

# *Program for the Red River Mission : The Anglican Clergy 1820-1826*

by JOHN E. FOSTER \*

The arrival of Rev. John West in the Red River Settlement in 1820 marked the initial attempt to carry the message of Evangelical Anglicanism to the peoples of Rupert's Land. During the succeeding seven years West and his successors, Rev. David Jones and Rev. William Cockran, labored to establish a secure foundation for Anglican missionary enterprise among the different communities of the "British" half of the Settlement at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Products of the British middle class and the Evangelical movement, these men sought to Christianize and civilize the inhabitants — to create a society reflecting as accurately as possible British ideals. In the troubled years before 1827 this objective was expressed in the efforts of the missionaries to develop adequate means of persuasion.

The inhabitants of the Settlement mirrored the region's history. Cast-offs from the fur trade mingled with the remnants of the Lord Selkirk's colonization efforts. In their individual communities Kildonan Scots, French Canadians and the Swiss and de Meurons farmed the land with varying degrees of success while retired officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, with their mixed-blood families, either followed suit or turned to the buffalo hunt. The various communities were grouped loosely into two divisions by religion and language. To the north of the Assiniboine, down the Red River, lived those who were designated British and Protestant although the Cree language and paganism predominated.<sup>1</sup> To the south there was a similar situation although the designation was French and Catholic. By 1826 the largest

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<sup>1</sup> Among those born in Great Britain, including the Kildonan Scots, English was understood and used although some of the elder Scots may have preferred Gaelic; see Church Missionary Society documents for Rupert's Land, Incoming Correspondence (hereafter I.C.). Rev. William Cockran to the Secretaries, July 29, 1830. However, in the families of the Company Officers and more particularly the servants, Cree was used extensively. For an example see John West, *Substance of a Journal* (London, 1824), p. 25.

communities by far were the Métis, the mixed-bloods attached to the Roman Catholic religion and the French language, and the English-speaking Country-born, half-breeds living under the Anglican banner. Under the best of circumstances the residents of the Settlement would have found it difficult to establish stable and secure social relationships. Red River did not enjoy the best of circumstances.

At this point the use of the terms "Métis" and "Country-born" must be clarified. In this paper they are not synonymous. Marcel Giraud in his book, *Les Métis canadiens*, uses the term to refer to everyone of mixed European and Indian ancestry. Today in Western Canada a similar use is made of the term; Métis refers to those persons of mixed Indian and White parentage who are not included in the definition of an Indian as it is given in the Indian Act. Historically such use of the word has created problems, particularly when one must distinguish between the French-speaking, Roman Catholic mixed-bloods who gained much of their sustenance from hunting and fishing and the English-speaking, Protestant mixed-bloods who adopted year around farming in the Settlement. "Halfbreed", when applied to the latter community, lacks clarity. For many writers it is merely a substitute for Métis. While "Halfbreed" was used in Red River it appears to have been largely limited to correspondence and conversation between Europeans. When the English-speaking, mixed-bloods used the term or others of a similar nature ("half-caste" and "half-an-Englishman" are examples), they were uttered in a strikingly belligerent and defensive manner.<sup>2</sup> As a result, educated, English-speaking residents of Red River sometimes used "Country-born" to distinguish the English-speaking, Protestant mixed-bloods from their French-speaking Roman Catholic kindred, the Métis.<sup>3</sup> The term, "Country-born", was a polite affectation. Nevertheless, it served the purpose of identifying a community which consciously recognized those elements of their culture that they shared with the Métis and those elements that set them apart. "Country-born" appears, for the purposes of this paper, to be well suited to distinguish this community from others in Red River.

<sup>2</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Joseph Cook to the Lay Secretary, July 29, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Archives. Rev. David Anderson to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, November 24, 1852.

For the Country-born and other inhabitants of the Settlement, the years 1820 to 1826 were *années d'incertitude*.<sup>4</sup> Frosts and grasshoppers took their toll of the crops while prairie fires, blizzards and marauding Sioux limited the returns of the buffalo hunt. The lives of the settlers were threatened further by the legacy of the preceding decade of violence. Hatred and distrust provided the basis for possible clashes between the various communities. The resulting tensions found expression in the conflict between many of the settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1821 the Company absorbed its rival, the North West Company, only to find the settlers giving support to the flourishing illicit trade in furs in the region around Red River.<sup>5</sup> In Rupert's Land as well as the Settlement, fur was king. Economic activity beyond the level of mere subsistence stemmed directly or indirectly from the trade.<sup>6</sup> Social status was derived from past or present association with the trade. It did not matter to the people of the Settlement that the fur trade could support only a few in relative wealth, that to democratize the trade was to destroy its ability to bestow wealth and status. It did not matter that most individuals lacked the financial resources or the skills to engage profitably in it.<sup>7</sup> For many of the inhabitants participation in the fur trade was the key to material success and happiness. In many respects the dream of the "good" life through participation in the fur trade functioned as a religion. It was the religion of a semi-barbarous community which had learned its values amidst life in the fur trade posts.

By 1824 the Company's reorganization had released numerous retired servants and their families from the posts of the interior. In large numbers they migrated to Red River. Not only were these disillusioned and bitter men and their children potential converts to the promises of the illicit fur trade, but their social behavior, derived from life in the fur trade posts, was the antithesis of what the missionaries hoped to develop among

<sup>4</sup> Marcel GIRAUD, *Les Métis Canadiens* (Paris, 1945), p. 636.

<sup>5</sup> Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Series B235/a/4. Winnipeg Post Journal, October 9, 1822, illustrates the popular support for the illicit traders.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Simpson to James Hargrave, December 13, 1833, in G.P. de T. GLAZEBROOK (ed.), *The Hargrave Correspondence* (Toronto, 1938), p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> While many individuals traded occasionally with the Indians, the bulk of the Company's opposition came from a relatively few capable entrepreneurs. See the journals, reports and correspondence emanating from Winnipeg Post, H.B.C.A., Series 235/a, 235/b, and 235/c, as well as Series D4/1 to D4/16 and D4/85 to D4/89. Governor George Simpson to the Governor and Committee.

the people of Red River. Communication was difficult. The bulk of the Métis and Country-born were far more at home in the Cree language of their mothers than in the French or English spoken by their fathers.<sup>8</sup> Some means had to be found to acquaint these new arrivals with the rudiments of civilized life. If the elements of British civilization which existed in the Kildonan Scots and retired officers' communities were to survive, those numerous mixed-bloods with a British parent had to be won over.

