

Origins and Influences: The Family Ties of the Reverend Henry Budd

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ABSTRACT. In 1820, a Cree boy named Sakachuwescum left his home at Norway House for the Red River Settlement, one of the first two students to be enrolled in the Church Missionary Society school there. Later, as the Reverend Henry Budd, he became one of the first Church of England missionaries of aboriginal descent in western Canada and served the Cree people of Cumberland District for thirty-five years until his death in 1875. Budd's career has been relatively well documented, but little has been written about his origins. Building on Irene Spry's research, the first aim of this article is to clarify and expand existing knowledge of Budd's complex maternal and extended family connections. Its second objective is to use this information to challenge George van der Goes Ladd's conclusion that Budd's exposure to the foreign culture of the mission school was traumatic. Citing evidence from his background and early life experiences, it shows Budd had personal resources to withstand the negative aspects of that exposure, indeed, the ability to turn it into a positive advantage.

SOMMAIRE. En 1820, un jeune Cri, Sakachuwescum, quitte Norway House pour aller s'installer dans la Colonie de la Rivière Rouge. Il est l'un des deux premiers élèves à s'inscrire à l'école de la Church Missionary Society. Plus tard, devenu le Révérend Henry Budd, il est l'un des premiers missionnaires d'origine autochtone de l'Eglise anglicane à oeuvrer dans l'ouest canadien et à servir les Cris du district de Cumberland, ce qu'il fera jusqu'à sa mort en 1875. Bien que sa carrière soit relativement bien connue, on sait peu de chose de ses antécédents familiaux. Cet article veut d'abord rectifier ce point. En s'appuyant sur les recherches d'Irene Spry dans ce domaine, on clarifie et élargit ce qu'on sait déjà des relations complexes de la famille maternelle de Budd et de sa famille élargie. On veut ensuite utiliser cette information pour contester la position de George van der Goes Ladd qui conclue que le fait d'avoir été exposé à la culture étrangère de l'école missionnaire a été une expérience traumatique pour Budd. Si l'on s'appuie sur des faits tirés de sa jeunesse et sur ses antécédents, on voit que Budd avait en lui la force de résister aux aspects négatifs de cette expérience et de les utiliser à son avantage.

The Reverend Henry Budd, missionary and friend to the Cree people of The Pas, Moose Lake, and Nepowewin from 1840 until his death in 1875, was one of the first people of aboriginal descent ordained as a Church of England clergyman in North America.¹ Much is known about his life after he arrived at Red River in 1820, but his history prior to that date has remained a mystery, although Irene Spry grappled with family origins in her book on his nephew, Peter Erasmus Jr.² This article continues the research she began and aims to provide conclusive evidence of Henry Budd's maternal ancestry and make some tentative suggestions regarding his extended family connections. This new understanding of Budd's cultural roots will be used as a basis to reevaluate the influence of the missionaries and the church on his later life. It will also consider George van der Goes Ladd's essay on the same theme,³ and question his negative conclusions concerning the impact of the mission school on the boy, in light of what we now know about the man.

Cree Boys and the Church Missionary Society

The first information we have about Henry Budd comes from the journals of the Reverend John West, who was appointed chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1820 and sent out from England in August of that year to establish an Anglican mission in Rupert's Land. Sponsored jointly by the Company and the Church Missionary Society, of which he was a member, West subscribed to the society's interest in the evangelization of

the aboriginal and mixed blood populations within the HBC territories. Hoping to establish a school at Red River Colony where apt young Natives could be educated and prepared for service in the church, he began to look for likely students immediately after disembarking from the Company ship at York Factory.

He did not have to look far. Numerous mixed-blood children, the progeny of European fathers and aboriginal mothers, were "growing up in ignorance and idleness" about the fort, a situation which prompted West to prepare and submit a plan to the factor in charge at York "for collecting a certain number of them, to be maintained, clothed, and educated upon a regularly organized system."⁴ Yet in spite of his interest, his first students did not come from this group, perhaps because the plan had to be submitted to London for approval; instead, he found them outside the fort among the children of the Home-Guard Cree, aboriginal hunters who had been associated with the HBC for upwards of 150 years.

The Home-Guard at York Factory was composed of Swampy or Muskego Cree who provided furs, fresh provisions, and other necessary services to the traders in return for European goods. It was a reciprocal economic relationship strengthened by the filial ties mentioned above, but not without its difficulties. Increased population, severe weather conditions, and fluctuation in the number of game animals, particularly in the decade prior to 1820, had combined to reduce the Home-Guard to poverty and starvation. Indeed, during his brief stay at York, West visited several families in their "miserable-looking tents" and described them as "degraded and emaciated, wandering in ignorance, and wearing away a short existence in one continued succession of hardships in procuring food."⁵

Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising he was able to persuade a local hunter named Withewecappo⁶ to give up one of his sons to be enrolled in the proposed school. Named Pemuteuithinew, meaning "Walking Indian," and renamed James Hope by the missionary, this boy was joined on the journey south to Red River by another lad at Norway House, "an orphan, the son of a deceased Indian and half breed woman."⁷ This second boy, named Sakachuwescum, or "Going-up-the-Hill," was soon to be known by the English name Henry Budd.⁸

James Hope and Henry Budd were the first two students in the mission school and also the first baptized into the church in 1822.⁹ Others were baptized the following year, including a girl named Nehowgatim or Sally Budd, a sister of Henry.¹⁰ She had arrived in the fall of 1822 with their mother,¹¹ a woman named "Agathus," who assisted in looking after the children at the school.¹² West left scant information about Agathus, other than she was being supported by the Church Missionary Society in 1823.¹³ To learn more about her identity and background, one must look elsewhere.

The Woman from The Bay

Aboriginal and mixed-blood women who settled at Red River were rarely

Table 1

Name Changes in Agathus Account at Red River, 1824-1828		
Year	Retired Servants Accounts, Colony Shop, Ft. Garry	Duplicate Accounts
1824/1825	"The Woman on Missionary Establishment" (B.235/d/18, fo.86d)	"Annuity of Aggathas" (B.235/d/19, fo.7d)
1825/1826	"Annuity of Agathas" (B.235/d/22, fo.79d)	"Annuity of Agathas" (B.235/d/24, fo.7d)
1826/1827	"Annuity of Agathas" (B.235/d/28, fo.80d.)	"Annuity of Agathas" (B.235/d/30, fo.6)
1827/1828	"Annuity of Agathas or Wahahesquew" (B.235/d/34, fo.6)	"Annuity of Wahuhes quew" (B.235/d/35a, fo.45)

Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

identified clearly in any records of the day. Sometimes they were listed under their Christian names or simply described as "the wife of," "half caste," or "an Indian woman." Agathus, however, is exceptional in that much more can be discovered about her, but not in the journals and correspondence of the Church Missionary Society. Instead, one must study the records of the HBC, because she had another source of income, details of which span more than forty years in the extant documents of the "Honourable Company."

The records from Red River are particularly informative. The following table illustrates changes in the name of Agathus's account between the years 1824 and 1828 and furnishes the key by which her specific identity can be determined.

Why the name changed from "The Woman on Missionary Establishment" or "Aggathas" in 1824 to Wahuhes quew in 1827 is unexplained in the Red River records, but clues can be found in the account books at York Factory, particularly those kept from 1809 through 1817. In them, the name "Wahuhes quew," or variants of the same,¹⁴ appears over and over again, but never as an alternative to "Aggathas." That name was reserved for another woman, the wife of William Hemmings Cook, chief at York Factory from 1809 to 1815. To complicate matters further, this second "Aggathas" was also a sister of Wahuhes quew.

The records reveal more. Wahuhes quew and Aggathas were daughters of a Mr. Cocking. They also had another sister named Kishe cow e cume coot or Wemistigoose.¹⁵ Their father, an Englishman named Matthew Cocking, was hired by the HBC as a writer in 1765 and quickly rose to second at York Factory by 1770. His journey inland up the Saskatchewan River in 1772 influenced the HBC's decision to establish Cumberland House, where he was in charge between 1775 and 1777. He next served as master at Severn from 1777 to 1781, and as chief the following year at York Factory, from which he retired to England in 1782 on account of his poor health.¹⁶

Table 2
The Family of Matthew Cocking

Matthew Cocking c. 1743-1799 England Master at Severn 1777-1781 Chief at York Factory 1781-1782		
=Le-lo-es-com	=Ke-che-cho-wick	= A-pis-ta-Squa-sish
Ke-che-cow-e-com-e-coot alias Weemistigoose or Betsy c. 1775-1835	Wash-e-soo-E'Squew alias Agathas or Mary Budd c.1780-1850s	Mith-coo-coo-man-E'Squew alias Agathas or Mary Cocking c.1782-1853
=	=	=
1. Thomas Stayner Christ Church, Spital field, England. Chief at Churchill 1792-1801.	"Budd", a Muskego Cree	William Hemmings Cook of St. Andrew Holborn London, England. c. 1768 - 1846.
2. John Pocock Holmes of South Leverton, Nottinghamshire, England. 1784 - c. 1850s.	Sarah Budd Nehowgatim or "Four Legs" c. 1809 - 1833	Henry Budd Sakachuwesum or "Going Up The Hill" c. 1810 - 1875

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Cocking did not forget the associations he had made at Hudson Bay and before long began sending funds on a regular basis for the use of his children there.¹⁷ Nor did he forget them in death. His detailed will named the three daughters mentioned above, as well as their mothers, and provided generous annuities for their support.¹⁸ The eldest was Ke-che-cow-e-com-e-coot, daughter of a deceased woman named Le-lo-es-com¹⁹; the second Wash-e-soo-E'Squaw, daughter of Ke-che-cho-wick; and the third Mith-coo-coo-man-E'Squaw, daughter of A-pis-ta-Squa-sish²⁰ (Table 2).

Traditional Cree names often reveal details about a child's personal characteristics or circumstances at time of birth. The name of the third child, for instance, who later became the wife of William Hemmings Cook, hints at Dene or Chipewyan origins. "Mithcocoman" was an eighteenth-century name used by the HBC for a "Northern Indian" or Chipewyan band trading at Churchill Fort.²¹ Its use in the name of Cocking's youngest daughter suggests her mother, A-pis-ta-Squa-sish, was of that nation.

The name chosen for the second daughter, who was Henry Budd's mother, is even more revealing. "Wash-e-soo-E'Squaw" is derived from *Washisoo* "she is bright, she shines" and *iskwao* "woman," and in this form means, "she shines in her brightness, shines in her glory." The use of *Washisoo* rather than the more common *Wasisoo* is also significant. *Sh* is a sound in Cree found historically only along Hudson Bay, not in the interior; thus, its presence here suggests her people were coastal Cree.²² A slight change in the spelling of the name in later years allows the possibility of an even more specific location. Because "Wash-e-soo-E'Squaw" was the name used in her father's will, it is probably the correct one, but later references altered it to "Wash-e-hoo-E'Squew," which has a different

meaning. *Wa shahoo* or *Wa saho*, meaning the big bay, is the Cree name for Severn; therefore, “Wash-e-hoo-E’Squew” might mean “the woman from Severn.”²³ The change was probably based on the assumption it referred to her place of origin, which is logical enough, if indeed she came from Severn. And she may have, as her father was there from 1777 to 1781, the approximate time of her birth.

