INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the Missionaries in Rupert's Land and the development of Western religious and educational programs in the early 1800s have provided a fascinating object of study for historians interested in fur trade, social, education and church history. A popular subject of analysis has been the impact of missionaries and religious institutions on the structure and social relations of the fur trade. A handful of studies have surfaced which focus on early Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) education programs, while others have focused on the education programs of the various church organizations. We have been made aware of who these educators served and how they conflicted with, adjusted to, or influenced the unique order of fur trade society. These studies have also enriched our understanding of the intellectual, political, social, and economic climate of the time, and the factors which encouraged the development of Western education in Rupert's Land.

Nevertheless, the picture is not yet complete. Previous studies treat the education of settler, Company, and Indian children indiscriminately. Even studies which purport to examine the specific history of Native education tend to focus on the education of Metis or Halfbreed children. It is not difficult to understand why the history of education in Western Canada has been treated in this manner since the first permanent school in Rupert's Land opened its doors to the children of settlers, Company, and Indians alike. The history of Indian education has been left to begin with the emergence of Christian Indian agricultural settlements, and the post-1870 government industrial and residential school era.

The very first endeavors to inculcate Indian children with religious and secular education have been largely neglected by historians. A study focusing specifically on this aspect of early...
education in Rupertsland is warranted because the fact remains that the children from each facet of fur trade and early settlement society were born into different cultural milieus, looked forward to different socio-economic roles, had differing degrees of exposure to Western ideas and institutions, and had different education "needs." The missionaries and the HBC also had different ideas about, and reasons for, extending religious and secular education to the children of these three cultural groups. In light of the above, the object of this paper will be threefold: first it will determine the factors which motivated the HBC and Church Missionary Society (CMS) to offer Western education and Christian instruction to Indian children in Rupertsland. Second, it will briefly look at how these first Indian students were procured, what they experienced at the school, and how they were viewed and treated by their teachers. Finally, this study will assess the changing priorities and foci of educational programs in Rupertsland in the early 1800s.

EARLY HBC EDUCATION ENDEAVOURS

For the first one hundred years of the Hudson's Bay Company's presence in Rupertsland there was very little concern for the religious and educational instruction of Indian people. The Company did not consider Indians objects of Western conversion and education primarily for two reasons: first, it had no intention of giving Indian people the means to question Company accounts, and second, the HBC wanted to prevent any outside forces from diverting Indian attention away from the traplines. Christianity, the Company held, encouraged settlement which would interfere with the production of fur. For over a century then, Indian people within the boundaries of Rupertsland were relatively free from external sources of directed cultural change. The few meager attempts to provide any intellectual or spiritual "enlightenment" at the Bay were initiated by Company employees for their country-born children. Unskilled and unschooled in Rupertsland, Company sons and daughters had few options but to follow the paths of their mothers, much to the dismay of many

fathers. By the late eighteenth century though, the ever increasing numbers of country-born children and the growing concerns of Company family men over the fate of their offspring, forced the London Committee of the HBC to take seriously its colonization obligations for the first time. This potential "colony of very useful Hands" in their midst, at a time of extreme labour shortages, encouraged the London Committee to experiment in education. Between 1794 and 1810, large supplies of primary books and a number of schoolmasters were sent to Bayside posts but, despite good intentions, circumstances at the Bay would not support an effective education program.

While the London Committee was struggling to devise a satisfactory education program for the Bay, its exclusive monopoly trade rights were increasingly under attack. Parliamentary and commercial groups in Britain were publicly criticizing the Company for pursuing private economic goals, under the guise of its 1670 Charter, without encouraging British colonial or other commercial advancements. Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk, was one of the Company's greatest critics. Having purchased enough HBC shares to override the Company's opposition to colonization, Selkirk initiated a plan to establish an agricultural colony in the Red River Valley.

In 1812 Lord Selkirk brought a handful of agricultural colonists from Scotland to Red River. Each colonist was provided with a grant of farm land, temporary support, and the promise of educational and religious facilities. The colony not only offered temporary shelter from the storm of public criticism in Britain, but also promised to ease the problems stemming from increasing numbers of dependent fur trade families at Company posts by providing a place for retired Company servants to settle.

Another previously neglected obligation of the Company was to promote the "moral and religious improvement of the Indians." Though the HBC's support of the Red River colony softened the blows from parliamentary and commercial groups, it did little to allay the attacks from the rising ranks of British Evangelicalism. Thus, at this juncture, the HBC was responsible for the education
and religious instruction of three very distinct groups of children: the settler children, the country-born children of active and retired Company men, and Indian children.

Not only were the cultural backgrounds of each group of children different, class differences were also prominent within the Company ranks. Company officers who previously had the option of sending their children to Canada or England for schooling were pushing the Company to establish "higher" education boarding schools at the Red River settlement. Class lines between Company officers and regular servants were so pronounced that the former were strictly against having their children receive the same education, in the same facilities, as the children of Indians and "common settlers." The HBC was faced with finding a solution to meet the wishes of everyone, as frugally as possible. In the end, cost, more than any other factor, including the wishes of Company officers, determined the path of education in Rupertsland.

The previously ineffective and costly attempts of the HBC to meet the educational needs of servants' children, and the evangelical bent of leading London Committee members, encouraged the Company to seek out Church of England Missionary Societies to meet its educational and spiritual obligations. As early as 1816 the London Committee was trying to entice into Rupertsland missionary societies already devoted to work among Indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, and other British colonies. While there was no doubt that these societies were the best suited and most experienced in educating, converting, and "civilizing" non-christian peoples, the fact that they were also financially self-sufficient was a decisive boon.