During the foundation years the record of the Anglican mission in the Red River Settlement was one of failure, but the failure was to be followed by a large measure of success. Such a change in fortune reflected not only the missionaries' adjustment to new circumstances but the development and successful operation of a missionary program designed to bring Evangelical Christianity and British civilization to the inhabitants. In achieving a satisfactory adjustment to their new surroundings, the missionaries faced a variety of tasks. Besides the day-to-day worries involved in constructing buildings and procuring provisions, they had to establish workable relationships with interested organizations such as their sponsors, the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, and the various communities in the Settlement. In addition, the missionaries had to come to some decision as to their immediate objectives, phrased in terms of their own assessment of the nature of their surroundings and of their own capabilities. The development of the means of persuasion became their principal objective. A successful missionary program in the Settlement, which would Christianize and civilize the residents, depended upon success in this endeavour.

Two other factors were of importance in explaining the evolution of a successful program. Neither the changing nature of the Settlement nor the different characters and personalities of the two principal men involved, West and Jones, can be ignored. During the first three years, when West labored alone but for the assistance of the catechist George Harbidge and his wife, conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and several individuals in Red River highlighted the social tensions that marked life in the Settlement and contributed to West's failure. Shortly after Jones replaced West, changes occurred in the pattern of life in

<sup>8</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 25.

Red River which seemed to favor the mission's interests. At the same time one must recognize the ground work laid by West and Jones' own particular abilities when explaining the development of a successful missionary program. But before these factors are examined, it is necessary to view the missionaries' attempts to develop adequate techniques for evangelizing and civilizing the residents of Red River.

The values and attitudes of the Evangelical movement within the Anglican Church were responsible, in part, for shaping the techniques and facilities developed by the missionaries to evangelize the populace. These values and attitudes were derived from the religious beliefs of the movement. To Evangelicals the individual was "the fallen son of Adam" and, as such, lost in sin, pain and error. His soul was to be redeemed through salvation, the coercing of the perverse will of man and its submission to the will of God. In this process the Evangelical Anglican looked to the "heart" and not the "head".<sup>9</sup> After conversion the individual's religious and social life was guided by various patterns of behavior.

The social values of Evangelicalism, which were those of the Anglican missionaries in the Red River, were of as much significance as its contribution to religion. An examination of the journals and correspondence of the Church Missionary Society's workers in Rupert's Land between 1820 and 1850 reveals much concern for the sanctity of private property, marriage and the family as well as for the individual's social responsibilities to those about him. The particular emphasis placed on these values set the Evangelical apart from his neighbours in his day-to-day activities. In Red River the missionaries were faced with the problem of communicating these values to the populace.

The principal means of persuasion developed by the Anglican missionaries were religious and educational. The religious means themselves were the church service, the prayer meeting and the pastoral visit. Together with the schools they constituted the weapons with which the missionaries met the challenge of the fur trade dream and the mixed-

<sup>9</sup> A brief analysis of the values of the Evangelical movement in the Anglican Church, as exemplified in the writings of the missionaries in Rupert's Land between 1820 and 1850, is contained in John E. FOSTER, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement: 1820-1826", unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1966.

blood migrations. They were tools of British civilizations to be used in winning over the barbarian.

The church service, the focal point of the missionaries' activities, served two distinct purposes. In the first place it furnished a forum in which the religious, moral and social values of Evangelical Anglicanism could be set before the populace. Second, through the various rites the individual gave public witness to his acceptance of a particular set of values and his determination to chart his life accordingly.<sup>10</sup>

Energetically West set the values of the Evangelical movement in the Anglican Church before the members of his congregation. Though the specific topics of West's sermons are not contained in the Church Missionary Society documents his various writings indicate that three topics probably predominated. His numerous references to the religious and social necessity of marriage suggest that this subject received a great deal of attention. His words did not go unheeded. Shortly after his arrival, his journal recorded a small measure of success :

We continued... to have divine service regularly on the Sabbath; and having frequently enforced the moral and social obligations of marriage upon those who were living with, and had families by Indian or half caste women, I had the happiness to perform the ceremony for several of the most respectable of the settlers.<sup>11</sup>

Nor apparently did West's criticism of drunkenness go unheeded. On Christmas day 1822, he wrote that "the return of this season of the year brings with it its usual criminal indulgence in habits of drunkenness; though I have not witnessed so much general intoxication among the settlers as in former years".<sup>12</sup> Another probable topic of numerous sermons was crowned with some success as well. In the spring of 1821 West noted :

Though I see not as yet any striking effects of my ministry among the settlers, yet, I trust some little outward reformation has taken place in the better observance of the Sabbath.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The question of confirmation prior to the first taking of communion was ignored in the correspondence of the missionaries. Jones and Cockran, particularly, withheld communion until satisfied as to the sincerity of the individual.

<sup>11</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 25. The "respectable settlers" married by West included James Bird, Thomas Thomas, William Garrioch, Thomas Isbister, Peter Fidler and Robert Logan.

<sup>12</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. West, *Journal*, December 25, 1822.

<sup>13</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 57.

West's attempt to evangelize his new flock did not go unrewarded. The initial steps were being taken toward the creation of a society based on Evangelical values. A few successful engagements, however, did not herald a victorious campaign.

The various rites and sacraments were the focal point of the church service. When an individual participated in these rites, particularly communion, his actions constituted a public demonstration of his acceptance of the values and *mores* of the church. West placed a great deal of weight on this aspect of his labors. To him the "formulary" of the Church of England was "well adapted to express the feelings of the mind penitentially exercised, yet exalted in hope at the throne of a covenant God in Christ Jesus".<sup>14</sup> Yet, during his three-year sojourn in the Settlement few of the Europeans and none of the Country-born participated in the most important of sacraments, communion.<sup>15</sup>

Jones, who succeeded West in 1823, followed his predecessor's path. Evangelical values were placed before the people with similar energy and enthusiasm. In one instance a Company Officer, who was on his deathbed, was admitted to the church on condition that he marry his Indian wife.<sup>16</sup> On another occasion, when the lay teacher, Harbidge, proved intemperate, Jones took decisive and unalterable steps :

Mr. Harbidge has fallen into a sin which is the grand obstacle against the Gospel in this land of heathenism. I do not mean to say that he is an habitual drunkard, but he suffered himself to be led astray. . . . nothing but his removal would convince the public here to my detestation of his conduct: consequently, his place was occupied last Sunday by Wm. Garrioch.<sup>17</sup>

In the liturgy, however, Jones did make slight but significant changes. These changes were instrumental in contributing to the surprising success of the Anglican mission in the years 1824 to 1826. Initially, somewhat bewildered by the lack of sophistication accompanied by the obvious sincerity of many of his parishioners, Jones requested assistance from the Church Missionary Society in establishing criteria to decide whether the various rites should be withheld or not.<sup>18</sup> The Society wisely left

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>15</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, December 22, 1825, records the taking of communion by an Indian woman and her Country-born daughter. Apparently these individuals were the first non-European communicants.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, November 18, 1823.

<sup>17</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Assistant Secretary, July 16, 1825.

