and self-responsibility were the objectives of the school system. Promptness and discipline played an important role in the training of the child. 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, 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. At the school, the students were supplied with their daily rations and in late fall outfits of blankets and clothing sent

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<sup>40</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, September 8, 1844.

<sup>41</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter's Report for the Cumberland House Station for the year ending August 1, 1846.

from the Home Society were distributed. On special occasions, such as Christmas, small treats of cakes and tea were given out to the pupils, a practice which was later extended to include the whole population. The care of these charges became particularly burdensome during times of epidemics and scarcity, with the result that the classes were usually temporarily cancelled.<sup>42</sup> In 1848, Hunter acquired the aid of another school-teacher in the person of a Miss Campbell who had been educated at Red River.

It is necessary to understand Hunter's organization of the spiritual welfare of his congregation in order to appreciate the influence of his scheme upon Budd in later years. Regular Sunday services were held in the Cree language in addition to daily evening prayer meetings. The total number of baptisms rose from two hundred and twelve in 1845 to six hundred and sixty-three in 1854, with one hundred and sixteen registered communicants. Baptisms of those children and adults whom Hunter felt were unprepared, were delayed and those who had received the rites of baptism were discouraged from participating in the rites of communion prematurely.<sup>43</sup> He did, however, deviate from his policy of caution by consenting to baptize the new-born of converted parents. Attendance at the services was sporadic due to the need to scatter into the hinterland for provisions

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., in 1846 an epidemic of measles which had been brought into the area by the boatmen from Red River and Norway House resulted in four deaths at the station.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.



particularly during the winter season. The highest number of attendances occurred in the spring or the autumn when the Indians returned from the hunt.<sup>44</sup> Occasionally, while on the hunt, some of the converts would travel a distance of several hundred miles to partake in communion.

Any estimation of the extent of proselytization amongst The Pas Indians during Hunter's incumbency would be a matter of mere speculation. Generally, the missionaries tended to judge the piety of their converts on the basis of audible and visual displays of devotion and participation in the services. Hunter frequently expressed satisfaction upon hearing the Indians holding morning and evening prayers in their tents or houses, singing ". . . the praises of redeeming love . . . whether present or absent from the Mission Station".<sup>45</sup> Hunter firmly believed that he had ". . . every reason to believe that very many of them are worshipping God not only with their lips, but in some poor measure with the spirit also".<sup>46</sup> No formal church organization was imposed upon the congregation but the oldest and more experienced converts were allowed to conduct evening services in their own homes and while at their fisheries or hunting grounds. Through this manner, it was felt that native leadership and self-support within the institution of the Church would be stimulated.

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<sup>44</sup>Hunter recorded that while an average attendance might drop to less than one hundred during the winter, it would rise to nearly three hundred for Christmas services. By 1854, ninety-two children were registered in the Sunday School.

<sup>45</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Cumberland Station, May 24, 1846.

<sup>46</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Annual Report, Christ Church, The Pas, August 1, 1851.

An outside estimation of the work achieved by Hunter can be found in the reports of two visits made by Bishop David Anderson in 1850 and 1853. The advancement of the establishment was overwhelming to him and as a result he recommended that the station be employed as the centre of proselytizing and translation operations in the northern area. Impressed with the responses on the part of the native students and confirmation candidates to his examination, Anderson described the congregation as ". . . intelligent and well acquainted with the outlines of Christian truth".<sup>47</sup> During his visit, the Bishop displayed his enthusiasm for the mission by consecrating the new Christ Church, an action for which Hunter denied any personal responsibility. The church had been one of Hunter's foremost projects and was supported by the Bishop who not only donated a grant of one hundred pounds from the funds of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for the completion of the buildings and the schoolhouse, but also sent a carpenter from Red River to help with the structures.<sup>48</sup> The land acquisition for the mission buildings had been granted through the authorization of the Northern Council and had received the ratification of Simpson. The Church Missionary Society had preferred, in their policy governing church consecration, to delay such a move while the station was being utilized for proselytization purposes.

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<sup>47</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to the Reverend H. Venn, August 7, 1850.

<sup>48</sup>Much of the carpentry and furnishings had been done by three members of the expedition of Sir John Richardson who wintered at Cumberland House in 1847.

". . . on the grounds that the Society can not pledge themselves to keep up any of its buildings in perpetuity, or to set them apart solely for sacred purposes, or to confine their Agents to the use of the Liturgy".<sup>49</sup>

Anderson's visitation had further implications concerning the method of proselytizing to be followed by both Hunter and Budd. In agreement with Hunter, the Bishop felt that only through the acquirement of a knowledge of the Cree language in Roman characters rather than syllabics could the Indian be expected to adapt English as a major language. Furthermore, Anderson promoted the policy of supplying material rewards to those converts who had displayed an inclination towards settlement. Small gifts were given to the occupants whose houses he inspected. Similar items were to be given out during Christmas or New Year's partly as a reward for settling and as an example of the use of ". . . hospitality towards one another".<sup>50</sup> Articles such as tea, cakes, sugar, flour, pemmican, and fish were doled out to the three principal men of the village who were responsible for sharing the supplies with the inhabitants of the homes about the mission. Later, in 1852, the practice of giving flour, grease, and meat to the home owners assumed the form of a community dinner. While visiting the station for a second time in 1853, the Bishop recommended that a sum of two pounds should be given to each native who would build a house and begin a farm.

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<sup>49</sup>ARL., M/S, Reverend H. Venn, Church Missionary House, to the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, June 5, 1849. Also see CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Christ Church, Cumberland, to the Reverend H. Venn, July 30, 1850 where Hunter feels that a church should not be consecrated until it was on an ecclesiastical footing. For its part, the Society, with its limited financial resources was not willing to increase its financial obligations towards a church that was not self-supporting.

<sup>50</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, January 1, 1850.

Another important project which had been pursued by Hunter with the support of the Society was the scheme to farm out native agents to new areas with their primary function being the gathering of children into schools and the conversion of the adult population.<sup>51</sup> During his incumbency at The Pas the missionary set out to accomplish this end. In 1846, James Beardy, one of the better educated Indians from The Pas was sent to Rapid River. Hymns were copied out for John Ballendine who was in charge of Moose Fort and desired to instruct those who frequented the post. Later, in 1850 John Humphreville was engaged at Moose Lake as a catechist along with Philip Macdonald, a schoolteacher, in the following year. In the same year Peter Erasmus was hired as a schoolmaster at The Pas. Several Natives including Erasmus, Macdonald, and Budd himself were taught the use of the Roman characters in their translations and Hunter undertook the task of preparing them for the Ministry. In addition to these steps toward expansion, the establishment of out-stations to reach the scattered hinterland Indian populations also played an important role in the strategy of proselytization. Visits were paid by Hunter and Budd to Moose Lake, Lac-la-Ronge, Shoal River, Grand Rapids, and Cedar Lake.

From 1845 to 1850, Henry Budd was employed in a variety of tasks about the station which essentially consisted of interpretation, translation, visiting out-stations, and general labour about the mission.

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<sup>51</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Christ Church, Cumberland, to Reverend H. Venn, July 30, 1850. Hunter's scheme would have proven to be a significant financial saving to the Society for according to differential salaries, the salary of one European was expected to support at least two native pastors.

In 1845, he was assisted in his duties upon the arrival of another native agent, James Settee, who wintered with his family at the station before proceeding to Lac-la-Ronge. Although Budd had originally been hired as a schoolteacher, his contribution in the area of instruction was almost non-existent during this period. Hunter's justification for such a move was that "if the Indian were industrious and would work properly for the Goods now lying in my store, Budd might keep school regularly, but they are lazy and impudent . . . ."52 Consequently most of Budd's time was spent as a labourer and a supervisor over his countrymen. Hunter entertained a rather skeptical attitude towards the abilities of the native agents themselves over whom close supervision was enforced:

. . . I feel it a part of my missionary work to attend to these secular matters; for the very best of our native teachers have little idea as to the proper management of property, or forethought to make it last out the required time.<sup>53</sup>

In his spare hours, Budd worked closely with Hunter on the Cree translations, and in spite of his lack of knowledge of the finer techniques of grammar, the European considered him to be ". . . a very good interpreter and Indian Speaker, perhaps the best in the country . . . ."54

The ordination of Henry Budd and James Settee to the Diaconate had been strongly recommended by the Home Society. Bishop Anderson himself

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<sup>52</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Christ Church, Cumberland, to the Reverend W. Cockran, January 6, 1848.

<sup>53</sup>CMS/A78, Reverend J. Hunter, Rivier du Pas, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 9, 1845.

<sup>54</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, Cumberland Station, to the Reverend H. Venn, August 9, 1849.

regarded the step as essential for the development of a better educated and more effective native agency. To further this objective, Henry Budd, his eldest son, and the eldest son of James Settee were brought to Red River to be trained under the personal supervision of the Bishop after his visit north in 1850.<sup>55</sup> During the late fall and winter of 1850, Budd devoted his time to Divinity Studies at Red River. His aptitude for such an undertaking was highly esteemed by the Bishop who advised Venn that "the Society must not expect the same amount of intelligence and accuracy from James Settee or any others now in active service".<sup>56</sup> Upon the completion of his studies and successful examination, Budd was ordained as Deacon on December 22.

Prior to his departure from Red River, the native deacon enjoyed a high degree of popularity in the Settlement and his addresses to both the white and Indian congregations were highly lauded. From the Middle Church District which was largely composed of a Half-breed element came signed petitions containing promises of contributions of grain, cloth, and money for his work in the north. Encouraged with this response and overwhelmed with his new position within the Church, Budd felt that he now would be able to endure any trial to win over his countrymen to the Gospel:

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<sup>55</sup> Bishop Anderson's first acquaintance with Budd's potential for the Ministry occurred during the deliverance of a sermon after which the Bishop decided to effect his ordination by Christmas.

<sup>56</sup> CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to Reverend H. Venn, August 6, 1851.

The more I meditate on the sovereign mercy and love of our Heavenly Father in singling me from my race of Pagan countrymen, and in honouring me with the message of love & mercy to the heathen, the more I feel I cannot do enough for Him; and the more I see the importance of the work before me, as well as my own insufficiency for its performance.<sup>57</sup>

And yet, while he was humbled by his "nativeness", he was also able to appreciate its advantages in the field of proselytization. Unexcelled knowledge of the Cree language and its dialects, in combination with an understanding of the traditions of his countrymen made him feel the importance of his position as a native proselytizer all the more.<sup>58</sup> These qualities, however, did not necessarily include that of tolerance.

Upon his return to Christ Church, Cumberland, in 1851, the new deacon was allowed to share in the responsibility of proselytization to a greater extent than he had in the past. In addition to tutoring Budd in Greek and Latin and preparing him for the Priesthood, Hunter permitted the native agent to participate more in the services and the delivery of the sermons. Essential to Budd's personal development as a proselytizer, this training of the intellect was actually relegated to a secondary role. Budd's most important contribution to the missionary field at this stage was accomplished through his employment as an itinerant amongst the various bands occupying the Shoal River and Moose Lake districts, in addition to the opening of a station further west at Fort a la Corne.

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<sup>57</sup>CMS/A79, H. Budd, Christ Church, Cumberland, to Reverend W. Knight, August 11, 1851.

<sup>58</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Christ Church, Cumberland, to Major H. Straith, Church Missionary Society, August 6, 1852.

From August until June of the following year, Budd was left to conduct the work of the Cumberland Station on his own. This burden was somewhat lightened by the presence of Peter Erasmus, a schoolmaster, thus enabling him to concentrate his efforts upon inland expansion. Undoubtedly influenced by Hunter, he had constantly stressed the role of itinerancy in proselytization ". . . because the heathen Indians will not come over to the church and hear us. . . ."59

## II. Outstations

One of the more frequently visited outstations was that of Moose Lake Fort which was approximately fifty miles northeast of the Cumberland Station. Since 1850 John Humphreville had been employed as a catechist with the dual functions of conversion and establishing a rudimentary educational system among the native converts and the occupants of the fort. In the summer of 1852 Philip Macdonald, another native agent who originally came from Red River was hired as a schoolteacher for the station at an annual salary of eighteen pounds. Budd had been sent to the station by Hunter, along with supplies consisting of a cow, a canoe, school books, desks, forms, and other provisions, for the purpose of initiating Macdonald into his duties at the new station. During the first two years of its establishment, the number of conversions had been minimal due to the opposition of the medicine chief, Two Nails, who personally resisted conversion from the fear that he would be punished for doing so with death.<sup>60</sup> Although preparations had been made for the

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<sup>59</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, May 14, 1851.

<sup>60</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, May 19, 1851.



establishment of a school, Budd was rather pessimistic over the future of the site. The younger men, in fear of the elders, refused to openly express any leaning towards the new faith. Ostracism by the heathen majority served as an effective deterrent for any candidates to Christianity, and in many cases, won back those who had been converted and baptized.<sup>61</sup>

Similar obstacles were experienced with the Shoal River band in 1851. The principal leader, Spreadwing, agreed to settle in the Swan River district where suitable land was available for cultivation provided that an instructor was sent by the Society to teach his people the mechanics of cultivation. One of the major problems involved in the removal of the band to Swan River District consisted in the question of territoriality, for as the chief explained, "we Crees are not the original tenants of this soil: The Saulteaux Indians are, and we don't like to be too forward, in case we should displease them".<sup>62</sup> Resistance to the Gospel on the part of the Shoal River band proved to be too strong to allow for any significant progress. New rites were initiated by the medicine men to ward off Budd's intrusive powers:

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<sup>61</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, May 29, 1851.

<sup>62</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, May 30, 1851. Saulteaux is the name given to the Ojibway who reside west of Manitoba, some having penetrated as far west as the Peace River District, while still others remained on the plains. They, like the Cree belong to the linguistic group, Algonkian. See G. Neville, Linguistic And Cultural Affiliations Of Canadian Indian Bands. (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970), pp. 20-1.

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 some time ago.<sup>63</sup>

In 1854, James Settee initiated the first of three unsuccessful attempts to proselytize among Spreadwing's people in the Swan River district, all three of which had to be abandoned due to scarcity of food, lack of local native support for the mission, and Company opposition.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the wandering nature of the band prevented the establishment of permanent contact with these peoples.

A third, and perhaps the most important outstation established during Budd's career with the Society was at the Nepowewin, across from Fort à la Corne in August of 1852. Originally built in 1753, the post went through a long history of abandonment and reoccupation, and was, according to E. Voorhis, used as a supply depot for Natives occupying the branches of the Saskatchewan River.<sup>65</sup> During the years 1846-48, the fort was reoccupied by the Hudson's Bay Company under its original name of Fort à la Corne. To the Indians, the site of the fort was known as "The Standing Place" or the "Look Out" where they awaited the arrival of the Saskatchewan brigades. Near the site of the station itself was the "Little Garden" where George Sutherland, one of the Plains Indians band leaders planted potatoes.

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<sup>63</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, June 6, 1851.

<sup>64</sup>For more detail concerning the development of mission stations in the Swan River District, refer to J. Klaus, "The Early Missions of the Swan River District, 1821-1869", Saskatchewan History, Vol. XVII, No. 2, (Spring, 1964), pp. 60-76.

<sup>65</sup>E. Voorhis, op. cit., p. 29.

In accordance with Hunter's plan to erect a mission station at the Nepowewin, the local Committee of the Church Missionary Society at Red River granted a sum of one hundred pounds in addition to Budd's salary for this purpose. Impressed with the native deacon's work at The Pas during his absence, Hunter noted that Budd, with ". . . his knowledge and experience his services are invaluable, in farming and carrying on a new station".<sup>66</sup> A preliminary inspection of the site had been made by Budd in the summer of 1851. At that time he counted some twenty-three tents which he claimed were large enough to house three or four families. The proselytizer's first visit was rather well received, part of the reason being that it was discovered that he carried medicine with him. Tolerance also originated from the miscomprehension of Budd's mission among these peoples. In spite of his effort to explain his functions as an instructor in the Christian religion, he was forced to report a year later that

They seem to look upon me more as a trader than a Xtian teacher. I soon however made them understand that I did not come for trade . . . but my object was to teach them their duty to God and their neighbor.<sup>67</sup>

Upon the discovery that Budd had no material benefits to offer, one of the Plains Cree issued him a warning to leave the area for he would be able to command little respect from the Indian: ". . . you will not be able to keep anything, neither horses, nor cattle, and when you sow anything,

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<sup>66</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Christ Church, The Pas, June 28, 1852.

<sup>67</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, September 8, 1852.

they will reap the fruits of your labour, and leave you nothing".<sup>68</sup>

While Budd personally supervised the establishment of the mission he was assisted by Joseph Turner, a blacksmith and a carpenter who had been at one time employed in the Company's service. Turner proved to be a valuable asset to the native proselytizer for he was well acquainted with the Indians who frequented the Nepowewin area. From 1852 until his ordination to the priesthood on July 10, 1853, Budd devoted his labours toward the establishment of the mission station upon a firm footing. Its strategic location, fertile soil, and proximity to the buffalo herds sparked hopes for its employment as a supply depot for future northern missions.

Budd's influence at the Nepowewin Station during his brief sojourn there was almost negligible. One of the greatest barriers to the proselytizing movement in the district consisted in the makeup of the diverse Indian population. Unable to communicate with the Assiniboine in any other manner than through sign language, this native people remained unaffected by his presence. As for the Plains Cree and the Saulteaux, their visits to the fort were infrequent. When they were present at the fort grounds, the revelry, which was aided by the use of rum as a trade article, was not conducive to the practice of proselytization. Subsequently, it was the Woodland Cree who proved to be more susceptible to conversion to Christianity. These natives visited the fort more frequently than the Plains Indians and therefore were more exposed to white influences.

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<sup>68</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, September 8, 1852.

Furthermore, the Woodland Cree were more dependent upon white trade goods for their basic necessities of life than were their kin to the south.

At the initiation of a mission school at Nepowewin, five children along with three more obtained from the fort occupants gathered in Budd's home every forenoon. The program of education consisted of instruction in the use of the Cree syllabic system and the memorization of catechisms. The afternoons were left open to work at translation, a vehicle which was necessary for any effective extension of the Gospel. By June 1853, Budd had translated one hundred and fifty psalms.<sup>69</sup> The remainder of his time was devoted towards secular duties which essentially involved the erection of a storehouse wherein provisions could be locked from prying natives and a temporary mission house which was used as a schoolhouse and a place of worship. Some preliminary steps were taken in the direction of cultivating potatoes and barley, but the mainstays of the mission supplies were obtained through trade with the Indians who provided the mission with fresh buffalo, moose, and deer meat.

Much of Budd's dealings with the Indians around the area had been guided by his experiences and instruction under Hunter. Like Hunter, and many other European missionaries, he shared the view that the "natural" man was inherently evil and malicious:

. . . the saying is true that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, June 15, 1853.

<sup>70</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, October 5, 1852.

Cautionary measures were applied to ensure the proselytizer that the loyalty of those whom he had managed to impress was retained. To accomplish this, forceful pressures were not employed in the winning of conversions and Budd was careful to speak to the natives of the Scriptures only when they seemed to be disposed to tolerate him. However, the following was numerically discouraging and he was relatively unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade the natives to assist him in the construction of the mission buildings. One youth, Antoine, was given to Budd as an aid by his grandmother in return for food. The few others who agreed to work on the mission farm rarely remained for longer than a single day. A contributing factor to the lack of temporal progress at the station was the absence of ploughs or draught animals which were needed to break the ground. Consequently the soil had to be broken with roughly made hoes and the native labour, unexperienced in this type of work were accustomed to leave Budd alone in the middle of the day, with the remark that "It is very hard".<sup>71</sup>

During his brief stay at the Nepowewin Station, Henry Budd was unsuccessful in gaining proselytes. Two of his primary targets of conversion included the Woods Cree chief, Mahnsuk and his brother Wulluck, who was a prominent medicine man. Both were the sons of "Twatt", a carpenter who had at one time been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company at Cumberland House and had taken an Indian woman as his wife.<sup>72</sup> Although

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<sup>71</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, April 30, 1853.

<sup>72</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, September 14, 1852.

he was hospitable towards the native deacon, Mahnsuk was extremely wary of the new religion. Budd's persistent efforts to achieve the loyalty of this man to the Gospel are revealed through the numerous conversations with him which were recorded in minute detail within the pages of his journals.

Basically, the problem of attracting adherents to Christianity developed from the very implications of the conversion experience itself. The acceptance of Christianity demanded not only conformity to the doctrines of a new religion, but also required the adoption of a new life-style with its accompanying values. Such an adaptation was very much in conflict with the autochthonous:

If we never spoke to them about Religion, about the Indians being such great sinners . . . we would be their best friends according to their way of thinking. But when we at once oppose their drunkenness, their polygamy, and their conjurations; the interested men among them begin at once to say that we being strangers ought not to be allowed to propagate among them a new system of living, for that would change the customs they were brought up in, and their fathers died in.<sup>73</sup>

For Ululluck, conversion to the religion of the white man meant that he would never be able to reunite with his dead friends and relatives, who would be, as he explained, in the "Indian heaven". The old chief, Mahnsuk, reflected the general attitude of his people towards proselytization through his explanation for the apathy which they displayed:

My friend, if you had made a large kettle of broth with your flour, all the Indians would be ready to come in when you want them, but as you are merely speaking to them about the praying religion they feel no inclination to go without seeing something to go for.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, October 2, 1852.

<sup>74</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, September 19, 1852.

A second factor which served as a barrier to conversion was the difficulty which Budd experienced in affecting the identification of the Indian with what was essentially felt to be a white man's religion. While the proselytizer insisted that the indigenous native religion was a deviation from an original religion which was once shared by all mankind, Wulluck insisted that the white man and the Indian were always two separate entities and although the Indian may ". . . have theirs from the same Being . . . each one should keep the Religion God has given them".<sup>75</sup> Efforts to explain the concept of sin, an idea central to the Christian religion and the attainment of salvation was in vain for the Indian had no corresponding concept in his indigenous religion. For instance, Mahnsuk pointed out that a murder might be an equivalent to the Christian idea of sin, but an act of theft was not considered as such, the thief being perceived as an unwise man rather than as a sinner.<sup>76</sup>

Budd had very little contact with the natives of Nepowewin area in the winter of 1852 with the exception of the old women who remained behind seeking refuge and who were regular attendants at the prayer meetings. Much of his time was spent in his crudely constructed cabin trying to write out translations with a pen in which the ink constantly froze from the cold. His first meeting with the Plains Indians occurred in November when he was visited by Chief George Sutherland, or Ahkayakseu (Englishman) who had a family of eight sons and an equal number of daughters living

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<sup>75</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, September 8, 1852.

<sup>76</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, October 3, 1852.



with him with their families.<sup>77</sup> Sutherland had previously practiced some gardening where Budd had established the mission. This new friendship proved to be vital for Budd's survival, and that of the mission for he came to depend upon the band for supplies of fresh meat from the plains.