From the beginning, the Company was committed to meeting the requirements of all parties by combining the duties of Company Chaplain, schoolmaster, and missionary to Indians, apparently under the auspices of an Indian Mission. The major stumbling block in the Company's all-encompassing education plan was that established missionary societies focused their funds and resources on "heathen" Indigenous peoples exclusively. They were
not mandated to meet the needs of settler or Company offspring. Undaunted, the HBC hoped that a sufficient number of Indian children would "induce" a society to send out missionaries and schoolmasters. In the London Committee's opinion, "The plan would, of course, be of great importance to the families of settlers and inhabitants of the Bay but the first object must be the number of native Indians who could be received for the purpose of civilizing and education." 16

At first, the HBC was unable to secure a missionary society willing to accept its proposal, so it sought one whose resolve could be tempered in time. A fledgling society, not yet very established or experienced, and which contained a sympathetic faction, offered the greatest hope. The Church Missionary Society, (CMS), founded in 1799 by the Clapham Sect of the Church of England, was the most likely choice of the HBC London Committee because a number of the committee members were active CMS members. 17 Though the CMS was interested in establishing missions in British North America, it refused to administer the Company's all-encompassing education program. 18 One member of the Society, though, considered the HBC's intentions worthy enough to accept the position of Company Chaplain in Rupertsland, in the spring of 1820. 19 Although the combined efforts of the HBC and its new Chaplain, the Reverend John West, were not enough to induce the CMS to offer full support, West was able to secure from it a grant of £100 "to make a trial of what could be done for the natives of Rupert's Land." 20 The full financial burden for education fell squarely on the shoulders of the HBC for the time being. West and the Company were nonetheless optimistic that the CMS could be persuaded to extend an arm into the Hudson's Bay Company territories if it could be demonstrated that Rupertsland offered a fertile field for Indian mission work.
Reverend West's duties as Company Chaplain were to provide "religious instruction and consolation to servants of the Company" and to establish and superintend schools at the Red River colony for country-born children of Company officers. Apparently without the support of the CMS or any other missionary society, the HBC had no intention of absorbing the costs of educating Indians or commoners. The all-encompassing education plan of the Company was cut back and West was directed to focus his attention on the children of Company men, or more likely, Company officers.

On 5 August 1820 Reverend West and George Harbridge who was hired as Company schoolmaster, landed at York Flats. From the start, the Chaplain proved to be more Missionary than the men at the Bay had been led to expect. Contrary to his instructions, West's purpose and immediate objective were to ameliorate the "sad" condition of the Native Indians. His plans went far beyond holding services at the numerous posts and superintending the education of Company children. Undaunted by the CMS's apprehension and armed with their small grant of confidence, West zealously pursued his missionary goal of establishing an Indian mission.

As West saw it, the primary object of his proposed mission was to inculcate the Christian religion, but before that task could begin, he believed that the children needed education. Indian children had to know how to read and write before there was any hope that their character would change under the influence of Christianity or before they could "be led to comprehend the benefits to be received from civilization." The missionary's goals for his prospective Indian students were firmly rooted in his zealous British evangelical values:

What can calm these furocious [sic] feelings, and curb this savage fury of the passions in the torturous destruction of defenceless women and sucking infants? What, but the introduction and influence of Christianity, the best civilizer of the wandering natives of these dreary wilds, and the most probable means of fixing them in pursuit of agriculture, and of those social

advantages and privileges to which they are at present strangers. 24

The first step in West's Indian mission plan was to obtain Indian students. The day following his arrival at York Factory, West approached Chief Withaweecapo and, with the aid of an interpreter, proposed to take two of the Chief's sons to Red River where he promised they would be maintained and educated "in the white man's knowledge and religion." Whatever else was discussed during that meeting was not recorded but in the end Withaweecapo agreed to send his eldest son with West. 25 The missionary was encouraged. His experience with Withaweecapo "established the principle that the North American Indian would part with his children" for educational and religious instruction. The entire experience with Withaweecapo's family touched John West and left a lasting impression on the closeness between Indian parents and their children: "He [Withaweecapo] yielded to my request; and I shall never forget the affectionate manner in which he brought his eldest boy in his arms, and placed him in the canoe in the morning of my departure from York Factory." 26

When the West party finally reached Fort Douglas at the Red River settlement in the fall of 1829, it had no church, school, or residence, but it did have two Indian boys for the proposed Indian mission school: Pemutewithinew, the nine year old son of Withaweecapo, and Sakacheweskam, the eight year old son of a Mixedblood widow from Norway House. 27 The schoolmaster and children were temporarily housed in a room at the fort which served as sleeping quarters, as a school for the two students, and as a church in which Sunday Services were held for two months. Since West preferred to live alone elsewhere, the schooling, care, and nurturing of the two northern boys were left to Harbridge. 28 When permanent accommodations were complete, the students and teacher were settled in. Arrangements for the accommodation and instruction of the children of Company officers were still in the planning stage, so West opened the doors of the day school to the settler children. The response was overwhelming: twenty to thirty children were soon in full-time attendance. 29

As Company Chaplain, West performed services, baptisms, and marriages at the inland and bayside posts, but his use of these pastoral visits indicates that his primary interest was in Indian children rather than the Company children, posts, and Colony. Wherever his travels took him, West visited local Indian bands for the purpose of procuring children for his mission school. By the fall of 1823 the Missionary had accumulated a total of ten Indian students from various inland regions. Table 1 provides a summary of who these children were. Figure 1 indicates where they came from and when they arrived at the Red River mission school.

RED RIVER INDIAN MISSION SCHOOL STUDENTS

Reverend West claimed that his recruitment modes were based on the principles of "mild persuasion and conviction," and since there are no recorded instances of kidnapping or force, his claim appears to be plausible. Following his initial experience with Chief Withaweecapo, West made a practice of seeking out influential male leaders in each community he visited. With the aid of an interpreter he would indicate his purpose, which was followed with questions and discussion. Though West did not record each of the meetings he had with Indian parents, he did keep notes on a few of his conversations with Chief Peguis at Netley Creek.