Although the HBC account books and Cocking’s letters provide important information about her, references to Wash-e-soo-E’Squew²⁴ also appear in other correspondence from time to time. In one such letter, the clerk at Norway House requested additional information from York Factory on the annuitants list which had been sent to him, specifically the amounts to which each annuitant was entitled. He explained his request as follows:

Mrs Holmes/Kees e cow e cum a coot/ says that for the four years of 1816/17, 1817/18, 1818/19, and 1819/20 She received no part of her Annuity. Nor did her Sister/ Washihoesquew/ any part of hers for the year 1818/19. Agatha/Mrs. Cook/ it is presumed, has invariably received her Annuity in full.²⁵

Besides highlighting the confusion connected with sorting out the accounts of the annuitants, particularly when they moved from place to place, this letter establishes that Kees-e-cow-e-cum-a-coot was at Norway House in 1825, and other evidence confirms this.²⁶ Since she was knowledgeable about her sister’s account, she must have been in contact with her. Wash-e-soo-E’Squew had gone to Red River in the fall of 1822, but she may have travelled back to Norway House from time to time, probably to visit children who resided there.²⁷

Another letter, written by William Hemmings Cook, contains evidence that she was indeed at Norway House in May 1825, and explains why she and her younger sister, Mrs. Cook, were both called “Agathas” in the HBC records. Cook clearly distinguished between the three Cocking daughters, noting that his wife Agathas had not received the full portion of her inheritance because:

— some wrong payment of this annuity must have taken place owing to the Gentm at the Factory not being able to identify the parties — the name of Agathas being an Appellation suitable to any of the halfbreed Ladies — Mr. Jones informs me that a Box procured by Mr. West on behalf of WashehoEsqow was marked with the name Agathas — from which I conclude that the Arrears of Annuity taken by Mr. West for Washeho Esqow was debited to Agathas — & thus the deficiency in my wifes Acct may have occurred —²⁸

This letter contributes significantly to the identification of Henry Budd’s mother. While she and her sisters were at or near York Factory, there was no confusion about their names, but problems arose later when they moved to Norway House, then Red River, where they were unknown.²⁹ Since all “halfbreed Ladies” could be called “Agathas” — a small but important detail — the accountants at Red River in 1824 simply used that name for Wash-e-soo-E’Squew, and opened the door for confusion with her sister, who had been called Agathas in the account books at York Factory for years. By 1827, however, they were better informed and able to identify her more specifically.

Cook's letter also links Wash-e-soo-E'Squew to John West and the mission, thereby adding support for the connections already made between "The Woman on Missionary Establishment" and Henry Budd. The 1828 baptismal record of "Waso-eyesquew" even more specifically pinpoints her residence as the church mission house, as well as stating her new name, "Mary Budd."³⁰ Later, scrip applications for two of her children, Henry and his sister Catherine, confirm that "Mary" was indeed the mother of both.³¹

The Cook Connection

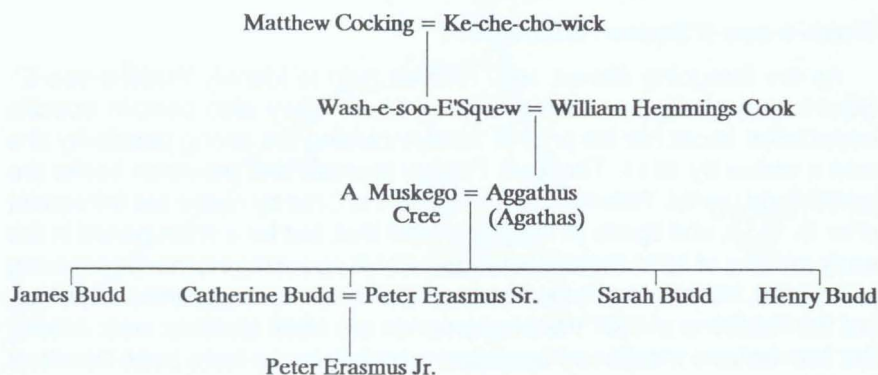
Past confusion over the identity of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was not confined to HBC records alone. It also occurred in a biographical sketch of her grandson, Peter Erasmus, Jr., written at a much later date by George Gooderham. In it, he described Peter's mother, Catherine Budd, as a granddaughter of William Hemmings Cook,³² thereby implying her brother Henry was a grandson of Cook also. This was Irene Spry's assumption in her book on Peter Erasmus (Table 3), in which she tried to reconcile Gooderham's information by suggesting Wash-e-soo-E'Squew had at least one child by Cook named Aggathus, and this child was the mother of the Budd children.³³

However, no evidence has been found to support either Spry or Gooderham. There is no substantiation anywhere for an intervening "Aggathus" between Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and the Budd children. There was only one "Woman on Missionary Establishment" at Red River for the years in question,³⁴ and she was Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, the mother of Henry and Sally Budd. Her age also does not allow for an extra generation. Born between 1775 and 1783, she was no more than twenty-four years old, and probably younger, when her eldest known son, The Cask or James Budd, was born around 1799.³⁵ It stretches credulity to suggest he might have been her grandson. Existing evidence also confirms that Catherine Budd was her daughter, not granddaughter. Catherine stated clearly in her scrip application that she was born in 1805 and was the daughter of Budd, an Indian or mixed blood, and Mary, a mixed blood.³⁶ Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was of course Mary Budd.

William Hemmings Cook could not have been grandfather to the Budd children on the maternal side because Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was not his daughter. That leaves only the paternal side, an unlikely possibility because none of his known sons were old enough to have been the elusive Budd, and in any case they all bore Cook as their surname. Thus, Gooderham's statement is doubtful. William Hemmings Cook was brother-in-law to Wash-e-soo-E'Squew through his marriage to her half-sister, making him, not grandfather, but uncle by marriage to the Budd children.

Although she was certainly a sister-in-law to Cook, there is no support for Spry's suggestion that Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was also his country wife. In 1812 Miles Macdonell claimed two wives were living with Cook at York Factory, while another, presumably the first, had been repudiated by that time, apparently because of old age.³⁷ Although the York Factory records

Table 3
Irene Spry's Solution to the "Agathus" Problem



rarely name the Cree hunters, when they do, as in 1811 and 1814, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and her family were living away from the fort. There is no hint they ever lived there.

Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was born no later than 1783, the year following Matthew Cocking's return to England, and must have been a young child when William Hemmings Cook arrived at York Factory in 1786.³⁸ Cook's first wife was probably Kahnapawanakan, described in 1821 as "a deceased Indian woman." She was the mother of his eldest daughter Nancy,³⁹ who was herself born in the late 1780s.⁴⁰

Both Cook's second wife and Wash-e-soo-E'Squew have been described as "half-caste,"⁴¹ but they were clearly two different women. Cook apparently had two wives living with him at York Fort in 1812, and although there is no specific proof for that year, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew lived away from the fort at those times where the records provide details. In 1816, Cook claimed to be the father of ten children, all accounted for,⁴² while Wash-e-soo-E'Squew had at least six by that time.⁴³ Cook's children, one or two of whom presumably belonged to the second "half-caste" wife, were also born at about the same time as those of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew.

Moreover, nothing has been found to suggest William Hemmings Cook claimed any of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew's children as his own, or that they acknowledged him as their father. Yet he did acknowledge children by at least two country wives,⁴⁴ and a review of his account at Red River shows his children as well as grandchildren were given support by him from time to time.⁴⁵ The Budds, on the other hand, received none. Consequently, Henry Budd was neither son nor grandson to William Hemmings Cook. The connection to Cook was that of uncle, although Peter Erasmus, Jr. may have correctly addressed him as grandfather without violating Cree practice. Perhaps this is where the confusion arose. Erasmus referred to his Rhein and Calder first cousins as "brothers,"⁴⁶ using the proper Cree terminology for

parallel cousins,⁴⁷ therefore, it is quite possible he called William Hemmings Cook “grandfather” as a term of respect in the same tradition.

Wash-e-soo-E’Squew: Widow 1811

As the foregoing shows, HBC records help to identify Wash-e-soo-E’-Squew and clarify her relationship to Cook. They also contain specific information about her life prior to 1820, including the strong possibility she was a widow by 1811. The York Factory journals and provision books are particularly useful. References in them to the Cree by name are infrequent prior to 1810, and spotty in the years after that, but for a short period in the early months of 1811 there is abundant detail about the Home-Guard living in the area. Not only are male heads of families or hunting parties identified, but the locations of their trapping grounds are often given as well. Among the few women mentioned are those who appear to have been heads of families in their own right, possibly widows. One of these widows seems to have been Wash-e-soo-E’-Squew, who lived across the river north of the fort, yet close enough to come in regularly for supplies.

Winters along the Hudson Bay coast were often arduous, but according to Miles Macdonell, who was there the following year, the winter of 1810-11 “was the severest ever known in those parts, game disappeared, & many of the improvident natives perished thro cold & want.”⁴⁸ Others were kept alive with provisions given them by the HBC which for purely economic reasons, quite apart from common humanity, had to assure the survival of the Home-Guard Cree.

During February and March 1811, a number of families journeyed to York Factory “from the Northwd” for food.⁴⁹ Although none among them was named, except for Nancy Jefferson,⁵⁰ two women came in together on 7 February. Their identity is uncertain, but they may have been two widows who had attached themselves to Thuthat, a hunter “from Sams Creek on the North side of Nelson River,” who occasionally acted as “Master of the Goose Tent” there. On 24 March he came to the fort to obtain oatmeal for his own family and those of two widows “belonging to Natives lately deceased.”⁵¹ Whether Wash-e-soo-E’-Squew was one of these widows is difficult to determine, but her name was associated so often with Thuthat in the following two months that the circumstantial evidence suggests a connection of some kind (Figure 1).

The first reference to her occurred on 7 April, when provisions were given out to four “Indians” from the “distressed families to the Norward.” Three of these people, namely “Washehow Eq, Skewnish, and Twaootum,” were listed in a marginal notation,⁵² Skewnish being the daughter of the late Captain Jonathan Fowler,⁵³ and Twaootum a local hunter who later moved to Oxford House.⁵⁴ The fourth family head was not indicated, but existing evidence points to Thuthat.⁵⁵

There are other possibilities, too, as several families gathered together at Sams Creek when Thuthat was placed in charge of the Northern Goose

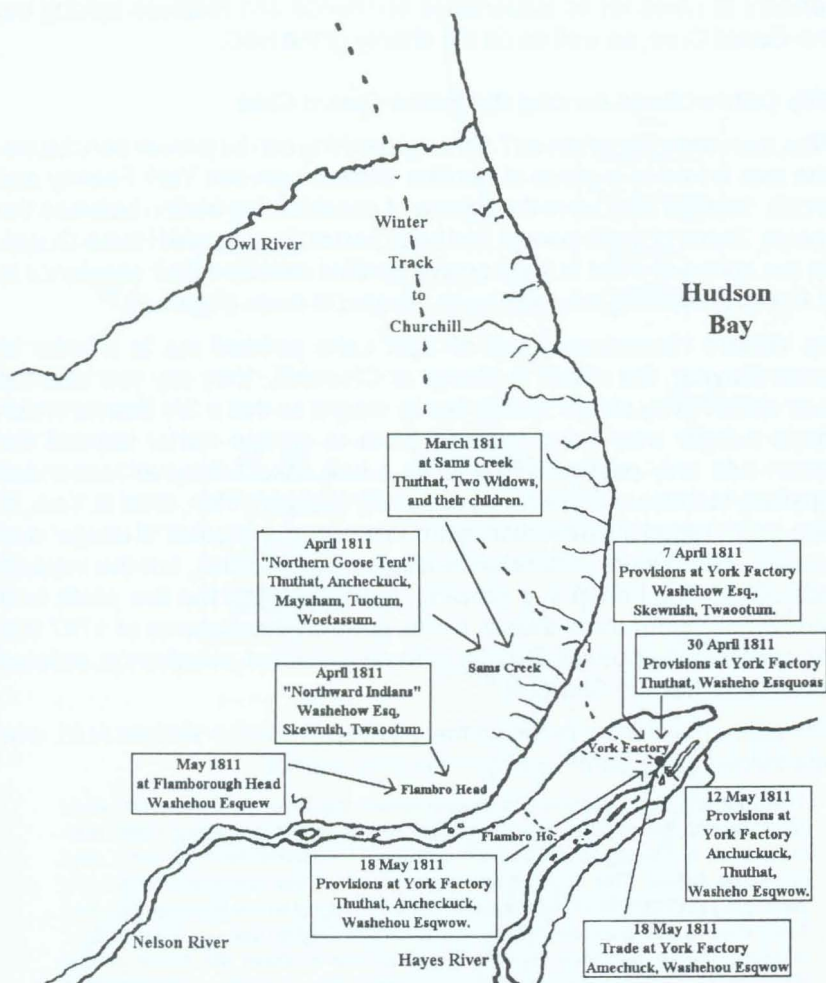


Figure 1. Locations and associations of certain Home-Guard families at York Factory, 1811.