Although the winter proved to be an extremely harsh one, it had its positive blessings as far as the proselytizer was concerned. The cold had driven away the game and some of the Indians were now forced to seek refuge at the fort and mission. Both Mahnsuk and Wulluck were confined to the premises for the remainder of the winter, the former suffering from a frozen foot, while the latter was broken with starvation: "In this way Providence seems to place within reach of the offer of mercy, those who are the least disposed even to give a hearing to the doctrines of the Gospel".<sup>78</sup> For relief from boredom, Mahnsuk began to attend evening prayer meetings and made snowshoes for the mission.

In May of 1853, Budd encountered another Plains Chief, Mukkes or the Fox. Although the chief could not be converted, Budd's liaison with him resulted in another source of supply of fresh meat for the mission. Budd's tolerance and understanding of the awkward position in which conversion would have placed the man was explained through the rationale he

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<sup>77</sup>The Sutherland Band was one of the eight major bands of the Plains Cree. The band traced its beginnings back to 1790 when a Scotsman, Daniel Sutherland left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, married a Cree wife. He took two more wives after their subsequent deaths, and fathered twenty-seven children, the majority of them being sons. See D. Mandelbaum, Lecture Series, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>78</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, December 28, 1852.

he offered to account for his lack of success in proselytization:

It is rather a bold step for them--to confess openly before hundreds of heathens, that they renounce their heathenism and embrace Xtianity, when persecution is most likely to be the consequence of such a daring step.<sup>79</sup>

The Sauteaux in particular were aggressive agitators against the presence of the missionary. Renowned for their medicines and magic spells, the Sauteaux were accused by Budd of pretending ". . . to so much magic, and great power in their medicine. The powerful men will by a word only, put a whole camp of Cree in awe".<sup>80</sup> No progress was made with the Assiniboine whom Budd was forced to constantly chase away for they continued to flock to the mission house seeking trade.

The Woods Cree continued to hold their spring feasts and the fall Goose Dance on the grounds of Fort à la Corne. During these periods, the missionary was obliged to lock up his stores and often expressed his appreciation to Nature for having placed the river between the feasting Indians and the mission. Other than several old women, only one family, that of Muskekwinin, a medicine man of the Wulluck Twatt party, was persuaded to settle at the station.

Relations with the traders and occupants of the fort were cordial and services were held regularly in the fort hall.<sup>81</sup> These services were apparently well attended in spite of the fact that the majority were Roman Catholic. It was through the rectification of the moral fibre of the fort inhabitants that Budd had hoped to curb the distribution of liquor amongst the Plains tribes.

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<sup>79</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, May 13, 1853.

<sup>80</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, January 5, 1853.

<sup>81</sup>CMS/A83, H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, May 22, 1853.

A second fort which was visited in the early spring of 1853 was that of Fort Carlton.<sup>82</sup> Here the missionary found at least twenty-five children belonging to the fort occupants who were old enough to receive instruction. A few books were distributed to the children and copies of the Bible and Testaments were given to the adults. The cause of Carlton House would be pursued by Budd in later years.

The Church Missionary Society and Bishop Anderson were greatly impressed with Henry Budd's service to the missionary field as a deacon. In 1851, his salary was increased from fifty-five pounds annually to one hundred, the lowest salary given by the Hudson's Bay Company to their officers. The fact that Budd was a native was waved by Secretary Venn who reasoned that he ". . . has been so much identified with English habits that the salary was quite proper in his case".<sup>83</sup> In the following year Venn suggested that Budd be placed in charge of pastoral duties at the Indian Settlement in order to further ". . . the establishment of a native pastor upon an independent footing".<sup>84</sup> Anderson, however, feeling that the secular matters of the station would be better handled by a European missionary and probably sensing the potentiality of Budd's contribution in the north and on the plains, did not execute the Society's recommendation.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Fort Carlton was located on the south side of the North Saskatchewan River, and was considered to be the half-way point to Edmonton House. See E. Voorhis, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>83</sup>CMS/A76, Reverend H. Venn, Church Missionary Society, to the Reverend R. James, April 4, 1851.

<sup>84</sup>ARL., M/S, Bishop David Anderson Papers, Reverend H. Venn, Church Missionary Society, to Bishop Anderson, March 29, 1852.

<sup>85</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to Reverend H. Venn, June 23, 1852.

When Anderson paid his third visit to The Pas in July of 1853, Henry Budd was ordained into the priesthood. Deeply humbled with the reception of his new position, Budd felt that

the most solemn vows that man can make to God on earth are now upon me; still greater expectations are raised with regard to my usefulness within this land. The Society in England will expect more from me, the eyes of all the clergy in this country will be upon me, and the eyes of my countrymen are daily upon me.<sup>86</sup>

Following his ordination, the native minister returned to Nepowewin with his family until late spring of 1854. During this period, some progress had taken place. The school attendance had been increased to sixteen and a stable had been built to accommodate the stock which had been sent from the Cumberland Station by Hunter. The most significant event at this time was undoubtedly the baptism of the Woods Cree chief, Mahnsuk. In July of 1854, Hunter took his leave of absence for England and the Nepowewin Station was left in charge of Joseph Turner. Through a personal recommendation from Hunter to the Home Committee, Budd assumed the role of a native pastor at his old station at The Pas:

. . . his intimate acquaintance in the routine business here, and perfect knowledge of the Indian language and character of the people, all combine to make him a very valuable instrument for the good to his country people.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, July 10, 1853.

<sup>87</sup>CMS/A91, Reverend J. Hunter, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, June 11, 1854.

## CHAPTER IV

REVEREND HENRY BUDD: NATIVE PRIEST IN THE PAS AND NEPOWEWIN AREAS,  
1854-1867.

### I. Christ Church, The Pas: 1854-1857

The return of the Reverend Henry Budd to The Pas Station in 1854 proved to be less challenging to him as a proselytizer than the Nepowewin but it did offer him a relatively converted, stable population with which to work. Having assumed the character approaching that of a parochial village while under the direction of Hunter, the permanency of The Pas Station was now ensured. The routine of seasonal subsistence patterns had become well-rooted into the activities of the mission.

Fluctuations in the village population varied with the availability of game and the demands of the fur trade. In the early spring, the able men participated in the muskrat hunt, the prey seeming to be more numerous every year in spite of the extensive trapping. Budd reported that hundreds of thousands of these fur-bearing animals were trapped in the low marshes between The Pas, Cedar Lake, and Moose Lake.<sup>1</sup> During this season he would be forced to terminate school activities for every able person in the village, including the children, was expected to participate in the hunt. Another annual spring activity involved the tapping of maple syrup in the nearby woods where sugar camps were set up. Waterfowl provided the mainstay of their diet in the late spring and again in the fall.

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<sup>1</sup> CMS/A98, H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, March 2, 1868.

The residential patterns in the village were extremely fluid. In the early spring, the young men left to participate as trippers on the many brigades that served the area. Only the women, children, the infirm, and those who were not able to participate in the tripping activities of the Company remained behind to care for the stock and to cultivate their small gardens which consisted mainly of potatoes. The approach of fall brought the return of the men to the village. During this season they assisted with the fall harvest and organized goose hunts. In late autumn the men left for a second time to Cumberland House where they were outfitted for their winter trapping while the remainder of the population remained in the village or operated fisheries in the nearby rivers and lakes. Unfortunately, the months of January and February often resulted in the near starvation of the village occupants for, during this time, the fisheries were generally unproductive due to the cold. The lack of a sufficient supply of fish to tide the population over the winter months resulted from the refusal of the men to operate the fall fisheries instead of hunting geese.

Following the scheme initiated by Hunter, Budd strove to improve the spiritual growth of his charges. Both adults and children were instructed in the Liturgy of the Church of England through rote learning:

In that part where the people repeat the responses with the Minister, I make them repeat with me over and over, and intend to continue this exercise every morning until they are able to say that portion . . . . By this means, though they are not able to read our translations in the Cree language, they will at least be able to repeat the responses with the Minister according to the Rubrick in the Common Prayer Book.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 5, 1851.

Daily morning and evening prayers were diligently conducted in the homes of converts. Following Sunday services the Indians generally gathered in their houses in groups, ". . . talking about what they have heard, and asking each other questions . . . they remember of the sermon . . ."3

Occasionally Budd would personally assemble the natives in their own homes for prayers and hymn singing in order to encourage the habit of conducting family devotion. During these visits and at the services Budd would select passages from the Bible for explanation which he felt would attract and interest his congregation the most. In order to check the sincerity of the devotion of his charges, Budd frequently visited the homes for ". . . then we can enter the state of their minds, then they speak freely, and one can judge whether they are growing in Grace . . ."4

Although one may be tempted to doubt Budd's optimistic outlook of the depth of the Christian experience displayed by his congregation, measures were taken to encourage only sincere conversions. The rites of baptism and confirmation were generally not available to those who had not received some formal instruction and an examination in Christian doctrines and scriptural knowledge. A similar practice was executed with the prospective communicant. As previously indicated, although Budd consented to baptize the newborn of Christian parents, this privilege was not extended to the child of a heathen parent. Consequently, the baptismal

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<sup>3</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 17, 1854.

<sup>4</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Nepowewin, August 20, 1854.

rites were delayed until the child had been instructed in the Christian religion or the parent had been converted. Communicants generally arrived for the attendance of Sunday services the previous Saturday during which a meeting was held to encourage the convert to participate in self-examination and relate his Christian experience. At this time Budd would examine their general knowledge of the content of the sermons and weekly lectures, in addition to taking the advantage of the opportunity ". . . for ascertaining how far they do understand of what they hear and . . . to ask . . . any question regarding which they are in doubt."<sup>5</sup>

As the human representation of Divine authority on earth, the minister functioned as a social mediator as well as an interpreter of Divine revelation. This role reinforced the atmosphere of paternalism which characterized the relationship of the minister with his "child-like" flock. Now a priest, Budd was able to refuse participation in communion rites as a vehicle of social control over deviant behaviour on the part of the convert. For example, in 1854, this threat was employed as a device to check the actions of two married couples who were in the habit of quarreling:

As they were communicants, I wished to warn them that in case they did not go on better, I must keep them in suspense, and not allow them to come to the Sacrament until they show themselves worthy of it.<sup>6</sup>

The new converts did possess a discriminating and rigid Christian conscience, often to the astonishment of the native pastor himself. Some felt that they had sinned for hunting or travelling on a Sunday, while others considered the existence of an unpaid debt as a trespass. And as Budd remarked,

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<sup>5</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Church Mission Station, Devon, October 19, 1867.

<sup>6</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, October 10, 1854.



"so tender are the consciences of these people that they scruple at the least failing and think that every sin they commit through infirmity of ignorance may exclude them from partaking of the Communion".<sup>7</sup>

Again, observable displays of piety provided Budd with the evidence he desired as proof of the congregation's depth of conversion. During the Sunday services, he rejoiced upon hearing the singing and responses of the people and observed that "the Indians take a particular delight in singing, as they sing and understand the hymns, in their own language".<sup>8</sup> Numerous passages in his journal relating conversations with the ill and dying are illustrative of Budd's satisfaction and at times envy of the spiritual and corporal submission of his charges to the Christian God. He gained much encouragement from "deathbed" confessions of Christian devotion and faith in the afterlife. And the opportunities of such experiences increased with the presence of yearly epidemics and starvation which obliged him to travel from house to house with medicine and food for the sick:

It does my own heart good to visit the poor people in their afflictions: their simple trust in the mercy of God; their meekness and humility under chastisement, and their humble resignation to the will and pleasure of God, fills me with admiration approaching envy, and gratitude to Almighty God . . . .<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, April 7, 1855.

<sup>8</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 3, 1854.

<sup>9</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 30, 1856.

The growth of literacy through the use of the Cree syllabic system among the adult population contributed to Budd's influence over the adult sector of the village. By 1854 Budd was able to report that most of the older people were able to read and write in Cree Syllabics, many of them having been taught by their offspring who were allowed to take their school books home for this purpose. Most possessed copies of the Testament or the English variation of the Bible in their homes which were read to the parents by their children. Some even inquired after translations from the missionary to read while they were absent from the village during the hunting season. By the summer of 1857 there were a total of seven hundred and forty-six baptized converts listed in the register and approximately one hundred communicants.

The school also seemed to be progressing during this period, numerically increasing to a total of ninety pupils. Both English and Cree were taught in the school, although the former was generally reserved for the higher classes. In addition to the regular day school, Sunday school which included scriptural education, was held and accommodated those youth who did not attend during the week.

Encouragement for the adults to send their children to the school was achieved through a variety of means. Every late autumn, clothing and blankets were supplied gratis to the pupils. Although distribution was determined according to need, Budd made it a practice of giving more to the better students, or those who would likely be attending school during the winter.<sup>10</sup> Daily food rations of fish were also distributed

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<sup>10</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, October 25, 1854. At this time, clothing was distributed to sixty children.

to the children to take to their homes to be cooked. Interest in instruction was also induced through the holding of school examinations in public in the Cree language after an evening prayer meeting. Such a procedure served not only as a display of a pupil's progress, but functioned as an educational device for the parents themselves. Following these examinations, Budd would explain the examination material, which was largely scriptural, to the parents. A more discriminatory check on the parents was instituted when the native minister assumed the role of truant officer and rounded up the children to school. Generally, the parents merely received a sound reproof for their laxity and leniency. Much to his disappointment, Budd found it impossible to attain permanent control over the native children for the hunt required the cooperation of every available hand: ". . . we cannot keep the children together for a long time, and just the time they would be getting on and beginning to understand what they are doing they always leave the School".<sup>11</sup>

Due to the harshness of the environment, the missionary struggled side by side with his charges in order to establish the village on a firmer economic base. Towards this end, the creation of an agricultural community was foremost in Budd's mind. However, the establishment of a self-sufficient mission farm proved to be a continuous battle with the early frost, grubs, the unpredictable climate, and the flooding of the Saskatchewan River. In many instances the hay was cut while still under

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<sup>11</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, August 14, 1855.

water and transported to higher ground to dry. In times of scarcity cattle were sent to Moose Lake to winter. The local population provided a source of labour for the mission farm, but this assistance was not voluntary. Even older people were hired to do odd jobs in order, as Budd explained, to enable them to earn something for themselves instead of depending on charity.<sup>12</sup> Hired fishermen for the mission were outfitted by the mission with nets, lines, sleds, and dogs for the winter fisheries. Furthermore, Budd frequently distributed nets and lines for loan when necessary and at other times made a personal loan of his boat and dogs to the local fishermen who repaid him with their share of the catch. The precarious economic position of the station demanded that outside assistance be continued. Supplies were shipped from Red River through the network of brigades and a mission boat generally went to York Factory in the fall for supplies from England. Being the most developed Anglican station in the district of Cumberland, The Pas served as a distribution centre for outstations located at Nepowewin, Moose Lake, and English River.

Undoubtedly, one of the most important functions of the mission continued to be that of a place of refuge for the natives, particularly throughout the harsh winter months. Outcasts from heathen bands, such as the blind or the widowed, rendering an extra burden upon their own peoples, often settled near the mission because they received better

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<sup>12</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, February 10, 1855.

treatment from the Christian Indian.<sup>13</sup> Charity work was an essential aspect of the life of the mission station. Widows, orphans, the old, and the infirm were recipients of donations in clothing which were sent from the Home Society. Throughout the Christmas season, Budd retained the practice of distributing pemmican, flour, and grease to every family, according to the number of occupants in each house.<sup>14</sup> The reception of the local population into his home for tea and cakes during New Year's, which became an annual event, not only produced an air of hospitality in the community, but served to strengthen the bonds between the pastor and his people.

The closeness of relationship which Budd achieved with his charges was one which was unexcelled in later years by his successors. When possible, he worked together with the local population during haying time and visited them at their fisheries to conduct prayers or services for them. Family prayers were shared with the native girls who worked in the kitchen and any of the congregation who dropped by for this purpose. During the lengthy illness of his daughter, Mary Ann, some of the village women watched over the child with the minister and his wife. That Budd's position within the village was viewed as more than that of a representative of God and an institutionalized church was revealed by the fact that some degree of charismatic authority and power equal to that possessed by

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<sup>13</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 11, 1854.

It should be noted that often more than one nuclear family occupied a house, and in some cases up to three families were reported to be living in the same dwelling.

the shaman was attributed to him. This seemed particularly true of the older people. For example, in 1856 he was approached by an old woman for dream interpretation, which he refused to perform:

. . . we never give them much encouragement to place faith in their dreams, we give them a hearing but take no notice . . . because in their heathen state they make their dreams a part of the objects of their worship and veneration.<sup>15</sup>

By 1856, Budd's concept of the role and functions of the proselytizer among the northern natives had become formulated and would remain as the guideline for his future work among his peoples:<sup>16</sup>

A Missionary in this country should never think that the time which is not spent in preaching, or teaching, is his own, for he is to be every thing and do everything, indeed his teaching and preaching though attended with great responsibility, is in a manner light when compared to the amount of labour he has to do . . . of a secular nature, especially where there is nobody but natives to get to do it: for then, he must show them how to do it, he must be with them and conduct them while they are doing it, and see that it is done as he wished it when it is finished, so that whether he is in the Pulpit, or in the fishing tent, or in the sawing tent, is all Missionary work; for as the one is labour for the soul, so is the other for the body. A Missionary acquainted with the Native turn of mind, and knowing the language, can easily turn any subject in conversation to the benefit and instruction of these Indians.<sup>17</sup>

As a supervisor for proselytization in The Pas area, Budd was responsible for the coordination of the work carried on at the out-stations.

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<sup>15</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, August 1, 1856.

<sup>16</sup>Due to the fact that Budd rarely digressed on his own personal philosophy of proselytization, the present writer feels justified in including the following passage within the text.

<sup>17</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 20, 1856.

Frequent itineration was rendered possible through the presence of the schoolmaster, Philip Macdonald, who had been personally trained by Budd to translate in addition to conducting services and prayers during his absence from the station. Quarterly visits were made to Moose Lake where, in 1854, Henry Cockran, a native agent from Red River, had arrived to assume charge of the station.<sup>18</sup> Two years later, he returned to Red River to prepare for ordination and was replaced with the young James Settee. A regular system of instruction had been established. However, the attendance tended to be fluctuating in nature, ranging from twenty-eight to twelve children. A number of the students were boarded at the school.

Spiritually, the work of the mission was discouraging. By 1856, there were approximately twenty communicants who frequented the station; some of whom travelled to The Pas to attend the services there. The conjurers continued to remain actively opposed to the presence of the proselytizers among their peoples, and were successful in winning back some of the converts. Although a few remained faithful, Budd bemoaned the fact that: "they used to be overcome by the heathen party almost as soon as they embraced Christianity and every year we had to mourn over backsliders . . . ."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, August 3, 1854.

<sup>19</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Cumberland, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 17, 1856.

There was little hope for a self-supporting station at the site of Moose Lake. While some of the converts had promised to build homes and cultivate the ground around the station, they were discouraged due to the lack of proper equipment and the hardships involved in tilling the stoney soil. Relations with the fort manager, John Ballendine, were extremely hospitable, and as a sympathizer with the efforts of the Society, he personally spoke to the natives who traded at the post about Christianity and distributed Bibles and translations among the fort occupants.

Cumberland House also came within the scope of Budd's supervisory duties. Despite the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company refused to support the establishment of a mission station at the post, Budd's work was well received by the fort inhabitants.<sup>20</sup> During his visits to the fort, morning services were held for the Company's servants in Hardisty's main hall and the missionary was lodged in the McGillivray home. A later service was held in Cree for the natives of the area, the attendants being Woodland Cree.

In general, relations with the Hudson's Bay Company servants were cordial in the Cumberland District. However, the Company's adjustment of a higher pemmican tariff at Norway House did have implications for Hunter, Budd, and Hunt of English River who were money purchasers. No official complaint was lodged against the Company for this action by Bishop Anderson who explained that he did not wish to breach the goodwill

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<sup>20</sup> CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, August 23, 1856.



of the Company.<sup>21</sup> Obviously, the Bishop was referring to the resolution of the Northern Council which had, despite its reluctance to allow the establishment of inland missions, sanctioned a future station at the York Fort.<sup>22</sup> In times of scarcity, the forts spared no pemmican to the mission stations and in 1855, it was reported that no provisions were forthcoming from the Saskatchewan brigades. As the various brigades travelled through The Pas area, most stopped to pay a visit to The Pas Station; many of the trippers often attending church services. In 1855, the first free traders were reported in The Pas area,<sup>23</sup> and the apprehension of the presence of this new element led Budd to implement a more active anti-liquor crusade.

In June of 1856 Reverend Henry George and his wife arrived at the station. George had been sent by the Society and Bishop Anderson in order ". . . to combine the advantages of native experience and European superintendence".<sup>24</sup> Under Budd's instructions George acquired a knowledge of the Cree language and the knowhow of the management of inland missions. Sermons were translated by Budd to enable George to address his congregation.

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<sup>21</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to the Reverend H. Venn, Church Missionary Society, August 30, 1853. Hunter claimed that the new price made a difference to the Cumberland Station of at least sixty to seventy pounds a year. See CMS/A79, Reverend J. Hunter, York Factory, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 24, 1853.

<sup>22</sup>CMS/A79, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River, to the Reverend H. Venn, Church Missionary Society, August 30, 1853.

<sup>23</sup>CMS/A83, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 28, 1855.

<sup>24</sup>ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Church Missionary Society, Bishop's Court, Red River, October 31, 1855.

Less optimistic than his fellow proselytizer, Reverend George was not impressed with the conditions which prevailed at the station. Annoyance was expressed at the severe fluctuation in school attendance which at times dropped from forty-two to less than twelve. The adult population was described as composing a decent and orderly congregation but he had little praise for the daily behaviour: ". . . I have to witness human nature in all its ugly deformities, and perhaps ingratitude and pride are the most prominent."<sup>25</sup> Budd's enthusiastic reports of progress were tempered by George's negative attitude:

. . . abject poverty surrounds us . . . the prodigality and indolence of the Indian, contracted in the hunting grounds is a complete barrier to all advancement. The most opulent amongst us can only boast of his house, ox & horse together with a small patch of potatoes. And such cases are rare, as there are not 30 head of Cattle nor 12 horses, among two or three hundred Indians.<sup>26</sup>

After a year's sojourn at the mission station, George, having experienced the hardships of the area came to appreciate the necessity of maintaining the seasonal hunt as a vital economic activity for the support of the station. As a solution to the destitute character of The Pas Station, George proposed the establishment of the Nepowewin Station on a permanent footing in order that it might supply and support The Pas.

As European supervisor of the Cumberland area, George preferred to employ the native agents in the task of breaking new ground for missionary

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<sup>25</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. George, Christ Church, Cumberland, to the Reverend J. Chapman, Church Missionary Society, July 18, 1857.