From his first meeting with Peguis in the fall of 1820, West tried to convince him of the benefits pertaining to the education of Indian children. Peguis agreed that there was a need for Indian children to be educated but he would not part with his own sons too quickly. "Indians," claimed Peguis, "like to have time to consider about these things." Two years after West's first visit to Netley Creek, Peguis questioned the missionary's motives and goals. Reverend West recorded that Peguis, shrewdly asked me what I would do with the children after they are taught what I wished them to know. I told him that 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,
### TABLE 1
CMS RED RIVER MISSION SCHOOL - INDIAN STUDENTS RECRUITED BY JOHN WEST 1820-1833

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Names</th>
<th>Christian Names</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pemutewithinew</td>
<td>James Hope</td>
<td>Muskago*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakacheweskam</td>
<td>Henry Budd</td>
<td>Muskago-Mixedblood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemuteuithinew</td>
<td>Joseph Harbridge**</td>
<td>Plains Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Askenootow</td>
<td>Charles Pratt</td>
<td>Assiniboine-Cree (Mixedblood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kananugusid</td>
<td>John Hope</td>
<td>Muskago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tackagouatim</td>
<td>Harriette West</td>
<td>Muskago</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sakachesicoithenew</td>
<td>Henry Sinclair</td>
<td>Muskago-Mixedblood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehougatim</td>
<td>Sarah Budd</td>
<td>Muskago Mixedblood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimayarzey</td>
<td>Thomas Hassell</td>
<td>Chipewyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuckethee</td>
<td>William Sharpe**</td>
<td>Chipewyan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Muskago* is a Saulteaux term for a person of Swampy Cree origins.

**Joseph Harbridge and William Sharpe died of consumption (tuberculosis) while attending the Indian mission school, in February and March of 1825, respectively. HBCA, D. 4/lb., 16, 17: CMS, A. 92, Jones Journal, 5 May 1825.
(West also went to York Factory in July and returned in Oct. but did not procure any children on that journey)

22 July 1822 -
10 June - 18 Aug. 1823

0 100 200
Miles

FIGURE 1 Map showing the origins of the Indian mission students recruited by John West during his inland travels, 1820-1823.
so as not to be exposed to hunger and starvation . . . [The children] would read the Book that the Great Spirit has given them, which the Indians had not yet known, and would teach them how to live well and die happy. 33

At this point, Peguis stated he would bring two of his sons to the school but warned that his people would not be very receptive to the idea of adopting a sedentary life. Three months later, Peguis arrived at the mission school, but, instead of his own sons, he presented West with the son of his widowed sister. When questioned about his apparent change of heart, Peguis stated that he was still "thinking about it." As it turned out Peguis spent a considerable amount of time thinking the matter through since his first son was not baptized until 1837. 34

The motives which impelled Indian parents, guardians, or leaders to hand their children over to West varied greatly. Peguis and his people had little reason to replace their religion and subsistence activities with those propagated by West. Even their close proximity to the Red River colony and friendly associations with the settlers did little to entice Peguis's people to change their way of life. It was not until over a decade later that increasing numbers chose a new mode of survival. By then their land base was shrinking, the buffalo and other large game were increasingly scarce, and they were considerably dependent on supplies from the colony and HBC. 35 Faced with the need to revitalize, many of the Netley Creek Saulteaux chose Christianity and its concomitant, agriculture, over starvation. 36

While Peguis and a few other parents balked at the missionary's offer, some were receptive. The Plains Cree father of young Joseph sent his son to the mission school specifically to learn about West's religion, and Askenootow's people wanted him to return after he learned to read and write. 37 The Chipewyan father of Chinnayarzey desired his son to be "taught more than the Indians knew" and helped West procure Chuckathee from his widowed mother at Fort Churchill. The father stated that both boys were to be returned "when they had learnt enough." 38 Of the original ten Indian students, five may have been given up to

the missionary for economic reasons. Harriette West (Tackagouatim) and Harry Sinclair (Sakachesiciothenew) from the York Factory region were orphans, while Chuckathee, Henry and Sarah Budd were fatherless. Henry and Sarah, for example, lived with their widowed mother Agathus at Norway House. In the fall of 1820 Agathus was convinced to hand her son over to the care of Reverend West, and two years later she and Sarah arrived at the Mission School and stayed. While Sarah and Henry studied, Agathus worked as the resident domestic, which relieved Harbridge of the taxing job of caring for seven young children.

There were a few occasions when West believed that the parents' motives in sending their children to his school were not as honorable as he had previously thought. Peguis's widowed sister's actions are a case in point. In early January of 1823 Peguis's nephew, then nine years old, was placed in West's care. The boy apparently adjusted well, was happy, and was shortly submerged in his studies. Two weeks after his arrival his mother returned and the boy was "permitted" regular visitations. When West determined that these visits were far too frequent and too lengthy in duration, he implored the mother to encourage her son to remain at school. West's pleas went unheeded and eventually the boy refused to return. West then accused the mother of using her son to obtain school issued supplies (clothing and blankets) and of using the school as a temporary shelter for her son while she was off with a "lazy bad Indian she was living with."

Most of the parents visited their children as often as they could. Some parents like Agathus and Withaweeecapo followed their children and permanently relocated to the settlement. No doubt, the separation between parent and child was traumatic and lonely. Parents were probably curious or concerned about how their children were being treated and what they were learning. At first, West was sensitive to the bonds between parent and child and permitted the children to visit them "with little or no restraint." After a year of constant visitations and interruptions, he repealed his open visitation policy. West was
convinced that having parents too nearby was detrimental to his program and that having children in residence from great distances, rather than from the immediate neighborhood, was a much better school policy. As a result, West instituted a residential school program which became the cornerstone of later Indian education and programs in Western Canada. In West's view, children in the school from distant regions became "reconciled to restraint and were happy on the establishment" much more so than those who had easy access to their homes.

RED RIVER INDIAN MISSION SCHOOL PROGRAM

In West's opinion, schools would be the most effective means of bringing Christianity and "civilization" to Rupertsland. Upon his arrival at Red River the missionary determined that four different types of schools were required to meet as many needs as possible. The first and most important, in West's view, was the Indian residential school, which was followed by a day school for settler children. From the beginning, settler children received instruction in the Indian school facilities without adding appreciably to the difficulties of the teacher. A Sunday school for the Indian and Mixedblood wives and older children in the settlement was also established. Finally, West planned a boarding school for the children of Company officers. However, because the London Committee deemed the proposal too expensive, plans were temporarily put aside leaving West free, for the time being, to pursue his Indian mission school program.