Tent there on 18 April.⁵⁶ Family heads included Mayaham, Ancheckuck, and Woetassum, whose names were also associated with Wash-e-soo-E'-Squew in later records; nevertheless, in the early months of 1811 the linkages to Thuthat are more compelling. In late March, he was described as a "northward Indian," in distress, supporting two widows and their families in addition to his own. Two weeks later, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, Skewnish, Twaootum, and one other person arrived from the north to obtain provisions for their families. Being named in their own right, the women were probably heads of families,⁵⁷ and quite possibly the two widows mentioned earlier in association with Thuthat. Several references to Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and Thuthat together in the following weeks add plausibility to this argument. In short, existing evidence suggests she was a widow, whose family was

dependent at times for its sustenance on friends and relatives among the Home-Guard Cree, as well as on the charity of the HBC.

Family Connections Among the Home-Guard Cree

Who then were her relatives? Although nothing can be proven conclusively, she was linked to a group of families located between York Factory and Churchill, families who were the source of considerable friction between the two posts. Some of these people had been part of the Churchill Home-Guard, but in the spring of 1794 at least twelve families switched their allegiance to York Factory, claiming they had been cheated in trade (Figure 2).⁵⁸

As William Hemmings Cook of Split Lake pointed out in a letter to Thomas Stayner, the officer in charge at Churchill, "they say you take the Beaver skins not by size or quality but by weight so that a 3/4 Beaver which perhaps hunger may have induced them to scrape rather beyond the common rule only passes with you as a half one."⁵⁹ Stayner responded defensively to these complaints by accusing Joseph Colen, chief at York, of having encouraged the desertion, with Colen countering that "ill usage" was the cause. There were misunderstandings on both sides, but the incident stands out as one irritant in a growing rivalry between the two posts over expansion of the fur trade inland. It was not until the summer of 1797 that Colen, whether to appease Stayner or to rid himself of a hindrance, ordered the dissidents back to Churchill.⁶⁰

The first arrivals were received there in September by William Auld, who left the following dry commentary in the post journal:

This morning upon observing a smoke across the River sent the Boat which returned with 3 of our old Homeguards [*sic*] accompanied by a young Indian man from York but being found in such company I suppose he must be a very worthless fellow. This is the most useless part of the homeguards formerly belonging to Churchill & must have left York with regret where they say they had been treated with great liberality in the articles of English salt meat Bacon flour oatmeal Plumb puddings & Brandy served out to them the same as the Englishmen & where they had got very large quantities of Goods upon trust which they can never pay being enervated by continual debauchery. These four men have families mustering altogether 21 Heads.⁶¹

Auld was in temporary charge of Churchill in the absence of Stayner, who had returned home to England on furlough, and his observations were perhaps biased by the trouble these people had caused his fellow officer. Still, other entries in the next few months do confirm the difficulties they had surviving away from the fort. When one family returned to the factory in December begging to remain after an unsuccessful hunting expedition, Auld had this to say, "I was obliged to consent as they would sooner die than exert themselves having been so much & so impolitically indulged in idleness at York that they really seem to have forgot that they are natives of this Country."⁶² Shortly, the remainder returned, and Auld recorded, "The Homeguards all returned they seem to be lean which they say is owing to their having no Bacon or Pork to their partridges."⁶³

Later on, in April 1798, an additional family arrived. Auld noted:

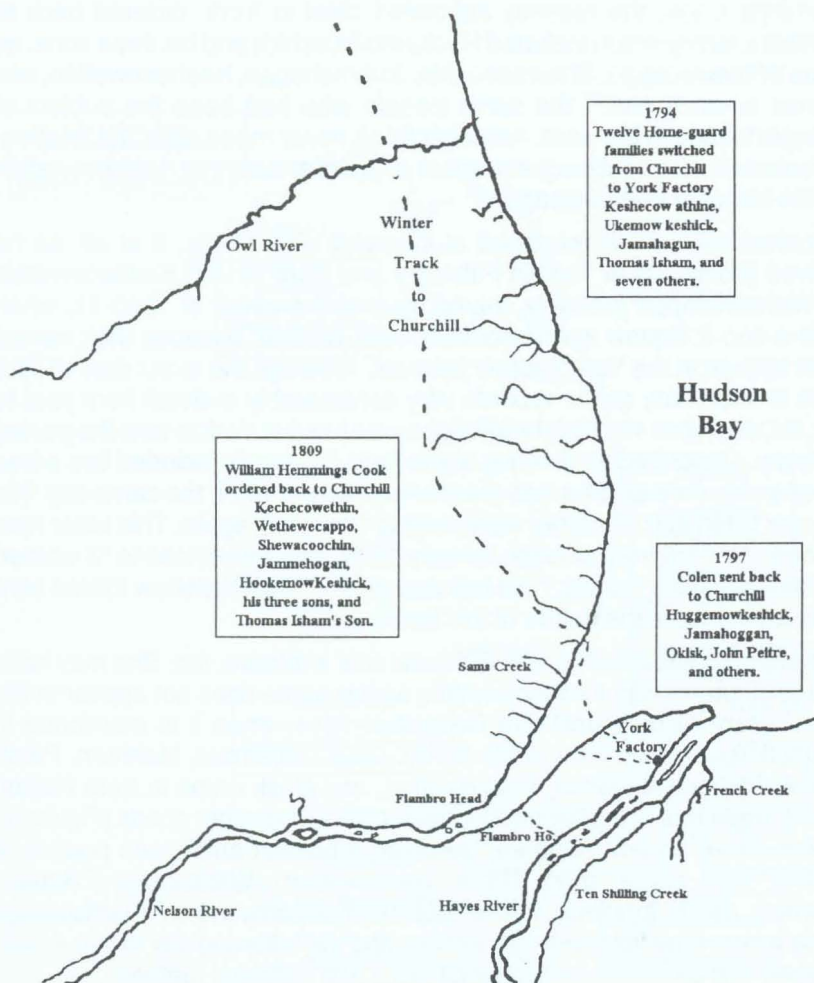


Figure 2. Home-Guard movement between Churchill and York Factory, 1794-1809.

This day one of our Homeguard Indians arrived from York with a letter from Mr. Colen where he says he was obliged to compel the Churchill Homeguards to leave York. Which I certainly believe to be true for this man & his family have lived near 4 years there constantly at the factory without having once left it.⁶⁴

"This man" was most certainly "Jamahoggan" who had been unable to leave York earlier because of weather conditions. Colen wrote that Okisk, Huggemowkeshick, John Peitre, and others were on their way to Churchill as well.⁶⁵

The issue of Home-Guard Cree moving back and forth between York Factory and Churchill did not end there, however, as John Ballenden, Colen's successor at York, corresponded with Thomas Stayner on the same matter during the summer of 1801. Later, in the fall of 1809, William

Hemmings Cook, the recently appointed chief at York, ordered back to Churchill a family which included HookemowKeshick and his three sons, as well as Withewecappo, Shewacoochin, Jammehogan, Keshecowethin, and Thomas Isham's son,⁶⁶ the same people who had been the subject of correspondence in the past. Although Cook never made clear the relationship between them, subsequent letters suggest at least that Keshecowethin was the father of Withewecappo.⁶⁷

HookemowKeshick remained at Churchill only briefly, if at all, as he received provisions at York in February and April 1810.⁶⁸ Keshecowethin and Withewecappo probably stayed beyond the winter of 1810-11, when Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was associated with Thuthat, because their names do not appear in the York Factory journals. Although the exact date of their return is uncertain, as the records vary considerably in detail from year to year, in December 1813 Withewecappo was hired at York to take the packet to Albany. Described as starving at the time, his family included two wives as well as his mother. She was mentioned 22 April 1814, the same day "Kis kick cow Ethin and his family were sent to Churchill" again. This latter man had been at York from at least January 1814, and references to "3 women of Kishecowethins Family," "his two daughters," and "Kishicow Ethins son" tell us a little about the nature of this family unit.⁶⁹

There are hints Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was a relative, too. She may have gone to Churchill with Keshecowethin, as her name does not appear in the York Factory records until late December 1814, when it is mentioned in conjunction with members of his family. On 6 December, Mahhum, Patah hootow, Kisheck cowethin, Pachewethat, and Cask came in from Nelson River to trade furs in exchange for powder, shot, and other goods (Figure 3). Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, "legatee," received a blanket and fifteen pounds of oatmeal that same day. Three weeks later, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, Skewnish, Jenny Johnston, and another woman came in from Flamborough House where their families were tenting, and the following day Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and Skewnish traded rabbit skins and partridge feathers.⁷⁰

Evidence suggests these people were members of an extended family. Patah hootow, for example, was the son of Keshecowethin⁷¹ and of Jenny Johnston.⁷² Cask was the son of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew. Pachewethat was first mentioned in April 1814 in company with Mahhum or Mayaham at Sams Creek, and was probably his son or younger brother, as they were often listed together in later records.⁷³

The associations do not end there. Sams Creek is a reminder that Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was closely linked to Thuthat in 1811, when he was in charge of the Northern Goose Tent. Mahhum was also there, and serves as a link between two periods of time for which we have information about Wash-e-soo-E'Squew. But he is not the only link, for Woetassum was also goose hunting at Sams Creek in 1811,⁷⁴ and in 1814, he too was closely connected with the above-mentioned family grouping. In December 1814, Woetassum and Withewecappo, both described as "two Nelson River

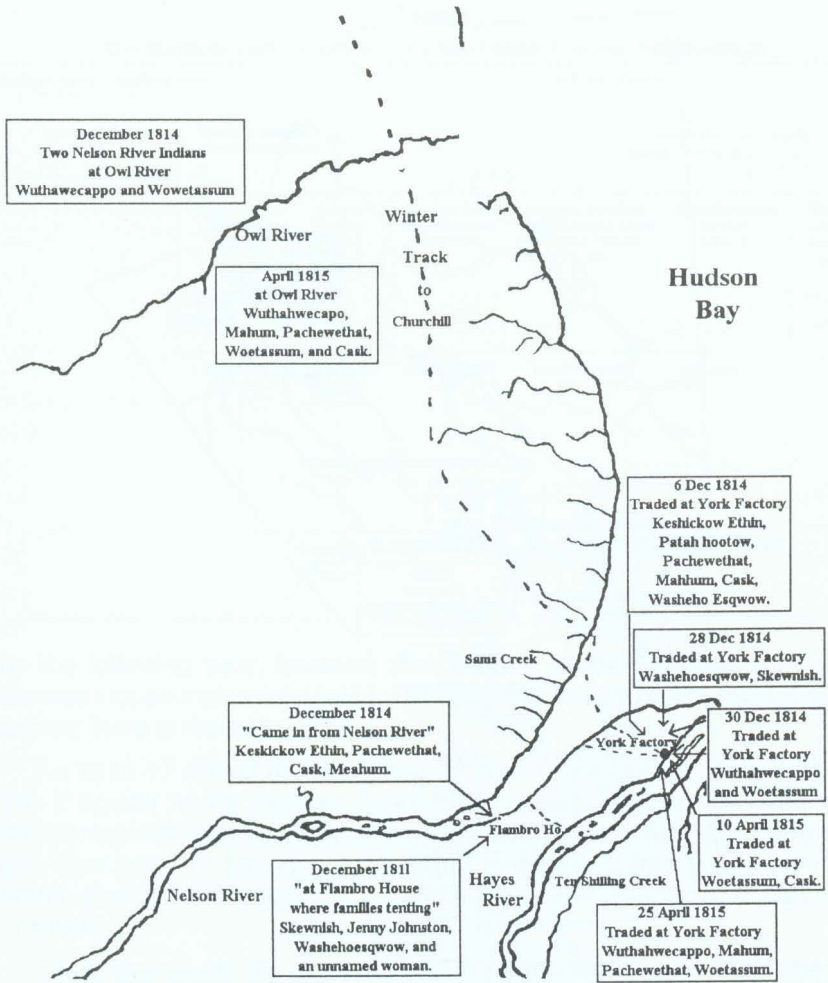


Figure 3. Locations and associations of certain Home-Guard families at York Factory, 1814-15.

homeguards," were trapping at Owl River. Mahum, Pachewethat, and Cask later joined them, as there are references to them in April 1815.⁷⁵

Although relationships cannot be proven conclusively, Wash-e-soo-E'-Squew was clearly associated with the Home-Guard Cree living between York Factory and Churchill. There were at least two interconnected groups of people, one centred around Thuthat and the other around Keshecowethin, with which she had connections, but by 1814, those with Keshecowethin were the most evident.