<sup>26</sup>CMS/A79, Reverend H. George, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, August 7, 1856. See Appendix VI for an 1856 census of The Pas Station which was recorded by George. This is the only complete census available for the station.

work. Budd himself seemed to appreciate the policy which released him from "parochial" duties and allowed him the freedom to travel to the various outstations. Subjects were added to the school curriculum including scriptural history and geography which were designed to promote the "mental culture" of the native.<sup>27</sup> Stricter disciplinary measures were taken; for example, the use of the foolscap, and the punishment of flogging for lying. Much to the irritation of the native parents, George, in accordance with Bishop Anderson's recommendation, stressed the use of the English language in the school. His unpopularity was further increased with the suggestion that the Christian Indian should be responsible for clothing their own children: "we are looked upon in no other light than distributors of bounty, and if we do not meet their wants they are offended and absent themselves from the House of God . . . ."<sup>28</sup> His lack of command of the Cree language only added to his problems and lack of control over the congregation. For his use, Budd had translated a little book entitled "Come to Jesus" which contained a number of brief and simple sermons.

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<sup>27</sup>CMS/A87, Reverend H. George, Journal, Christ Church, Cumberland, September 30, 1856.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., It was George's lack of enthusiasm and optimism in his reports that prompted the Bishop to replace him in 1859. He was located at a mission nearer to white settlement on the Mud River, later known as Westbourne.

## II. Nepowewin Station: 1857-1867

On May 25, 1857, Budd and his family proceeded to the Nepowewin Station.<sup>29</sup> Two years previously, Thomas Cook and his wife had been sent to the station from Red River to replace Peter Erasmus.<sup>30</sup> Much to his consternation, there had not been a single conversion since his departure from the station in 1854. Overwhelming odds had seemed to hinder any significant progress and for Budd, it was taken as a personal defeat:

. . . unless I am strengthened and upheld by the grace of Almighty God, I cannot maintain my ground against all the various and multiplied evils which always attaches itself living among the heathen . . . It is a very humbling thought, that we have brought in so few into the Church of God from among the heathen world.<sup>31</sup>

The distinctiveness and uniqueness of the Plains tribes in comparison with the Woods Cree was perceived by Budd and served to direct his program of conversion. This took the form of persistent appeals in his correspondence and journal entries for the freedom to itinerate amongst the wandering tribes. The infrequent visits made by the Plains Indians to the fort posed the greatest barrier to any permanent type of influence over these peoples. Due to the distribution of rum as a trade article, the Indian traders proved to be unapproachable on the fort grounds as far as proselytization was concerned.

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<sup>29</sup>At this time, Budd's family included two sons, Henry and John West, who with a daughter, Mary Ann, had left with the Bishop for Red River in 1853. Four other daughters accompanied him to Nepowewin.

<sup>30</sup>Thomas Cook was later ordained in 1861, along with Henry Budd, Jr. In 1857 he was sent to reorganize the dispersed school at the Moose Lake Station.

<sup>31</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, May 25, 1857.

To counteract the disintegrative activities of the Hudson's Bay Company, Budd adapted his method of proselytization to the situation. As a solution, he proposed that the Indian should be subjected to the Gospel while still at their hunting grounds. In this manner, the population would be well separated from the negative influences present at the fort. In accordance with his fellow proselytizers, Budd perceived the proper function of the Society's agents in the area of itineration rather than in the supervision of parishes. This approach in the Nepowewin area was necessitated by the reorganization of trading patterns occurring on the plains. By 1859, many of the Plains Indians ceased to frequent Fort a la Corne since the Hudson's Bay Company had established new forts in their own territory to the southwest in order to compete with the free trader.<sup>32</sup> Because of this new factor, Budd had come to the conclusion that ". . . to go out and tent with them at their own camps, and attack Satan on his own dominions, is the only way to get these wanderers brought in by whole tribes".<sup>33</sup>

With the transference of Thomas Cook to Moose Lake, Budd was obliged to operate the Nepowewin Station singlehandedly.<sup>34</sup> In communication with

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<sup>32</sup>H. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 331. Innis indicates that after 1861, the free trader was present in the Saskatchewan area, and a year later at Cumberland House. Budd himself reported the presence of free traders in southwestern Saskatchewan as early as 1859.

<sup>33</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 16, 1861.

<sup>34</sup>In 1856 the total population frequenting Fort a la Corne was estimated at three hundred. See Hind, op. cit., pp. 150-1. At Nepowewin, Budd did employ local assistance of Benjamin and Joseph Turner, the former engaged as a hunter for the mission, while the latter did the carpentry work as well as hunted.

Bishop Anderson, he revealed his dismay over the conflict which he felt between his obligations to the Society to establish a permanent mission station at the Nepowewin and his duties as an itinerating proselytizer.<sup>35</sup> To overcome this problem, he persuaded an old Christian Indian, James Beardy to remain with the Plains Cree over the winter, tenting among them in order to expose them to the fundamentals of Christianity. To ensure greater personal freedom for itineration, he employed his fifteen year old daughter in the school and in 1860, his son, Henry, was given full charge of the school.<sup>36</sup>

The primary objective of Budd's program was the stabilization of the Plains Cree by encouraging them to establish residences at the mission station. The axiom of civilization through cultivation was somewhat assisted by the decrease in available game. This human stress on nature was duly employed in Budd's strategy for the ultimate settlement of the Cree:

. . . as the Indians find the wild animals getting scarce they see plainly that they must go to the ground, and try to raise their livelihood from thence. Therefore some of them have made a beginning in breaking out some ground, and planted potatoes . . . . This will keep them more to the place, and be the means of giving their children the opportunity of coming to the school more frequently.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, May 7, 1860.

<sup>36</sup>Henry Budd, Jr. had been sent by Anderson to attend the Islington College of the Church Missionary Society but due to illness he was forced to return before the completion of the course. He was sent to assist his father at the Nepowewin, and although he proved to be popular with the children, he suffered greatly from frequent hemorrhaging.

<sup>37</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to Major Straith, the Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1859.

The establishment of a friendly rapport with the natives of the area was one of Budd's primary means of gaining some influence over them. Relations with the Woods Cree were more hospitable than with the Plains Indians. Obviously, the Woods Cree regarded Budd with some degree of esteem for they invited him to attend their Goose feasts. Budd's ingenuity in exploiting every situation to proselytize is revealed through one of his comments concerning the events of a Goose Feast which he attended:

. . . one of the head singers began a conversation by asking me which of the Gods is it that first proposed this dance. I was glad to answer his question, and many more of the rest began to gather about me . . . . This gave me . . . encouragement to say a great deal more than I otherwise could, at least in the dancing tent. Having sat with them for two hours, I put down a few sticks of tobacco and paid for my passing out . . . ."38

A friendship was established with the Plains Indians, Mistowasis (Big Child) and the Crane, both of whom occasionally supplied the mission with fresh meat from the plains.<sup>39</sup> Budd's relationship with the chief Mistowasis revealed a toleration which was not evident in earlier years for the chief was allowed to attend the two evening services with both of his wives. Trips were made to Moose Woods where Mistowasis was the principal headman. Although the village was essentially composed of free

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<sup>38</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, August 28, 1858. Whether or not Budd adapted indigenous beliefs to Christianity is unknown. No specific instances are evident in the journals sent to London.

Mistowasis belonged to the band called the "House People" because they gathered about the various posts of the Company and often met at Fort Carlton. Mistowasis lived exclusively off the prairie and hunted along the South Saskatchewan, supplying Fort Carlton with meat and buffalo pelts. See D. Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree", *op. cit.*, p. 166.

traders and Roman Catholics, Mistowasis allowed the proselytizer to spend a summer among his peoples in addition to undertaking the instruction of his children.<sup>40</sup> Upon recalling the reality of the existence of various Cree types and their differing cultural backgrounds, the friendship and trust received from Mistowasis should not be underrated. For whether Budd, as a Swampy Cree, truly understood the Plains Cree is a matter for debate. Considering the rarity of their presence at the Nepowewin site, he would hardly have had the opportunity to establish a meaningful rapport with them.

The inevitability of conflict arising from the stationing of a native agent in an out-group situation, i.e., a Swampy Cree among the Plains Cree was a problem which was not considered by the Society. This was probably due to the tendency to stereotype Indians as a single cultural group and the relative lack of native agents, particularly in new areas of expansion. In a report of 1858 by Henry Y. Hind, the surveyor severely criticized the Church Missionary Society and the Local Committee for their lack of foresight in this matter:

It is a wrong policy to send a Swampy Cree among the Plains Cree, or an Ojibway amongst the Crees, as a teacher and minister of religion. These highly sensitive and jealous people do not willingly accept gifts or favours which involve any recognition of mental superiority in the donor from one not of their own kindred, language, and blood; although he may be of their own race. An Ojibway remains always an Ojibway, and a Swampy Cree, a Swampy Cree, in the eyes of the haughty and independent children of the prairies, and they will never acknowledge or respect them as teachers of the "white man's religion".<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, February 27, 1858.

<sup>41</sup>H. Hind, op. cit., p. 324. This opinion was formed on the basis of Hind's reaction to the presence of James Settee at the Qu'Appelle Mission.



Evidently, the native proselytizer saw his "Creeness" as the only necessary common link with his Plains neighbors.<sup>42</sup> This lack of insight undoubtedly accounts for his inability to understand the relative lack of personal influence among the Plains Cree in comparison to the Woods Cree.

Unlike the Church Missionary Society, the existence of the diversity of the Cree Indians was accommodated by the Hudson's Bay Company and is revealed through its policies to meet the demands of the various groups.<sup>43</sup> While the inhabitants of the Woodland regions and the northern barren plains were to be subordinated and made to feel their dependency upon the Company, the Plains Indians received a much different treatment out of the fear that if their demands were not met, they, being more independent than their northern neighbors, could easily revert back to the previous lifestyle. Thus, these peoples were treated with ". . . mild and cautious measures".<sup>44</sup> This differentiation also accounted for the comparatively slow withdrawal of liquor on the plains. In his report to the Governor and the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822, George Simpson clearly stated the policy which was to remain constant throughout the period under study:

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<sup>42</sup>This identification with the Plains Cree was limited however, for his "Victorianess" isolated him from his peoples so that he felt that he was in a "heathen land, . . . where Satan reigns". See CMS/A79, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 13, 1853.

<sup>43</sup>Governor G. Simpson, Fort Garry, to A. Colville, May 20, 1822, cited in F. Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 179.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

. . . while we have occasion for such large quantities of Provisions I fear it must continue a staple article of Trade as we cannot afford to purchase them with any other description of Merchandise: the Indians are moreover so independent of European commodities that they would not take the trouble of hunting in order to provide themselves with any other articles, and so formidable that it is absolutely necessary to indulge them for the safety of the people and the Establishments . . . .<sup>45</sup>

As the native minister experienced in the other stations of the area, the first adherents to Christianity were usually widows and the older women who sought shelter at the mission station and came under his constant influence. Other adherents, were obtained as "sacrificial" offerings or compensation for a fulfilled supplication to the traditional deities. An example of this type of conversion was described by the missionary in 1857 in connection with a principal man, The Fox, whose rationale for the procedure was as follows:

Here is a little girl I brought, she is to be your little girl now. When she was very sick some time ago, and I had tried everything I could think of, but seeing it was all in vain, I asked the Master of life that if He would raise her up again, I would give her up to be taught the principles of your Religion; and now she has recovered . . . I therefore brought her to you.<sup>46</sup>

Similar conversions were also recorded for the Cumberland House area. In some cases, the adults, while refusing to personally commit themselves to conversion, did assent to send their children to the school. Still others, in sickness or in mourning, found little comfort in their traditional beliefs and therefore sought solace in Christianity.<sup>47</sup> To the majority of

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<sup>45</sup>George Simpson cited in R. Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940), Appendix II, p. 352.

<sup>46</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, June 10, 1857.

<sup>47</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, October 28, 1858.

the heathen, Budd simply represented another competing medicine man who possessed the charismatic qualities attributed to their own shamans. This attitude was expressed in the quality of sympathetic magic attached to the praying people's medicine for some feared that the missionary would ". . . put something in the medicine which will force them to become praying people too".<sup>48</sup>

Throughout the ten years of Budd's incumbency at the Nepowewin Station, the primary function of the mission from the viewpoint of the native population was that of a place of refuge for the more burdensome members of the band. The practice, although encouraged by Budd, did possess an aspect of spontaneity for the minister indicated ". . . the widows and the aged men never fail to be at the place for they are left on purpose by their young people".<sup>49</sup> Some viewed the mission station as another source of employment and women were hired to work on the mission farm while men were engaged as hunters and trippers for the mission boat. Although these assistants seemed eager to work in order to obtain clothing for their children, the engagement of the local population for secular work about the station had its negative aspect. Constant supervision on the part of the missionary was necessary for, as Budd related, ". . . they

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<sup>48</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, April 10, 1857. Budd received the title of "The Praying Chief" from the natives of the Cumberland area which confirmed their perception of him as another native religious leader.

<sup>49</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, July 12, 1859.

know little about working regularly, and give us all the trouble of teaching them".<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of its apparent drawbacks, native employment was viewed as an opportunity to acculturate the Indian into the lifestyle of the Christian:

. . . it not only teaches them to work and thereby get clothing for themselves; but it likewise brings them in close contact with our holy Religion, and they cannot entirely avoid from coming to the Evening prayers and hearing something from God's holy Words.<sup>51</sup>

Conversions increased throughout his years at the Nepowewin. By 1864, the baptism record stood at ninety-eight with more families being prepared for baptism. Budd's philosophy concerning the reception of a convert into the church was partially responsible for the small number of conversions. "The number of baptized would have far exceeded the number we have in the Register, if to swell the number was our only motive . . .", he once commented, ". . . but to save souls being the main object in view, we choose . . . to make them wait until they have been thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion . . . ." <sup>52</sup> The converts consisted almost entirely of the Woodland Cree peoples.

The depth of Christian experience accompanying conversion is debatable. Simultaneous with his satisfaction over the child-like submission of the converts to the Gospel came disillusionment over the observable collapse of his efforts resulting through the liquor trade and the power of ostracism over the new converts:

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, July 13, 1860.

<sup>52</sup> CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July 8, 1864.

It is with much difficulty that we can keep our own Indians . . . The Indians of the opposite party have their influence and the attraction of . . . rum is so great, that we have sometimes a hard struggle to keep at least our Converts from running into the sin of drunkenness.<sup>53</sup>

In order to counteract this offensive against his work, converts had been persuaded to transfer their residences to the mission side of the river as an insulation from the immoral distractions of fort life. However, in spite of these precautions, some of his charges were enticed by their friends to the fort to join with their countrymen in the celebrations, and occasionally rum was brought on to the mission premises by visiting heathens.<sup>54</sup> The necessity for the converts to hunt to supplement their meagre gains from the soil brought them into contact with the heathen, and thus afforded another potential source of disruption to Budd's influence. Prior to the hunting trips Budd would warn his charges ". . . not to mix up the religion of Christ, with the vain superstition & rites of the heathen".<sup>55</sup> Prayer books to be taken along to read during the hunt were constantly requested by the converts. Similar demands also came from the illiterate quarter of the population who attached supernatural powers to the religious materials. Thus, they ". . . would have some portion of the word of the Good Spirit in their possession, as a sort of charm to defend them from the Evil Spirit".<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, September 1, 1860.

<sup>54</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 16, 1864.

<sup>55</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, May 3, 1867.

<sup>56</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, April 26, 1867.

In comparison to the Woods Cree, those natives of the plains were less receptive to Budd's teachings. Their prosperity accumulated from trade and their comparative independence of the European contributed to a false atmosphere of tolerance. In general, the missionary was well received by the Plains Cree, who were reported to be ". . . civil & even feel a pride to be honoured with a visit . . ."57 Beneath this display of hospitality, however, lay an apathy and indifference which was incomprehensible to the proselytizer. Budd noted that the natives ". . . generally sit still & listen to what you have to say; tho' too often they pay but little regard to it".58

Because of the difficulty experienced in the abrogation of the ingrained traditional beliefs of the adult population, Budd perceived the offspring or second generation as the more likely potential foundation of a native Christian village in the area. Essentially the school was to serve as the vehicle for dispelling the prejudices displayed by the adults towards Christianity.<sup>59</sup> The success of the school, however, fell far below expectations. The use of the English language in the instruction program proved to be a dismal failure. As a result of his experience at The Pas and the Nepowewin Stations, Budd now recommended a shift of emphasis to the Cree language:

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<sup>57</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, April 15, 1867.

<sup>58</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, April 7, 1865.

<sup>59</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 15, 1862.

. . . the difficulty of making them understand what they read in the English language is very great. If they did understand it still to get them to answer the questions put to them from what they have read, and answer in English, is a task too much for one patience. They seem to be quite shy of the English.<sup>60</sup>

Although the majority of the children were able to repeat the Church catechisms and the Collects by memory in the English language, few, if any, could actually understand what they were saying.

Virtually the identical problems which had plagued Budd at The Pas Station school were present at the Nepowewin in exaggerated form. The maximum school attendance reached a high of forty on occasions when food supplies were abundant in the area. Otherwise, the attendance generally dropped well below the twenty mark. Because of the harshness of the climate and the lack of any self-supporting economic base at this stage, the school lacked sufficient provisions to board the children during the winter months:

. . . we are unable to keep the children for any length of time, and the Indians themselves are not able to keep at the place long, for as they live entirely on the chase, it is not to be expected that they can be at one place for a long time.<sup>61</sup>

Other than the rather sporadic efforts offered by his ailing son, Henry, Jr., who died in 1864, and his daughter, no schoolmaster was sent to Budd's assistance from the Society. Thus, during his visits to the plains, he was forced to close the school. "I could give no more than half of each day of the week to the children", he lamented, "having to superintend other work besides, as buildings, farming, fishing, etc . . . ." <sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, March 31, 1867.

<sup>61</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to Major Straith, Church Missionary Society, August 1, 1859.

<sup>62</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July 8, 1864.

As previously mentioned the temporal state of the mission station was rather precarious. Forming the more permanent population about the station were four main families other than Budd's: that of Joseph Turner, the carpenter; John Smith, a native from the Indian Settlement at Red River; Thomas Bird with his brother and families, and that of a Christian Indian and his family from the English River district.<sup>63</sup> This listing does not include the widows, the infirm, the orphans, or the temporary labour who also resided on the mission grounds. The lack of proper equipment and the severe limitations of the environs, discouraged the Christian Indian from practising agriculture as long as there was sufficient fish and game to be had. By 1861, Budd recorded that:

The Christian Indians are desirous of having houses of their own, cultivate the soil, and live a settled life. In this we give them every encouragement in all our powers; but it is very little that we can help them at all, our own means being so limited. A few of them have a piece of ground which we have broken out for them, and they have patches of potatoes, turnip, etc. in them.<sup>64</sup>

In spite of the fertility of the soil, the problem of survival was a reality which Budd was forced to contend with each winter. During the first year of his return to the station Budd was in debt to the two native employees as well as to some of the local hunters.<sup>65</sup> When the climate permitted, Budd, with his local help managed to raise a good garden and a fair crop of barley, wheat and potatoes.

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<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately there are no population statistics available for the station during this period of time. This lack of statistics is persistent throughout Budd's records.

<sup>64</sup> CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 8, 1862.

<sup>65</sup> CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, June 6, 1857.



In August of 1858, Henry Youle Hind arrived at the Nepowewin Station and recorded his impressions of the temporal state of affairs at the site. In general, the station was a ". . . pattern of neatness, order, and comfort . . . ." <sup>66</sup> However, Hind was severely critical of the rationale employed for the establishment of the mission in that particular location. Indicating that the fertile land was limited ". . . to the points of the river, and perhaps does not exceed 400 or 500 acres at each point . . . ." <sup>67</sup> Hind predicted that the Nepowewin would always remain a fishing station or a landing place while the valley of Long Creek, five miles to the south, would support an agricultural community.

Other resources were also lacking at the station. Frequently Budd was obliged to hire hunters or to send his men onto the plains to purchase buffalo meat for the mission. These hunters would often travel with the Company's hunting parties, and at times also cooperatively worked the fisheries at Candle Lake. The problem lay not merely in obtaining a sufficient food supply, but also managing to preserve the stores once the goods were acquired. Fences and night watches were ineffective as means for arresting the practice of garden raiding by the native youth who proved to be ". . . exceedingly fond of the vegetables". <sup>68</sup> The year 1864 was a particularly desperate year for the station since the supply ship from England failed to arrive at York Factory. Because of this circumstance, the mission work received a setback; particularly in the availability of labour which was necessary for the construction of the school and chapel. As Budd indicated:

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<sup>66</sup>H. Hind, op. cit., p. 400.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, August 21, 1850.

We feel much the want of our supplies, as it put us very much back, and without them we are not able to carry on work extensively, for the goods are the only means we have of paying the natives for work done on the Mission.<sup>69</sup>

By the time of his departure from the station in 1867, economic support was still largely derived from supplies from Red River and England.

These ten years at the Nepowewin proved to be the most trying ones in the career of the Reverend Henry Budd. Personal tragedy struck his family with the result that Budd suffered from deep states of depression. In June 1857, he lost his son John West who had been attending the Bishop's Collegiate at Red River and whom Budd had hoped would follow in his footsteps. In the summer of 1864, scarlet fever raged unchecked throughout the district and the population of the Nepowewin area were prostrated from contact with the disease. During that summer, Budd lost three more members of his family within a period of one and a half months; these included his eldest son, Henry, his forty-three year old wife, and a fourteen year old daughter, Christina.<sup>70</sup> The Company's people, particularly Mrs. Clarke, the wife of the gentleman in charge of Fort à la Corne assisted the Budd family during this disaster. In addition, two men were sent from the fort with instructions to aid Budd in any way possible.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 19, 1864.

<sup>70</sup>Budd's wife along with his son, Henry were interred in a vault beneath the Nepowewin Station chapel. In 1865, he sent three of his remaining children to Red River, two of the oldest, a daughter and a son, were to attend school while a smaller daughter went to live with her sister, Mrs. Henry Cochrane. To prevent loneliness, the minister kept a nine year old son with him.

<sup>71</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, September 7, 1864.

Even some of the heathen party expressed sympathy for Budd. Upon visiting the ailing wife of the minister prior to the departure for the hunt, they mourned the loss of a friend in the praying chief's wife. The men, in expectation of Mrs. Budd's death,

. . . deliberately filled their Culimates seating themselves beside the ashes on the hearth, as is their custom when in grief, and smoking in deathlike silence as if in deep thought, and then putting some of the ashes about them as a sign of grief, rose up, took her hand and each one shaking it heartily & walked silently out.<sup>72</sup>

The extreme anguish which the native minister experienced during his mourning was difficult for him to restrain and a year had passed before he was able to rationalize his loss as a glorifying event rather than as an occasion for grief. He had admired those converts who accepted death with childlike submission and was frustrated over his inability to gain personal comfort from his religion. At the death of his son, Henry, he lamented over his inability to accept death as a good Christian should and felt that if he hadn't been in the service of the Church Missionary Society:

. . . what would I have not done to torture my body in every possible way; according to the custom of my Tribe, cutting myself with knives & lancets until the blood would gush out profusely; cutting my hair, & going about barefoot & barelegs; and ready to go into the fire, and into water, courting death rather than life. Thus, would I have been mourning for my dear Son just departed.<sup>73</sup>

In 1865, the missionary himself suffered from an injury received from a fall from a horse. Rationalizing his grief with the thought that his

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<sup>72</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, October 1, 1864.