Since West's "civilizing" and Christianizing goal for Indian children depended upon their ability to read and speak English, the missionary wasted no time in preparing them for that ultimate "achievement." The education of Pemutewithine began on 6 August 1820, the day he left York Factory with Reverend West. By the time they reached Norway House on 5 October 1820, the boy was reciting the Lord's Prayer in full each morning and bedtime. A remarkable feat for a nine year old who could not otherwise speak a word of English. In fact, none of the original ten students brought to the mission school had any command of

the English language, and most were still unable to converse in English long after they were reading. After twenty-one months at the mission school, Harriette could "read with tolerable ease any part of the New Testament" but she did "not know the meaning of any sentence." The schoolmaster found this most exasperating: "Until they learn to talk fluently it is next to impossible to convey an idea to their minds, they may read a sentence fluently, and even learn to repeat it; and not understand a single syllable." The first "English as a Second Language" (ESL) program in Western Canada was based on constant drilling, recitation, and daily devotions. The children memorized the various catechism texts and the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion. They studied the Bible and prayer books, and sang hymns during and after school hours. Apparently the children took great pleasure in singing and were encouraged to create their own hymns. Samples of the students' hymns can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.

Although each child progressed at his or her own pace, the records indicate that it generally took them less than a year to read and print in monosyllables. Within two to three years they could speak English comfortably and were by then ready for baptism. This sacrament was a test in itself. In order to pass, each student had to memorize the Church of England Catechism, read the New Testament, and understand the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion.

Each child displayed distinct academic aptitude levels and personal traits which either worked for or against their "progress" at the school. It took Thomas Hassel, for example, three years and nine months before he was considered for baptism, while Henry Budd and James Hope received the sacrament twenty-one months, and Charles Pratt thirteen months, after their arrival at the mission school. These last three were considered the best of the young scholars. All four were looked upon favourably by the schoolmaster who considered them good boys with "amiable" dispositions. By Harbridge's standards, Henry was the most amiable; "He is remarkably still and quick, and apparently of a
To the Committee
Church Mission Society

Church Mission House
Red River Colony North
America June 25th 1823

Gentlemen:

I am a Missionary School Boy, and am taught to read the Bible, And keep it in mind. And I have been taught by George Harbridge. And my Name is called James Hope, I am an Indian Boy. And I have been baptized by Mr. West. And I pray, every Morning and evening. And I have learnt the Humn [sic] book and my Catechism. And I have been taught to do my sums: there are Five Boys and Two girls and the Names of them are Henry Budd, Joseph Harbridge, Charles Pratt, Harry Sinclair, John Hope, Sarah Budd and, Harriette West. This letter comes from James Hope, it was written in the School at Red River Colony on the 25th of June 1823.

Great God thy glorious name we praise.
An Ebenezer we would raise
Rich are the mercies that we share
Thy goodness language cant declare

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 threatennings fear'd

For these great ends thy grace impart -
Thy Spirit send to every heart
Our benefactors richly bless
And crown our teachers with success

SOURCE: CMS, A.88, George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 26 June 1823.
TABLE 3
HENRY BUDD'S LETTER
TO THE CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY IN LONDON

Teach us Lord to know thy word;
And better learn thy will;
Our minds, with sin and folly stor'd,
Do thee with wisdom fill,

Our hearts to every evil prone,
In mercy Lord Subdue;
Each foe to thee and us dethrone
And form us all anew

Oh let a vain and thoughtless race,
Thy pardning mercy prove;
Begin betimes to seek thy face
And thy commandments love.

Tis ours to join in songs of praise,
For thy indulgent care;
Tis ours to learn thy sacred ways
And mutual blessings share.

Then be it ours with power to feel,
Thine influence with in;
Constraining us to do they will
And flee the paths of sin.

This hymn was written by me - Henry Budd - in the School at Red River Colony June 26th 1823.

SOURCE: CMS, A.88, Harbridge to Pratt, 26 June 1823.
Harry Sinclair, while a quick learner was the most troublesome to manage, and William Sharpe was said to be hopeless in any endeavour. Of the two girls, Harriette was considered to be of "meek spirit tender feelings," of good disposition but "not very quick," while Sarah was bold, impudent and "rather dull." The English teachers and ministers, reflecting their own tradition, valued amiability and obedience, which they believed indicated a promising degree of learned "civility." Nevertheless, even once attained it could be lost on occasion. For example, Harbridge noted in 1823 that "John [Hope] is docile if not irritated, but when he is, he is quite an Indian."54

When they first arrived at the mission school, the children faced traumatic physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual readjustment. The numerous reports of furious tempers and "Hatred of Control and Subjugation" indicate that some of the children were dragged up the path of "civility," while others, who exhibited "unsocial," "sullen," or "meek" characteristics may well have resigned themselves to their lot. True conversion required that all beliefs and practices incompatible with it be renounced as false. Christianity possessed absolute standards of right and wrong that went well beyond traditional Indian considerations of "appropriate and inappropriate behavior." Also in sharp contrast to Native customs, Christianity placed a premium on regularity, order, and discipline which were not readily comprehensible to the young students.55 In the final analysis, true conversion required these young people to denounce the world view of their peoples and join in its total eradication. Henry Budd's hymn, (Table 2) written after almost three years of schooling, gives a good indication of the effectiveness of Reverend West's indoctrination program:

Oh let a Vain and Thoughtless race,
Thy pardning mercy prove;
Begin betimes to seek they face
And thy commandments love.

The children were subject to psychological intimidation and corporal punishment, the purpose of which was to acquaint them
with "the distinguishing characteristics of right and wrong." William Sharpe was the object of much "correction and resolute conduct" and was often made an "example of" by Harbridge in front of the other students. Rumours and fears regarding the mistreatment of the mission children were prevalent during West's Chaplaincy. For example, one of the reasons why a widow mother "clandestinely retrieved" her two sons (unnamed) was because she heard that West threatened to cut their ears off if they left the school without permission. Though in some instances many fears may have been unfounded, some Indian parents were unwilling to take a chance. Indian parents did not generally strike their children or enforce rigid rules of conduct. Socially accepted behaviour was learned by example. One of the greatest difficulties Schoolmaster Harbridge faced with newly admitted Indian students was their seeming lack of discipline. From Harbridge's perspective, pilfering and other "reprehensible inclinations" were a direct result of Indian child rearing practices in the wilderness "where no restraint is laid either upon habits or appetites." As a means of control, various forms of punishment were employed by the schoolmaster on a regular basis, especially against young William.