Migration South to Norway House and Family Ties There

These linkages continued as members of this extended family began to move inland in response to privation at York Factory and the promise of a

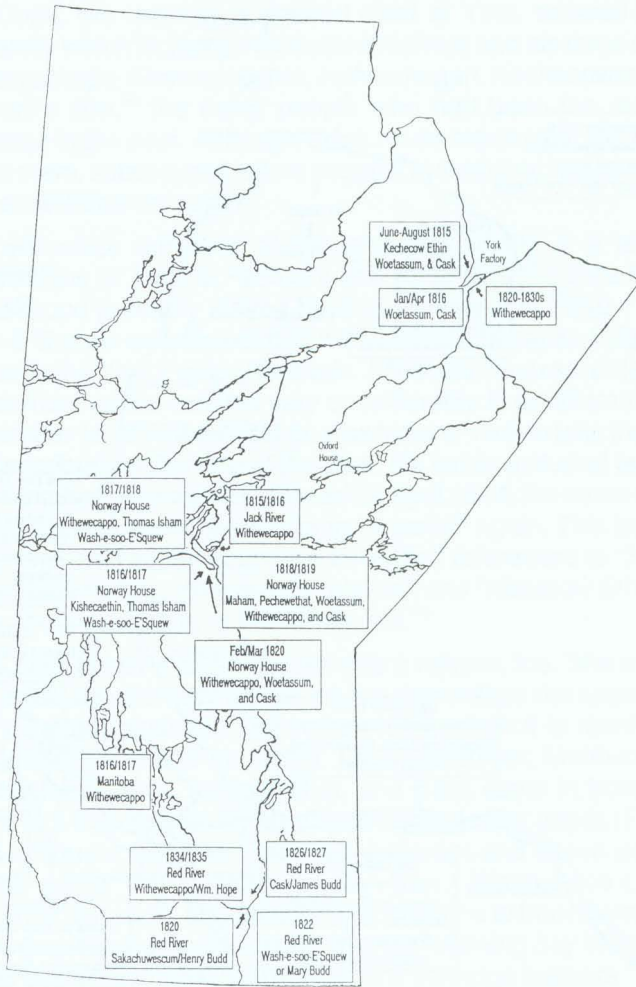
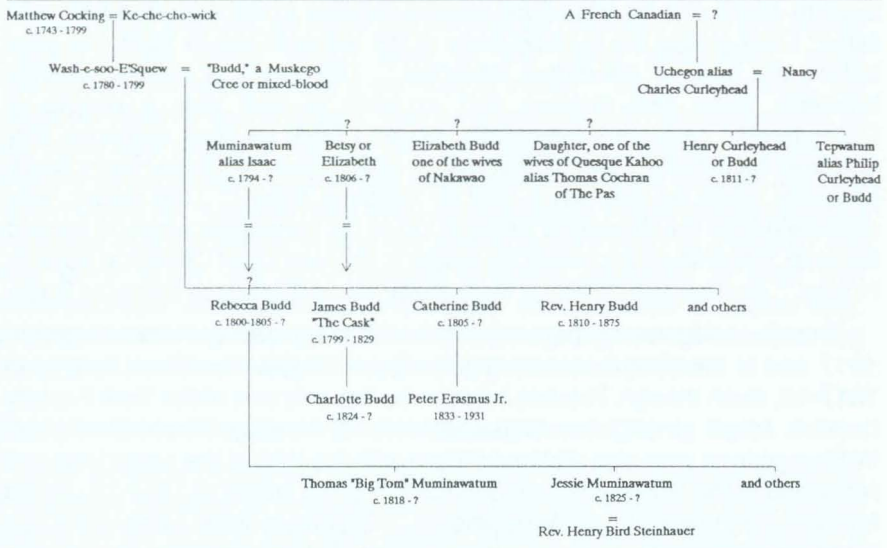


Figure 4. Movement south from York Factory to Red River, 1815-1835.

better life elsewhere (Figure 4). Withewecappo probably became the catalyst to this migration when he was hired in 1815 to work as a boatman for the HBC and was posted consecutively to “Jack River,” “Manitoba,” and “Norway House” during the next three years.⁷⁶ Just when he headed inland is unknown but Withewecappo was at York Factory in September 1815 because he and another man were paid there for journeys they made to Churchill and Jack River. No records exist for the latter post in 1815-16, nor for the newly built Norway House near Warrens Landing, so the matter must remain unresolved; however, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and others probably stayed at York Factory that year. Her son Cask, Woetassum, and Keshecowethin were at York in June and August 1815, and Woetassum and Cask were still hunting in the vicinity during January and April 1816.⁷⁷ However, “Kishecaethin” and Thomas Isham had definitely migrated south

Table 4

The Budds of York Factory and Norway House: Possible Relationships



by the following year, because their names suddenly appeared on the Norway House Indian debt list for 1816-17. It is likely Wash-e-soo-E'Squew arrived there at the same time.

An 1816-17 arrival makes sense for another reason as well. Wash-e-soo-E'Squew had a married daughter at Norway House who was later mentioned in family correspondence, but never named. Although there is no definitive proof of her identity, existing evidence points to the wife⁷⁸ of Muminawatum, the eldest son of a hunter named Uchegon or Curleyhead (Table 4).

The Muminawatums, whose Christian names were Isaac and Rebecca, were probably married in 1817, since their eldest son Thomas was born the following year.⁷⁹ If Rebecca was a daughter of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, it is likely she met her husband shortly after her family arrived in the area. Although inconclusive by itself, this evidence is bolstered by other information. Rebecca and her husband were among the earliest Christians at Norway House, a circumstance in keeping with close ties to the Budd family at Red River. Their son Thomas, known as "Big Tom" because of his imposing stature, became a local leader in the church, while a daughter Jessy married the Reverend Henry Bird Steinhauer, one of the first Methodist missionaries of aboriginal descent to serve in western Canada. Any one of their three younger sons, Robert, Benjamin, or Charles, could have been the young man who accompanied Peter Erasmus, Jr. in 1851 to enter the mission school at The Pas.⁸⁰ Also, when their granddaughter Sarah Steinhauer Kirkness applied for scrip, she identified her mother incorrectly as Jessy Erasmus, an error indicating some memory of a connection to that family.⁸¹

Cask, alias James Budd, eldest son of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, seems to have married one of the younger daughters of Curleyhead. Following a custom which can be traced for several families in the extant Indian debt lists,⁸² Cask joined the hunting party of his father-in-law in 1823, the year before the birth of his eldest daughter.⁸³ This made a second alliance between these two families and explains in part why a couple of Curleyhead's own sons eventually adopted Budd as their surname, too. One was baptized at Red River in March 1840 under the name Henry Budd, probably while he was on a visit to relatives there.⁸⁴ This Henry, who acknowledged the Reverend Henry Budd as his namesake when he applied for scrip, became an important lay leader in the Methodist Church at Norway House.⁸⁵ Another son, Philip or Tepwatum, also adopted the surname Budd.

The above illustrates the extent of the interrelationships which began in 1817 and is the best evidence Wash-e-soo-E'Squew remained nearby in 1817-18, even though Thomas Isham was the only one of the York Factory hunters listed among the Indian debtors at Norway House that year. Withewecappo was also stationed there with the HBC at the same time and remained in the Norway House district during the winter of 1818-19, as did Maham, Pechewethat, and Woetassum.⁸⁶ They were listed along with Cask in the Norway House accounts under "Indian Debt Remaining unpaid June 1, 1819."⁸⁷

Whether or not Withewecappo went to York Factory during the summer of 1819 is unknown, but he and Thomas Isham both took debt at Oxford House in the fall and were probably among the three families which arrived starving at Norway House in late December. Woetassum, if indeed a different man from Thomas Isham, may have led the third family in this group as he and Withewecappo were hunting together in March 1820.⁸⁸ Cask was also in the vicinity because he brought in the "meat of one Deer" to the fort in February.⁸⁹ He may have been hunting on his own by this time or attached to one of the other extended family units in the area.

Withewecappo returned to York Factory in 1820 where records establish that he and his wives received provisions during the summer and into the fall. Maham, Pechewethat, and Keshecowethin also returned, but Woetassum and Cask did not, preferring perhaps to take their chances at Norway House.⁹⁰

Considering the difficulties of the previous winter and the size of his family, as well as the obvious problem of feeding them in the fall of 1820, it is not much wonder Withewecappo was willing to give up his son to be educated by the Reverend John West. Nor is it surprising that West obtained another boy at Norway House from Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, as he passed through on his way to Red River. Undoubtedly there was communication between the families, as they had been closely connected for many years, and we can be sure that relatives came along with or preceded West to tell Wash-e-soo-E'Squew the news. Indeed, her relations at York Factory may have suggested her son accompany Pemuteuithinew, since

the two boys were close to the same age, had probably grown up together, and could be company for each other at the mission.

From other sources, we know Withewecappo (William Hope) and Wash-e-soo-E'Squew (Mary Budd) were of the same generation, while Keshecowethin was probably a generation earlier.⁹¹ Ke-che-cho-wick, the mother of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew, may have been wife to Keshecowethin, or one of his near relations, making Withewecappo a half-brother or cousin to Wash-e-soo-E'Squew. Or perhaps Wash-e-soo-E'Squew married into this family. Could her husband have been Jammahogan, who disappeared from the scene at about the same time she seems to have become a widow? We may never know, but circumstantial evidence suggests at least that Withewecappo and Wash-e-soo-E'Squew were related in some way, evidence which may help to explain why their boys together became the first students in the Church Missionary Society school at Red River.

The Influence of Family on the Formative Years of Henry Budd

With a clearer picture of Henry Budd's early life and family connections, it becomes possible to evaluate more forcibly the impact of the mission school on his psyche and later career. Budd's Cree heritage exerted a powerful influence in his formative years. The evidence indicates he was raised away from the fort in an extended hunting and trapping family, but there were European influences as well. Budd himself said as much when years later, he contrasted the Plains Cree of Nepowewin with near relatives of his people, the Muskego or Swampy Cree of Cumberland, noting that:

These [at Nepowewin] speak the plain Cree, but those, [at The Pas], the Muscago Cree; their habits also is much different. The Muskego crees are more mixed up with the whitepeople and they learn much of their ways and habits. They seem quite ripe to receive the Gospel wherever they are met with; but it is different with the Crees who inhabit these vast plains of the west. They seldom ever see the white people in all their life. They have few opportunities of learning the civilized life. They are *truly heathen*, and *truly barbarous*. They live among the Buffaloe, eat the flesh of that animal, and clothe themselves with its skins. They are more independent, and therefore more haughty.⁹²

Evidently, generations of contact with Europeans had left its mark on the Muskego Cree, who made up the Home-Guard along the Bay and inland as far as Cumberland. The contrast between them and their Plains Cree relatives strengthens Winona Stevenson's assertion that men like Budd "were not representational of the general Native Ministry. They appear to have been thoroughly indoctrinated in European values and perspectives."⁹³

While such indoctrination undoubtedly intensified when Henry Budd entered the mission school, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew is key to an understanding of its extent in his early childhood. Many of the York Factory Home-Guards were of mixed descent, including Budd's mother and possibly his father as well. The degree to which they had absorbed customs and values from their European connections is unclear, but if Auld can be believed, some had become so closely tied to the fort they had almost forgotten they were Natives of the country. Even allowing for Auld's tendency

to exaggeration, it would be strange indeed if there had not been significant cultural borrowing among some families at least. European influence had been felt for over a hundred years when Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was born, and even though her father returned to England when she was an infant, presumably leaving her to be raised by maternal relatives, it is doubtful whether Cree culture was all-pervasive in her life. Because of her birth and family connections, associations with the fort would have been greater than for the average Cree woman, and if not fully at ease in that environment, she could nevertheless get by in it. Certainly there was no reason why she should feel any sense of inferiority among her father's people as Wash-e-soo-E'-Squew was, after all, the daughter of an English officer in the HBC.