<sup>73</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, September 7, 1864.

suffering was ". . . wisely ordered in tender love",<sup>74</sup> it wasn't until a year later that the native minister admitted that he was beginning ". . . to emerge from a state of deep mental depression, and thro' mercy . . . getting pretty near in strength . . . as previous".<sup>75</sup>

The loneliness which the missionary experienced during the remainder of his stay at the Nepowewin Mission was somewhat relieved by the visits from tripmen in passing brigades and from the hospitality of the fort occupants. In addition, letters and books were received from Red River and England which kept him in touch with the world-wide and local activities of the Church Missionary Society. When time permitted, he would work at translations which included a compilation of sermons for the Reverend J. Gardiner of York Factory. Since there is so little of Budd's personal correspondence available, any assessment of his cooperation with missionaries of other faiths cannot be ascertained, although he was aware of the work being done at Rossville for many times he had met the Red River supply boats there from Red River. In 1860, Budd reported that he had received correspondence from Reverend Thomas Woolsey of Edmonton ". . . concerning his labours among the different tribes".<sup>76</sup>

Due to the realization that any success in the area of proselytization depended heavily upon the support of the Hudson's Bay Company, Budd's

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<sup>74</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 18, 1866.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, January 31, 1860.

scheme of evangelization involved the instruction of the fort people in the Gospel. At Fort à la Corne, Sunday morning services were conducted in English for those who were not proficient in the Cree language. Frequently, a number of the fort servants would attend the evening service also which was delivered in Cree. The fact that some even attended daily prayer meetings lead Budd to comment that ". . . they used to spend such days very much different from what they do now".<sup>77</sup>

The regulation of the social and moral life of the fort also came within the interests of the missionary. This took the form of the sanctioning of "marriages" which had taken place prior to his arrival and attempts to discourage the use of liquor as a trade article. An element of social cohesiveness among the European population of the fort, the mission families, and the local native converts was prompted through the sponsorship of a Christmas dinner for the community at the mission. As for the spiritual progress of the European population at the fort, Budd commented that "they appear to appreciate more and more the privileges they possess, in having a Mission Station at their door".<sup>78</sup> This conclusion was based upon the regular attendance of the fort occupants at his services, their willingness to educate their children at the mission, and their readiness to ". . . help the Mission in small sums of money".<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, January 1, 1859.

<sup>78</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 19, 1864.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

As previously indicated, Reverend Budd's sphere of influence extended well beyond that of the Nepowewin Station. Trips were made into the plains in an effort to reach the Plains Indians. In 1859 almost a month was spent at Cumberland House where at least seventeen children were reported to be able to read the New Testament well. Services and lectures were held for the fort occupants as well as the native population. Furthermore, efforts were also directed towards the instruction of three former students of the Cumberland Mission in service responses in order that they might function as lay readers in his absence.<sup>80</sup> Stewart, who was in charge of the fort at the time received the missionary favourably. In addition to lodging Budd during his visits, sleighs, dogs, provisions, and men were offered to the missionary in order to ensure his safety back to the Nepowewin.<sup>81</sup>

Some preliminary steps had been taken by the Society to provide a schoolmaster for the instruction of one of the more progressive congregations located at Cumberland House. In 1858 Mr. Thomas Cook, schoolmaster at Moose Lake, and the gentleman in charge of the Cumberland District applied to the Local Committee of the Church Missionary Society at Red River for the removal of the unsuccessful Moose Lake Mission to Cumberland House.<sup>82</sup> Three years later, the Reverend Thomas Cook was sent to Cumberland House in the capacity of a missionary and a schoolmaster. In

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<sup>80</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, November 1, 1859.

<sup>81</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, November 14, 1859.

<sup>82</sup>ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Church Missionary Society Corresponding Committee, Bishop's Court, Red River, May 26, 1858.

the 1866 Report of the Corresponding Committee at St. Andrews, the Bishop reported that the officers in charge of the Saskatchewan and Cumberland Districts agreed to allow a missionary or teacher to establish himself at Cumberland House or Carlton provided that the Church Missionary Society could effectively support the project as a separate entity from the fort establishments.<sup>83</sup>

In 1866, Bishop Robert Machray, successor to Anderson, strove to arrange more cooperation with the Hudson's Bay Company. The main objectives of the move were to relieve the Society from the financial burden of high freight rates, and to liberate the Society's agents from certain secular duties, in particular, the cutting and hauling of wood. Further demands included lower tariffs on pemmican and other supplies, in addition to the opening up of the Company's credit system to the missionary. A compromise was reached whereby the Company agreed to supply wood for three fireplaces to every school established near their posts, to freight twenty pieces to the Stanley Mission and a limited number to The Pas, and finally, to supply the schoolmaster and his family with goods ". . . at a reasonable Tariff when the . . . provisions at the post admitted of it".<sup>84</sup>

Although smaller native villages, such as Moose Woods, Isbister's Settlement, and Fort Thompson were visited, the focal point of Budd's activities during his sojourn at Nepowewin was Fort Carlton. Located on

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<sup>83</sup>ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Church Missionary Society Corresponding Committee, St. Andrew's, October 30, 1866.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

the North Saskatchewan, the fort was primarily a provisions station.<sup>85</sup> The Church Missionary Society had recognized its unique location as central in the line of overland and steamer communication between Red River, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Ocean. This movement westward had been encouraged by the Reverend E. Watkins of the Cumberland Mission, who viewed the Saskatchewan district in the direction of Edmonton House and Rocky Mountain House as the next stage in expansion.<sup>86</sup> The fear of encroachment by the Roman Catholic Church into the area gave impetus to the movement.<sup>87</sup> When the fort was first visited by Budd in 1857 it was estimated that there were at least forty-eight children belonging to the fort occupants alone. Although the population was primarily Roman Catholic and received rare visits from an itinerating priest, the inhabitants did not oppose Budd's plans for the instruction of their children. Repeated invitations had been sent to the missionary after his first visit requesting him to return to baptize their children and to marry their young people.<sup>88</sup> Thus, the native minister commenced a program which involved quarterly visits to the fort. This expression of enthusiasm by the fort people for Budd was interpreted as a successful defeat and check on the Roman Catholic influence in the area:

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<sup>85</sup>E. Voorhis, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>86</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 10, 1859.

<sup>87</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 19, 1864.

CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, Journal, February 2, 1861.



. . . though there is a Romish Priest there since the beginning of the winter; and though he has done all he could do to persuade our people to his corrupt faith, yet he could not succeed so far even to be allowed to baptize their children.<sup>89</sup>

In the summer of 1862, the Local Committee of the Church Missionary Society at Red River sent the Reverend Henry Cochrane and Budd to ascertain the prospects for the establishment of an Anglican station in the Fort Carlton area. The most comprehensive report of the site is located in a report made in 1864 by Reverend Budd to the Church Missionary Society. A school population of forty children was predicted. Owing to the lack of timber in the area, Budd was obliged to approach Chief Factor Christie concerning the possibility of obtaining buildings from the Company for the mission station.

Clearly, by 1864, positive results of Budd's work at Fort Carlton were observable. In correspondence received by Budd from Chief Trader Prudens, of Carlton House, a transformation in the spiritual and moral atmosphere of the fort had apparently taken place:

. . . there is an evident change taken place, in the minds of some of the men of the Fort; . . . One or two of them particularly were sic so touched by your last sermon that they have resolved to turn over a new leaf, . . . They have since your departure kept up regular prayers morning & evening, on Sundays, as well as on the weekdays; and they have considerable influence on the rest of the men.<sup>90</sup>

Once Budd returned to The Pas in 1867, he was forced to sacrifice his visits to Carlton House because of the distance involved.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> CMS/A84, Chief Trader Prudens cited in Reverend H. Budd, Nepowewin, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, June 27, 1865.

At Nepowewin, the mission farm had been expanded by 1867 and went ". . . far to maintain the mission".<sup>91</sup> In the spiritual realm, the general progress of the converts was deemed satisfactory and most seemed willing to maintain small farms. Amongst the heathen of the area, Budd noticed that their opposition was not as aggressively displayed as previously and they were reported to ". . . frequent the Mission premises more and mix up with the Xtian Indians than they used to do; so that any animosity . . . is being softened down".<sup>92</sup> A reversal of positions of influence had occurred whereby the Christian factor at Fort à la Corne was no longer dominated by the heathen majority and the Christian natives, themselves, apparently had become effective proselytizers. On May 9, Budd was required to return to The Pas Station and the Nepowewin Mission was left in the hands of a native catechist from English River, John Sinclair.

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<sup>91</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 12, 1867.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid. By 1867, there were thirteen converted families at Nepowewin with three more reported to be in a heathen state. See Report of the Second Conference of Clergy and Lay-Delegates from Parishes in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, (Cambridge: J. Palmer, 1867), p. 37.

## CHAPTER V

REVEREND HENRY BUDD: NATIVE PASTOR

DEVON: 1867-1875

### I. Devon Mission: 1860-1867

During the period of the Reverend Budd's absence from the Cumberland Mission, now at this time referred to as Devon, in honour of Devonshire, the native county of Archdeacon Hunter, the station was occupied successively by four European missionaries. The work of the Reverend H. George has previously been referred to. The remaining three included: Reverend E. Watkins (1860-63), Reverend J. Mackay (1864-65), and Reverend T. Smith (1866-67). It is essential to note that these missionaries arrived in the northwest with preconceived intentions of proselytization and were consequently disillusioned with their appointment to Devon for the station was pastoral in nature.

For the Reverend E. Watkins, the problem of survival at the northern station was a disruptive force in his efforts to establish a friendly rapport with his congregation.<sup>1</sup> The system of exchange, i.e., barter, was partially responsible, for he indicated that it ". . . frequently gives rise to ill-feelings between myself & the people . . . ." <sup>2</sup> Watkins felt

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<sup>1</sup>The Reverend E. Watkins had served with the Society at Fort George until 1857 and at Sugar Point until 1858. His most valuable work was accomplished in the area of translation and he provided the Anglican Church with their first Cree dictionary which was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1865. See T. Boon, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend E. Watkins, Cumberland, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, December 29, 1859.

that the source of this rested with the lenient practices of his predecessors and recorded that he was unable ". . . from conscientiousness towards the funds of the C.M.S. to treat them in the free and easy way to which they have been accustomed".<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he remained extremely dissatisfied with the secular duties which burdened him daily and bound him to the station. This impatience was communicated to the Church Missionary Society through his inquiry of

. . . whether the valuable time of a Missionary ought to be consumed in bartering with the Indians, attending to cattle, haymaking, farming, fishing & such like occupations, or whether a responsible lay agent ought not to relieve him of these matters.<sup>4</sup>

Additional temporal problems also occurred as a result of a modification of policy concerning the issuance of supplies from Red River Settlement. Provisions which were previously received gratis were now charged to the grant allotted to the stations, and this severely taxed the monetary resources of the individual missions. One estimation of the total annual loss approximated a sum of one hundred and twenty pounds.<sup>5</sup>

During the Watkins' incumbency, the moral tone of the Devon village seemed to be retrogressive, a situation which was in part initiated by the introduction of liquor into the area by free traders from the Red River Settlement and the United States. In order to compete with these

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> CMS/A98, Reverend E. Watkins, Cumberland, Report for the year ending June 30, 1860.

<sup>5</sup> CMS/A94, Reverend E. Watkins, Cumberland, Annual Letter to the Church Missionary Society, January 9, 1861.

new rivals, the Hudson's Bay Company, in turn, introduced the sale of liquor into the area to a greater extent than it had in the past. According to Watkins, although the principal men tended to remain upright Christians by refusing liquor as an article of trade, their followers were not inclined to follow their example.<sup>6</sup> Some efforts were made to halt the liquor traffic as evidenced in a letter from Chief Louis Constant and other principal men who personally petitioned the Company to cease its sales.<sup>7</sup>

An objective view of the mission station during Watkins' stay at Devon was recorded in 1860 by John Fleming, a surveyor and draughtsman in the Hind Expedition. In the centre of the site stood a white church, a parsonage, and a school which were surrounded by several farmhouses and grain fields. On the opposite bank of the river from the mission station, Fleming counted six or seven houses which he reported:

. . . seemed to be uninhabited and in a dilapidated condition; the Indians, for whom they were erected, disliking a settled life devoted solely to the pursuit of agriculture; and preferring the wandering and precarious life of the hunter in their native wilds.<sup>8</sup>

Although the chief denied its existence, a second and more important petition served as a further discouragement for Watkins and probably influenced his decision to resign from his post. In 1859, Watkins related that he had heard ". . . that the people are dissatisfied with my manner

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<sup>6</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend E. Watkins, Cumberland, Annual Letter, to the Church Missionary Society, January 2, 1863.

<sup>7</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend E. Watkins, Cumberland, Annual Letter, to the Church Missionary Society, June 30, 1863.

<sup>8</sup>H. Hind, op. cit., pp. 453-54.

of conducting the affairs of the Station, & that they consequently had agreed to petition the Bishop for my removal".<sup>9</sup> Opposition to proselytization efforts experienced at Moose Lake and Cumberland House also proved to be disheartening. And yet despite the apparent discontent, church attendance was relatively high, ranging from a total of ninety to one hundred and twenty. During the latter part of his incumbency at Devon, relations were established with the population on a more congenial ground, however, this change was not sufficient enough to prevent him from returning to England in 1863.

His successor, the Reverend J. Mackay devoted his efforts towards the establishment of Devon as a self-supporting station.<sup>10</sup> His initial resolve to ". . . bear in mind that my work is the salvation of souls, and secular duties must be attended to only so far as they are subservient to that all important end",<sup>11</sup> was soon dispelled for the poverty of the area obliged him to deal with the daily practical problems of the village. The swampy and stoney fields continued to act as a strong deterrent from the practice of agriculture. Each year, fishing and hunting resources dwindled with the result that starvation frequently plagued the village

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<sup>9</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend E. Watkins, Journal, Cumberland, June 27, 1859.

<sup>10</sup>Of Hudson's Bay Company stock, the Reverend J. Mackay was a native of Moosonee of the Moose Factory District. He received his training as a catechist from both Watkins and the Reverend J. Horden. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1862. Prior to his appointment to Devon, he had spent the period 1862-64 at York Factory.

<sup>11</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, October 12, 1863.

and those who did have a few head of cattle were inclined to slaughter the animals out of necessity. As a relief depot, the mission station was incapable of accommodating the demands and needs of those other than the widows, the infirm, and those school children which attended regularly. "This state of things is discouraging", Mackay reports, "and it tends to perpetuate in the rising generation the wandering and indolent habits of uncivilized life".<sup>12</sup> Thus, the lack of a stable subsistence base at the mission station drove at least three quarters of the population into the hinterland in search of game during the fall and winter seasons. Furthermore, he observed, that since the ". . . people have no means of obtaining clothing except in exchange for furs, they are obliged to wander in order to procure that article of traffic".<sup>13</sup>

Blame for the lack of temporal progress at the station was not only attributed to the harshness of the environs, but also to the improvident and indolent nature of the Indian. Mackay felt that the Indian was a degraded being, partly owing to contact with the white trader element, who could be saved solely through a rise to the standards of civilization. The Indian, he rationalized,

. . . loses in a great measure his native independence, when he had no thought and no cares beyond procuring the bare necessities of life, while, at the same time, he has not acquired sufficient self-reliance and industry to qualify him for the duties of civilized life. He becomes discouraged at the hardships of his lot, and, without encouragement, would give up in despair and fall back to his old habits.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Devon, Annual Letter to the Church Missionary Society, January 4, 1864.

<sup>13</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Devon, Report for the year ending December 31, 1864.

<sup>14</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Devon, Report for the year ending June 20, 1865.

In Devon, two stores had been established which traded liquor in exchange for furs. By 1865, their activities had been somewhat arrested by an agreement made between the population and both the free traders and the Company concerning the distribution of the item. As a moral and social mediator of his village, Mackay took up his own personal crusade against the trading of liquor in the area of Devon. Communicants who were found in the state of intoxication were reprimanded and in some instances excluded from participation in communion rites. However, most of the converts considered drunkenness to be one of the less serious sins which could be committed. As one communicant stated, ". . . there was no sin in his heart continually and therefore by getting drunk occasionally he was only a few sins worse than he would be otherwise".<sup>15</sup> Although the trafficking of liquor served as a continual discouragement for Mackay, he was gratified by the thought that at least the principal men of the village had endeavoured ". . . by every means in their power to prevent the circulation of spirituous liquor among the Indians at and around the Station".<sup>16</sup>

The mission school continued to be held at regular hours and under Mackay, the students were taught in both English and Cree. Due to the lack of provisions, the school attendance had not risen significantly, the average number of pupils ranging from sixty-eight in the summer to less than twenty during the winter months. Lectures were also conducted

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<sup>15</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Journal, Devon, December 23, 1865.

<sup>16</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Devon, Annual Letter to the Church Missionary Society, January 4, 1864.



to further the spiritual education of the adult. Lay native assistance was employed by Mackay in order to be relieved from the routine duties of instruction. Philip Macdonald not only served as a schoolmaster, but also conducted services for the people while they were at their fisheries. In 1864, he was obliged to travel to Red River for medical advice and was replaced by a new native agent in the person of Bernard Constant. Both the outstations of Moose Lake and Cumberland House were visited by Mackay. Moose Lake, in particular, continued to be a problem. Finally, the station was abandoned as a permanent site for a mission station and this had resulted in a relapse of some of the converts to their former traditions.<sup>17</sup> One visit was made to Nepowewin Station, the progress of which was reported to be in a satisfactory state.

For approximately twenty-four years the Church Missionary Society had sponsored mission work at Devon Station. The first generation which had come under the influence of Reverend Budd were now passing away, and the majority of the second generation had been raised under the limited instruction provided by the missionary. Very few deviations from the Christian norm were reported by the four missionaries. Although Mackay believed that much of the traditional superstitions had been undermined through contact with the agents of the Society, he rather doubted their disappearance, and with good reason. An excellent example of the extent to which some of the indigenous beliefs continued to influence the

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<sup>17</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Journal, Devon, February 21, 1865.

thinking of the converts was revealed through the recording of an incident which created near mass hysteria among the Devon population. In the spring of 1864 the belief in the existence of the Windigo caused much confusion in the village.

Traces of such a being were reported to have been seen in the neighbourhood, and, this evening, three youths who were out shooting were said to have been heard crying out as if in pain or terror. Immediately it was believed that the Weehtikoo had seized them, and the whole village was in an uproar forthwith, women crying and screaming, some running hither and thither as their fears suggested.<sup>18</sup>

Needless to mention the fact that the next Sunday service included a sermon which chastised the congregation for the ". . . folly of their belief".<sup>19</sup> On June 28, 1865, Reverend Mackay left Devon for the Stanley Station where the work demanded more concentration upon proselytization. Mackay was succeeded by the Reverend T. Smith who stayed at Devon until 1867.<sup>20</sup>

## II. The Work of Reverend Henry Budd at Devon

In 1867, the Corresponding Committee, which met at Bishop's Court, Red River, passed a resolution which in essence declared that The Pas was no longer regarded as a mission station and therefore it was expedient that a native pastor should be appointed to the location.<sup>21</sup> This decision

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<sup>18</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Journal, Devon, May 7, 1864.

<sup>19</sup>CMS/A94, Reverend J. Mackay, Journal, Devon, May 7, 1864.

<sup>20</sup>None of the Reverend Smith's journals are available for this period, however, the Local Corresponding Committee did report in January, 1867 that the minister was too ill to carry on his duties at Devon. See ARL., M/S, Minutes of the Church Missionary Society Correspondence Committee, Bishop's Court, Red River, January 30, 1867.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

was one of significance in Rupert's Land for it was the first permanent parish north of Red River to be established under the supervision of a native pastor. However, Budd's independence as a pastor was to be of a restricted nature for not only would he remain under the surveillance of a European supervisor, but he also was not allowed to assume any financial expenditures involved with the mission without first receiving the consent of the Local Committee.<sup>22</sup> His salary was to remain at an annual one hundred pounds and an allowance of free freight for a fixed number of pieces of supplies was granted.

Both the Nepowewin and Cumberland locations fell within Budd's supervision. In regard to Cumberland House, which was lacking any resident teacher or minister, Budd was to exercise all the duties of the ministry among them and treat them as part of his flock.<sup>23</sup> "I have never felt the weight of responsibility laid on me, to the extent I feel at this moment",<sup>24</sup> he reflected, upon hearing the news of his appointment to Devon. And somewhat despairingly he added that he felt ". . . quite humbled to think to what little extent . . .",<sup>25</sup> he would be able to enforce the orders demanded by the Society. Distance, the lack of sufficient assistance, and poor health compounded his difficulties and served to restrict his influence in the area. In 1869, the Church Missionary Society responded negatively to Budd's appeal for a paid

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 12, 1867.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

assistant since the Society felt that such services should be voluntarily forthcoming from the converts and European population who resided in the village.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the Secretary replied that ". . . it is a very bad thing for a man not to have enough to do. Your own present position of having 3 or more congregations under your charge, seems to me the right one".<sup>27</sup>

In addition to this near superhuman performance required of him, Reverend Budd had many reservations concerning his return to Devon. Partly, this lack of enthusiasm can be attributed to the fact that the remains of his wife and son were at the Nepowewin. However, the main reason resulted from rumours he had heard of the deteriorating condition of Devon. Both surprise and mortification were expressed when he had received news of his transference for he had repeatedly heard ". . . that the Devon Indians had relapsed a good deal back to their former heathenish ways, and even in a temporal point of view, they were considered to be very bad Indians".<sup>28</sup> Indeed upon his return to Devon, he discovered that the rumour contained some element of truth.

Budd's first view of the mission which had once prospered under his guidance and Hunter's scheme was a rather dismal one. Much of the mission farm which had formerly been cultivated with barley and wheat had been laid waste from soil exhaustion. As for the Indian village, over half of the homes had rotted or were burned with the result that the occupants

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<sup>26</sup>CMS/A75, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, to the Reverend H. Budd, January 11, 1869.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Nepowewin, March 21, 1867.

were now living once more in tents and were devoid of any cattle or gardens. Confronted with this situation, Budd's primary objective was the revival of the village. Soon after his arrival he engaged the women to scrub out the school in order that classes might begin immediately. "I am determined", he vowed, "I shall make an effort to rouse them to a sense of their duty; and shew them the miserable way they are now living . . . ."<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the remainder of his years at The Pas, the village was revived under his persistent guidance and encouragement, although, little in fact, changed in the yearly seasonal cycles of the population. Two years after his return, Budd was able to report that his people were finally convinced of the necessity to resume the ways of civilization once more. But progress was slow:

They have followed too much, the old way of living, forsaking their houses & farms & taking to the hunting furs and living on the Chase. They are much poorer now . . . . However, they are resolved to try and redeem the time they have lost, and attend more regularly to the cultivation of the soil, renew their houses, live in them, and keep cattle. Some  $\frac{1}{2}$  Doz. houses are being put up this summer . . . .<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, July 19, 1867.