The Indian students on the other hand, must have experienced a lot of fear, confusion, and anger when subjected to various forms of English discipline and a different set of social customs. Most of them had been raised in communities where sharing was commonplace and children were generally free to help themselves to provisions at will. In sharp contrast, they were punished at the mission school for taking anything without permission, especially food which was meagerly rationed at set times each day.

Soon after arriving in Rupertsland, West determined that the "nomadic life of the Indian constituted the principal hinderance to their conversion." Significant progress, he believed, could only be achieved after the Indians adopted sedentary ways. West reasoned that sheer necessity may "compel the adult Indian to take up the spade and submit to manual labour, but 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." If also educated in the "principles of Christianity" an Indian child would "become stationary to partake of the advantages and privileges of civilization." In West's mind, this manner of instruction would gradually affect a change "in the character of the North American Indian, who in his present savage state thinks it beneath the dignity of his independence to till the ground." Thus, gardening and stock raising were included in the Indian student's daily curriculum. In fact, by 1830 farming operations expanded to the point that the schoolmaster complained the boys' afternoon attendance at school was so irregular "as to preclude any sanguine hope of their reaping much benefit from it." The mission school strove for self-sufficiency and was apparently quite successful. Over and above domestic crops the children harvested roots and berries from the neighboring woods and plains. The mission also employed an Indian hunter named Asau whose sole duties were to supply the school with fresh meat and teach the boys how to use the bow and arrow. The hunt was of vital necessity and with much forethought, West encouraged the boys to sharpen their skills. In West's view, without dexterity in hunting and fishing the boys "would be despised" in their home communities. "Reading or writing will gain but little credit," but if a student has "learned to mend a gun, he will be highly respected." Since the children were being primed to carry their learned skills and the gospel back to their home regions, traditional skill and practical knowledge would help them gain acceptance and possibly prestige among their own people.

HBC-CMS JOINT VENTURE AND CONFLICTS

While at York Fort in the summer of 1821, West sent a formal proposal to the CMS in London to establish a regular mission station at the Red River Colony. With his £100 grant, West was able to secure a building and maintain three Indian boys, which he hoped would prove to the CMS that his proposal was...
just and worthwhile. HBC London Committee members Garry and Harrison supported West's proposal and in February of 1822 the CMS acquiesced. From then on West held the dual position of HBC Chaplain and Superintendent of the CMS Red River District Mission. The HBC, through West, finally convinced the CMS to enter into a joint religious and educational instruction venture for all Rupertslanders. Table 4 shows how the costs of this venture were divvied up between the Company and the Society.

Following the CMS-HBC agreement, the London Committee stressed to West that these new measures were intended "not only to better the condition of the native heathen but would be highly beneficial to all inhabitants of the whole country over which the Company have control or influence." Furthermore, West was reminded that it was "distinctly understood" that his new situation as missionary "is quite compatible with your office of Chaplain to the Company." Having secured the financial support of the CMS, the HBC London Committee instructed Governor George Simpson to pursue the neglected plan for the education of Company children. Company men with large families and orphaned Halfbreed children were becoming increasingly burdensome to the Company and the London Committee believed that,

if allowed to remain in their present condition [they] will become dangerous to the peace of the country and safety of the posts ... [therefore it is] prudent and economical to incur some expense in placing these people where they may maintain themselves and be civilized and instructed in religion. Apparently the threat of social unrest among the Company's lower ranks and their offspring required more immediate attention than did the desires of Company officers at this time.

When the HBC London Committee and CMS entered into their joint venture, neither party saw any difficulty in West's dual role as missionary to Indians and company Chaplain to all others. Before long, however, ideological and personality clashes surfaced between West and the local HBC officials, especially Governor George Simpson. Simpson was a devoted Company man: his every thought and action held the Company's interests paramount, and

TABLE 4
CMS - HBC COST SHARING AGREEMENT, FEBRUARY 1822

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditures</th>
<th>CMS</th>
<th>HBC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>£200</td>
<td>£100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission Buildings</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200 plus labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Supplies</td>
<td>varied</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Maintenance</td>
<td>350*</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: HBCA, A.6/20, Governor and Committee 27 March 1822, fos. 64, 65, 66.

*350 flat rate or 10-12 each, whichever is less.
like the London Committee, he had certain expectations of West that went beyond purely religious matters. As a member of the local elite, West played a major role in the exercise of social leadership and was expected to reflect some loyalty to the Company which was responsible for the administration of local government. If in his clerical position West was unable to support Company policies, he was expected to act with discretion. Unlike Simpson though, West was not a Company man: he was neither discrete nor silent in his opinions on the state of affairs in Rupert's Land.  

John West’s clerical position gave him religious, moral, and social authority in the settlement and at outlying posts. He used his position to vehemently attack various local mores, especially the lax behaviour of Company employees and "custom of the country" marriages. West’s accusations of alcohol abuse were aimed at settler and Company men, and at the Company for its use in the Indian trade. His criticisms did not go unheeded and the London Committee increased the restrictions on the export of rum into Rupert’s Land. With the competition absorbed (as a result of the 1821 HBC-North West Company merger) and the Company re-established in its trade monopoly position, liquor was no longer required to entice Indians to their posts. Simpson was outraged by West’s criticisms, and was even more furious that the London Committee backed the missionary’s point of view. 

From the beginning, Simpson opposed Indian education programs. The Governor saw Indian missions, like everything else, from the viewpoint of the fur trade and claimed that:

[Indian missions] in my humble opinion will be attended with little other good than filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence. They are already too much enlightened by the late opposition and more of it would in my opinion do harm instead of good to the fur trade. I have always remarked that an enlightened Indian is good for nothing.  