<sup>18</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to Rev. Josiah Pratt, July 24, 1824.

such decisions in Jones' hands.<sup>19</sup> In these circumstances Jones made some modifications, particularly with respect to those aspects of the liturgy which offended his Presbyterian parishioners.<sup>20</sup> A new emphasis on sermons and extemporaneous prayer enabled the young missionary to relate the church service to relevant events in the life of the Settlement. While pleasing the Kildonan Scots, this made the service more comprehensible to participating Indians and Country-born. These revisions averted the danger of a meaningless ritual of little significance.

Jones rigorously applied a simple criterion to judge the suitability of persons who were permitted to take holy communion. His yardstick was the sincerity of the individual in his confession of faith. This sincerity was determined often by several personal interviews as well as by observation of the individual's behavior. When the Swiss settlers requested communion, Jones refused until he was satisfied that they had a basic understanding of the act and that they were sincere in their desire to live Christian lives.<sup>21</sup> When Cockran proved unusually forceful in his examination of prospective communicants, Jones was not displeased.<sup>22</sup> By establishing simple and clear cut qualifications for participation in the various rites and the sacrament of communion, Jones made them available to all. Yet by rigorously examining the candidates and denying communion to those who transgressed, as in the case of some communicants who misbehaved at a fair at Frog Plain,<sup>23</sup> he made the act an achievement worthy of recognition. Among the non-Europeans, communion offered the means of reducing the gap between their lives and the world of the white man. For many of the whites the act perhaps rekindled memories of a far away homeland almost forgotten after years in the fur trade. The missionary program, in which communion was a central feature, offered an escape from the listless and aimless existence that marked their retirement years in Red River.<sup>24</sup>

The success of Jones and Cockran was readily apparent when compared to West's results. Following the completion of the mission building

<sup>19</sup> C.M.S.A., Outgoing Correspondence (hereafter O.C.). Rev. Dandeson Coates to Jones, March 11, 1825.

<sup>20</sup> Donald GUNN and Charles TUTTLE, *A History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1880), p. 267.

<sup>21</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, January 14, 1824.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, December 21, 1825.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, October 31, 1824.

<sup>24</sup> Retired Officers William Garrioch and John Pritchard are excellent examples.

in 1823, West had estimated the size of his congregation at 100 to 130 people.<sup>25</sup> Harbidge, who held services between West's departure and Jones' arrival, provided figures which contrasted sharply with those given by West. Attendance at his services amounted to between thirty and fifty people.<sup>26</sup> The discrepancy in the two sets of figures possibly could be attributed to the intense dislike which many of the settlers felt for Harbidge,<sup>27</sup> as well as to the fact that full services were not offered as Harbidge was not an ordained clergyman. In these circumstances the figures quoted by Harbidge would constitute the mission's hard-core support. In contrast, four years later, in 1827, Jones gave figures suggesting a three-to-four-fold increase in the mission's congregation.<sup>28</sup> Such a change undoubtedly reflected the increase in the Settlement's population stemming from the mixed-blood migrations which began in 1824. It also reflected the winning over of many who had found West and his ministrations distasteful.

The second religious means of persuasion used by the Anglican Clergy was the prayer meeting. Whereas the church service involved the participation of some people from all elements of the Protestant sector of the Settlement, the prayer meeting was the particular domain of small groups of individuals from the Kildonan Scots and the retired servants communities. It would appear that in comparison with the church service the less formal circumstances of the prayer meeting better suited the religious interests of these people. Here they were able to give vent to emotional displays of faith which would not meet the approval of the more sophisticated settlers.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the topics of prayer were probably more relevant to the lives of these people and at the same time more comprehensible than the sermons delivered in the church. Although no evidence even suggests that West was aware of this form of worship in the Settlement, it is probable that its origins lay with the Kildonan

<sup>25</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. West, Journal, June 11, 1823.

<sup>26</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. George Harbidge to the Secretaries, July 18, 1823.

<sup>27</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to Pratt, July 24, 1824.

<sup>28</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Secretaries, July [?], 1827, in which Jones stated, "I should average the attendance at each church from 250 to 300 people." At this time the mission had two churches and another under construction. The first built by West near the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was known as the Upper Church (later St. John's). The second was constructed by Jones, in 1824, approximately seven miles further north down the Red River. It was named the "Chapel of Ease" but was quickly termed the Middle Church (later St. Paul's) after Cockran commenced construction, in 1827, of another church approximately eight miles further north in the community of Grand Rapids. This church was quickly designated the Lower Church (later St. Andrew's).

<sup>29</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, March 5, 1825, records an emotional display which would not be approved by the Company Officers or the "Principal Settlers".

Scots who had maintained some forms of religious worship since their arrival in the region early in the Selkirk period.<sup>30</sup> In contrast to West, Jones seized upon this method of evangelization and developed it as one of the major means of persuasion for the missionaries.

The first reference to the prayer meeting is found in Jones' journal for October 15, 1823 :

This evening was very much delighted in meeting some friends at the Church who had been accustomed since Mr. West's departure to assemble on Wednesday evenings for social prayer, the number was not great.<sup>31</sup>

In the following period the popularity of this form of worship increased. Again, it was the settlers who took the initiative. On March 5, 1825, Jones wrote :

Went down the River about 10 miles where some of the Settlers have lately established a Prayer meeting of their own accord. They had not the least expectation of my joining them, yet the house was crowded . . . . The attention was great and many shed tears . . . . I returned as far as Mr. T— [sic] and slept there . . . . Here again I was delighted to hear this Half Breed family at their evening worship singing with much emotion.<sup>32</sup>

Jones apparently respected the sincerity expressed at these meetings and did not attempt to confine them to the Anglican form. Instead he incorporated the prayer meeting into the missionary program with both Cockran and himself attending as many meetings as possible.<sup>33</sup> Thus the Anglican missionaries developed an extremely useful means of evangelizing many in the Settlement who had difficulty in following the sermons in the church service.

Pastoral visits among the various communities of the Protestant sector of the Settlement provided an important avenue by which the Evangelical values expressed in the church service and the prayer meeting were made a part of the daily lives of the inhabitants. Besides offering a further opportunity to preach the values of Evangelicalism and to assess the success of their missionary efforts, these visits allowed the clergy to offer their services in such local crises as family disputes or serious illness. While this was true of Jones and Cockran, West had enjoyed little success with the pastoral visit for a variety of reasons. With Jones it proved most effective

<sup>30</sup> Father Provencher to Bishop Plessis, January 15, 1819, in G.L. NUTE (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Missions* (St. Paul, 1942), p. 282.

<sup>31</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, October 15, 1823.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, March 5, 1825.

<sup>33</sup> Both Journals contain numerous references to attendance at prayer meetings.

in uniting all the different methods into a coordinated program designed to root Evangelical Anglicanism on the banks of the Red River.