<sup>30</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 7, 1868. Another reason for the lack of progress was the presence of an epidemic which raged through the village in the early spring of 1868. As a result of the disease, most of the old people had died. See, CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, April 19, 1868. In the early 1870's, first reports were made of vaccinations, and this tended to combat the population decrease in areas which were infected.

In order to accelerate the necessary renovations, families tended to work cooperatively on their houses, but the building was impeded by the lack of nails and glass for the windows. Mission supplies and the oxen were loaned by the pastor to those who desired to cultivate.

The unpredictable forces of nature continued to direct the fate of the village and frequently placed it on the brink of starvation. Flour was no longer sent from Red River for since the mission had been granted parochial status, it was expected that the congregation could fend for its own support. But nature was not alone to blame, and often the pastor despaired at the improvidence of his countrymen:

There will always be this want . . . so long as they don't farm more than they do, and don't fish at the proper time. It is too much, they think, to leave the geese hunt (of which they are so fond) in the beginning of October . . . and go out to the fish-hunt which is, after all, the most profitable hunt.<sup>31</sup>

Most of Budd's labour force for the development of the mission farm still originated from the male students and those few adults who could be persuaded to help.

By 1870 Budd had managed to rescue the station from ruin. The mission house, the school, and the church had been renovated and the farm was beginning to prosper. The station was now able to provide its own beef, pork, ham, and bacon, in addition to its own cereal crops. At times there was a surplus for the use of trade with the natives and the Company. Many of the Indians had bought up cattle from the Hudson's Bay Company and had received pigs from Budd. Over thirty head of cattle were reported

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<sup>31</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, January 8, 1870.

to belong to the village occupants in 1872. These were frequently sent to pasture at Nepowewin because of the hay shortage at Devon. Budd was well pleased with his charges and their progress:

'A pretty sight' . . . to see them working at the soil, when I had almost despaired of ever seeing them to do so. I am sure, that my predecessors at the Mission, never expected that the Indian here could be induced to trouble the soil. Could they have seen them this morning as I did from my front garden, some of them hoeing away at the ground, others carrying away the Stones, and the rest finishing their fence  
 . . . . .<sup>32</sup>

According to the native pastor, the Indians now appreciated ". . . better what it is to have property. . . they are desirous of having stock on the place . . . . They have had tolerable crops from the Land they broke  
 . . . ."<sup>33</sup> Mission fisheries which were operated at Clearwater Lake and outfitted by Budd, continued to play an important role in keeping the community together, particularly in the winter. Each year he was obliged to relieve his starving congregation from his fall fish caches at the Lake.

The revival of an element of prosperity at Devon led to a growth in the population. Consequently more land in the village area was tilled until there was hardly any more grazing land to be seen. These factors resulted in the scattering of a sector of the inhabitants of Devon to a location upriver (Big Eddy) from the immediate vicinity of the mission in 1872. Although Budd had admitted that he had given the people encouragement and advice as far as generating interest in the re-establishment of the village was concerned, the desire for self-improvement was also a spontaneous one. Some form of local organization and 'government' had

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<sup>32</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, May 11, 1871.

<sup>33</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 8, 1872.

been created through meetings among the headmen with the pastor, where decisions were made which dealt with the necessary steps for improvement.<sup>34</sup> Through this informal organization a division of labour was established on a community level whereby, for instance, the more able men were responsible for the cutting and squaring of logs, while others erected fences and enlarged the village farms. This effort, however, was retarded by the fact that the younger men could offer their services only in the spring and the early fall.

The growth of Devon was far-reaching in its influence in the surrounding areas which were still heathen. Each year the game was becoming more scarce, and even the prolific muskrat was becoming more difficult to locate. In 1872 Budd had reported that some of the heathen parties, upon visiting Devon for trading purposes, were impressed to the extent where they inquired for a teacher to be sent to instruct them.

There is an increasing desire felt by the heathen parties to do like the Christian Indians in our Missions to build them houses, and live in them, they cannot but see that the Christian Indians are much better off in every respect . . . and they see they are now beginning to have some property in cattle and produce of the ground.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the heathen parties had actually drawn up petitions to be sent to the Society requesting through Budd, teachers for their bands.

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<sup>34</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 5, 1871.

<sup>35</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 13, 1872.



The positive results obtained in the field of education with the second generation of The Pas Indian had convinced Budd that this means was most essential to the dissemination of Christianity and civilization. For he saw in those whom he had taught twenty-seven years ago ". . . no remains of that savage temper, no clinging to the old superstitions, darkness, & vice . . . ."36 The main emphasis of the school, according to Budd no longer consisted in the useless struggle of teaching the children the English language, but rather, the instruction of the children in their mother tongue. In the northern regions, where the native population would not be susceptible to any significant influx of white settlers in the near future, Budd viewed any forcing of the English language upon his people as futile.

They could read well enough and repeat without book what they were taught to repeat, but they could never understand it thoroughly. In course of time, as they grew up & left school it was found out that they almost all forgot their English, mixing with their parents & others, and hearing and speaking nothing but the Cree themselves . . . .37

Studies were centred around the use of the Cree syllabic system which not only served to facilitate the comprehension of the subjects, but was also employed in order that the students might ". . . take their books home and read to their parents".38 Thus, it was through the use of the syllabic system that Budd was able to reach part of the adult population with his instruction. Some subjects, such as mathematics were taught in English

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<sup>36</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 12, 1867.

<sup>37</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 6, 1868.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

since they could not be adapted to the syllabic system. The sporadic nature of the attendance which dropped well below twenty in the winter proved to be one of the greatest barriers to any significant progress in the school.

We teach them to read and explain the meaning to them; they get on to read very well, and understand something of what they read; but they don't stay long enough to enable them to understand thoroughly, and being only partially known, they soon forget all.<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, the Devon village was now split in two, one section being farther upriver, and therefore the school was out of reach for some of the potential school population. These factors only added to Budd's problems in the area of education and somewhat despairingly, he was forced to reconcile himself to the fact that the Indian child would acquire little knowledge beyond the basics of reading and writing.<sup>40</sup>

The promotion of an effective local native agency in missionary work became one of Reverend Budd's objectives. To compensate for the lack of assistance forthcoming from the Home Society, the pastor personally undertook the training of Charles Cook, who later instructed the lower classes. In addition, three more young men were being prepared for attendance at St. John's College, and hopefully for a role in the native ministry. When the young men were available in the village, the more educated were employed as instructors in the Sunday School.

Spiritual training was also essential in Budd's program of civilization. Both children and adults attended catechism lessons which essentially consisted of the repetition of oral responses to the appropriate

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<sup>39</sup> CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, May 1, 1870.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

questions. By 1868, the native pastor reported that most of his congregation could ". . . read the Word of God & they are well acquainted with all the prayers in our Prayer Book, and they are able, many of them to explain & expound the Word of God to their Brethern. . . ."41 Preparatory classes were also held to instruct the confirmation and communion candidates. In 1869, during the visit of Bishop Machray to the village, seventy-four were confirmed and this number did not include all the candidates.42

The native pastor was convinced of the persistency of the spiritual growth of his people: "They are really . . . seeking their soul's salvation. They strive to do to the best of their knowledge all what is required of them relating to Church Matters . . . ."43 For those who participated in the hunt, no barrier seemed too great to prevent their participation on sacrament Sunday and some travelled as long as a week to be present. The efforts which were made by the congregation to attend Easter Sunday services produced both admiration and amazement in the pastor. ". . . that they can quit their hunt when they are making gain by it, and come from such a long distance, in the present state of the season, through all the cold water from the melting snow, exposing themselves to

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<sup>41</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, May 20, 1868.

<sup>42</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, July 1, 1869.

<sup>43</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 12, 1867.

sundry kinds of disease",<sup>44</sup> was proof to him of their devotion. In an effort to personally check on the spiritual growth of his charges, Budd continued to visit their homes to hold prayers:

. . . if my visits to them could be more frequent it would help them greatly to understand more of what they hear from the Pulpit. Indeed it is the only way to know and sound the depth of their experience in the Christian life; for when we have them in their own ground, they are not so shy to speak out their minds freely, as they generally are before company".<sup>45</sup>

Audible evidences of piety, however, remained the foremost proof of conversion. To Budd, "the regularity of the responses in the Services and the hearty singing shows that the Congregation, understand and value the Services".<sup>46</sup>

Personal testimonies to the convert's Christian experience were made to Budd informally when the natives visited the pastor for supplies. Formally, these testimonials were related prior to the reception of communion when a meeting was held for this specific purpose:

It not only helps the Indians to see that there is something to learn & sacred in the Ordinances of God's House, when it requires them to prepare by examining themselves . . . it likewise gives them an opportunity of making known whatever may be troubling their mind, as well as speaking out their Xtian experience.<sup>47</sup>

Through these checks, Budd felt that he was safe in assuming that the Christian native village of Devon consisted, in the main, of "living Christians".<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, March 11, 1868.

<sup>45</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, January 18, 1871.

<sup>46</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 8, 1872,

<sup>47</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, June 1, 1867.

Through these checks, Budd felt that he was safe in assuming that the Christian native village of Devon consisted, in the main, of "living Christians".<sup>48</sup>

A further indicator of the degree of conversion was measured in the intensity of the energy exhibited by the converts themselves towards spontaneous proselytization. For it was through this indirect means that the native pastor was able to extend his influence and lay groundwork for the future conversion of the heathen. Many of the Devon Indians who frequented the Moose Lake district during their hunt, actually functioned as lay proselytizers by speaking to the heathen of Christianity.<sup>49</sup> The Cumberland House Indians, who frequented Devon, were particularly aggressive in the field of proselytization. Of these, Budd wrote:

They have lived distinct from the heathen their neighbours, and they have always tried to bring the heathen to receive the truths of the Gospel. In this way one family after another have been drawn away from heathenism and join the praying party, until they have now become a large congregation.<sup>50</sup>

By 1872, word had been received by Budd from native populations to the north of Cumberland House and the Nelson River area that they were ready to receive the Gospel. Although these people had never seen a missionary,

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<sup>48</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 7, 1868. In 1872 the highest number of practicing communicants was reported to be one hundred and thirty out of a population between 400-500. By 1875, the number of baptisms listed in the register was 1416 with 262 marriages.

<sup>49</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, February 21, 1869.

<sup>50</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 20, 1873.

some were reported to have possessed some rudimentary knowledge of the precept of Christianity: ". . . they knew the principal thing to know - that they are sinners, great sinners, but they are seeking a Saviour".<sup>51</sup>

Through the Cumberland House Indians, the native pastor had ". . . a regular harvest of inquirers . . . ." <sup>52</sup> Thus, by the early 1870's, the once ostracized converts to Christianity had become the predominating and powerful element among the Swampy and Woodland Cree populations.

Throughout the last nine years of Budd's service at The Pas, the most obvious and significant development was the growth of independence among the population. This resulted from the various responsibilities which were assumed by members of the congregation through a loose form of church organization. For the natives, the church had served more than as a mere spiritual device for it was also the focal point for economic, political, and social development of the community as an entity. Economically, the mission station farm had originally served as a model and a source of support for the congregation. However, in spite of the introduction of cultivation into the economic life of the village, the demands for furs and the need for trippers still received priority. As a result the most stabilized quarter of the population which resided about the church had been the elderly and the women who were left behind with their

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<sup>51</sup> CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, May 29, 1872.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

families. Thus, if civilization is equated with the practice of agriculture, the degree of acculturation was minimal. It was expected that the process of change would be a slow one for the shift to an agricultural base not only demanded a transformation in the residential pattern of the population, but also necessitated the acquirement of new skill and technology, a learning situation for which the missionary was required to assume the responsibility.

Albeit that the practice of agriculture did add an element of independence and relief, it was the governmental role within the framework of the institution of the church which contributed most to the growth of the community. The employment of the Cree syllabic system had produced a catalytic effect for individual and community involvement in the decision-making processes. In addition, the ability to use the Cree syllabics enabled the congregation to participate actively in the church services. Most of the converts were able to read the translations from the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer in addition to responding in unison to the Liturgy.<sup>53</sup> During Budd's visits to the outstations, the congregation was capable of conducting services on their own.<sup>54</sup> Certain members of the congregation watched over the mission property and farm during Budd's absence in addition to executing the necessary upkeeping duties. Prior to his departure for outstations, Budd would advise the communicants concerning their duties while he was away. In 1870 when the

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<sup>53</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 5, 1870.

<sup>54</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 7, 1868.

native pastor was obliged to travel to Red River to see after the safety of his children, the principal men ". . . asked permission to hire the services of one of the most intelligent men among them, to keep the Sunday services, & lead them on for them".<sup>55</sup> The person chosen was duly paid for his services through the collection of subscriptions from the members of the church. Burial arrangements were now the responsibility of the individual members of the church and not that of the minister. During the mission stage of the Devon village, Budd had been forced to supply the materials, and the carpentry for the casket, in addition to the digging of the grave without remuneration from the mourning party. By 1867 these duties were now performed by the natives themselves who were responsible for purchasing the necessary building materials from the Company post or the mission.<sup>56</sup>

A semblance of the autochthonous was promoted through the assignment of positions of responsibility within the church organization which paralleled traditional roles. The authority of the elders and the principal men was perpetuated through a hierarchy of religious duties. During the services one of the older native men was generally responsible for the leadership in the prayers during the services. A sexton was employed to call the people to the services and to seat the congregation. The monetary payment which was given for this service was shared by the congregation and the Church Missionary Society. Apparently the person chosen for this

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<sup>55</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, June 6, 1870.

<sup>56</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, July 9, 1867.



position did possess outstanding qualities of intelligence and religious piety for he was elected by the people in 1870 to lead in the services during Budd's absence to Red River Settlement.<sup>57</sup> The role of church warden was generally executed by the principal men of the village. Their responsibilities included informing the congregation of spiritual and temporal matters of the church. Meetings were conducted with both the wardens and the heads of families ". . . to consult the best way for ameliorating the temporal condition of the Devon Indians".<sup>58</sup> At times when Budd was unable to conduct morning services due to illness the church wardens would assume the responsibility of summoning the flock and holding services in the schoolroom. "They do very well", Budd once commented, "as they are most of them well acquainted with all the prayers of the church; and can speak very well on a subject they thoroughly understand".<sup>59</sup>

Informal meetings were held with the male members of the congregation to discuss all matters pertaining to the church. Resolutions generally included promises to employ members to aid the pastor in the secular maintenance of the church. For instance, at one such meeting

. . . the men held a consultation among themselves and bound themselves to cut and haul the firewood for the Church & School house, to serve all the winter; to collect Timbers for building purposes, cut and haul fence and Picquets for their farms, and that they will strive to put down more seed in the ground than they had last spring.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, June 6, 1870.

<sup>58</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 7, 1868.

<sup>59</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, January 10, 1868.

<sup>60</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, December 26, 1870.

That these intentions were resolved without reflection upon the difficulties involved was recognized by Budd who had indicated: "Poor people! I wish they had the means of doing all they propose of doing".<sup>61</sup> Duties of the church were also shared by the female portion of the population who gardened, cooked for the school, and were in charge of cleaning the mission buildings.

An institutionalized church council was never established under Budd's leadership. In 1875, the Archdeacon Abraham Cowley had reported upon his visit to Devon, that there was little evidence of any type of organization among the church membership.<sup>62</sup> To remedy the situation, Cowley arranged for the election and appointment of wardens and vestrymen with the recommendation that this body of men ". . . should form a Church Council, as in Africa & India, to take upon themselves the sustenance of religion in their midst".<sup>63</sup> A perusal of the membership of the council reveals that the positions were held by the principal men of the village.

In addition to voluntary work about the church, self-support was also to be encouraged through the practice of offerings which not only contributed to the upkeep of the church buildings, but also helped to pay for the communion wine which was sent from Red River. Implicit within the transference of The Pas Mission to parochial status had been the

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> CMS/A101, Archdeacon A. Cowley, Journal, Red River, October 22, 1875.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

assumption that the congregation could support itself, but the total church offerings rarely amounted to more than twenty pounds annually. Personal offerings were meagre since the economy was not money-based, thus donations were made in kind; for example, furs, leather, or spoons. In 1875, Archdeacon Cowley's personal estimation of the congregation had been that ". . . they appear to be very poor, not a stove in any single cottage & the windows are generally of . . . fish skin parchment".<sup>64</sup> Under his initiative, arrangements were made whereby offerings were to be paid in furs of any kind which were to be brought to The Pas Company Store and converted to a cash value at Red River.<sup>65</sup> In 1872, the outside support for the village included grants from the Church Missionary Society amounting to one hundred and ten pounds for Budd's salary and freight, fifty pounds for the school, fifty pounds for Budd's travelling expenses, and thirty pounds for repairs. Thus, although Devon did achieve a limited amount of self-support, the area was simply too impoverished to be expected to become fully self-sufficient.

Another function served by the church was in the field of moral and social regulation. As indicated previously, the adoption of Christianity implied the acceptance of its ethical implications. The introduction of the European value system into the schools had repercussions upon the native population. Despite the fact that the extended family still existed

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<sup>64</sup>CMS/A101, Archdeacon A. Cowley, Dynevor, to Mr. Wright of the Church Missionary Society, December 13, 1875.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

and that the original progenitor continued to have some degree of informal control over those belonging to his family, the church and the school became the primary regulator of behaviour, and the interpreter of acceptable societal norms. To a certain extent, the education of the child reversed the traditional familial relationship for, as L. Mason indicates, it is now the Indian child who ". . . guides his parents through the mysteries of an encroaching white civilization".<sup>66</sup>

The most persistent deviation from the Christian norm was that of intoxication. In 1867, the Devon natives had shown their pastor a petition, written in Cree syllabics which had been taken to the Council at Norway House and requested that liquor as a trade article at Devon be replaced with sugar and tea.<sup>67</sup> While the native minister had offered his advice on the matter, he claimed that the move was a spontaneous one. A similar incident occurred among the Indians of Cumberland House where a petition was presented to C. F. Hamilton. Refusing to override the policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, Hamilton did not arrest the liquor trade, but he did agree upon a compromise which proved to be satisfactory to the Christian Indians:

. . . whatever rum was brought to Cumberland House, it should be kept exclusively for the opposition; and never dealt out as an ordinary article of Trade; and moreover the Xtian Indians of Cumberland House, would never be tempted with rum, or, any other Spirituous Liquors, while he was in charge. Their names was all put down in a Book.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>L. Mason, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>67</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, June 14, 1867.

<sup>68</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, March 21, 1869.

The influence of the native minister was obvious in this case for the petition was written after Budd had conducted a service among them.

Social life also tended to be centred about the church. Daily prayer meetings, Wednesday lectures, and Sunday services broke the monotony of the struggle for survival. To encourage the growth of community feeling, communal dinners were sponsored by the fort and the church during the fall and the Christmas season. All members of the village participated in the preparation of the dinners including the inhabitants of Fort Defiance.<sup>69</sup> The European celebration of New Year's was adopted by the local inhabitants. Salutes from firearms warned the minister of the approach of the visitors who crowded his home to feed on treats of coffee, tea, cakes, and biscuits. While the men then proceeded to the fort for more of the same the women followed behind, then the young people, and finally the children. The remainder of the day was usually spent in activities such as sliding, skating, horse and dog racing, or football. The day ended with the holding of evening prayers.

The Company post of Fort Defiance was located within a few yards of the church and had been established as a year-round post since 1865. Mr. Charles Adams, the gentleman in charge of the post, had formerly served as a schoolmaster at The Pas and continued to set out the hymns for the natives at the church services.<sup>70</sup> A church service was held at the post

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<sup>69</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, October 20, 1871.

<sup>70</sup>CMS/A84, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, August 19, 1867.

for the occupants every Sunday evening. Sometimes, these people attended the Cree services, but Budd had ". . . been sorry to see them go without understanding anything"<sup>71</sup> and thus he sponsored an extra service on their behalf. Although Budd was unable to estimate the amount of influence he had gained over the occupants of the post, he felt that ". . . if it did nothing more good, it does at least mark the sacredness of God's holy day; and keeps the people together in the Sunday evening, and keeps them from doing anything unlawful on this holy day".<sup>72</sup>

With the growth of Christianity among the trippers hired in the areas of Budd's sphere of influence, the head of the Cumberland District became more tolerant of his policies towards the practice of religion during the tripping season. In 1869, the Company had allowed their crews to conduct Sunday services and evening prayers during the tripping for the first time.<sup>73</sup> One of the older communicants was allowed to accompany the young men and hold the necessary religious observances while the crew tripped to York Factory. Furthermore, the Company was forced to permit the tripmen to have every Sunday free in observance of the Lord's Day unless travelling was absolutely necessary.<sup>74</sup> Christians from the Devon village refused to be recruited for tripping on a Sunday. Reports received

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<sup>71</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, January 1, 1870.

<sup>72</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, May 15, 1870.

<sup>73</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, June 9, 1869.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

by Budd from disinterested sources claimed that daily prayers and Sunday services were held by the Devon crewmen. The native pastor himself had hardly expected that these men ". . . could thus openly and publicly unite to serve God before all the other people they were travelling with: for there were people of other Creeds travelling with them".<sup>75</sup>

The remoteness of the church station had its positive aspects as well as the negative. The responsibility of executing secular duties and maintaining the economic support of the station obliged Budd to work side by side with his people. His house was open to those who sought personal comfort, advice, or medicine. Because of the predominance of Christians who now inhabited the premises and the employment of the Cree language, the native minister was able to identify more closely with his charges. Although Budd was forced to conduct services for the post occupants in English, he confessed that he ". . . felt a degree of distrust or diffidence in . . . preaching in a foreign tongue".<sup>76</sup> In contrast he preferred the native services for in this situation he stated ". . . I felt I was in my own ground & in my element".<sup>77</sup> Reverend Budd's re-identification was reflected in his use of the term 'Brother' which he used to refer to those converts with whom he worked.

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<sup>75</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, August 27, 1869.

<sup>76</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, December 26, 1868.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

During his last years at The Pas, Reverend Budd lost two more sons at the Red River Settlement. The shock of the death of these youths, all of whom he had ". . . educated . . . with a view for the church, at least as many might be found to be inclined and made fit for the sacred work",<sup>78</sup> merely compounded his personal problems for he now suffered from frequent attacks of hemorrhaging. Upon the loss of his third son in 1868, the principal men of the village sat with him in his grief. "These poor men", he had commented, "have all been plunged in the same deep waters of affliction, & therefore knew how to sympathise with a Brother in adversity".<sup>79</sup> His loneliness for his family was briefly relieved in the summer of 1868 with a visit from the remaining members of his family which included at this time two grown daughters along with their families and one small son and two little daughters. Visits were also received from other missionaries who were in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, such as Reverend J. Mackay from Stanley Mission and Reverend W. Kirkby of York Fort. In addition, the usual calls were made by the passing brigades which included notables C. F. Hamilton from Cumberland House, the Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, Donald A. Smith, and Robert Hamilton, the Inspecting Chief Factor. In 1869, he was paid a visit by the Bishop and six years later enjoyed the company of Archdeacon John McLean.