The London committee admonished Simpson for his attitude and
conduct towards the education of Indians. All monopolies were presently unpopular in Britain, it claimed, and unless every reasonable encouragement and facility is afforded to the human endeavours of the Church Missionary Society towards the civilization of the native Indians ... great and well merited odium will be exited in this country against the Company. 72

Simpson's opinions were generally held by other local Company officers and West was often engaged in verbal conflicts. From the missionary's perspective the opinions of these officers were motivated by greed: "they cannot conceal their fears lest the plans which we have in seeking to civilize and evangelize the poor Indian will be the means of lessening the quantum of fur and consequently gain." 73

When West returned to London on furlough in 1823, he submitted a lengthy report to the CMS and HBC. The report constituted a major attack on the behaviour of Europeans generally, and Company men in particular, which West deemed harmful to the operations of the mission. The London Committee apparently decided that West's attitude and actions against certain officers (and hence the Company), were out-of-line and unacceptable. Soon thereafter West was relieved of his duties and never again set foot in Rupertsland. 74

Just before West boarded the Company ship to London in 1823, he met his new assistant, David Jones. Jones was sent by the CMS, as promised, to relieve West during his absence. The following spring, shortly after West was fired by the HBC, the Reverend David Jones was officially hired as Company Chaplain and promoted by the CMS to Superintendent of the Mission. 75

Prior to his official promotion, Jones received very detailed instructions from the HBC. The Company had no intention of allowing Jones to repeat West's "mistakes." Accordingly, the London Committee warned him not to publicly criticize or hamper the Company in its fur trading operations. Furthermore, they directed the minister to meet the Company's needs and to act on their secular and temporal priorities. Finally, Jones was ordered to pursue the long neglected boarding school plan for Company

children, and to focus on the educational and spiritual needs of the colony, as opposed to Indian families. These directives profoundly affected the future of the CMS Indian mission program.

MERGING OF HBC AND CMS ATTITUDES AND PRIORITIES

During West's Chaplaincy, Indian students were procured from bands in the course of his pastoral visits to inland and bayside posts. Since Jones seldom traversed the boundaries of the colony he had little opportunity to recruit new students for the Indian mission school. With all the resources at the mission station's disposal, the CMS Parent Committee expected it to expand, if not flourish. In order to appease the Society, the HBC assumed the responsibility of keeping the mission station supplied with Indian students. On 19 July 1824, the Northern Council at York Factory passed Resolution No. 96 which directed post factors to afford every assistance "to facilitate and promote the humane and benevolent intentions of the Church Missionary Society towards the procuring for the purpose of Christianizing, the children of such of the Indians as the parents may be induced to part with." Prior to the passing of this resolution, Simpson made very little effort to aid the Indian mission program under John West, even though the London Committee continuously directed him to do so. Apparently, West's removal from Red River served to placate Simpson who immediately thereafter, underwent a major change in attitude. The Governor not only tabled Resolution No. 96, he suddenly appeared alert to the potential benefits to accrue from having converted and educated Indians at hand:

There may be a difference of opinion as to the effect the conversion of the Indians might have on the trade; I cannot however foresee that it could be at all injurious, on the contrary I believe it would be highly beneficial thereto as they would in time imbibe our manners and customs and imitate us in Dress; our Supplies would thus become necessary to them which would increase the consumption of European produce and manufactures and in like measures increase and benefit our trade ....

Within a year after the passing of Resolution No. 96, nine new students were admitted into the Indian mission school.
even personally recruited two young boys during his Columbia River expedition, Spokan Garry and Kootaney Pelly. Table 5 lists the names and origins of the children recruited by HBC officers up to the end of 1825.

When Simpson arrived back at the Settlement from the Columbia District in May of 1825 his initial intolerance of the Indian mission school resurfaced. During his inland travels, Simpson learned about the deaths of two Indian mission boys, William Sharpe and Joseph Harbridge. Simpson stated that news and rumours of the mission school deaths were rousing Indian fears and questions on the treatment their children received there. The incident soon proved that Governor Simpson's earlier turn-around was superficial; he still harboured contempt for Indian mission work. He took advantage of Indian fears to once again lambast the objectives of the Indian mission school. Simpson withdrew his begrudged support and closed the doors to any further Indian enrollments in August of 1825. As expected, Jones complied with Simpson's orders. However, he took advantage of the fact that the sole interest of the CMS in London was Indian education and conversion. He decided to maintain the Indian School with those who still remained, because both he and the HBC depended on the CMS for half the financial support of all the education programs in Rupertsland.

The steady influx of retired Company men and their families, and the growing number of Metis and English halfbreed families in the colony soon over-taxed the resources of the mission and the already overcrowded day school. By early 1825 Reverend Jones was forced to expand the CMS facilities to suit the growing needs of the Colony. Reverend and Mrs. William Cockran were sent in October 1825 to assist at the new church and day school which was erected seven miles downstream at Image Plain (St. Paul's).

Before St. Paul's opened in January 1825, all the children in the Red River area who sought Western education attended the Mission school. Settler children from various backgrounds, children of retired and active Company men, and Indian children had shared the facilities and intermingled. However, St. Paul's
TABLE 5
CMS RED RIVER MISSION SCHOOL - INDIAN STUDENTS RECRUITED BY THE HBC 1824-1825

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Arrival</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 Oct. 1824</td>
<td>James Settee</td>
<td>Nelson River</td>
<td>Swampy Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Oct. 1824</td>
<td>David Jones</td>
<td>Nelson River</td>
<td>Swampy Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Oct. 1824</td>
<td>John Spence</td>
<td>Nelson River</td>
<td>Swampy Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Oct. 1824</td>
<td>William Garrioch</td>
<td>Nelson River</td>
<td>Swampy Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Oct. 1824</td>
<td>Colin Leslie</td>
<td>Fort Churchill</td>
<td>Esquimeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall 1824</td>
<td>William Cockran</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter 1824</td>
<td>Edwan Bickersteth</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Saulteaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 May 1825</td>
<td>Spokan Garry</td>
<td>Columbian District</td>
<td>Spokan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 May 1825</td>
<td>Kootaney Pelly</td>
<td>Columbian District</td>
<td>Kootaney</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

was established to serve all but the Indian boarding students. Thus the year 1825 marked the beginning of segregated Indian residential schooling which eventually became a matter of both church and government policy.