Wash-e-soo-E'Squew may also have missed intercultural stresses to a greater degree than other Cree children with a European parent. She was very young when her father returned to England; therefore, she was spared the subtle criticism of her "Indian ways" which might have occurred had he remained. Instead, he became a memory which could be embellished and enhanced, a memory rekindled each year with the payment of his legacy to her. Indeed, at a time when HBC policy discouraged any mention of its officers' and servants' families, her father not only acknowledged his children and their mothers, but also provided them with generous annuities. He did the best he could under the circumstances, when ill health prevented his remaining in the country. Consequently, there was no reason for Wash-e-soo-E'Squew to resent her British heritage. It was distant enough to be nonthreatening, yet close enough to be an advantage. Moreover, having an English father, particularly one in the officer class, brought her distinct social and economic benefits. Michael Payne has pointed out that the social structure at York Factory was hierarchical.⁹⁴ Wash-e-soo-E'Squew's status and prestige within that hierarchy was strengthened by her birth and annuity.

In a time when most women were dependent upon husbands for their material comforts, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew had access to a yearly income which, when first provided by her father, was equivalent to a common labourer's annual salary in the HBC.⁹⁵ We can only guess the effect this had on her life, but undoubtedly it gave her more options than would otherwise have been available. For one thing, her income made her an attractive marriage prospect not only for the Cree hunters in the vicinity, but also for the European officers and servants at York Factory. While her two sisters chose this latter route,⁹⁶ making it obvious the option was open to her as well, she married a Cree hunter. Her choice may have been a tacit expression of her loyalty to, and comfort with, her mother's culture, or perhaps her annuity afforded her the luxury of allowing heart to rule in the selection of a husband. Certainly, after his death she never married again, even though she was still a relatively young woman.

Thus, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew emerges as a woman with more advantages than most and one who may have been able to get along in two quite different worlds. While essentially Cree in culture, she moved among the traders at

York Factory with relative ease. In addition, she may have escaped the cultural ambivalence of later generations of mixed-blood people, when such background offered few benefits.⁹⁷ Her life was difficult, particularly after the death of her husband; but, steeped in Cree culture as she was, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew had all the necessary skills to survive on her own.

These skills were no doubt passed on to her children along with the stories and traditions which had been passed down to her. It is quite possible she gave her son Sakachuwescum a sense of self, a sense of his own worth as a person, or in other words, a firm identity. Descriptions of this quiet, attentive boy at the Red River school indicate a proper Cree upbringing.⁹⁸ At the same time, given his background, he may have acquired some European values and perspectives prior to his arrival at Red River. Whatever the case, when Sakachuwescum became Henry Budd, he entered the cultural world of his English grandfather Matthew Cocking, a man of whom he was no doubt aware, since an annuity from him had helped meet the family's needs for many years.

His family background may partially explain Sakachuwescum's successful transition to Red River, but his memory of the hungry times gave him a tangible reason for viewing the move favourably. There is no question he experienced hunger as a child. Although the HBC journalists at York Factory often reported starving Cree coming in for provisions, such references increased during the period between 1810 and 1820 when colder weather conditions prevailed. Just how devastating it must have been to the Cree is indicated in a letter from Auld to Topping, 27 June 1813:

It is not in my power to tell how many wretches belonging to YF have died of hunger, suffice it to say that in one Tent 8 perished whose carcasses supplied sustenance [*sic*] to two female survivors for a time, but the most strange and unaccountable part of the result is, that our Indians are even determined to brave another year in Nelson River rather than repair to the interior.⁹⁹

Increased population, overhunting, and adverse weather conditions probably combined to bring about such dreadful conditions, and while at first the people may have been reluctant to leave traditional lands, the exodus inland was well under way even as Auld wrote. By the second half of the decade, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and her family had joined this movement, taking with them vivid memories of the hardship and starvation they had faced in the Hudson Bay lowlands. Their hunger persisted, however, after they went to Norway House, so that Wash-e-soo-E'Squew's decision to allow her son to go to Red River must have been motivated in part at least by concern for his physical welfare. Young as he was, the boy was old enough to understand that reasoning.

Privation during the lean years prepared Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and her family psychologically for change, convincing them that there were alternatives to starvation at York Factory, and perhaps prompting a rethinking of Cree values and religious thought as well. When under stress, when old ways no longer seem to work, people may be open to radical change.¹⁰⁰ The difficult conditions faced by the Cree and mixed bloods of York Factory

made them willing to go in new directions in search of security, and the movement toward Red River promised religious and educational, as well as economic, alternatives. Thus, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew lived at a time of expanding possibilities, when many of her people were beginning to question old assumptions, and although she undoubtedly gave up her son with sadness, she must have done so with some understanding of the opportunity afforded him. Indeed, the choice of Sakachuwescum to be educated may have been viewed as a singular honour.

When Wash-e-soo-E'Squew gave her son Sakachuwescum to the missionary, he was about ten years old, just old enough to appreciate the adventure of travel to Red River. The excitement of new discoveries shared with his friend Pemuteuithinew would have eased the sadness of parting with his family, and although there were undoubtedly periods of loneliness after he settled at the mission, his studies kept him preoccupied in the two years before his mother's arrival. The colony was quite different geographically from York Factory and Norway House, but it still had much that was familiar. There was the HBC on which his family had relied for years, as well as friends who had also made the journey south. The Cree and mixed bloods were gathering to Red River from all over the HBC lands in the 1820s, just one of several groups, none predominant, to be found there at the time. They represented a powerful counterbalance to the foreign culture of the mission school and helped reduce any negative effects Henry Budd and his friend James Hope might have experienced there.

As George van der Goes Ladd pointed out in his book *Shall We Gather At The River*,¹⁰¹ there were negative aspects to the evangelism of the Church Missionary Society. Ladd provided convincing evidence that its missionaries often confused Christian salvation with the adoption of English civilization, with the obvious corollary that aboriginal culture had to be totally erased in order for Native people to be acceptable to God. Considering the type of society which existed at Red River in the early 1820s, there must have been resistance to this deviation from the Christian message, although undoubtedly those who became members of the church were in varying degrees influenced by it. For the students at the mission school, who were in almost constant contact with the missionaries, the impact is likely to have been greatest. As far as Henry Budd is concerned, however, the strength of the cultural base he had inherited from his mother, the presence of family in numbers, and his associations within the larger community would have shielded him somewhat from this bias.

These conclusions modify those to which Ladd arrived in his study "Going-Up-The-Hill: The Journey of Henry Budd." This psychohistorical analysis of Budd in the context of his mission school experience presupposes a strong Cree cultural background for the boy,¹⁰² as well as a pervasive English evangelical pedagogy, to explain what Ladd saw as the detrimental effects of Budd's education by the missionaries at Red River. His study also exposes the shortcomings of evangelical child-rearing methods, contrasting them to Cree practices which were less emotionally destructive. Ladd felt a

traditional upbringing may have assisted Budd and the other aboriginal students in resisting the worst effects of the system.

There are difficulties with this study. Ladd provided no proof that Budd did, in fact, have a traditional upbringing, whatever that meant in the context of the York Factory Home-Guard, whose associations with the European traders extended over so many years. But even if we knew, there would still be problems, because we cannot be sure how closely Budd's family approximated existing norms. Ladd's study also portrays Budd and his fellow students as more vulnerable than they may in fact have been. Whether or not the theory behind evangelical pedagogy was ever consistently put into practice is one question, but how far it could be implemented, with all its assumptions of British cultural superiority, at the Red River mission in the 1820s is a more pertinent one. That the question has relevance is underscored by the bewilderment of the missionary William Cockran when, after all his efforts to make his students English, they remained "Indians still."

As a mixed society with many different viewpoints, Red River was a place where aboriginal roots still counted for something in the 1820s. It was not the Red River of later years, when an infusion of Ontario Protestants permanently shifted power away from the Native population.¹⁰³ Rather, the English presence was just one of several, and the church was barely established. The mission students were not captives; they could and did leave when they or their families became dissatisfied. Moreover, they were not isolated from the aboriginal and mixed-blood community, which was growing each year. While insecure in its religious knowledge and education, this group was far from seeing itself as inferior in other respects. Unquestionably, many eventually accepted the twinning of religious salvation with English civilization, with all the tragic implications for their own aboriginal roots and identity, but it is doubtful whether this could have been achieved quickly. Such dualism would become entrenched only after a couple of generations of indoctrination, and then only when it became evident that one's Native background was a liability in the existing society. Clearly that was not the case at Red River in 1820.

In such a community it is hard to imagine the racism of a William Cockran going unnoticed, if it was as blatant in life as it was in his journals. Perhaps it was an idiosyncrasy tolerated because the colonists needed a minister to teach them the Christian religion and assist in the education of their children. If they had the ability to "adapt and transform . . . in order to survive in the face of changing conditions," as Ladd suggests, the Cree, and by extension their mixed-blood relatives, may have had the strength and fortitude to withstand the missionary's folly, at least in the short run. Although allied politically and often by blood to the British, they were a long-suffering people accustomed to hardship, whose religious identification may have been with the children of Israel, to whom some felt they were related.¹⁰⁴ Such a relationship could allow them to accept the Christian message of salvation without necessarily accepting the parochial cultural baggage the missionaries were wont to attach to it.

Table 5
The Family of Wash-e-soo-E'Squew
 Wash-e-soo-E'Squew = "Budd," a Muskego Cree

James Budd "The Cask" c. 1800 - 1829	Rebecca Budd c. 1800-1805 - ?	Catherine Budd c. 1805 - ?	Nancy Budd c. 1805-1807 - ?	Sarah Budd Nehowgatim c. 1809 - 1833	Henry Budd Sakachuwescum c. 1810 - 1875
Elizabeth or Betsy c. 1806 - ?	Isaac Muminawatum c. 1794 - ?	Peter Erasmus Sr. alias Johann Frederick Swendsen c. 1792 - 1849	1. Michael Rhein c. 1788-1789 - 1829 2. Horatio Nelson Calder c. 1806 - ?	Alexander Birston c. 1805 - ?	Elizabeth Work c. 1820 - 1864
Charlotte Sophia Joseph Elizabeth	Thomas John Margaret Jessy Robert Benjamin Charles Mary	Sophia Catherinc Henry Sally Peter William Mary Mary Ann	1. Michel Charles Nancy 2. Sarah Letitia Sophia John Nelson	Jane James	Henry Sarah Mary Ann Jane Elizabeth John Work Flora Christiana Catherine Caroline Margaret James Hunter David Eliza Letitia Ellen Harriet Alice Harriet Morris

Since Budd and his classmates retained many of their traditional ways, they would have been incredulous had the missionaries suggested that aboriginal culture *per se* was incompatible with European civilization. This thinking was especially contradicted in Budd's own multicultural family which had never restricted its Cree or European associations in his mother's generation or his own (Table 5). Indeed, while a brother and sister married within the Cree community at Norway House, Budd's sister Catherine married the Norwegian Peter Erasmus, who had been in the Napoleonic Wars, served with the HBC, and become a respected member of the Red River agricultural community. His sister Nancy's first husband was Michel Rhein of Strasbourg, France, her second Horatio Nelson Calder, the Orkney-Cree son of a surgeon who had served at York Factory. Sally, the sister who was with him at the school, married Alexander Birston, the Orkney-Cree son of a retired HBC servant, and Henry himself was to marry Elizabeth Work, the Irish-Cree daughter of an officer in the same company. Consequently, this family was more likely characterized by a quiet confidence than by any sense of its own inferiority, and its diversity of origin and viewpoint must have broadened Budd's outlook rather than diminished it.

Budd's family was also nearby during his formative years at Red River. The arrival of his mother and sister at the mission school in 1822 and his eldest brother in 1827 undoubtedly strengthened ties with Cree culture, ties which were further enhanced by his sisters Catherine and Nancy who had settled with their families at the colony in the mid-1820s. Their European husbands undoubtedly introduced Henry to alternative views with which to weigh the assumptions of the missionaries and to challenge some of their worst biases. Catherine's husband Peter Erasmus, whom Budd described

as "our old friend Peter,"¹⁰⁵ was a particularly independent man. In fact, under the name Johann Frederick Swendsen or Swedson, he had been a ringleader in a revolt over working conditions among the Norwegian labourers at Norway House in the spring of 1815. In spite of threats from the overseer and the pleadings of officers from Jack River nearby, the Norwegians did not return to work until their demands were met.¹⁰⁶ In spite of such behaviour, Erasmus was again hired in 1823 for a two-year contract at Brandon House in which there was a proviso that "the said Frederick Swedson not obliged to buy dogs while employed as sawyer at Brandon House."¹⁰⁷ Erasmus was still setting conditions.