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<sup>78</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, March 17, 1874.

<sup>79</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, January 19, 1868. Reverend Budd had lost a son, James, who was attending St. John's Collegiate in 1868, and in 1874 he received word of the loss of a fourth son, David.



There are no references in the Reverend Budd's journals alluding to his personal opinions concerning the Red River uprising or the intentions of the Federal Government to establish a number of reserves in the West. In 1870, fearing for the safety of his children during the unrest at Red River, he did take a six week leave of absence to see them. Owing to the remoteness of the station, Budd reported that the Red River unrest had no influence upon the natives of his area, and thus he was able to carry his work on as usual.<sup>80</sup> And in spite of his awareness of the implications of white settlement at the Nepowewin, little thought was given to any similar transformation of the Devon area due to the differing environmental circumstances.

Undaunted by the fact of his illness and weak health, Budd continued to implement his program of visitation to the outstations which fell under his supervision. Brief visits were paid to the Devon Indians who operated fisheries at Carrot River and Clearwater Lake. Because of the distance factor, Cumberland House rather than Nepowewin Station received most of Budd's attention during this period. The school at Cumberland House, being no longer under the direction of Reverend Cook, had virtually collapsed. Among the first populations in the north to have embraced Christianity, they remained steadfast in their beliefs without the influence of a resident missionary. While the majority of the population scattered into the woods for the winter season, the women with their children, and the old had tended to settle near the fort for the summer

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<sup>80</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Cumberland, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 5, 1870.

season. By 1870 Budd felt that these peoples had attained a level of independency.<sup>81</sup> Many were able to read syllabics fluently and were undertaking the education of others in this system of writing. Nearly all were able to read their Bibles and Prayer Books in addition to conducting daily prayers, Sunday services, and burial services. A scriptural reader had been appointed to lead the congregation during the services. Offerings were made in goods and small bills. For baptism, marriage, or the reception of the communion rites, the Cumberland House Indians were obliged to await the arrival of Budd, or travel to Devon.

There was no opposition forthcoming from the fort inhabitants of Cumberland House to Budd's activities among them.<sup>82</sup> The hospitality of the fort occupants was always extended to the native minister with provisions made for the ensurance of his safe journey home to Devon. When he travelled in spite of his illness, he was provided with a Company escort. By 1870, the Cumberland House Indians had shown a desire to permanently locate themselves near the fort in order that Budd and perhaps a future catechist would be able to locate them easier. They also wished to prepare themselves for the arrival of a missionary by beginning to build houses and clearing land for cultivation.<sup>83</sup> It was clear that a

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<sup>81</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 15, 1870. By May 1870 there were forty-one communicants at Cumberland House. This number included his own crew and the Company's servants.

<sup>82</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 10, 1870.

<sup>83</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, September 12, 1870.

permanent settlement was necessary for the Christian element at Cumberland House since some of the converts travelled as far as fifty miles in winter with only scanty clothing on their backs in order to attend services. So infrequent were his visits that Reverend Budd had once observed that "The Indians were loathe to leave, and so begun to talk about some things they had to do, and how they were to purchase the Wine for their Communion".<sup>84</sup>

The arrival of an itinerating Roman Catholic priest at Cumberland House in the summers of 1872-73, had served as an impetus for Budd's organization of the natives into a more permanent and insular settlement under Anglican domination. Despite his efforts, the priest was unable to win over any proselytes for the natives informed him that ". . . they had long since received, and enjoyed, the Protestant faith, and they were not yet tired of it".<sup>85</sup> It wasn't until 1875 that the Society finally sponsored a minister, Reverend B. McKenzie, at Cumberland Lake. By 1877 there were fifty-seven communicants frequenting Cumberland House, and at this time, McKenzie reported that the ". . . Indians are only now laying aside their old habits & turning their attention to the white Man's mode of life".<sup>86</sup> Furthermore he could not foresee the growth of the mission into an agricultural community, maintaining that its economic base would always be that of fish.

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<sup>84</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, December 12, 1870.

<sup>85</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 13, 1872.

<sup>86</sup>CMS/A102, Reverend B. McKenzie, Journal, Cumberland Lake, July 23, 1877.

Another area of proselytization was northeast of Devon among the Moose Lake peoples who included those Indians who traded there from Poplar Point. The rum trade had been arrested in 1871 and consequently Budd had hoped that the natives might be more easily induced to conversion. Most of the work of former catechists had been undone among these people ". . . for many of them were once induced to believe the Gospel of our Lord, but . . . they have gone back to their Idols and to their sins".<sup>87</sup> In some instances the more pious element had broken away from their bands and taken up residence at Devon among the Christian Indians there in order to escape ostracism from the heathen population. Owing to the lack of a resident teacher in the area, the progress of conversion was slow. And yet, by 1872 there seemed to be an observable difference in the attitude of these peoples. "They are sorry that they once had the Gospel preached to them, and that they rejected it. They look with envy to the Indians of Devon, they seem to be different from them somehow, and they were one people once . . . ."88 No assistance for Moose Lake was immediately forthcoming from the Society, and because of his health, Budd was unable to spend any length of time at the station.

The mission station which seemed to possess the most promising future was that of Nepowewin. Until 1872, the response of the Church Missionary Society to this station which was located on the doorway to the prairies was minimal. At this time, the Reverend Luke Caldwell, a

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<sup>87</sup>CMS/A98, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, November 1, 1868.

<sup>88</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, October 11, 1872.

native priest, had assumed charge over the station. Prior to his arrival, the mission had been placed in charge of John Sinclair, a native catechist who returned to Red River for further training. Reverend Budd had criticized the lack of foresight displayed by his predecessor in replacing him with an unskilled lay agent, and after Sinclair's departure, he was forced to fill the position with an old Christian Devon native, John Umphreville, who was held responsible for the station until Caldwell's arrival.<sup>89</sup> Although Umphreville lacked formal training, Budd felt that he had ". . . the advantage of having long experience in the mission work, and he was always zealous to save the heathen".<sup>90</sup>

As a result of the brevity of his visits, the influence of Reverend Budd at Nepowewin was of necessity hindered. At times the natives were missed completely. And yet, owing to its fertility, this was an area which demanded the rapid acculturation of the Indian in order to prepare the way for the onslaught of European settlement. As Budd became more aware of the seriousness of this situation, he advised the Church Missionary Society of the impending transformation which would be taking place.

It is desirable to have this part of our Mission field well strengthened; for as the emigration fills the country and stretches across as far as the Saskatchewan, the Nepowewin & its neighbourhood will be one of the first places in the country. Your Mission Station the Nepowewin is only a few miles below the conjunction of the West and South Branches of the River Saskatchewan. Here it is expected will be a great and central depot, when the Steamers are plying up both the rivers.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, August 15, 1870.

<sup>90</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, September 6, 1870.

<sup>91</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 13, 1872.

Other elements also recognized the importance of the Saskatchewan River to the development of the prairies. In the early 1870's the Hudson's Bay Company were staking claims in the area and erecting a building on the forks of the branches of the two rivers of the Saskatchewan as a replacement for Fort à la Corne.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, a Presbyterian mission had been established near Carlton House, just above the junction of the two branches of the Saskatchewan.<sup>93</sup> These moves were made to accommodate the demands of the settlers who were rapidly arriving from the Red River Settlement.

After approximately thirty years work in the Cumberland District, it had become obvious to Budd that the chief occupations of the Devon village would be, due to environmental limitations, restricted to cattle raising and the operation of fisheries. The Nepowewin was far more preferable for the purposes of agriculture. Within the near future, Budd saw this station as the supplier for not only the Devon Station, but also the Stanley Mission and all the Mackenzie River missions.

Under the supervision of the Reverend Luke Caldwell, the difficulties which Budd had experienced while stationed at Nepowewin were still present. The shortness of time of contact accounted for the small school attendance which fluctuated from twelve to a high of fifty or more. The independency of the Plains peoples and their practice of living in large bands rendered them less susceptible to proselytization than the smaller scattered family

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<sup>92</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 13, 1872.

<sup>93</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend H. Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, January 30, 1873.

units of the Woods Cree. In fact, some of the Woodland Cree had initiated a settlement around Lac la Ronge. In contrast to their neighbours in the Woodlands, Caldwell felt that the Plains Indian had been greatly demoralized through the extensive use of liquor as a trade article.<sup>94</sup> Although the Federal Government had prohibited the use of alcohol in trade for specific localities, the Indians were reported to have concocted ". . . a strong infusion of tea, tobacco, pain-killer, and anything else that will make the mixture "strong", and still keep up their debaucheries".<sup>95</sup> Obviously feeling the weight of his burden in the area because of the native situation and the harshness of the environs, Caldwell warned other missionaries against holding misconceptions of the area which he felt were being spread.

Now "the fertile valley of the Saskatchewan" has become "familiar on the mouth as household words", . . . by many who have no knowledge of the country except from hearsay. The truth, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes. The Saskatchewan valley, and, . . . many other parts of the country, are good enough for any one with health, strength, and a willingness to labour; but it is worse than useless to expect a paradise.<sup>96</sup>

Potatoes, barley, turnips, and peas grew well in the area, but wheat proved to be more temperamental and relatively unsuccessful as a crop.

In 1875, The Bishop of Saskatchewan, Reverend John McLean, recorded the Indians no longer assembled at the fort, although they did continue to barter their furs at the post. Approximately ten native families lived near the mission station and regularly attended the services while at

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<sup>94</sup>CMS/A100, Reverend L. Caldwell, Journal, Nepowewin, March 30, 1873.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

least sixteen pagan families were within reach of the mission. The congregation, at this time averaged thirty-two persons and thirteen communicants. The Sunday School register contained twenty-three names along with those of five teachers. Advising against the abandonment of the mission station, the Bishop indicated that the location would make in effect, an excellent site for a reserve:

The survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway is going on - new settlements are already being formed - civilization is steadily advancing. These causes, combined with the gradual disappearance of the buffalo from the plains, will render it less difficult in the future than it has been in the past, to collect the Indians as settlers on reserves; and I think the neighborhood of Fort La Corne, or the Nepowewin, a very likely place for such settlements.<sup>97</sup>

A second source of encouragement for the maintenance of the station came from C. F. Christie of the Hudson's Bay Company, who did not desire to see the race of the Gospel to be won by the Roman Catholics.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, Christie expressed his regret over the fact that Reverend Budd was unable to continue his visits to Fort Carlton for he reported that smallpox was cutting down hundreds of natives and that the epidemic had spread among the fort occupants.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>CMS/A101, Notes from The Bishop of Saskatchewan's Journal, January to May, 1875, (Winnipeg: printed at the "Standard Office", 1875?), p. 3. In CMS/A101, Minutes of the first Missionary Conference held in the Diocese of Saskatchewan, March 22, 1876, in view of the shift of location in the population of the Nepowewin Indians, consideration was being given to transferring the station to the opposite side of the river. A schoolmaster was also to be employed at fifty pounds annually.

<sup>98</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, August 18, 1870

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.



Still another area which was considered ripe for the extension of proselytization efforts was to the southwest of Devon at the "Pas Mountain". By 1871, several of the Indians of this area, having been influenced by the Devon converts during their trips to the village for seed and ammunition, had consented to baptism. Apparently these converts had already been raising potatoes and establishing houses for themselves. Of their progress, Budd expressed great hopes for their future proselytization: "I have never had more encouragement from any set of heathen Indians since I have laboured among them for these 30 years".<sup>100</sup> Another location which came within his sphere of influence was the settlement of Big Eddy, some four miles above Devon which consisted of former residents of the Christian village. The Reverend Henry Cochrane, who was Budd's successor and son-in-law, employed a teacher who divided his time between Devon and Big Eddy. Cochrane, also sensing the changes taking place in the country nearby and the increasing use of the Saskatchewan River for travel, promoted the instruction of the English language in the schools in order to prepare the natives for the impact of white influx.<sup>101</sup>

In a brief biography of the Reverend Henry Budd, W. Heeney described the native minister as a ". . . man of fine appearance. He was

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<sup>100</sup>CMS/A80, Reverend Henry Budd, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, January 8, 1872.

<sup>101</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Cochrane, Christ Church, Devon, to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, August 12, 1875. Cochrane had given Budd his assistance for the months of November and December of 1874 after which he went on to the Stanley Mission.

above the average height and well proportioned".<sup>102</sup> Having been an extremely active man all his life, the reality of his illness deeply frustrated and often depressed him. The Reverend Cochrane had recorded that his father-in-law was ". . . very much struck . . .",<sup>103</sup> at his weak health. Upon the reception of the word of his son's death in 1874 Budd had reflected that ". . . the news gave me such a shock that flesh and blood could not endure it . . . . What is there now that I should wish to live for? Oh what a barren desert, what a howling wilderness does this world appear".<sup>104</sup> The fact that the minister contracted influenza in the spring of 1875 only served to compound his problems. The native minister passed away on April 2, 1875, on the Friday following Easter Sunday. Thus ended one of the most successful careers in the history of the native ministry in the northwest.

That Reverend Budd's work was held in high esteem by the Church Missionary Society is evidenced through the various means which the Society attempted to accommodate his remaining family. The Archdeacon Abraham Cowley personally assumed the responsibility of setting Budd's affairs in order after his death. In Cowley's eulogy to Budd, the performance of the Native Minister is aptly summarized:

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<sup>102</sup>W. Heeney, Leaders Of The Canadian Church, (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Ltd., 1920), p. 69.

<sup>103</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Cochrane, op. cit.

<sup>104</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, March 17, 1874.

He was an excellent manager. His place was a very pattern of neatness & order. He was provident and economical--never starving but possessed of means to effect whatever his hands found to do. I had great confidence in Mr. Budd's ability to manage rightly the business devolving upon him in the secular affairs of the Station. As to his spirituality of mind, & devotion to the course of Christ, & this Holy Church, his reports abundantly testify.<sup>105</sup>

Through Archdeacon Cowley's initiative, provisions were made for Budd's family: "We thought after so many years of faithful service, from the Father, the Committee of the C.M.S., would have no objection to do something towards the support & education of the 2 younger children . . . ."<sup>106</sup> Two daughters, (one twelve years old and the other nineteen) were to be placed in a girls school at Red River. The Church Missionary Society in London was approached to compensate for the deficiency of funds for the education of the two girls.

An estimation of the extent of the Reverend Budd's work at Devon was recorded during Cowley's visit to the village after Budd's death. Significant changes in transportation had occurred which insured the northern missions of their supplies by the use of steamers. In Cowley's opinion, the congregation had made much progress:

At church there was order in great simplicity. The responses were heartily and well made, apparently for the most part, from memory: there was such a dearth of books: & the singing was certainly quite congregational.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> CMS/A101, Archdeacon A. Cowley, Indian Settlement, to Reverend Wright, Honourable Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July 7, 1875.

<sup>106</sup> CMS/A101, Arabella Cowley, Indian Settlement, to the Reverend Wright, Church Missionary Society, August 23, 1875.

<sup>107</sup> CMS/A101, Archdeacon A. Cowley; Journal, St. Andrews, October 22, 1875.

As previously indicated there was little evidence of formalized organization among the members of the congregation. Budd had attempted to create an informal structure for decision making purposes, but these efforts had apparently collapsed during the last two or three years of his incumbency. The dissemination of Bible Christianity and the promotion of civilization through the practice of agriculture provided Budd with his primary tools of acculturation. Budd firmly believed in his approach to proselytization and felt that it was largely responsible for the transformation of the Devon Indian. In comparing his charges with those of Moose Lake, he emphasized this point: "What has made such difference? Surely the Gospel of Christ received in the truth and love of it . . . this what makes the difference. These have received the Gospel of Christ, and the others have rejected it."<sup>108</sup>

Cowley, himself, although he recommended the introduction of some level of formal church "government", responded positively to Reverend Budd's technique of proselytization:

The introduction of Bible Xtianity has been a great - an unspeakable blessing to the natives of this poor . . . watery part of the country. One could not but be struck with the poverty of the people, so meanly clad, such hard worn countenances; they contrast so unfavourably in these respects with their more favoured brethren elsewhere. The Good Lord compensates for this by clothing them with the garments of Salvation, the beautiful robe of Xts' righteousness & by assimilating each to Himself spiritually.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, April 28, 1870.

<sup>109</sup>CMS/A101, Archdeacon A. Cowley, Indian Settlement, to the Reverend Wright, Honourable Secretary, Church Missionary Society, December 13, 1875.

In 1876, Commissioner Thomas Howard, in preparing the ground work for The Pas treaty, recorded his impressions of the temporal nature of the Devon village:

The Church Missionary Society have a very nice church, schoolhouse and parsonage there; and the Hudson's Bay Company one of their posts. There are also a large number of houses belonging to the Indians of the place; and on the other bank the firm of Kew, Stobart & Co., have erected a store for trading purposes. There are also several dwelling-houses on the north bank. Altogether, the appearance of the place . . . was most prepossessing.<sup>110</sup>

In addition, Howard reported that at The Pas, ". . . all the land obtainable is now cultivated, and consists of a vegetable garden and one field attached to the Mission, and a few patches of potatoes here and there".<sup>111</sup>

According to the directions of the Lieutenant-Governor, Alexander Morris, the Church Missionary Society school would now receive grants from the Government and Howard was directed to

. . . secure the adhesion of the Indians at The Pas to the treaty providing that reserves of one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five will be granted at places selected for them by an officer of the Privy Council, with their approval; but it will probably be necessary to give them a reserve at The Pas where they reside, reserving carefully free navigation and access to the shores.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup>Thomas Howard, Commissioner, to the Honorable Alexander Morris, Winnipeg, October 10, 1876, cited in A. Morris, The Treaties Of Canada With The Indians Of Manitoba And The North-West Territories, (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 161-62.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>112</sup>Alexander Morris to the Honorable T. Howard and J. Lestock Reid, Esq., Fort Garry, July 14, 1876, Ibid., p. 165.

The highest tribute which was paid to the work of the Reverend Henry Budd came not from outsiders but from the Natives themselves, among whom he had laboured for the last thirty-five years. This tribute was aptly expressed through the feelings of an elderly Christian upon reflecting the death of the Native minister: "Sorry does not express what we felt. My own father died some years ago, but when Mr. Budd died, I felt for the first time what it meant to be an orphan."<sup>113</sup> Reverend Budd was succeeded by his son-in-law who was instrumental in negotiating the treaties in the Cumberland District on behalf of the Indians.

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<sup>113</sup>W. Heeney, op. cit., p. 69.

## CONCLUSION

The history of mission work as conducted by the Reverend Henry Budd under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society can neither be romanticized nor chronicled as an overwhelming success. The glowing histories of the North-West America Mission contained in various periodicals and books which were published under the sponsorship of the Church Missionary Society in the nineteenth century were simply vehicles for propaganda to stimulate Home support. Passages which revealed the personal trials of the missionary while in the service of the Society were often included in its periodicals in order to gain sympathy and support for the cause of world-wide evangelization.

The maxim of civilization through cultivation was a futile one, particularly in the northern areas included in the present study. However, the model of the utopian native Christian agricultural community persisted as a primary objective in spite of the obvious and often insurmountable physical barriers to the practice of agriculture. Once converted, the native population was exposed to unsettling agents such as the harshness of the environment and the presence of fur trading operations. These factors tended to encourage the nomadic pattern of life with the result that the growth of community feeling was hindered at mission villages and the poverty of the Indian was further exaggerated, particularly in areas which had become stripped of their game resources. Therefore, although the agriculturally-based mission stations did become the centre of socio-political and religious activities for the local bands, the resulting economic base

actually consisted of a merger between the hunting or trapping subsistence and that of marginal cultivation. This development necessitated the retention of a semi-nomadic pattern of subsistence by at least part of the male population of the mission village. By the early twentieth century, little, in fact, had changed in the economic pattern of Devon activities since Budd's incumbency. The Reverend J. Hines reported that the native population from The Pas mission divided themselves into units of three to four families over an area of ten to one hundred miles for the purposes of hunting and trapping.<sup>1</sup>

Since the conversion to Christianity not only involved the worship of a new god, but also the commitment to a new system of ethics, the strategy of proselytization consisted of a process of deculturation or the abrogation of the indigenous belief system. Accompanying this disintegrative function of the missionary was the creation of new needs which were to be fulfilled by the acceptance of the Christian religion. Such needs were to be provided by the recognition for the necessity of salvation and the development of civilization. This could only be achieved through conversion and the transformation of the native hunting and trapping economy to one which was agriculturally-based. This metamorphosis implied the training of the local population in new technological skills, an undertaking which few missionaries wished to indulge. And yet, this instruction was essential for the establishment of self-supporting Native Churches.

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<sup>1</sup>Reverend J. Hines, The Red Indians of the Plains, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1915), p. 248.



In the field of social development, the proselytizer proved to be more effective. Through education, traditional values which were antagonistic to Christian ethical standards were destroyed.

Upon the introduction of the Cree syllabic system the missionary was able to assert an even greater influence over his congregation. 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. The only type of written literature available to the native during the period under study was the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, Scriptural readings, hymns, and sermons. These served as the primary sources of reading material for the literate portion of the Christian native population. In his analysis of the legends of the Swampy Cree in Manitoba, Charles Clay recorded that the legend-tellers were reluctant to impart their traditional legends to the white man.<sup>2</sup> This reluctance was partially due to the sexual content of many of the legends, and

. . . moreover, Christian Indians declare that they have put these things behind them, as pertaining to paganism; they say, "We used to have those stories but since we became Christians we try to forget them". Yet there is little doubt that recital of them still helps pass many a long evening in the winter trapping camps.<sup>3</sup>

Although the language barrier was sufficiently overcome, in certain instances between the missionary and the native, the differing conceptual

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<sup>2</sup>C. Clay, Swampy Cree Legends, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Reverend F. Stevens, United Church Missionary at Fisher River Reserve, Ibid., p. 15.

framework around which the European and Native cultures revolved was an even greater impediment to proselytization. "With the Indians, spirits were beneficent or mischievous according to effect, not morally good or morally bad according to an absolutely objective ethic".<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it was exceedingly difficult for the Indian to appreciate the concept of sin, for example, which was central to the Christian religion and the need for salvation. Essentially, the Church Missionary Society viewed the half-breed, the living incorporation of the European and Native cultures, as the bridge over cultural differences confronted in proselytization. However, the increasing awareness that the native agent in the employ of the Society needed more education was diametrically opposed to this scheme. At the St. John's College, native agents were instructed in Victorian values and intolerance for the traditional life of their countrymen. In addition, the concept of self-supporting Native Churches was negated by the belief in the innate inferiority of the Indian for once a station had received parochial status and had been supplied with a native minister, it still functioned under the paternalistic supervision of an appointed European supervisor.