West's use of the pastoral visit reflected his primary interest in the Indian and his preoccupation with Rupert's Land rather than the Settlement. His initial visits among the Indians were concerned with the recruiting of children for his proposed Indian residential school.<sup>34</sup> In time he attempted to acquaint the Indian with basic Evangelical truths — to no avail.<sup>35</sup> With the other communities West did not fare much better. Initial cordiality between himself and the Company Officers quickly dissipated with his often tactless and sometimes public denunciation of their moral laxity.<sup>36</sup> A similar situation arose with the Swiss and de Meuron settlers who initially welcomed West's ministrations. When the Roman Catholic missionaries refused to marry the Roman Catholic de Meurons to the Protestant Swiss girls, West performed the services.<sup>37</sup> However, his moral intransigence, as expressed in his refusal to baptize the illegitimate child of a Swiss girl, disrupted relations with this community.<sup>38</sup> With the Scots another problem arose :

I [West] expected a willing cooperation from the scotch [sic] settlers, but was disappointed in my sanguine hopes of their cheerful and persevering assistance through their prejudices against the English Liturgy and the simple rites of our communion.<sup>39</sup>

As a result West had only limited support from this community. It is difficult to determine the nature of the relationship between West and the "Principal Settlers", largely retired officers from the Company's service, and the few retired servants. In his published journal West noted, in reference to the principal settlers, that "There was but little willing assistance . . . as few possessed any active spirit of public improvement."<sup>40</sup> His failure to mention the names of men who eventually became staunch supporters of Anglicanism suggests that a beneficial *rapport* was not created with this community. Such results marked West's experiences with each of the communities in the Settlement and, among other things, revealed his lack of competence in utilizing the pastoral visit. His

<sup>34</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 14.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15, and C.M.S.A., I.C. G. Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, March 10, 1825, appears to be a deliberately altered copy of the original in H.B.C.A. Series D4/5.

<sup>37</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

experiences stood in significant contrast to the young clergymen who succeeded him.

Soon after his arrival, Jones developed the pastoral visit as a major means of advancing the Evangelical Anglican cause. These visits became an essential part of his weekly timetable :

This being a day I generally devote to going among the people I called in the morning on several Orkneymen [retired servants with native families] and Swiss Settlers, and on my way home dined with Mr. MacKenzie, the Company's Chief Officer at Fort Garry.<sup>41</sup>

On these occasions Jones was able to adapt his conversation and behavior to the particular circumstances which he encountered. This flexibility was impossible with the church service and the prayer meeting. Cordiality between the Company Officers and the Anglican mission was gradually re-established. From their experience with West the officers realized that the mission was not solely a means of controlling the populace in the interests of the fur trade. Neither could they flaunt those aspects of their behavior which were openly antagonistic to Evangelical morality.<sup>42</sup> Jones, for his part, used discretion when preaching on aspects of life in Red River which required reformation.<sup>43</sup> While the cooperation between the two organizations, the Company and the Anglican mission, never reached the level envisaged by both when West was first dispatched to the Settlement, Jones succeeded in establishing a relationship based upon a realistic assessment of the limits of cooperation.<sup>44</sup> Neither party demanded more nor gave less than was necessary. Similar results were obtained with the Kildonan Scots. Donald Gunn, a member of this Presbyterian community, expressed their satisfaction in his *History of Manitoba* :

Always kind and indulgent to his hearers, he [Jones] now laid aside such parts of the liturgy... as he knew were offensive to his Presbyterian hearers. ...he could only do so at the risk of forfeiting his gown.<sup>45</sup>

Yet even Jones was unable to win the full support of this community which constantly sought to emphasize those traditions which kept them somewhat apart from the life of the Settlement. Better results were

<sup>41</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, February 24, 1825.

<sup>42</sup> H.B.C.A., Series A6/20. Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 12, 1824.

<sup>43</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. Pratt to Jones, March 10, 1824.

<sup>44</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Secretaries, August 24, 1826.

<sup>45</sup> GUNN and TUTTLE, *History of Manitoba*, p. 267.

obtained with the Swiss and de Meurons.<sup>46</sup> Their return to the church was shortlived, however, as most of them left the Settlement for the United States following the disastrous floods during the spring of 1826. The clergy's greatest success was the retired personnel of the Company and their mixed-blood families. Utilizing all the means of persuasion, but particularly the pastoral visit, Jones and Cockran recruited men like Pritchard, Garrioch, Bunn and Thomas as well as their families into active church life. Even staunch Presbyterians like Donald Gunn and Alexander Ross, who, although married to native women, chose to identify themselves with the Kildonan Scots community, lent their support to the mission's efforts. Whereas West's use of the pastoral visit only succeeded in alienating a sizeable portion of the "British" half of the Settlement, Jones developed it as a tool of reconciliation and as a means of relating the mission to the inhabitants on a personal basis.

The pastoral visit served Jones' objective in still another fashion. It enabled him to place his talents at the disposal of the populace when individuals sought his assistance in meeting such problems as family disputes, illness and death. Many of the communities lacked the necessary traditions and values suited to meeting these various problems. Death, a harsh experience for any family, was particularly severe for the children of cross-cultural marriages, the Country-born. Despair, bewilderment, and a numbing lassitude beset families who suffered the loss of a child, wife or husband. The missionaries filled this cultural void, sometimes by seeing to the necessary funeral arrangements or the future sustenance of a family who had lost a breadwinner, most often by furnishing religious explanations for the frailty of human existence and the religious means of ensuring a future existence of eternal happiness and rest. The edifying deathbed, so much a part of Evangelical literature in Britain, became an increasingly common phenomenon in the Settlement.<sup>47</sup> Such activities underlined the importance of the pastoral visit as a means of involving the mission directly in the daily lives of the inhabitants. The results were such that by 1826 Cockran could write: "The word flourishes most here amongst the Half breeds."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, April 1, 1825.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, November 18, 1823.

<sup>48</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. W. Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1826.

The religious means of persuasion were principally designed for the adult who was capable of communicating in the English language. At an early date it had become apparent to West that other means had to be developed for evangelizing the children and the Cree-speaking Country-born and Indians of the region. Schools were the answer. Their development paralleled that of the church service, the prayer meeting and the pastoral visit. Initially, attention was centered on the Indian; in time, emphasis shifted to the Settlement, both in terms of students and staff.

West established three different schools in order to achieve his educational goals. The first, and most important in his estimation, was the residential school for Indian children. He had hoped to create a similar institution for orphaned Country-born children, but he was unable to gain adequate support from either the Company or the Church Missionary Society. A day school was established for the children of the settlers, since they could use the facilities of the Indian school and receive their instruction with the Indian children without adding appreciably to the difficulties of the teachers. The Sunday School was designed chiefly for the benefit of the Indian wives and older children, although some of the Kildonan Scots attended as well. Jones accepted West's school system. He made no changes except to expand the facilities when a new church was constructed a few miles north of West's mission and to recruit new teachers. Of the three schools developed by West and expanded by Jones, the Indian school initially offered the greatest hope for success.