Such independence of mind was certainly common enough in the frontier setting of Red River, and no more so than in the person of William Hemmings Cook, another relative of Henry Budd, whose "eccentric" opinions became well known in the colony and led to a direct confrontation with the formidable Reverend William Cockran in 1834.¹⁰⁸ Cockran wrote several pages in his journal concerning his debate with Cook, whom he described as "one of the grossest infidels that is to be met with." The exchange is instructive on several levels. Although Cook was obviously baiting the clergyman, he was skeptical nevertheless about the mission of the church and raised questions which were no doubt current at the time among the unconverted at Red River. Cockran's response, on the other hand, reveals him to be a more complicated man than his written views on Native culture might indicate. It is easy enough to dismiss him as a racist, since he expressed so many negative opinions on aboriginal character and culture, but then his writing style is full of hyperbole, as illustrated in the following response to Cook's attack on the Christian congregation:

He [Cook] was remarkably malignant against some of my professing brethren, to which I replied, They have been 30 or 40 years under the baneful influence of your example, and others of a similar nature. You have taught them to be licentious, intemperate, and avaricious, and now you grumble because you do not see those vices eradicated at once, which you have been fostering for so many years. He said, I never thought myself accountable for their moral conduct. I replied, You were the Master of a post; these are the Indians with whom you traded, the slaves whom you demoralized. Had you then done your *duty*, they would have had fewer blemishes in their characters now. You find fault with these men, not because they are vicious, but because they are not perfect.¹⁰⁹

and

I am happy you have nothing worse to say of my congregation than what you have stated. In the course of our conversation, you have told me you are better than one half of them. They consist of 100 families; you have picked these failings out of 50 of the worst of them. They are much better than I expected; I thought that after they had witnessed such an atrocious example for so many years, that you would have been able to have charged them with murder, adultery, incest, theft, and all manner of intemperance and licentiousness: but no! you have only pointed out imperfections, and imperfections which never could have been discovered by you, if it had not been for the light of the Gospel which shines upon them.¹¹⁰

Besides affirming that sin rather than race was the real enemy of the missionary, the exchange between Cockran and Cook dramatically

illustrates the tensions and undercurrents at Red River in the 1820s and 1830s which challenged the church's claim to exclusive jurisdiction in matters of faith and morals, and prevented the missionaries from exerting the kind of control necessary to erase the Cree culture, even from the students under their direct instruction. According to Ladd, Henry Budd's mission school education made him withdrawn and perfectionist in response to a growing shame over his Cree background. Yet his quiet demeanour, rather than a defense, may have been the best evidence of his Cree upbringing which, as Ladd points out elsewhere, probably helped him resist the worst aspects of evangelical education. His schooling may have produced stress, but there is no convincing evidence it did any permanent harm.

After its completion, he farmed for a time near the Lower Church (later St. Andrews). He went there in May 1829 with his mother, brother's widow, and her three children, in Cockran's words, "to raise as much wheat, barley, and potatoes as will serve themselves and feed a few hogs, to make pork for their own use. And I am happy to say they have managed very well."¹¹¹ Budd also worked for the HBC first as a day labourer,¹¹² then as a full-time employee at Lac La Pluie from 1832 to 1835.¹¹³ In 1836, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Work,¹¹⁴ who provided a dowry of £100 on her behalf.¹¹⁵ With these funds, Budd was able to purchase land in addition to the grant he had received from the HBC in 1831.¹¹⁶ By 1837 he was a schoolmaster for the Church Missionary Society,¹¹⁷ in which capacity he remained until he was called to open the mission at Cumberland. Separately and collectively these actions indicate initiative, drive, and self-confidence.

Knowledge of Budd's origins is essential to understanding the man. His background, with its roots in Cree and English realities, prepared him to walk in two worlds. It helped him adjust to the mission school and to synthesize successfully the sometimes contradictory forces that impinged upon him. Budd was a fervent Christian. What he and the missionaries had in common was far more important than the differences between them. They were all part of a Christian subculture which faced opposition among the unconverted, whether Cree or European. Although his journals sound much the same as those of his non-Native contemporaries, and references to "Indians" might imply his identification with Europeans, one's identity is never a simple matter. Certainly Budd was comfortable with the English missionaries. They had similar educations, were often interested in the same issues, and were involved in a common cause.

Nevertheless, he also identified with the Cree, whose language and culture had been instilled in him during his childhood. At the same time, he rejected any traditional behaviours and beliefs he perceived as working against their acceptance of Christianity, although his views remained flexible. In the early years, for example, he felt the necessity to teach converts to read and write English, because that opened the door to salvation through the Bible. Later, when syllabics had been developed and the scriptures became available in his Native tongue, he no longer saw that need as crucial. His journals, which are a product of his later life, affirm again



Figure 5. Henry Budd, Sr.

Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Rupert's Land Collection 21, #N10617.

and again Budd's identification with his own people and roots he never left behind. With paternal attention, he saw to their welfare, just as in his private life he kept close watch over his immediate and extended family.

Heritage and traditional upbringing prepared Budd to meet the challenges posed by the mission school, while his keen intelligence and thoughtful nature enabled him to acquire an education sufficient for service as a

missionary to his own people. Based solidly on this background and a deep and abiding commitment to his beliefs, Budd went on to build an enduring Christian community among the Cree. His journals reveal his dedication to this ministry, and provide a poignant testimony to the faith he demonstrated in response to the trials and tragedies he suffered, including the premature deaths of his wife and nine children, among whom were all four of his sons. Budd's faith sustained him, and he continued to serve the church for the rest of his life.

Even on the day he died, Budd was a reflection of the two cultural currents which made him the man he was. In describing his last hours, his daughter later wrote, "I caught the words 'Abide with Me' & 'Rock of Ages', his mind seemed on holy things for he murmured words in Indian from God's Word."¹¹⁸ Such a man, whose life represented values sacred to both cultures, is a fitting tribute to the memory of the Cree mother who nurtured him in his childhood, as well as to the English missionaries, who gave him the Christian principles which guided his later life. Their combined teachings helped build a man of "many talents," whose life of service to others might have been summed up in the epitaph:

Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.¹¹⁹

NOTES

Special thanks to Dr. Jennifer Brown of the University of Winnipeg for her assistance in getting this study into print, and to others who read the manuscript and made helpful suggestions for improvement. Thanks are also due Frontier School Division for its unique commitment to research into and celebration of the aboriginal history of Northern Manitoba; to Cam Giavedoni, Superintendent, Areas 3/5, for his continued interest; and, to Manitoba Education and Training for its generous support of educational research through the Compensatory Grant Programme.

1. Frank A. Peake, "Henry Budd and his Colleagues," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Society* 33, no. 1 (April 1991): 31. Peake has pointed out that while Budd was the first person born in Rupert's Land to be ordained to the diaconate, Robert McDonald, another person of part aboriginal origin, was the first to be ordained to the priesthood.
2. Irene Spry, ed., *Buffalo Days and Nights, Peter Erasmus as told to Henry Thompson* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1976). See especially "A Note on Peter Erasmus's Family Background," 303-05, 324-28. Prof. Spry's research paved the way for a solution to the puzzle of Budd's ancestry. Without it, the job would have been much more difficult and time-consuming.
3. George van der Goes Ladd, "Going-Up-The-Hill: The Journey of Henry Budd," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 33, no. 1 (April 1991): 7-22.
4. John West, *The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at The Red River Colony, British North America* (London: L.B. Seeley and Sons, 1824), 12.
5. *Ibid.*, 13.
6. *Ibid.*, 14. Also Katherine Pettipas, *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd, 1870-1875* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1974), xvi.
7. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Church Missionary Society (CMS) 3, Class "C", North West America Mission, Rupert's Land, C.1/M, Mission Books, Incoming Letters, 1822-1876, C.1/M.1, 1822-1833, item 11, 61, mf.A77, "Report to the Honourable Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company... 3 December 1823."

8. *Ibid.*, item 23, 111, and item 15, 72.
9. West's journal states that James Hope and Henry Budd were baptized 21 July 1822. (*Ibid.*, item 11, 35.) Although this is true, Budd is recorded under the name Henry Thomas in the HBC baptismal register. (PAM, Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), E.4/1a, fo.38d, no.201, mf.4M4.) Either the name was recorded in error, or West later changed his mind. In the original St. John's register "Budd" seems to have been superimposed over an earlier name, probably Thomas. (PAM, M277, MG7, B7-1, 26, no.201.)
10. PAM, HBCA, E.4/1a, fo.43d, nn.273-278, mf.4M4.
11. "*Sally Budd* is sister to Henry Budd, both the Children of the Half Breed upon the Establishment, she came with her mother in the Fall/22." (PAM, CMS3, Class "C," C.1/M, C.1/M.1, item 23, 113, mf.A77, Harbidge to secretary, Church Missionary Society, 1 July 1824.)
12. "Agathus" was described as "a half-breed (widow) woman, speaking only the Indian language, to make clothes, wash, cook, etc for the Children." (PAM, CMS3, Class C, C.1/M, C.1/M.1, item 15, 71, mf.A77.)
13. There were two girls, six boys, and "2 Northern Indian Boys ... which 10 are supported on the Establishment with the Half Breed Woman." (*Ibid.*, item 15, 72, mf.A77. See also item 11, 64/65, for a similar report.)
14. Variants include Washasquew, Washosquew, Washe how Esquow, Washosqueu, Washeasquew, Washeho Esqwow, Washoesqwiw, Wa she oo esquew, Washeosquew, and Washiesqua. Wash-e-soo-E'Squew is the preferred spelling in this article. See footnote 24 below.
15. PAM, HBCA, B.239/d/144b, fo.47d; B.239/d/146, fo.47; B.239/d/148, fo.33; B.239/d/151, fo.39d; B.239/d/162, fo.59; B.239/d/163, fo.66d; B.239/d/165, fos.14d/15; B.239/d/179, fo.13d; B.239/d/180, fo.9d; B.239/d/186, fos.22d,27d; B.239/d/188, fo.16d; B.239/d/199b, fo.84/84d,162,168.
16. PAM, HBCA, Search File, Matthew Cocking.
17. PAM, HBCA, A.5/2, fo.176d, London Outward Correspondence, 1776-1788, letter dated January 30, 1788; also B.239/b/79, fo.28d, York Factory Correspondence, 1794/1809, letter dated September 1799.
18. Cocking's will, Borthwick Institute, Prerogative Court Probate Records, April 1799, allowed an annuity of £6 for each of his three mixed-blood daughters and their two surviving mothers.
19. Although Spry read this name as "Sen-lo-es-com," an analysis of Cocking's will suggests Le-lo-es-com is the name intended. "L" is written exactly the same in the words "Letter," "London," "Lines," and "Le-lo-es-com," while "S" is formed somewhat differently. "L is used only in Moosonee, at Moose Factory," according to R. Faries and E.A. Watkins, *A Dictionary of the Cree Language* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1938, 1986.), v.
20. Cocking's daughters were probably born between 1775 and 1783. Ke-che-cow-e-com-e-coot, described as 60 when she died in 1835, is unlikely to have been much older since her daughter Charlotte was born in 1819 when she would have been 44. Mith-coo-cooman-E'Squew was probably the youngest daughter. She was 71 when she died 14 October 1853, therefore was born around 1782, the year her father returned to England. Wash-e-soo-E'Squew then would have been the middle daughter, born some time between 1775 and 1782.
21. Glyndwyr Williams, ed., *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson Bay 1767-1791*, vol. 27 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), 205
22. "'Sh,' a sound heard only among the Crees of Hudson Bay ... anyone in Hudson Bay will discover that *Sesep* in the interior becomes *Sheshep* on the coast. It is the 'Shibboleth'