In his analysis of the Cree in central and eastern Canada and their response to the nineteenth century evangelicals, C. Ellis concluded that their world outlook tends to be ". . . very much that of the unsophisticated European Christian".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>A. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 135.

<sup>5</sup>C. Ellis, "The Missionary and the Indian in Central and Eastern Canada", Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p. 28.

This included:

. . . a three-deckered universe with a sabbatarian God presiding over both Creation and Administration; rewards for good, punishment for evil; and the individual the object of a struggle between highly personalized forces of both. Faith and the life of uprighteousness and devotion are felt to constitute the pilgrim's pathway of safety to the promised land. The figure of the Saviour lends warmth, particularly with many of the older generation; and an intimate textual knowledge of the New Testament is common. In with this are fitted various . . . figures from native lore.<sup>6</sup>

Parallels in Christianity and the traditional belief system facilitated the acceptance of Christianity. For example, the Cree had a legend which corresponded with the Christian flood of the world and the elements of ceremonialism and ritualism, though not as elaborate as that of the Catholic Church, did aid the identification of the Indian with the white man's religion.

Often the inconsistency between the behaviour of the traders on the one hand and the teachings of the missionary on the other, merely served to confuse the convert. Proselytization similarly was hindered through the display of professional jealousy, not only between the missionary and the shaman, but also among the various denominations. Presented with these alternatives, the situation became more perplexing and at times resulted in interesting combinations of the traditional and the European religions. Such an instance was related to Isaac Cowie in 1869 by the Reverend James Settee concerning Thomas Manitou Keesik of Fort Pelly, who, after receiving communion,

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

. . . resorted to the forest bearing a strip of red and another of blue cloth . . . and offered these up in aboriginal fashion to his ancestral deity or deities. Nor did he make this double profession of opposite faiths in secret, for, said he, "One may be right and the other wrong, or both may be right; so I want to make doubly sure of the future life that both Christians and Indians believe in."<sup>7</sup>

The strategy employed by the Society in establishing their various mission posts was faulty. Hoping to influence the natives by establishing themselves at posts where the Indian naturally congregated during certain times of the year, the Society had recommended that a station be initiated at every Hudson's Bay post. However, certain sites in the north, such as The Pas, were unable to support a large agricultural population and served as a breeding ground for conflict between the two white elements, i.e., the fur trader and the missionary. Because the proselytizer endeavoured to transform the fur trading economical base of the northwest into an agricultural one, these two elements served purposes which were antagonistic to each other. This was evidenced particularly in the issue over the trafficking of liquor.

By the 1870's, the Church Missionary Society through its use of both European and native agents had failed to create a self-supporting, self-propagating Native Christian Church in Rupert's Land. In certain instances the blame lay with the Society which sent unprepared and poorly qualified proselytizers into the area. However, the failure primarily can be attributed to the relative inflexibility of the scheme of proselytization which demanded that the Indian must work the soil before any acceptable level of civilization could be reached. Given the environmental conditions of the Cumberland District, such an objective was rather utopian.

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<sup>7</sup> I. Cowie, op. cit., p. 367.

In the 1870's, the establishment of mission stations among the Indians was given new impetus under the support of the Federal Government which was responsible for the initiation of the reserve system.

". . . the establishment of Missions in the vicinity of Reserves where the Indians are likely to be established permanently . . ."8 received the full support of the Federal Government. G. Dennis, Surveyor General with the Department of the Interior recommended that:

". . . it would greatly strengthen the hands of the Gov't in administering Indian Affairs generally, in the N.W.T. if a liberal policy were adopted, and encouragement given to those denominations which will build houses & undertake farming operations at points where such examples may be brought under the notice of & followed by the Indians.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, with the influx of European settlement into the plains regions, the Church Missionary Society was forced to divide their work between the field of proselytization and the provision of churches and church organization for the frontier population.<sup>10</sup>

The influence of the Reverend Henry Budd in the proselytization of the native population of the Cumberland District was far-reaching and unequalled in his time by other native agents or by many of the European

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<sup>8</sup>Alexander, Morris Papers, Ketcheson Collection, 1874-77, G. Dennis, Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Office, to the Bishop of Rupert's Land, July 12, 1875, P.A.M.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

CMS/A99, in 1871, in a Circular Letter sent from Bishop John McLean, St. John's College, it was resolved that the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, The Colonial and Continental Church Society should extend its ministrations to newly settled areas. Four years later estimates for missionary and foundation work totalled between ten thousand and twelve thousand pounds.

counterparts. Within the framework of the long-range policies of the Church Missionary Society, the native minister was instrumental in the instruction and the establishment of a lay agency in the Cumberland District. His contributions to the Society as a translator played a vital role in the dissemination of the Gospel to the Cree.<sup>11</sup>

Due to adverse environmental factors and the operation of fur trading activities within his spheres of influence, Budd's strategy for the evangelization and the civilization of the Indian was one of accommodation to the obstructions with which he was faced. Essentially, the residential pattern which had been established at The Pas actually benefited the fur trading activities of the Hudson's Bay Company. The mission station served as a source of support for the local population during the trapping off-season and also was as an effective agent for the preservation of law and order. The values of integrity and honesty in reference to the trade were imparted by Budd who urged his congregation to ". . . do their utmost to pay up what debt they had owing to the company; and endeavour to live honestly with them".<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the fact that Budd received his education through the European, his relative isolation from the Red River Settlement and his lengthy service in the north served to produce a sympathetic and compromising spirit which was not shared by many of his European counterparts. This

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<sup>11</sup>CMS/A101, Reverend H. Cochrane, Devon, Annual Letter to the Secretaries, December, 1875. Throughout his service with the Society, Budd continued to send translations to Archdeacon James Hunter.

<sup>12</sup>CMS/A99, Reverend H. Budd, Journal, Christ Church, Devon, March 10, 1869.

empathy with his native congregations undoubtedly accounted for his optimism and faith in the capability of his countrymen to be civilized. Within this atmosphere, the groundwork of proselytization was laid for the Cumberland District Cree and Budd's efforts were to serve as an effective catalyst for the future acculturation of the Cree.

APPENDIX I

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.
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

\*Reverend W. Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D., (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1880).



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 establishments, 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 ecclesiastical 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.

## APPENDIX II

### IV. THE NATIVE PASTORATE AND ORGANISATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES\*

THIRD PAPER, ISSUED JANUARY 8 1866

1. The first Minute of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society upon the subject of the native Church was issued in 1851; but at the end of ten years so little progress had been made towards the formation of native Churches, that in July 1861 the Committee issued a second minute on the organisation of native Churches in missions, in which various practical directions were given for the establishment of a Native Church Fund and of Native Church District Conferences. The object of the present paper is to record, for the encouragement of their missionaries, the progress which has been since made in native Church organisation, and to point out some practical measures for the more speedy establishment of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending native Churches.

#### Review of the Progress made towards Native Church Organisation

2. The Committee trust that throughout their missions the distinction is now understood and recognised between a Mission and a Native Church--that is, between the agency employed by a Foreign Missionary Society to evangelise any people, and the agency to be employed in pastoral ministrations to Christian congregations.

3. The greatest advance in native Church organisation has been made in Sierra Leone, the earliest mission of the Society. There nine out of twelve missionary districts have been formed into self-supporting native pastorates. The nine native ministers and the village schools are all supported by the contributions of the native Church, assisted, to some extent, by a grant-in-aid from the Society. These native ministers are no longer under the direction of the Society, but of the European Bishop of Sierra Leone and a church council. In this mission a circumstance occurred which holds out an important example to other missions. Two native ministers, who had been educated and ordained in England, and had for twelve years been acting as missionaries of the Society, had to choose between continuing in that position or resigning their connection with the Society, and casting in their lot with the native Church. They wisely chose the latter, as most for the advantage of their country. The result has fully justified their choice. Their superior qualifications have acted beneficially upon the whole body of native pastors. Had

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\*Reverend W. Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D., (London: Longman's Green, and Co., 1880).

they, in consequence of these superior qualifications, retained their position as missionaries of the Society, the native church would have suffered loss, and the rest of the native pastors might easily have become discontented.

4. Throughout India and Ceylon the native Christians have been of late years in a measure aroused to the duty of supporting their native pastors. In some districts sums have been raised as endowments for this purpose. In South India these endowments amount to the sum of 3,300*l.*; but hitherto these endowments have been accumulating, and have therefore afforded no relief to the current expenses of the mission.<sup>1</sup> In many congregations contributions are raised for building and repairing of churches and for church expenses; but in very few cases have any contributions been made for relieving the Society from the charge of native ministrations. In the province of Tinnevelly 1,500*l.* a year is raised by the native Churches for various religious and benevolent objects, while the Society wholly supports the native pastors, catechists, and village schools, at a cost of 4,000*l.* a year beyond the expense of European agency.

5. It is obvious from the foregoing statements that, even in the most advanced missions of India, measures are required to make the support of native ministers by native congregations more effective. In other missions, in India and elsewhere, measures have yet to be taken for raising native contributions for the native Church.

#### Need of the Formation of a Separate Native Church Fund

6. The development of the resources of the native Church will be greatly promoted, in the judgment of the Committee, by a separation between the Native Church Funds and the Funds of the Society. For as long as the contributions for the support of the native Church are paid into the treasury of the Society, the Society is regarded as the paymaster, and not the native Church. Besides which, as long as the native Church agency and the missionary agency are paid out of one treasury, the distinction between the native Church and the mission is liable to be lost sight of, and the two agencies are, by the native Christians, blended into one and the same.

7. The separation of the two funds can only be satisfactorily effected by placing the Native Church Fund under the management of a local committee, or Church council, comprising, as in Sierra Leone, Europeans and natives. To such a separate fund the Society may contribute grants-in-aid, gradually diminished as the native Church contributions increase, until the native Church is able to sustain the whole charge of the native pastorate. In a former minute the managing body of such a Native Church

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<sup>1</sup>The question of appropriation of endowments is deferred for future consideration.

Fund was called a 'District Conference;' but as the term 'conference' is generally employed for the meetings of missionaries, the designation of 'Council,' as in Sierra Leone, more exactly represents the executive body of a native Church, and points also to the relative position of that body in respect of the missionary of the district, and ultimately of the native Bishop.

8. The Church Council, or managers of the fund, will naturally be entitled to exercise some superintendence over the agents supported by the fund. Regulations must therefore be adopted for securing a proper selection of the members of the Church Council, and for the right exercise of the powers of the council, under the united action of Europeans and natives.

9. The principles on which the Native Church Fund and Church Councils should be regulated have been already partly explained in the former minutes on 'Native Church Organisation,' but they may be now stated in a more distinct and practical form.

- I. That native contributions for the support of native teachers should be commenced from the first formation of a Christian congregation, even though there be but a single congregation; but they should never be paid direct from any congregation to its pastor or resident catechist, but to a native church fund, which must be available for the support of all the native teachers of an assigned district, according to regulated scales of salaries.
- II. That whilst the native contributions are inadequate to the whole support of the native teachers of such a district, the Society shall supplement the native Church fund by grants-in-aid; and as long as the Society thus contributed or carries on a mission within the district, the treasurership and ultimate control of the native Church fund must rest with the Society.
- III. That as soon as a district contains three or more separate congregations under native pastors, a Native Church Council should be formed for the distribution of the fund, for consulting upon the interests of the native Church, and for the general superintendence of its affairs.
- IV. That in every church council, as long as the district remains a missionary district, a missionary or other person appointed by the Society shall be the chairman, whose concurrence shall be necessary to the validity of the council, and who shall submit the proceedings of the council to the Committee of the Society.

- V. The members of the council should be appointed periodically, and should consist of two members appointed by the chairman, three native pastors appointed by the pastors, and three native laymen appointed by the congregation.
- VI. That the foregoing arrangements be subject to revision by the Parent Committee from time to time, until the native Church fund ceases to receive aid from the Society, or the district is placed under a permanent ecclesiastical system.

10. The Committee feel assured that the establishment of a separate native Church fund will not only afford great relief to the resources of the Society, but will have far more important benefits, by training up the native Church to manage its own affairs independently of European superintendence, and by affording to the heathen a visible and convincing proof of the reality and stability of native Christianity.

Suggestion of a Native Episcopal Commissary, preparatory  
for a Native Suffragan Bishop

11. With a view further to promote the independence of the native Church at as early a period as possible, it may be suggested that the Bishop of the diocese should appoint from time to time a Native Minister as his Commissary, to visit and make himself acquainted with the native teachers and their pastoral work, and that the commissary should attend the church councils as an assessor, with the chairman, and that he should report his visitations to the Bishop. This arrangement is proposed as a preparation for the appointment of a native suffragan bishop, when the native Church is sufficiently organised, and the Bishop of the Diocese shall be prepared to make such an appointment.

Reasons for a Missionary Society not placing Native Ministers  
in the position of European Missionaries

12. The Committee may refer, in connection with this subject, to applications they have lately received from more than one quarter to place some of the native pastors in the position of European missionaries, as in the earlier stages of missionary operations. The first Minute seems indeed to hold out the prospect to native pastors of such a missionary position, as an advancement and reward of faithful service. But the case is now altered. Experience has proved that the employment by a foreign Missionary Society of native ministers on the footing of English

missionaries impedes, in many ways, the organisation of the native Church. The native Church needs the most able native pastors for its fuller development. The right position of a native minister, and his true independence, must now be sought in the independence of the native Church, and in its more complete organisation under a native Bishop. At the same time the Committee reserve to themselves the power, as exceptional cases, of transferring a native pastor to the list of missionaries or assistant missionaries; but this must only be done when the general interests of the Society require it, and not as a reward or advancement of an individual. The example of the African missionaries, who transferred themselves to the position of native pastors, points out a more excellent way.

The Native Church Fund may for a time be relieved of the  
charge of Elementary Schools

13. In the foregoing remarks the Committee have confined their view to the support and superintendence of the pastoral agency of the native Church, as exercised by native pastors or resident catechists or readers. They have not touched upon the support of schools, because they regard Anglo-vernacular schools and boarding schools as missionary agency; and they think that it will greatly facilitate the arrangements for supporting native pastors if the vernacular schools are provided for, as a temporary arrangement, by the Society, or by other local resources, as, in South India, all female education is supported by the South India local fund, until the native Church organisation is sufficiently established to support the vernacular schools. The native pastors and the church council should, nevertheless, regard it as an essential part of their duty to watch over these schools, and to promote their efficiency.

#### NATIVE CHURCH ENDOWMENTS IN THE MISSIONS<sup>1</sup>

1. An appeal was made at the Jubilee of the Church Missionary Society in the year 1848, for raising a special jubilee fund, one of the declared objects of which was:-'The establishment of a moderate fund to be employed in assisting native Christian Churches to support their own native ministers and institutions; so that the funds of the Society may be released as soon as such Churches shall become matured in Christian habits and attainments, and may be devoted to the evangelisation of the heathen beyond them.'

2. In the year 1849 the Committee resolved to devote 10,000 . to this object, and in order to encourage native converts to make contributions towards the same object, it was resolved--

<sup>1</sup>Minute specially referring to South Indian and Ceylon.

(1) 'That a fund may be opened at any mission, or at any station of a mission, as a native Church endowment fund, such fund to be vested in the Society, and under the control of the Committee, in trust for the purpose for which it is contributed.

(2) 'That donations to this fund may be either general or for particular Churches.

(3) 'That the money shall, if possible, be invested under the sanction of the Parent Committee, in some permanent local security, such as land, town-lots, wharfs, etc., or in Government securities, either at home or abroad.

(4) 'That as soon as 100% shall be raised by local funds for these objects, it shall be increased out of the jubilee fund, by a sum not exceeding an equal amount; the amount of the addition to be regulated by a consideration of the circumstances under which the local fund has been raised, that is to say, the contributions of native Christians to be met by equal sums, and the contributions of other parties by such reduced sums as may seem suitable to the Parent Committee.

(5) 'That preference be given, coeteris paribus, to the applications according to the order of priority; no application to be received, except upon sums actually raised, or properly secured to the Society.'

3. The sum of 100%, to be raised by local funds, was afterwards reduced to 50%.

4. The Committee reflect with thankfulness, that a considerable impulse was thus given, in South India and Ceylon, to the native Christians to contribute towards the self-support of the native Church.

5. The native ministry has, however, been of late years so largely increased, that the time has arrived when the native Church must be urged to contribute to the present sustentation of their ministers, rather than to endowments.

6. Endowments will be useful in contributing to the stability and permanence of the native Church, and it is hoped that the impulse already given will continue to act; but the first duty is the present support of the ministry, so as to relieve the Society from the charge, and to cherish a healthy independence and self-reliance. The proper relation between a missionary society and the native Church is not when the Society supports the native ministry, aided by native contributions, but when the native ministry is paid out of a native Church fund, mainly sustained by the contributions of the converts, the Society only giving grants-in-aid as long as the same may be expedient.



7. In order, therefore, to promote contributions to a sustentation fund for the native Church, and to encourage the native Church to strive after a more healthy independence of foreign support, this Committee have rescinded the resolution of 1849, and made a new arrangement, providing only for grants upon the old plan to such congregations or districts as have already made payments with a view to obtain the grant of 50% before they receive intelligence of the new arrangement.

8. The balance which may remain of the jubilee fund for native endowments, after discharging all existing claims upon the same, will probably amount to 7,000%. This sum, under the new arrangement, will be reserved as an investment, and the interest will be available for special grants to those districts most needing help, which are making zealous efforts for the support of their own native ministers.

9. The special grants contemplated in the foregoing paragraphs are such as may be required by particular churches or districts, in addition to the grants-in-aid from the general fund of the Society to the native Church funds, on occasion, for instance, of a failure of the native contributions through some unforeseen calamity to the contributors, or of an unexpected expenditure required for the Church, or for procuring a parsonage-house, or for the temporary assistance to a disabled pastor. On these and other special occasions the jubilee native Church endowment fund will be available to encourage and augment the efforts of the native Church.

10. In respect of the endowments already created and augmented by grants from the jubilee fund, no stipulations for their employment have as yet been made, except that the general control of the Parent Committee was reserved in the resolutions of 1849. The Committee think it advisable, however, that there should now be a scheme settled for the employment of existing endowments. Over one portion of those existing endowments for Tinnevelly, amounting to 800%, the Committee has the sole control, and with respect to this they propose to distribute the interest in special grants, throughout the whole district of Tinnevelly, according to the principle in the preceding paragraph. In all other cases of existing endowments the missionaries will be consulted as to the scheme of employment which may be most satisfactory to all parties.

APPENDIX III

MAP I

MISSION STATIONS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY  
IN MANITOBA AND SASKATCHEWAN 1820-1872

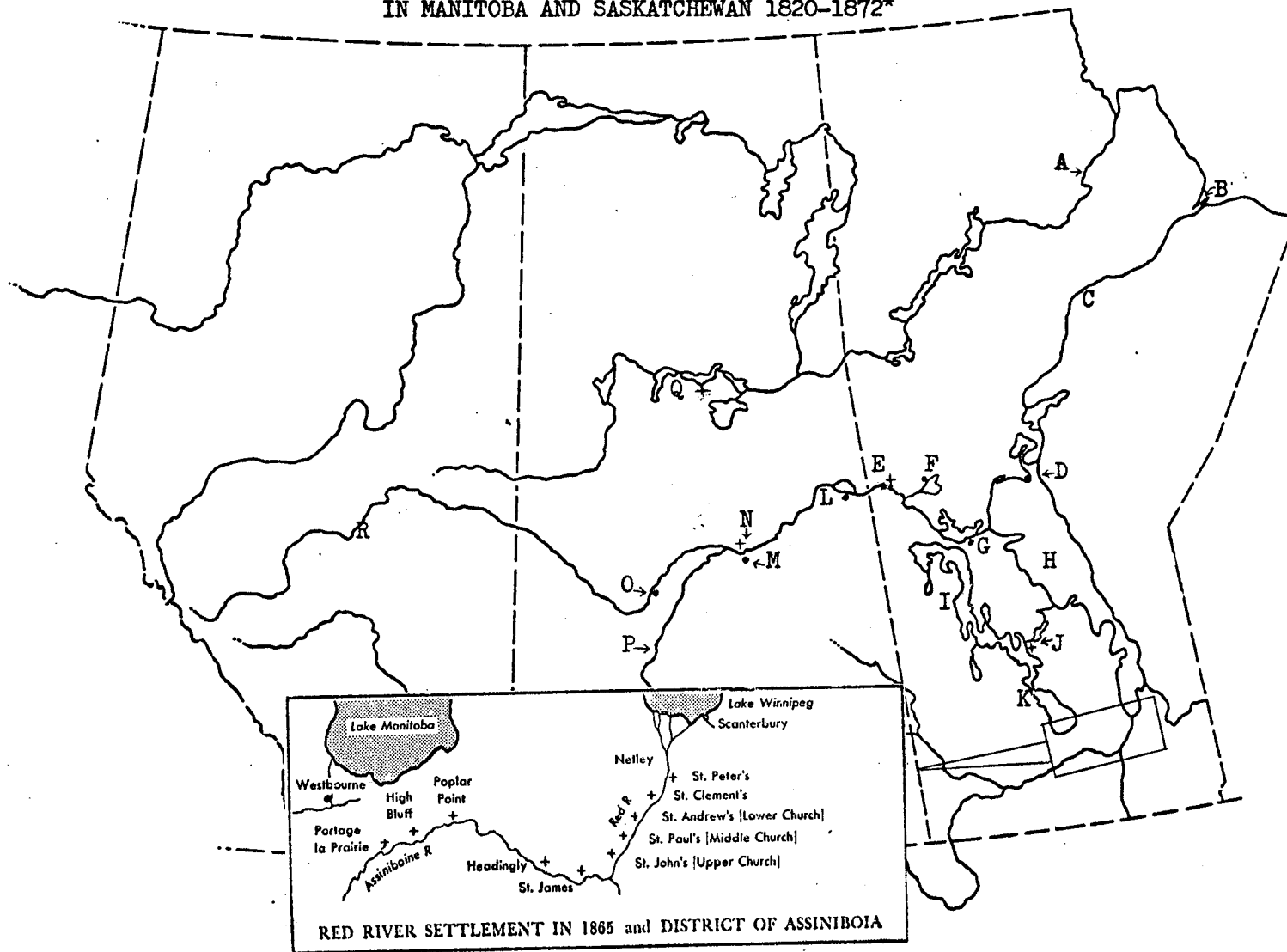
KEY:

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| A. Churchill River                      | J. Fairford Mission Station  |
| B. York Factory                         | K. Lake Manitoba             |
| C. Nelson River                         | L. Cumberland House          |
| D. Norway House                         | M. Fort à la Corne           |
| E. The Pas Mission Station              | N. Nepowewin Mission Station |
| F. Moose Lake House and Mission Station | O. Carlton House             |
| G. Cedar Lake House                     | P. South Saskatchewan River  |
| H. Lake Winnipeg                        | Q. Stanley Mission Station   |
| I. Lake Winnipegosis                    | R. North Saskatchewan River  |

MAP I

MISSION STATIONS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

IN MANITOBA AND SASKATCHEWAN 1820-1872\*



Insert from T. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, ( Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962).