The school for the Indian children was to be the principal means "for the introduction and extension of Christianity among the Indians".<sup>49</sup> It was through the Indian school that West made his greatest contribution to the success of the mission. His various writings reveal the evolution of an educational philosophy which would guide Anglican educational efforts in Rupert's Land for many years. In his written work he delineated educational objectives and the curricula needed to achieve these objectives for the Indian children. Jones approached the Indian school with the same enthusiasm as West. Yet by 1826 both Cockran and he saw that it no longer offered the same promise of success.

From the beginning West made little headway in his attempts to evangelize the adult Indian. However, it soon appeared to him "that a

<sup>49</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. Pratt to Harbidge, March 10, 1824.

*wide and most extensive field*, presented itself for cultivation in the instruction of the native children".<sup>50</sup> For this reason West "had to establish the principle, that the North American Indian of these regions would part with his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion".<sup>51</sup> After West arrived in the Settlement, he was followed by a few Indian children whose presence he had arranged either *en route* or shortly after his arrival. In a small cabin near the Kildonan Scots West and the lay teacher, Harbidge, started their Indian residential school.

In respect to the curriculum West felt that "the primary object in teaching them was to give them a religious education";<sup>52</sup> yet other aspects were not to be ignored. "The use of the bow was not to be forgotten, and they were hereafter to be engaged in hunting, as opportunities and circumstances might allow."<sup>53</sup> It was not long before West saw that the nomadic life of the Indians constituted the principal hindrance to their conversion. Significant progress would be achieved only after the Indians adopted a sedentary way of life. Thus agriculture must become an important part of the curriculum of the school. In his published work West expounded this view :

As agriculture was an important branch in the system of instruction, I had given them some small portions of ground to cultivate; and I never saw European school boys more delighted than they were, in hoeing and planting their separate gardens.<sup>54</sup>

To assist West, the Company placed at least part of the former North West Company Fort at his disposal. The area back of the Forth, West's garden, was "to be known as the School of Industry".<sup>55</sup> Although "Christianity" remained West's major goal, "civilization" rapidly took an added importance. In a conversation with Peguis, the Saulteaux chief, West explained this concept in greater detail :

We smoked the calumet, and after pausing a short time, he shrewdly asked me what I would do with the children after they were taught what I wished them to know. I told him they might return to their parents if they wished it, but my hope was that they would see the advantage of making gardens, and cultivating the soil.... The little girls, ... would be taught to knit, and make articles of clothing to wear like those which white

<sup>50</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 14.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>55</sup> H.B.C.A., Series B235/a/5. Winnipeg Post Journal, March 13, 1823.

people wore; and all would be led to read the Book that the Great Spirit had given them, ...and which would teach them how to live well and to die happy.<sup>56</sup>

The path to civilization in the school was not limited to the development of technical skills. An effort was made to acquaint the children with British social traditions and habits. An entry from Jones' journal, December 25, 1823, illustrates this point :

In order to comply with the terms of *Mr. West's Charter*, we dined all together at the School after service upon Roast Beef (Buffalo) and Plum Pudding: the young mountaineers who had never seen such a set out before manifested their delight in the expression of their countenances.<sup>57</sup>

When West left the Settlement in 1823, it appeared that the children at the Indian school were making significant progress. As they arrived at the school at different times there was a great discrepancy among them with respect to the skills and knowledge which they possessed. However, most were able not only to speak English but to read it as well.<sup>58</sup> It appeared that with the school West had found the key to conversion of the Indians of Rupert's Land.

Jones continued West's program at the school. If anything his task was made more difficult by the added number of children sent to the school by the Company Factors at the different posts.<sup>59</sup> Religious education was carried on with some success.<sup>60</sup> At the same time agricultural skills were emphasized although "moderation must be used".<sup>61</sup> In spite of these developments the school was judged only a qualified success by 1826. In that year Governor Simpson informed Jones that no more children could be obtained for the school because the deaths of some of the children led the Indians, throughout the Company's territories, to question the treatment the children were receiving at the school.<sup>62</sup> At the same time the children at the school who were ready to leave were not suited for the ministry.<sup>63</sup> This created a problem as the missionaries depended upon the Church Missionary Society for the bulk of their financial support and as the major interest of the Society was the Indian

<sup>56</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 102.

<sup>57</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, December 25, 1823.

<sup>58</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 28.

<sup>59</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to Pratt, October 22, 1824.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to Coates, July 10, 1824.

<sup>62</sup> H.B.C.A., Series D4/5. Simpson to Jones, August 26, 1825.

<sup>63</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Secretaries, July [?] 1827.

school. The missionaries decided to continue the program with the children that remained<sup>64</sup> although its importance was obviously diminished.

Obtaining an adequate teaching staff was one of the many problems of the school occupying the attention of both West and Jones. Originally Harbidge was the mission's sole teacher. He was joined later by his fiancée, Elizabeth Bowden, who had been hired to instruct the Indian girls.<sup>65</sup> Both Harbidge and his wife proved to be unsatisfactory. In a letter to the Secretary of the Society, Jones noted that West had criticized Harbidge's abilities during the missionaries' brief visit at York Factory. In the same letter Jones added his own remarks, finding fault with both Harbidge and his wife.<sup>66</sup> From this it would appear that Simpson's criticisms contained in a letter to Harrison in August, 1824, were not without foundation :

The Missionary Society School does not appear to me to have been hitherto well conducted, and neither Mr. nor Mrs. Harbridge [*sic*] calculated or qualified for the charge, he is ignorant, self conceited and moreover under the entire control of his wife, and she is above her situation, assuming more of the lady than is necessary, short tempered, paying little or no attention to her charge and treating the children under her care as menial servants without regard to their instruction or comfort.<sup>67</sup>

Jones replaced Harbidge with William Garrioch, a retired officer of the Company. As Garrioch did not occupy a senior position in the Company's service, it is probable that his own education was not extensive. A replacement for Mrs. Harbidge did not appear until the arrival of Cockran's wife in the summer of 1825. Mrs. Cockran proved to be admirably suited for the position.<sup>68</sup> In spite of this improvement in the quality of teachers in the Indian school, however, the desired results were not obtained. Perhaps the day school would prove to be of greater value.

West's day school, operated in conjunction with the mission, grew out of his desire to extend the same benefits to the Country-born that the Indian children received at the residential school. At an early date he was aware of their plight. In 1820, while he was still at York Factory, he "often met with half-caste children whose parents had died or deserted

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. [?] to West, May 23, 1822.

<sup>66</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to Pratt, July 24, 1824.

<sup>67</sup> H.B.C.A., Series D4/3. Simpson to Harrison, August [?], 1824.