- which distinguishes the Eastern Cree from the Western Cree Indian." See Faries and Watkins, *A Dictionary of the Cree Language*, v.
23. *Ibid.*, 502. I also am indebted to Ken Paupanekis, Cree Consultant, Frontier School Division, for his suggestions on the possible meaning of the name.
 24. Although there are a variety of alternatives, Wash-e-soo-E'Squew is the spelling I prefer. It is close to the original in Matthew Cocking's will, the only change being "E'Squew" in place of "E'Squaw." "Squaw" has taken on a derogatory meaning and a harsh, monosyllabic sound. "E'Squew" is equivalent to the Cree "Iskwao," meaning "woman," with the "a" pronounced as in "made" and the "o" as in "snow."
 25. PAM, HBCA, B.239/c/1, fo.181, letter dated 3 February 1825 from Alex Robertson, clerk, Norway House, to Robert Miles, accountant, York Factory.
 26. She had actually been there since at least 1822. Listed at Norway House in 1822-23 under "Holmes" were one woman, two boys, two girls, with the notation "Husband retired to Europe." (PAM, HBCA, B.154/e/2, fo.11d.) In September 1823, the eldest son went to England. (*Ibid.*, C.1/800, Ships' Logs – Prince of Wales 1823, fo.3d.) In the winter 1823-24, under "Holmes" are listed one woman, one boy under fourteen, and two girls under fourteen. (*Ibid.*, B.154/e/3, fos.5d/6.) "J.P. Holmes wife, Keese cow e cumacout" also made purchases between 1827 and 1829. (*Ibid.*, B.154/d/29, fo.51d; B.154/d/30, fo.5d; B.154/d/33, fo.6.)
 27. Her son James Budd, known as "Cask," was probably there until late 1826 or early 1827 when he left to join his mother at Red River. Wash-e-soo-E'Squew visited her daughter at Norway House in 1847 and 1849. See letters by Henry Budd to his sister Nancy Budd and her husband Horatio Nelson Calder in the *Columbia*. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC), A/E/R731/C12/B85 and A/E/R731/W921.91.) Peter Erasmus, Jr. also mentioned his aunt at Norway House in a letter to the Calders in 1851. (*Ibid.*, A/E/R731/W921.91.)
 28. PAM, HBCA, B.239/c/1, fo.201, York Factory Correspondence Inward, 1808-1828, William Hemmings Cook, Red River, to Robert Miles, accountant, York Factory, 25 May 1825. Cook's reference to the "Box" was correct. Just such a box had been sent from York Factory. See PAM, HBCA B.235/d/20, fo.17d.
 29. Mrs. Holmes lived at Norway House for a few years before following her sisters south to the colony. She seems to have died at Red River in 1835. (PAM, M277, MG7, B7-1, St John's Cathedral, Burials, 1821-1900, 21, no.167, and PAM, HBCA, E.4/1b, fo.301d, no.167, mf.4M5.)
 30. PAM, M277, MG7, B7-1, 94, St. John's Register No. 1, Entry, no. 645. The transcript of her baptism in the HBC register only gives the name Mary Budd. (PAM, HBCA, E.4/1a, fo.69d, no.744, mf.4M4.)
 31. Catherine's scrip application identifies her mother as "Mary a half breed." (PAM, Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch, Land Records, Métis and Original White Settlers, "General Index to Manitoba and North West Territories Half-Breeds and Original White Settlers, Half-Breed Heads of Families, Manitoba," RG15, 1507:12, mf.C-11878.) The Reverend Henry Budd's application states his mother was Mary MistaKanash. (PAM, "Department of the Interior, Northwest Half-Breed Commission, 1885. Alphabetical List, known as Book E in the report," RG15, 1475:105, mf.C-11872.) There is no known equivalent meaning for "Mistakanash" in Cree. "Mistakuya'sew" means "a large Englishman"; therefore, the name might have some reference to Wash-e-soo-E'Squew's European background. See Faries and Watkins, *A Dictionary of the Cree Language*, 91, 329.
 32. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Peter Erasmus, 1833-1931:1. Gooderham also wrote that Peter's mother was "an Ojibway mixed-blood" when in fact her aboriginal heritage was Cree.
 33. See inside back cover of Spry, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, for family chart.

34. CMS records indicate there was only one "Woman on Missionary Establishment" in October 1822 and 1 July 1824. The 1827 census of the Red River Settlement confirms this information. (PAM, HBCA, E.5/1, fos.8d/9, mf.4M4, "Statistical Statement of Red River Settlement 31 May 1827.")
35. "James Budd, Red River Settlement, buried 21 January 1829, supposed about 30 years, by William Cockran." (PAM, CMS12, Class "C," C1/0, "Orig. Letters, Journals, & Papers Incoming, 1822-1880," "Burials in the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, North America, in the years 1828/9," no.44, mf.A86.)
36. PAM, Department of the Interior, RG15, 1507:12, mf.C-11878.
37. "They [traders along the Bay] have almost uniformly taken up with Indian women, some have a plurality, & even to these their cupidity is not always confined – The present Chief of YF has three wives by whom he has a numerous issue. One he has discarded for being old – the other two are younger & live with him at the Factory." (PAM, Selkirk Papers, MG2/A1, 2:376/377, mf.171, Macdonell to Selkirk, 29 May 1812. Also Ibid., 1:354/355, Miles Macdonell, Nelson Encampment, to Selkirk, 31 May 1812, and PAM, MG 2/A1, 67:17868-9, mf.187, Rev. Charles Bourke's journal, 1 May 1812.)
38. PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/86, fo.57.
39. Nancy's scrip application states she was the daughter of William Hemmings Cook and Kahnawakan. (PAM, Department of the Interior, RG15, 1507:23, mf.C-11878.) Her baptismal record in 1821 adds that her mother was a deceased Indian woman. (PAM, HBCA, E.4/1a, fo.33d, no.11, mf.4M4.)
40. Her scrip application states Nancy was born in 1785, while her burial record in 1875 claims she was one hundred years old. (PAM, M32, MG7, B3, 15, St. Mary's, Portage la Prairie, Burials) Neither is accurate, as her father did not arrive at York Factory until 1786. When baptized in 1821, Nancy had already been the country wife of James Sutherland deceased, was currently married to William Garrioch, and was the mother of seven living children. Therefore, she was probably born shortly after her father's arrival.
41. Irene Spry describes the second wife as half-caste, but does not cite her source. Cook's HBC biography does the same. Still, it is probably true. Samuel, who was born c.1797, was described as the son of a "half caste" woman, and the mother of Charles, c.1804, was described as "Agathas." Since no evidence has been found that either of these men was the son of Mary Cocking, they may have been children of the second wife. (PAM, HBCA, E.4/1a, fo.44, no.280 and fo.46d, no.315, mf.4M4; PAM, Department of the Interior, RG.15, 1507:21, mf.C-11878.)
42. By 10 September 1816, William H. Cook had ten children, (PAM, HBCA, E.8/5, fo.128.) Their names were Nancy, born 1787-88 (marr. 1. James Sutherland, 2. Wm. Garrioch); Joseph c. 1792 (Catherine Sinclair); Samuel c. 1797 (Isabella Gaddy); Jane, c. 1790-1800 (1. John McNab 2. John Flett, 3. Henry Heckenberger); Jeremiah c. 1802-1804 (Eleanor Spence); Charles c. 1804-1805 (1. Nancy, 2. Catherine Anderson); Richard c. 1805 (See HBCA, B.239/a/115, fo.17d); Margaret 1808 (Wm. Sandison); Mary c. 1810 (Wm. Leask); Catherine 1815 (1. James Lyons, 2. Jos. Kirton). There may have been another son named John, c. 1790s, as John and Joseph Cook obtained provisions at York Factory 3 Oct 1804. (PAM, HBCA, B.239/d/127, fo.85d.) John must have died before 1816.
43. Wash-e-soo-E'Squew's son "The Cask" (James Budd) was born c. 1800; daughters Catherine, wife of Peter Erasmus, born 1805; Nancy, wife first of Michel Rhein, second of Horatio Nelson Calder, born c. 1805-1807; Nehowgatim (Sarah Budd), wife of Alexander Birston, born about 1809; and son Sakachuwescum (Henry Budd), born no later than 1811. Another daughter at Norway House was probably born around 1800-05.
44. Only Kahnawakan and Aggathas/Mary Cocking have been clearly identified as mothers to any of Cook's children.
45. PAM, HBCA, B.235/d/1, fo.34; B.235/d/3, fo.56d; B.235/d/18, fo.60; B.235/d/20, fo.33d;

- B.235/d/22, fo.52d; B.235/d/28, fo.36; B.235/d/34, fo.30; B.235/d/38, fo.28d; B.235/d/41, fo.35.
46. PABC, A/E/R731/C12/Er12, letter from Peter Erasmus, Jr. to Horatio Nelson Calder, 27 June 1850.
 47. The children of brothers (or sisters) are known as parallel cousins to each other. In Cree kinship they are terminologically differentiated from cross cousins, who are the children of their fathers' sisters (or mothers' brothers).
 48. PAM, Selkirk Papers, MG2/A1, 1:54/55, mf.171, York Factory, 1 October 1811, letter from Miles Macdonell to Lord Selkirk. "Those parts" refers to the north side of Nelson River in the vicinity of Seal Island. Macdonell was writing from York Factory.
 49. PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/119, fo.49; B.239/d/155, fo.6d; B.239/d/155, fo.7, 14 February 1811; B.239/a/119, fo.50, 5 March 1811; B.239/a/119, fo.50d; and B.239/d/155, fo.9d.
 50. PAM, HBCA, B.42/d/71, fo.10d, Churchill accounts, 1793/1794, "Wappy & Nancy Mr. Jefferson's Wife & Daughter."
 51. PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/119, fo.50d, and B.239/a/117, fo.5, entries for 24 March 1811; B.239/d/155, fo.10, 25 March 1811.
 52. PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/119, fo.51, entry for 7 April 1811, and B.239/d/155, fo.11, entry for 6 April 1811.
 53. PAM, HBCA, B.42/d/71, fo.10d, Churchill accounts, 1793/1794, "Skunish Daughter of the late Captn. Jonathan Fowler." Her mother was probably Wappy, country wife to chief factor William Jefferson of Churchill. PAM, HBCA, B.42/b/44, fo.50, states, "We have received £13.3 of Mr Wm Jefferson for the use of his children at your Factory as last Year vizt. To Wappee £5 To her daughter Ann [Nancy] £5 & to Squanish £3.3." Compare to footnote 50.
 54. PAM, HBCA, B.239/d/153, fo.16d; B.156/d/3b, fo.6; B.156/a/11, fo.4d.
 55. See PAM, HBCA, B.239/d/155, fo.13-14d, entries dated 30 April, 12, 14 and 18 May 1811. Although Anchuckuck was listed in the May entries, he is unlikely to have been the fourth hunter. Between 19 April and 1 May, he was with "Wetasum" taking a packet to Churchill. While he was away, Thuthat and Wash-e-soo-E'Squew obtained provisions on the 30 April. His close association with Thuthat after 1 May may be explained by a relationship of some sort. In December 1810, for example, Thuthat and his son received provisions, and two days later "Ancheeckuck" also received biscuits and oatmeal. See B.239/d/149, fo.68, entries for 18 and 20 December. Perhaps Thuthat was father to Anchuckuck, whose employment as a packeteer suggests a young man. On the other hand, Thuthat's job as master of the goose tent implies age and maturity. Thuthat's name disappears from the records by 1812.
 56. PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/119, fo.51, notes a Mr. McLaughlin was sent to Sams Creek on April 10 to prepare for the goose hunt and on April 18, Thuthat was employed "to convey Salt & ammunition to the Northd. Goose Tent & engaged ... to conduct the business there." B.239/d/155, fo.11d-13, records that "five families about to leave for Sams Creek were given salt venison on April 12, Thuthat and 6 familys of Indians at Sams Creek received provisions on April 19. Supplies were given to Mehaum & five families of Indians from Sams Creek on April 29, to Thuthat and Washeho Essquoas on April 30, and to Wetasum and Anchuckuck 1 May 1811."
 57. One has to be cautious about assuming that all women named in the steward's books were widows. Jenny Johnson received provisions in her own name, even though Keshecowethin, described as the father (or was he father-in-law?) of her son, was living. (See PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/124, fo.78.) Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and Skunish may have been mentioned because they were annuitants and thus had their own accounts. Still, Thucotch, Mr. Jacobs's daughter, was also an annuitant, and the only reference to her found so far outside the account books is a note that her annuity was taken to her by