APPENDIX IV

MAP II

LOCATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE PRAIRIES  
IN RELATION TO THE ZONES OF VEGETATION

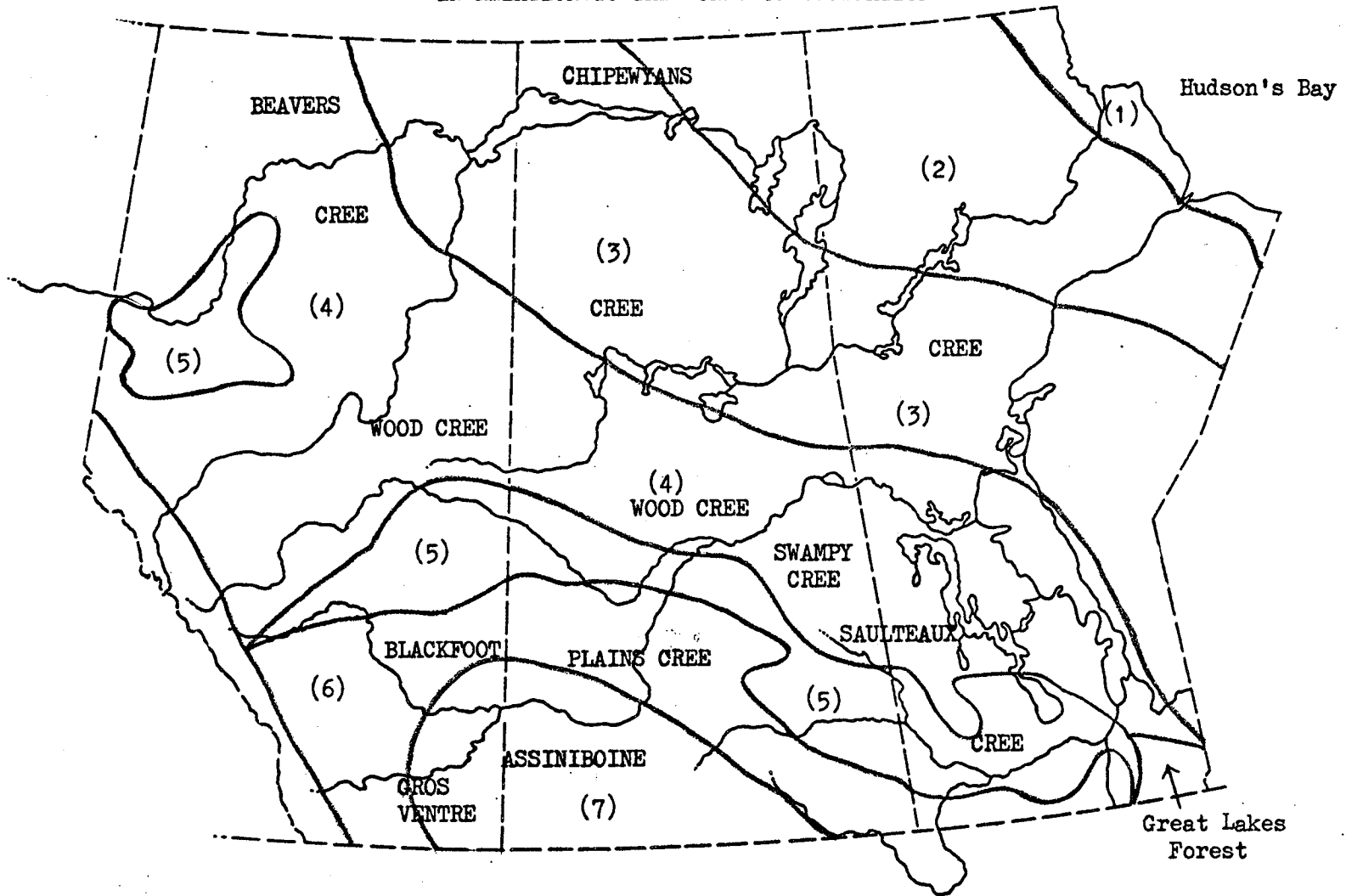
KEY:

- (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

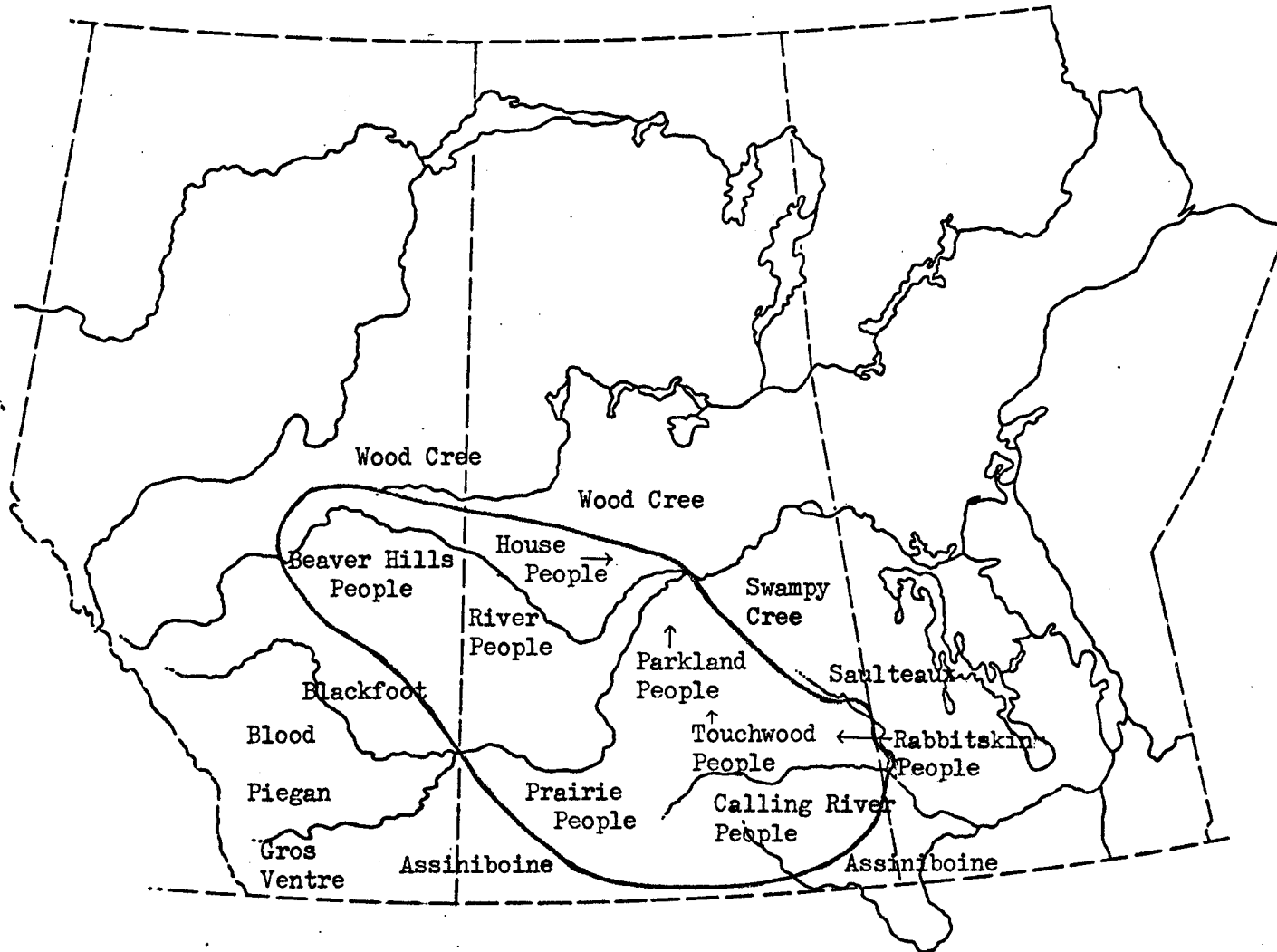
IN RELATION TO THE ZONES OF VEGETATION



RANGE OF THE PLAINS CREE\*

1860-1870

213



\*From L. O'Brodivich, "Plains Cree Acculturation in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Injustice", Napao, A Saskatchewan Anthropology Journal, Vol. II, (1969), p. 6.

APPENDIX VI

Census of Christ Church, Cumberland, 1857\*

Registered Population : unestimable

Registered Baptisms : 746

Registered Burials : 105

Native Teachers : 2

Boys in School : 22 )

) number includes regular attendance

Girls in School : 20)

Resident Families (each widow counted as a family) : 20

Houses occupied : 11

Houses occupied by hunters on occasional visits : 12

Houses in ruin and vacated by hunters : 9

Cattle belonging to George : 7

Cattle belonging to Mission : 2

Cattle belonging to Indians : 22

Horses belonging to George : 4

Horses belonging to Mission : 4

Horses belonging to Indians : 4

Pigs brought by George from Red River : 2

Poultry brought by George from Red River : 4

Potatoe gardens, not including those at distant islands : 6

Fields of wheat and barley belonging to the Mission : 2

Fields of wheat and barley belonging to the Indians : 4

New houses in course of erection : 4

\*See CMS/A80, Reverend H. George, Christ Church, Cumberland, to Reverend J. Chapman of the Church Missionary Society, July 18, 1857.

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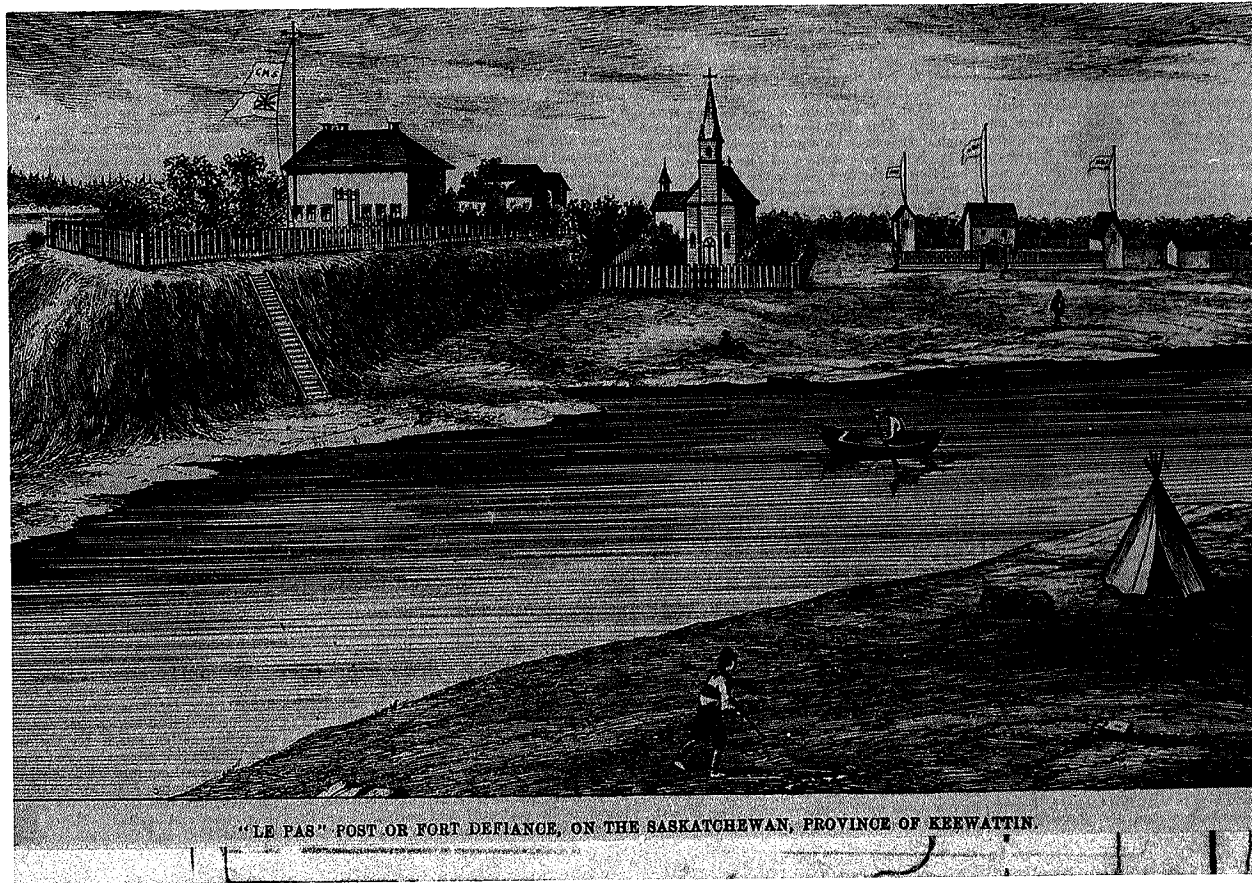
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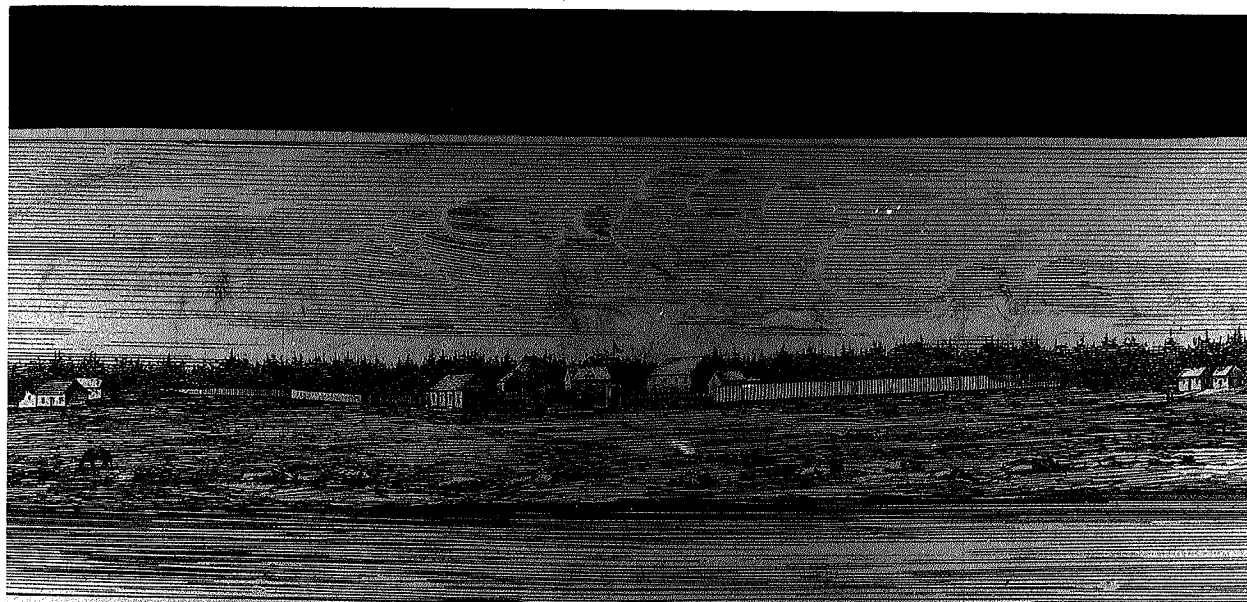
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PLATES

FORT DEFIANCE ON THE SASKATCHEWAN AND THE DEVON MISSION  
(Canadian Illustrated News, April 7, 1877)

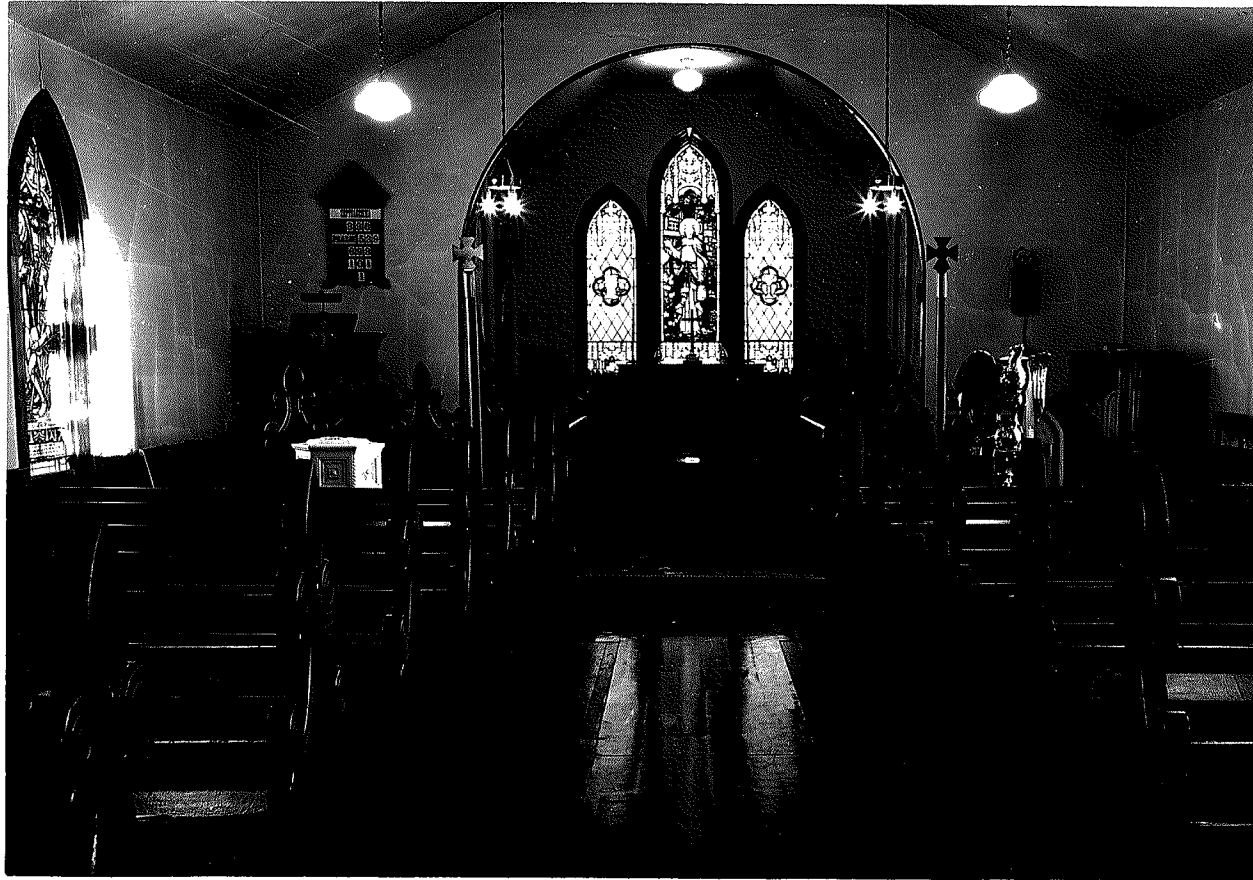


CUMBERLAND HOUSE, H. B. Co., SASKATCHEWAN RIVER. — FROM A SKETCH.

Canadian Illustrated News June 12, 1875.

CUMBERLAND HOUSE ON THE SASKATCHEWAN RIVER  
(Canadian Illustrated News, June 12, 1875)

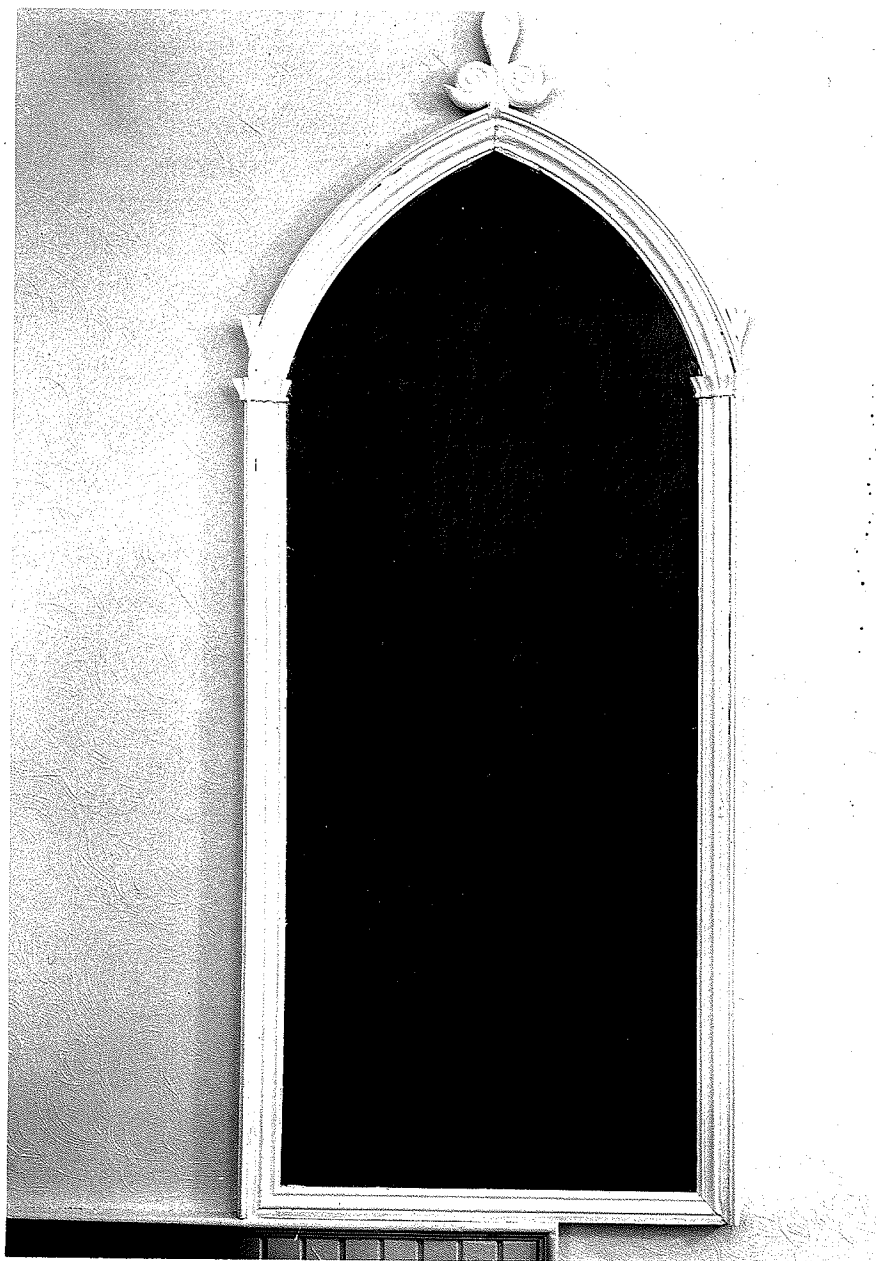




INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, THE PAS, 1948



SWAMPY CREE CAMP AT SHOAL RIVER, 1890  
(J. B. Tyrrell Collection)



CREE PLAQUE, INTERIOR, CHRIST CHURCH, 1963