<sup>68</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. Edward Bickersteth to Cockran, March 6, 1826.

them; who are growing up with numbers [i.e. numerous children] at the different posts in great depravity".<sup>69</sup> As a result West submitted a plan for their education to the directors of the Company.<sup>70</sup> They reacted favorably;<sup>71</sup> but, possibly for financial reasons, the plan never progressed. The difficulty of evangelizing these people was brought home to the missionary when he arrived at Red River. He "found great difficulty in conveying to their minds any just and true ideas of the Savior...".<sup>72</sup> He continued :

This difficulty produced in me a strong desire to extend the blessing of education to them: and from this period it became a leading object with me to erect in a central situation, a substantial building, which should contain apartments for the schoolmaster, afford accommodation for Indian children, and be a day school for the children of the settlers....<sup>73</sup>

West's plans were realized shortly after his arrival in the Settlement.

During West's sojourn at Red River the day school was clearly subordinate to the Indian school. Emphasis was placed on religious knowledge and the communication skills required to achieve this knowledge. Undoubtedly the children were exposed also to British manners and models of behavior through the various means of control and discipline used in the classroom. These educational advantages were not avidly sought by the settlers. The Kildonan Scots in particular did not send their children in large numbers. West expressed concern about this state of affairs,<sup>74</sup> but his writings reveal a preoccupation with the operation of the Indian school. With Jones' appearance the relative importance of the two schools began to reverse itself. The day school gradually became the focus of the young missionary's attention.

Within a year, attendance at the day school increased to the point where Jones found himself "more at a loss for competent teachers than anything else".<sup>75</sup> In an effort to meet this new interest in education which coincided with the first wave of the Country-born migration, Jones turned to the resources of the Settlement itself. In the new church to the north, Jones installed the British educated Country-born son of

<sup>69</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 100.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>71</sup> H.B.C.A., Series A6/20. Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 8, 1822.

<sup>72</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 26.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>74</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. West, Journal, June 11, 1823.

<sup>75</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, November 16, 1823.

Thomas Bunn.<sup>76</sup> After Bunn resigned, Jones employed Peter Corrigan, "one of our Communicants, an old servant of the Company, and a Native of the Orkney Islands".<sup>77</sup> The enthusiasm of many of the Country-born and their white fathers was evidence of the school's success.<sup>78</sup> Jones caught some of their enthusiasm. Perhaps the Country-born rather than the Indian children were the key to a successful missionary effort in the interior. If this were true, the day school was of greater potential value than the Indian school.

In spite of the success of the day school Jones was not without his problems. The search for adequate teachers continually occupied his time. In addition, many of the settlers failed to honor their monetary pledges, needed to support the teachers. The more prosperous Kildonan Scots gave excuses "notoriously distant from the truth" for their failure to pay.<sup>79</sup> In consequence Jones had to use £100 of his own funds.

Another problem was the inadequacy of the school in serving the educational interests of the children of the active and retired officers of the Company. It would appear that the officers attempted to solve this problem on their own initiative when Simpson forwarded a prospectus for a "female boarding school" to the officers at the various posts in 1823. The students were to be taught by one "Miss Allez" who would instruct the young ladies in literature, arithmetic, French and "Domestic Offices". In addition, the chaplain would visit the school once a week for "moral instruction".<sup>80</sup> Apparently the "female boarding school" never advanced beyond this stage. Later, in August, 1826, Jones noted that "some retired Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have requested me to become Guardian to their children...".<sup>81</sup> Six months later a plan for a "Female School" reached fruition.<sup>82</sup> Jones noted its importance to the mission in a letter to the Secretaries of the Society in January, 1827 :

We have entered upon an engagement with some of the Gentlemen of the Compy's service, to commence a Female School under the charge of Mrs. Cockran. We are to receive ten Girls next Summer, deeming it not

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, July 26, 1825. Undoubtedly Dr. John Bunn. For a brief sketch of his public career in later years, see E. H. OLIVER, *The Canadian North West* (Ottawa, 1914), I, 61.

<sup>77</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Secretaries, January 31, 1827.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, July [?] 1827.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>80</sup> H.B.C.A., Series D4/3. Simpson to Governor and Council, Southern Department, December 1, 1823.

<sup>81</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Secretaries, August 24, 1826.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, January 31, 1827.

prudent to commence with a greater number owing to our prospect of provisions being rather precarious. I consider this an important step gained. There has existed throughout the Country [among the Company's Officers], a most unfortunate prejudice against everything connected with this Colony; and never until now was any proposal of this kind even listened to.... Experience has taught the Society, the influence which female education is calculated to produce in an uncivilized Country.... The Females in question [Country-born daughters of the officers] are never likely to see any Country, but this. In the course of time, they will be disposed of in marriage to persons of the Country; and may we not hope, that thus we shall have Female Missionaries by and bye throughout the Indian Territories? <sup>83</sup>

Jones obviously hoped that the new school would compensate partially for the failure of the Indian residential school to achieve greater success. The letter constituted a plea to the Society to view the missionaries' efforts among the non-Indians with more sympathy. Although the officers would not consider the education of their children with those of the Indians or "common settlers" in the existing schools, their request suggested recognition and approval for the educational efforts of the Anglican clergy. The day school in particular was something in which the whole Settlement could take pride.

West established the Sunday School as a means of providing the Indian wives and older children of the settlers with the basic concepts involved in Evangelical Anglicanism as well as some competence in writing and speaking English.<sup>84</sup> By the time West left the Settlement there were fifty Sunday "scholars" in attendance.<sup>85</sup> Within the following year, the school attracted such a large number from the newly arrived Country-born that attendance increased three-fold.<sup>86</sup> In the school, students were placed in classes on the basis of their sex and their proficiency. Texts ranged from the Bible for the most advanced to the "Sunday School Speller, number one", for those who knew little or no English.<sup>87</sup> To meet the teaching needs of the Sunday School Jones turned to the resources of the Settlement. Men such as Joseph Spence, a retired officer, Thomas Wishart, "a settler", and Charles Cook, "a Halfbreed Communicant", were among those who taught in the school.<sup>88</sup> The opening of a new school at the lower church saw "three Half Breed Teachers, one

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>84</sup> West, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 26.

<sup>85</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. West, *Journal*, June 11, 1823.

<sup>86</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to Pratt, October 22, 1824.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

male and two female, . . . teaching sometimes in broken English, sometimes in Indian . . ." what little they knew of Christianity.<sup>89</sup> In this manner the families of the retired servants took their first hesitant steps away from the semi-barbarism of the trading posts towards the rudiments of a civilized way of life. In increasing numbers the Indian wives and the older children of the settlers received communion and joined the Church.<sup>90</sup> As many of them found the church service beyond their comprehension,<sup>91</sup> it would appear that the Sunday School was the major means of obtaining their conversion. The sizeable number of adults in the schools was further evidence of their success.<sup>92</sup> By 1826 Jones and Cockran could take pride in the Sunday School's accomplishments: the conversion of the Indian wives and older children of the settlers.