During West's sojourn as Company Chaplain and Missionary, the day school for settler children and the plans for a boarding school for children of Company men were subordinate to the Indian mission school. Following Jones' arrival in 1823 the priorities of the mission were reversed. The new Chaplain focused more on the settlement and Company needs. Contrary to West's opinions, Jones did not believe that the Indian mission school offered much promise of success. To encourage Indians to pursue livelihoods as farmers, he believed "would bring on an unpleasant collision" with the Company. When viewed in the context of this change in focus, Jones's acceptance of Simpson's order to close the Indian mission school to further admissions is not surprising. Apparently, the opinions and objectives of both men were growing closer together. By 1827 Jones was of the view that none of the Indian students in residence was "suited" for the ministry. He was convinced that sending any of them into the wilderness to propagate the gospel among their own people would be hopeless. Meaningful progress, Jones believed, could only be made among Mixedblood Company children. As early as the winter of 1823 Jones urged that these, rather than Indian children, were the key to a successful Indian mission in the North West. Eventually Jones was able to convince the CMS in London of the same.

In 1827 a third school and church were erected at Grand Rapids, some fourteen miles down river from the mission station. A boarding school for the daughters of Company men was established there under the care of Mrs. Cockran. Although religious instruction was considered to be of prime importance, the clergyman also believed that the education of Mixedblood girls required skills of a more practical nature. If Halfbreed converts were to be the key to the salvation of the Indian, the Company daughters required certain sophisticated qualities. In his plea to

the CMS to allow him to extend missionary efforts to non-Indians, Jones claimed that this new school would produce the much needed female missionaries.

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] 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 by throughout the Indian Territories? 89

While Mrs. Cockran strove to train her girls in the finer qualities of housewifery, Company officers were still not satisfied. They still objected to their daughters being taught alongside, and in the same manner as, Company servants' daughters. A "Female School" was required, they claimed, to meet the more refined needs of daughters of the Officer classes.90 By the fall of 1833 Reverend Jones opened the doors of the new Red River Academy to the sons and daughters of the fur trade gentry on the CMS grounds next to the Indian Mission School. West's mission school was in the same sweep, however, permanently closed. As the offspring of Company officers entered their new academy, the remaining Indian boys at the mission school were marched down to Cockran's boarding school at Grand Rapids.91 There they remained until another Indian boarding school was established at St. Peter's among Peguis's people.92

CONCLUSION

The Red River settlement expanded in the years following the closure of John West's Indian mission school. The HBC-CMS sponsored private and public schools produced many of the most influential and prosperous citizens in the region, none of whom was Indian. The Indian mission, once the center of community life, became peripheral--out of sight, out of mind. While the London Committee may have sincerely believed in the pious righteousness of converting Indians to Christianity and ameliorating their "uneducated" state, the local HBC administrators

were never convinced. Simpson's goals for the development of Rupert'sland were not based on philanthropic ideals; his world had no place for sedentary Indian agriculturists. Nevertheless, public criticisms from abroad and demands from family men in their employ, forced the HBC to open the doors of Rupert'sland to religious and secular education. Moral ideologies aside, the local and London based administrators agreed that the most frugal and efficient means of bringing Western education to the children of Rupert'sland was under the guise of Indian missions. In order to achieve this end they needed a cooperative and loyal missionary. The most efficient means of eliciting such support was to hire a clergyman who was closely affiliated with a missionary society. The HBC was confident that such a clergyman would be able to persuade a missionary society to establish a regular mission at Red River, thereby relieving the Company of a major financial burden. The Company was confident that Reverend John West had the capabilities and influence to achieve their ends, which indeed he did. But West proved to be more of a missionary than the Company could handle or even want. West's ideas and goals conflicted with the local HBC administrators and he was promptly relieved and replaced with a younger, more amiable, clergyman. Whereas West pursued the objects of the CMS in the face of violent opposition from local HBC authorities, Jones deviated and bowed to the designs of local Company officers. Whereas West placed great confidence in the intelligence and adaptability of the Indian child, Jones was pessimistic.

It is not difficult to conclude that the educational goals of the local HBC officials were realized through Reverend Jones. The education of Indian children became subordinate to the education of Company and settler children, and Jones effectively convinced the CMS of the practicability of this change in focus. In the long run though, Jones's sense of better judgement was overshadowed by the desires of the elite factions in Rupert'sland. The very children that Jones deemed "unsuited" to the ministry went on to become the groundbreaking missionaries of the Church of England in Rupert'sland. The pioneering efforts of the CMS among the

Indians in HBC territories were not carried out by Jones, or even Cockran, but rather by the Indian proteges of the original Red River Indian mission school. These Indian students were out in the field as teachers, ministers, translators, and spokesmen long before their European or Mixed-blood contemporaries.  

NOTES

1 This paper is based on the my MA thesis, "The Church Missionary Society Red River Mission and the Emergence of a Native Ministry 1820-1860, With A Case Study of Charles Pratt of Touchwood Hills" (University of British Columbia, 1988).


5 For example see Bruce D. Sealey, The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba: Vol. III, Monographs in Education Series.

The first Indian mission agricultural settlement in Rupert's Land was established in 1833 with the aid of Reverend William Cockran at Cook's Creek among Peguis's band of Saulteaux. See Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," *Journal of the Canadian Church History Society*, 14 No. 3 (Sept. 1972): 55-66.

The three founding principles of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 were to explore and discover the North West Passage to Asia, to trade for "Furrs Mineralls and other considerable Commodities" and to open up regions in Rupert's Land for colonization. Less important in 1670 but of vital public concern at the turn of the 18th century was the HBC's duty as Christian subjects of England to spread the gospel among the Indigenous population. See E.E. Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, 3 Vols. (New York: McMillan, 1961): 1-31, 54.


Ibid., pp. 7, 16. A number of teachers sent by the HBC to the Bay ran off and joined the trade. Also, children worked with their parents which took them away from the posts, so attendance was often irregular. Since more girls than boys attended classes, it was determined that the costs were too high and it would take too long to form a colony of skilled workers in this manner, Chalmers, "Education," p. 25.


HBCA, A.6/21, Governor and Committee to George Simpson, 11 March 1823, fo. 50.


Provincial Archives of Manitoba, (hereafter PAM) Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land Collection (hereafter EPRLC), P337/PRL-84-2/West, John/Governor and Committee to

Governor Semple, 8 May 1816, and Governor and Committee to James Bird, 20 May 1818 in which the Honourable Members ask: "Could the parents of Indian children be prevailed on to permit their children to be civilized and educated, would they allow them to be placed in schools for the purposes, would they be satisfied with occasionally visiting the children and could any number be so placed out and what would be the annual expense of clothing and feeding each child?"