- Pimme. (B.239/d/161, inside front cover.) It is the combination of information that suggests Wash-e-soo-E'Squew and Skunish were widows by 1811.
58. PAM, HBCA, B.239/a/96, fo.23d. B.42/b/37, fo.12, letter from Stayner to Sutherland, 14 August 1795, lists debts of those who had gone to York under the names: Pom es cow athinew, Tuskey, Nechowethow, Ethabiscum, Thomas Isham, Keshecow athine, Ukemow keshick, Samashish, Jamahagun, James Wood, Bob, Sukesquatim, You Ham, Okisk, Cauquoshish, John Moore, Mistannish.
 59. PAM, HBCA, B.42/b/36, fo.4d. This accusation was probably true, as the London Council had complained in its 1793 letter that furs would be better preserved if the Natives left more fat on them, to which Stayner promised in his reply that they could "depend on every measure being adopted that can induce them to act as you have been pleased to direct." (B.42/b/44, fos.46d,48.)
 60. For further details on this incident, see PAM, HBCA, B.42/b/37, fo.5d, 11d/12, letters dated 19 March and 14 August 1795; B.239/a/96, fo.23d-26, entries 14 May-1 June 1794; B.239/b/56, fo.9d and 26; also B.42/b/40, fo.3, letter from Joseph Colen to Wm Auld, 27 March 1798, where Colen mentions "Jamahoggan & Family," as well as "Okisk, Hug-gemowkeshick, John Peitre, etc, etc."
 61. PAM, HBCA, B.42/a/124, fo.4, entry for 7 September 1797.
 62. *Ibid.*, fo.8d, entry for 13 December 1797.
 63. *Ibid.*, fo.9, entry for 18 December 1797.
 64. *Ibid.*, fo.14, entry for 13 April 1798. Colen's letter dated 27 March 1798 is recorded in B.42/b/40, fo.3.
 65. See footnote 60.
 66. PAM, HBCA, B.239/b/80, fo.1d, letter from Wm. H. Cook to Topping, Churchill, 24 September 1809, by Hookemowkeshick.
 67. *Ibid.*, B.239/b/80, fo.2; also B.42/b/53, fo.1, letter dated 30 September 1809 from Wm. H. Cook to Topping by Keshecowethin indicates he (Cook) had recorded debt by Keshecowethin and his son in the previous letter. [See footnote 66] He noted he has given an additional 15 MB debt to them "to the Old Man 5 and to the Son 10." *Ibid.*, B.239/B/80, fo.2d; also B.42/b/53, fo.1, letter dated 10 December 1809 from Topping to Cook, says letter of 30th delivered on 9 December by Wethewacappo. Topping had seen or heard nothing of HugemowKeshick or any of his family that winter. In B.42/a/135, fo.4, entry for 9 December 1809, it reads, "Two Sn [Cree] Indians came received a letter by them from Mr. Cook of YF who informs me he had discharged our late runaways entirely from YF (much to his credit) but a prior letter given to one of them not yet come to hand." These "Two Sn Indians" must have been the father Keshecowethin, to whom Cook delivered the letter, and the son Withewecappo, who gave it to Topping.
 68. *Ibid.*, B.239/d/149, fo.44d,48. Whether or not Hookemowkeshick ever reached Churchill is unknown, but he could have been there for only a short time. While apparently a Churchill Home-Guard, he was the eldest son of Mansee, who trapped to the east of York Factory. (HBCA, B.239/z/26, fo.2 and B.198/d/93, fo.93a.) Perhaps one of his two wives belonged to the Churchill Home-guard.
 69. *Ibid.*, B.239/a/124, fo.42d-53, esp. entry on 22 April, "sent off Keshickcow Ethin & family to C.F. The mother of WithahweCappo being sufficiently recovered of her burnt foot to be hauld across the Nelson to her relations who are tenting there."
 70. See *ibid.*, B.239/d/169, fo.4d and 6, for relevant entries and the details of the trade for each person named. See B.239/a/121, fo.9d and 12, for the locations of their hunting grounds.
 71. *Ibid.*, B.239/a/124, fo.78, "Patahootow the Son of Keshecowethin." Or perhaps he was a son-in-law. When Keshecowethin and his family were sent to Churchill in April 1814, Patahootow seems to have remained behind. He may have been one of the Fox River

- Indians mentioned 18 May 1814. (See B.239/a/124, fo.53, 56d.) Keshecowethin had a son Tapoisa wa tum listed in the Indian Debt List 1815/1816. (B.239/d/182, fo.20d.)
72. Ibid., B.239/d/250, fo.20d and B.239/z/26, fo.2. Paytahootaw, Pay ta hoo we how, or Petahootah is described as the son of Jean or Jeny Johnston.
 73. Ibid., B.239/a/124, fo.54d, 30 April 1814.
 74. Ibid., B.239/d/153, fos.1d, 8d, 16d, 18d. Among the Cree hunters paid for hunting geese in 1811 were five men who could be identified with the Northern Goose Tent, namely, Ancheckuck, Mayaham, Tuotum, Tuthat, and Woetassum.
 75. Ibid., B.239/a/121, fos.12d, 24d/25, 26/26d; B.239/d/169, fos.6d, 9, 12d, 16/16d, 17; B.239/d/124, fo.89d.
 76. Ibid., B.239/d/188, fos.14d/15, York Factory General Accounts, lists Witheewecappo, boatman, wages £4.8.9, Res. 1815/1816 Jack River, Res. 1816-17 Manitoba, Contract expires 1817. B.239/d/195, fo.15d, lists Witheewecappo as having his winter residence at Manitoba in 1816-17, and at Norway House in 1817-18.
 77. Ibid., B.239/d/185, fo.5d, 6, 8d; B.239/a/124, fo.108d, 109, 119d.
 78. Two other women were considered. Nancy, the wife of Curleyhead, who was too old, and Elizabeth Budd, the wife of Charles Nakawao who, other evidence suggests, was a daughter of Curleyhead and sister to Henry and Philip Budd of Norway House.
 79. PAM, Norway House Methodist Mission, Baptisms, 1840-1889, no. 394.
 80. "[Y]our Sister at Norway house is quite in good health and one of her Sons are hear along with me and I am Schooling him as much as I can..." PABC, A/E/R731/W921.91, letter dated 11 August 1851 from Peter Erasmus, Jr. to his uncle and aunt, Horatio Nelson and Nancy Budd Calder.
 81. PAM, "Department of the Interior Applications of 1885 made by North West Half-Breeds, RG15, vol.1329, Kallion-Loyer," claim No. 1165, "Sarah Kirkness (née Steinhauer) child," mf.C-14939; PAM, "Department of the Interior Applications of 1886-1906, RG15, vol.1352, Ignace-Kwenis," Claim 2970, "James Kirkness for his deceased children," mf.C-14978.
 82. PAM, HBCA, B.154/d/2a, fo.21d; B.154/d/2b, fo.53d/54; B.154/d/5, fo.6d/7 and 59d/60; B.154/d/7, fo.77d; B.154/d/11, fo.32.
 83. Ibid., B.154/a/10, 25 December 1822 and 23 May 1823.
 84. Ibid., E.4/1a, fo.167, No.1756, mf.4M5.
 85. PAM, "Department of the Interior, Applications of 1886-1906, RG15, vol.1338, Brecklaw-Budd," Claim 2122, mf.C-14954.
 86. PAM, HBCA, B.154/a/7, fos.8d/9, 12d, 15, 19d. Norway House Journal, 24 and 31 December 1818, 11 February 1819, 8 March 1819, and 23 May 1819.
 87. Ibid., B.154/d/7, fo.77d.
 88. Ibid., B.154/a/8, p.12/13, 17/18, and 21. Entries for 28/29, and 31 December 1819, 1 January 1820, 4 and 7 February 1820, 7 March 1820.
 89. Ibid., B.154/a/8, p.20, 26 February 1820.
 90. Ibid., B.239/d/218, fos.29d, 30d, 31d, 34d. Entries for August 5, 12, and 19, and 9 September 1820. See also B.198/d/93b, fo.22d, 29, 31, 48d.
 91. Ibid., E.4/1b, fo.302d, no.15, mf.4M5, William Hope (Weethaweecapo), Indian Settlement, buried 15 December 1836, aged 55 years, by Wm. Cockran. Therefore, he was born c.1781. Wash-e-soo-E'Squew was born c.1777-1781. See Footnote 67 above for evidence Keshecowethin was a generation earlier.
 92. PAM, CMS9, Class "C," C.1/0, "Orig. Letters, Journals & Papers (incoming) 1822-1880," mf.A83. Letter dated 13 January 1853 at Nepowewin from Henry Budd to Rev. J. Tucker.

93. See Winona L. Stevenson, "'Our Man in the Field': The Status and Role of a CMS Native Catechist in Rupert's Land," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 33, no. 1 (April 1991): 65.
94. Michael Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory: Everyday Life in Hudson's Bay Company Service, York Factory, 1788 to 1870* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1989), 27-49.
95. PAM, HBCA, A.30/2, fo.52d; A.30/3, fo.63d.
96. Her sister Ke-che-cow-e-com-e-coot was country wife consecutively to Englishmen Thomas Stayner and John Pocock Holmes. Her sister Mith-coo-coo-man-E'Squaw was married to Englishman William Hemmings Cook.
97. Her background had distinct advantages in the fur-trade country of York Factory, and it proved no impediment to her family's fortunes after she joined other mixed-blood people at Red River in 1822.
98. Although one has to be careful about generalizations, silence and keen observation were valued by the Cree, as both were necessary to survival in a hunting culture. In more traditional communities, these traits are still noticeable today. I recall discussing this some years ago with a Mohawk woman from Kahnawake, who with self-directed humour observed, "Whenever we gather for meetings, the Mohawk do most of the talking; the Cree sit back and listen, then sum up."
99. PAM, HBCA, B.42/a/138, fo.37d, letter from Auld to Topping, dated at York Factory, 27 June 1813.
100. For a description of this phenomenon in a northern, Native context see Christopher Hanks, "The Swampy Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company at Oxford House," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 2 (1982): 103-15.
101. George van der Goes Ladd, *Shall We Gather At The River?* (Toronto: CANEC [United Church Publishing House], 1986).
102. PAM, HBCA, B.154/e/1 and B.154/e/2. The Norway House District Reports 1815 and 1823 indicate that Cree child-rearing methods were still practiced among the Home-Guard Cree.
103. See Irene M. Spry, "The Métis and Mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985). Spry made a case for unity and tolerance at Red River in the years before the Ontario English settled there, noting also as an aside that Cree and other Native languages were spoken widely.
104. A common speculation of the nineteenth century was that the Native people were descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel. Charles Pratt, as Winona Stevenson has pointed out, held this belief, confirming its currency at Red River.
105. PABC, A/E/R731/C12/B85, letter from Henry Budd to Horatio Nelson Calder, dated 25 July 1851.
106. PAM, HBCA, B.154/a/6, Norway House Journal, 1814/1815, kept by Enner Holte. Although brief, the journal outlines the labour dispute in considerable detail.
107. *Ibid.*, A.32/55, Servants Contracts, Sq-Sz, fo.273/273d, Contract titled "F Swedson Erasmus. Free 1825."
108. PAM, CMS3, Class "C", C.1/M, C.1/M.2., 1834-1837, 32-34, Cockran's Journal-1833/1834, mf.A77.
109. *Ibid.*, 33.
110. *Ibid.*, 34.
111. PAM, CMS10, Class "C", C.1/0, Orig. Letters, Journals & Papers (Incoming) 1822-1880, letter dated 5 August 1829 from William Cockran to D. Coates, Secretary, CMS, mf. A84.

112. PAM, HBCA, B.235/d/53, fo.15, Henry Budd, 1 June 1832, "To Balance of a/c as day labourer before entering the Service."
113. Ibid., B.235/d/49, fo.15; B.235/d/55, fo.15; B.235/d/59, fo. 31.
114. Ibid., E.4/1b, fo.246d, no.1836/21, mf.4M5.
115. Ibid., B.235/d/62, fo.108d; B.235/d/64, fo.68.
116. PAM, MG2, C12, M169, fos. 18d/19, Attested copy of Hudson's Bay Company Register B, List of Land Granted by the Company in the Red River Settlement, Lot 92.
117. PAM, HBCA, B.235/d/68a, fo.7d/8; B.235/d/71, fo.7d/8.
118. PAM, CMS27, Class "C", C.1/0, Item 452, mf.A101, Letter from Mrs. Henry Cochrane to Mrs. Arabella Cowley on Mr. Budd's death, 4 June 1875.
119. The Bible, Matthew 25:21.