The outstanding characteristic of Settlement life, during West's tenure as Company chaplain in Rupert's Land, was the conflict between certain individuals in the Settlement and the Company, chiefly over the illicit fur trade. A particular aspect of this general conflict was the tension between the colony's government and the Company's Officers. In this conflict West attempted to remain impartial.<sup>93</sup> This fence-sitting position apparently served to offend both parties, as each probably saw West's action as support for the other. In the general conflict, which focussed on the illicit fur trade, the officers were unable, initially, to evolve effective counter measures. Thus, for many individuals in the Settlement, the illicit fur trade served as an attractive alternative to the missionary's message of hope through personal salvation. By the time Jones arrived at the mission, the officers had developed the carrot-and-stick measures which proved increasingly successful in curtailing the illicit trade during the next few years.<sup>94</sup> The few who continued to thwart the Company in the face of these developments were forced to advocate more radical measures in order to maintain the promise of the "good life" for all through participation in the fur trade. The immediate result was greater tension in the Settlement, culminating in the numerous plots during the harsh

<sup>89</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones to the Secretaries, January 31, 1827.

<sup>90</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1826.

<sup>91</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, February 20, 1825.

<sup>92</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Cockran to the Secretaries, July 29, 1830, provides the first attendance figures giving the sex and age of the students. Approximately twenty percent of the students were over twenty years of age.

<sup>93</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. West, Journal, May 2, 1823.

<sup>94</sup> H.B.C.A., Series D4/3, Simpson to G. McTavish, January 4, 1824; Series D4/10, Simpson to Governor and Committee, September 31 [*sic*], 1825.

winter and spring of 1826.<sup>95</sup> These plots, although never carried out, threatened not only the Company but also the Settlement's existence.<sup>96</sup>

The disastrous flood of May and June, 1826, saw the plots disappear in the common struggle to survive the rampaging waters. The grim aftermath was the threat of widespread starvation as little hope was held for a successful harvest. Many settlers, particularly the Swiss and de Meurons and some French Canadians, elected to leave the Settlement for the friendlier lands of the Canadas or the United States. Among them were some of the Settlement's worst troublemakers. During the last years, as tensions mounted, more of the settlers turned from the promise of the illicit trade and the anarchy which it threatened to bring to the only other purveyor of hope in the Red River, the missions. For those with some British connection this was the Anglican mission. This development, which saw the populace abandon temporarily the dream of the "good life" through participation in the fur trade, was of fundamental importance in determining the mission's success. Without it Jones' labors would probably have been in vain.

Insight into the characters and personalities of the two men as factors in explaining one's failure and the other's success can be garnered by examining their reactions to the questions of christianizing and civilizing the Indian. Throughout West's period of residence in the Settlement his primary and immediate objective was the salvation of the Indian in Rupert's Land.<sup>97</sup> In this view he was supported by the Society and, for a time, the Company.<sup>98</sup> This goal tended to focus attention on missionary efforts to all of Rupert's Land rather than the Settlement alone. Success in Red River would not be ignored but it would pale before the immense task of converting the Indian in the surrounding hinterland.<sup>99</sup> In pursuit of this goal West had no sympathy or patience with the very real questions,

<sup>95</sup> Late in February, 1826, severe blizzards trapped several buffalo-hunting Métis families on the plains of the west of Pembina. Possibly as many as twenty individuals lost their lives. When word reached the Red River Settlement relatives of those in danger attempted to collect food and form rescue parties to search for the lost families. Jones and Cockran went among those settlers connected with the Anglican Church and collected 200 bushels of grain. In their task they had to overcome the bitter opposition of some who recalled previous exploitation by the "freemen" when they had been in need. C.M.S.A., I.C. See Jones, *Journal*, March 3, 1826.

<sup>96</sup> H.B.C.A., Series B235/2/17. *Winnipeg Post Journal*, April 8, 1826.

<sup>97</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 1.

<sup>98</sup> H.B.C.A., Series A6/20. Harrison to West, February 26, 1822; C.M.S.A., O.C. Pratt to West, February 13, 1821.

<sup>99</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 1.

advanced by the resident Company Officers, as to how he would victual a permanent mission in the interior or how he would finance such a costly project. In the light of the moral turpitude of many of these officers, West saw these questions merely as obstructionist tactics reflecting their insincerity. West found "a cold indifference on the part of the Chief Officers resident in the Country... they... cannot conceal their fears lest the plans which we have in view in seeking to civilize and evangelize the poor Indian will be the means of lessening the quantum for fur and consequently gain".<sup>100</sup> This attitude and the actions which developed from it led the Governor and the Committee to terminate West's association with the Company shortly after his return to England on what was to have been a temporary visit.<sup>101</sup>

During their brief meeting at York Factory in 1823, Jones accepted West's analysis of the problem. However, with both the Company and the Society strongly recommending tact<sup>102</sup> and with his own sensitivity to the problems of others, Jones gradually adopted a less jaundiced view.<sup>103</sup> As early as December, 1823, Jones suggested that the Country-born were "*the Missionaries for this country*".<sup>104</sup> From this statement it would appear that Jones was becoming aware of the hopelessness of a missionary effort to the Indians in the near future. This view created a dilemma for the mission's major sponsor, The Church Missionary Society. Previously they had told West "that the sole [?] object of the Society, in the formation of this mission is to impart the blessings of the gospel to the native Indians and their children of entire [?] blood".<sup>105</sup> When Jones wrote that he would perhaps better serve the interests of the Society among the Indians of the West Coast, the Society was forced to accept the long-term nature of their efforts in Rupert's Land and give their immediate and primary support to the work of Jones and Cockran in the Settlement.<sup>106</sup> This shift in the mission's major objective, from the Indians of Rupert's Land to the inhabitants of the Settlement, was of as much importance as the disappearance of the fur trade dream in determining West's failure and Jones' success.

<sup>100</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. West to H. Budd, November 26, 1822.

<sup>101</sup> H.B.C.A., Series A5/7. W. Smith to West, January 29, and February 11, 1824.

<sup>102</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. Pratt to Jones, March 10, 1824.

<sup>103</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, February 5, 1824.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, December 11, 1823.

<sup>105</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. Pratt to West, March 8, 1822.

<sup>106</sup> C.M.S.A., O.C. Coates to Jones, February 24, 1826.