16PAM, EPRLC, P337/PRL-84-2/West, John/Governor and Committee to James Bird, 20 May 1818.


20Canon Bertal Heeney, John West and His Red River Mission (Toronto: The Mussen Book Company Ltd., 1920), p. 36.

21PAM, EPRLC, P337/PRL-84-2/West, John/Governor and Committee to Governor William Williams, 25 May 1820.


23Ibid., pp. 59, 140.


25Public Archives of Canada, Church Missionary Society Records (hereafter CMS), A.98 John West Report to the Hudson's Bay Company and to the Church Missionary Society, 3 December 1823 (hereafter "John West Report").

26West, The Substance, p. 12.

27CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824.

28West, The Substance, pp. 23, 115. Wardens and Vestry of St. John's Cathedral, From Mission to Cathedral: John West

(Winnipeg: St. John's Cathedral, 1945), p. 3 (hereafter St. John's, From Mission).

29Ibid.


31West, The Substance, p. 133.

32Ibid., pp. 95-96.

33Ibid., p. 96.


35Ibid.


37In January of 1821 Reverend West made his first inland journey to Brandon House and Qu'Appelle in the Swan River District. On his return, West and his companions camped alongside a band of Plains Cree hunters. While breaking camp the following morning West came across little Pemuteuithineu (Joseph Harbridge) and asked the boy's father if he could take the child back to Red River. West claims that the father responded favourably: "as I asked for his son, and stood between the Great Spirit and the Indians, he would send him to me." Four months later when the Company boats reached the settlement from Qu'Appelle they deposited young Joseph into the care of the missionary. West, The Substance, pp. 38, 54; CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824. The year after Joseph arrived from the interior, the Company boats brought Charles Pratt who was apparently procured from a notorious band of Stonies known as the Young Dogs, by a local trader. Ibid.; Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), p. 235.


39Sakachesicoithenew (Harry Sinclair) was a Mixedblood Swampy Cree orphan whose people lived some 50 miles south of York Factory. In July of 1822 while West was enroute to York Fort for his annual visit, two Indian men in a canoe approached his boat and asked him to take the boy. Since Harry was nearly naked and suffering from the cold, West agreed to take him to the colony on his return. West returned with three children from

York on that trip. Besides Harry, he obtained Withaweecapo's second son Kananugusid (John Hope) who was only five years old, and Tackagouatim (Harriette West) who was six and also an orphan. Ibid., pp. 89, 91; CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824.


West goes on in great detail about his experiences with Peguis's sister and her husband. The mother claimed that the only reason she brought her son to West was because she was unable to obtain provisions. West confronted the mother with his charges and offered her an ultimatum: either the boy returned to the school, or he could stay with his mother after he returned his clothes and blanket. The boy chose to remain so West took his clothes away which "rather offended them." West, The Substance, pp. 111-112.


West believed that the parents of the children he received were not "insensible to the care and kindness that were shewn to them" and cited an instance where the father of Joseph owned a highly prized horse he was holding for the missionary as his gift of gratitude. West planned to repay the father for this kindness "with blankets, or any other useful European articles he might want and which could be procured." West, The Substance, p. 81.


West, The Substance, p. 130.


Heeney, John West, p. 13.

West, The Substance, pp. 12, 14.

CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824.

West, The Substance, pp. 59, 104.


Ibid., CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824.

54Ibid.


56CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824.


58CMS, A.88 George Harbridge to Josiah Pratt, 1 July 1824.

59West, *The Substance*, p. 139.

60Ibid.

61Ibid.; CMS, A.87 William Garroich to Edward Bickersteth, 1 August 1830 and 24 February 1829.

62West, *The Substance*, p. 139.

63CMS, A.98 John West to the CMS Committee, July 1822.

64St. John's, *From Mission*, p. 4; HBCA, A.6/20, Governor and Committee to John West, 27 February 1822, fo. 65.

65Ibid., fo. 66.

66Ibid., Governor and Committee to John West, 27 March 1822, fo.60.

67Ibid., fo. 66.

68Ibid., Governor and Committee to George Simpson, 27 February 1822, fo. 25.


70Ibid., p. 54; CMS, A.98 West Journal, 25 December 1922.


72HBCA, A.6/21, Governor and Committee to George Simpson, 12 March 1824, fo. 262.

73CMS, A.98 John West to Henry Budd, 26 November 1822.


75HBCA, A.6/21, Governor and Committee to George Simpson, 3 June 1823, fo. 87.

The costs of the endeavour to procure Indian children for the Mission School were divided between the Company which absorbed transportation costs, and the CMS Mission which authorized the Company to expend up to £ Three on goods to outfit each child. Merk, ed., *Fur Trade*, p. 236.


CMS, A.87 William Garroich to Edward Bickersteth, 8 August 1826; HBCA, E.4/1a, "Red River Baptisms," 24 June 1827, fo. 64.

The two boys had died of consumption (tuberculosis) and were buried in February and March of 1825, respectively. These two were the first of many Indian residential students who died of T.B. in the Canadian West. HBCA D. 4/5, George Simpson to David Jones, 26 August 1825, fo. 169; and E. 4/1b, fos. 16, 17.

HBCA, D.4/5, George Simpson to David Jones, 26 August 1825, fo. 169.

CMS, A.98, Josiah Pratt to John West, 8 March 1822, and A. 92, David Jones to Secretary of CMS, 1 July 1827.


CMS, A.92, Jones Journal, 2 May 1825 and David Jones to Secretary of CMS, 10 February 1829.

CMS, A.92, Jones Journal, 11 December 1823.


Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties", p. 146.

CMS, A.92, David Jones to Secretaries of CMS, 24 August 1826.

Foster, "Program," pp. 67-68. Company officers were not as interested in having their daughters learn "menial domestic skills" as having them acquire a "refined English Education" as...


93Whether or not the end results of Indian Mission efforts aided or worked against Indian peoples as they adjusted to the post-1821 social, economic, political or other changes around them is not at issue here. An analysis of this sort warrants its own study.