Any discussion of the different characters and personalities of the two leading Anglican missionaries in Rupert's Land must consider their different backgrounds. West was forty-two years of age when he arrived in the Settlement in 1820, leaving a wife and infant children in England. Educated at Oxford, West brought the culmination of sixteen years' experience in various curacies to bear on the problems that he faced at Red River. In contrast, Red River was the bachelor Jones' first appointment, as he was ordained a priest, at the age of twenty-six years, only a few days before his departure for Rupert's Land in 1823. Of a "farming" background, Jones did not enjoy the educational advantages of his predecessor, although he did spend two years in a theological college and another year in study under a tutor. The different backgrounds of the two missionaries serve to highlight the different qualities of character that they possessed.

West was an activist. His strength was the energy and dedication that he brought to the pursuit of his objective. As a result a significant aspect of his activities was the delineation of a wide field of opportunity for his successors. In addition, he demonstrated, in the case of his relations with the Roman Catholic missionaries, that he could make realistic adjustments to circumstances which he personally found unpleasant.<sup>107</sup> He accepted the Red River maxim that "French" was Roman Catholic and "British" was Protestant. He maintained this position in the face of "British" pressure in the Settlement to break the agreement when an opportunity was presented.<sup>108</sup> Why then was he unable to achieve satisfactory relations with other communities? In simple terms, he was blunt, tactless and inflexible. His forty-two years of age had provided him with simple and clear-cut guidelines for conducting his life. From the documents he emerges as a man who could not abide the suffering of innocents. He believed deeply that Evangelical Anglicanism could ameliorate both spiritual and physical sufferings.<sup>109</sup> He had no patience with those who, exposed to Christian teachings, had chosen to reject salvation. When individuals of British upbringing appeared to work against the evangelization of the pagan Indian, who had never had an opportunity to hear the word of God, the situation became intolerable. All his energies,

<sup>107</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 121.

<sup>108</sup> H.B.C.A., Series B235/2/5. *Winnipeg Post Journal*, February 5, 1823.

<sup>109</sup> WEST, *Substance of a Journal*, p. 90.

in their tactless entirety, were focussed on eradicating this evil. He was completely unaware, or did not care, that his efforts threatened the pyramidal social structure of Rupert's Land. The powers at the top had no choice but to terminate his appointment. The stability of the fur trade itself was threatened.

The Anglican mission needed a clergyman of Jones' capabilities. Only twenty-six years of age when he arrived, he managed to bridge the gulf between the mission and many of the inhabitants. Initially influenced by West during their brief visit at York Factory, he attempted to stand clear of entanglements with the Company by resigning his seat on the recently established Council of Assiniboia.<sup>110</sup> Governor George Simpson refused to accept his resignation, insisting that he fulfil the role in the Settlement's affairs originally envisaged for West. The widely held view of the day emphasized cooperation among members of the "higher orders" of society in exercising their common responsibility of governing the "lower orders".<sup>111</sup> Accepting this view and Simpson's words of encouragement and support, Jones cast aside his initial suspicions and began the arduous task of reconciliation. His qualities of kindness, patience, consideration and flexibility<sup>112</sup> crowned his efforts with success. In a surprisingly short time renewed support for the mission was extended by most individuals in the "British" communities of the Settlement. Although no less sincere an Evangelical Anglican than West, Jones did not reveal the intense bursts of energy that characterized his predecessor. Lacking the forceful personality of West, his actions were not highlighted by the creation of new means of persuasion for the Red River. His aptitude was to take what West had created and adapt it to his own abilities. The result was to change the mission's record from one of failure to one of success.

By 1826 it was evident that a secure foundation had been established for the Anglican mission. The techniques of persuasion developed during these years would be followed in future missionary enterprises. During

<sup>110</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, January 1, 1824.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, November 12, 1835, recalls this incident and the reason why the Governor and Committee of the Company refused his request.

<sup>112</sup> C.M.S.A., I.C. Jones, Journal, September 22, 1824, provides an excellent example. "Rode on about 5 miles . . . in order to speak to some persons, who . . . follow their daily occupations on the Sabbath . . . I was enabled to deliver my message faithfully and *in love* to them . . . I always find it the best way to entreat — to ask as a favour — their abstaining from improper conduct: human nature revolts from being dictated to . . ."

the foundation years the mission moved from a position apart from the lives of the inhabitants to a point where it served their religious and other interests. With West the church service merely served as a forum for preaching Evangelical truths. The prayer meeting he apparently ignored and his pastoral visits had the negative result of disrupting relations between the mission and the Settlement. Only with the schools did West enjoy some measure of success. They were to continue their useful function for generations. Yet the emphasis that he placed upon the welfare of the Indians of Rupert's Land rather than of the inhabitants of the Settlement resulted in the schools remaining apart from the lives of the settlers. Other factors contributed to West's failure. The heterogeneous nature of the population, the legacy of hatred and distrust from the preceding decade of violence and the dream of the good life through the fur trade combined to render Red River infertile ground. In the final analysis, however, his failure must be largely attributed to his personality and character. His steadfast and energetic pursuit of his goals led him into excesses of tactlessness and intransigence. West laid the groundwork for his successor but in the process he nearly destroyed the mission.

Jones profited from the development by the Company Officers of policies which diminished the attractions of the illicit fur trade. For the Country-born moving into the Settlement the choice was either the buffalo hunt or the farm. The fact that many chose farming reflected, in no small measure, Jones' abilities. His contribution to the development of the means of persuasion was not as an innovator. Instead he took what West had willed him, adjusted the techniques to circumstances in the Settlement and his own capabilities and then utilized them in a manner that made the mission a part of the settlers' lives. With the church service Jones took steps to modify the liturgy in the interests of some of his parishioners. Communion was made available to all by establishing criteria suitable for members of the various communities. Yet by stringently adhering to these criteria Jones made the rite an act worthy of community recognition. He took the prayer meeting initiated by some of the settlers and made it an essential part of the mission's program without destroying its spontaneity by confining it to the Anglican form. In his pastoral visits Jones was able to utilize those aspects of his character and personality which elicited favorable comment from widely different

sources. His kindness and patience won the support of the Country-born and allowed him to involve the mission in their lives. He continued West's efforts in education. His most significant contribution, besides expanding the school facilities, was to shift the center of the mission's attention to the schools which served the interests of the Red River settler. The Indian school remained but it was conducted in a more realistic perspective considering its importance to the mission at the time. The mission's ties with the settlers were strengthened further by employing teachers from among them. In 1827, both Jones and Cockran viewed the future with confidence. The preceding years had seen the establishment of the means of persuasion that enabled the missionaries to play an increasingly important role in Settlement life.

The success of the Anglican mission was of fundamental importance in the Settlement's evolution towards a more stable and civilized existence. The challenge of the illicit fur trade and the migrating Country-born had been met. The mission was influential in the decisions that led many to attempt farming. By 1827 their efforts had not as yet achieved success, but a beginning had been made. The Settlement was only an enclave of civilization in a vast expanse of barbarism. But it was an expanding enclave. Much of the energy for this expansion came from the Anglican mission.