MISSIONARIES AND INDIANS IN CARIBOO: A HISTORY OF ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION, WILLIAMS LAKE, BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

Margaret Mary Whitehead

B.A., University of Victoria, 1977

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

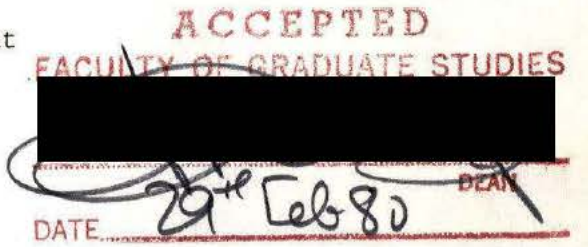
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

History



We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[redacted]

P. E. Roy

[redacted]

B. W. Dippie

M. L. Hadley

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

June 1979

ABSTRACT

In August 1866, a French Roman Catholic Order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, established St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake, to cater to the spiritual needs of the Shuswap, Carrier, and Chilcotin Indians. The development of St. Joseph's was governed by numerous factors, including the Oblates' earlier work in Oregon, which set the priorities of their leaders, the response of the Indians, the financial needs of the Church in the newly created Vicariate of British Columbia, and the impact of individual missionaries.

Founded by Eugene de Mazenod as an élite order following almost contemplative rules, the Oblates met little success as missionaries in the turbulent Oregon Territory. Problems of inter-denominational competition, conflict with the area's French Canadian ecclesiastical Church leaders, and the nomadic life-style of the Indians (compounded by two Indian wars) caused the Oblates undue pressure and frustration and set the priorities of Bishops Louis D'herbomez and Paul Durieu, both of whom governed the direction of St. Joseph's Mission.

The Mission opened under propitious conditions. Many Indians held pre-contact religious beliefs compatible with Catholicism; many were familiar with Church precepts through the teachings of native prophets, the fur trade personnel, and circuit missionary priests. Indian isolation from white 'civilization' and the absence of denominational challenge were added advantages. The Indians welcomed the priests, agreed to Church intervention in Indian society and sought education for their children. In spite of these favourable conditions, Indian missionary work was long neglected.

Two factors diverted the Mission from its intended course. In the face of a provincial, thus Protestant, educational thrust in the Cariboo, Bishop D'herbomez decided to provide parochial schools at the Mission for whites and métis children. To help support his developing Vicariate, the Bishop also sanctioned Father James Maria McGuckin's vision to create a farm/ranch at the Mission to be a constant source of income. Both the school and the ranch succeeded but drained manpower to the detriment of missionary activity.

Under the influence of Paul Durieu, St. Joseph's again became totally an Indian mission in the 1890's. Durieu's controversial "Durieu System"--which called for the creation of a totally Church controlled Indian society--was successfully implemented among the Indians by Father François Marie Thomas a man who appealed to the Indians and who was a devoted disciple of Durieu's methods. Cariboo Indian Chiefs welcomed Durieu's Indian Total Abstinence Society which supplemented their attempts to fight the influence of alcohol. A novitiate for Indian girls and an Indian school helped to fulfill the original purpose of the Mission.

Bishop Durieu opened an Indian Residential School in 1891 to provide a Catholic educational environment. From its inception the Mission School was beset by problems. While the initial difficulty of inadequate staff was resolved by the use of members of religious orders, the problems of insufficient government support, white settler hostility and Indian reluctance remained constant. Nevertheless, the School persevered for seventy years in its goal of providing Catholic education for the Indians.

In spite of almost perfect missionary conditions, the need to provide an education for white and métis Catholic children and to supply a financial base for ecclesiastical projects throughout the Vicariate changed the direction of St. Joseph's Mission for over twenty years. From 1890, with the advent of a religious revival and the beginning of Indian education, St. Joseph's Mission returned to its task of Catholicizing the Indians of Cariboo and at last began to fulfill the original objectives of its founders.

Committee Members:

P. E. Roy [redacted]

B. W. Dippie [redacted]

M. L. Hadley [redacted]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my patient family, particularly to my husband, Alan, for his constant assistance with research. Special thanks to the Oblate Community, their ever-helpful archivists, Father Gaston Carrière and Father Patrick Collins, and former and present missionaries of the Cariboo district--whose important work I frequently interrupted. I deeply appreciate the assistance of Father Philip Hanley, Vancouver Island Diocesan Archivist, Sister Mary Annunciata, Bursar of the Sisters of St. Ann and Dr. Jan Kupp, supportive friend and translator par excellence. I gratefully acknowledge the constant help of my supervisor, Dr. Patricia Roy, and the members of my committee, Dr. Brian Dippie and Dr. Michael Hadley, who throughout the past two years, have offered perceptive observations, constructive criticism and sound advice.

M.M.W.

Photograph of St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake

Circa 1900

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary maps of British Columbia indicate by a red dot and a caption, the position of the historical site occupied by the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's Mission approximately twelve miles southwest of Williams Lake. Today, an Indian Residential dormitory[1] occupies the site where, over a hundred years ago, the French Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate built an Indian mission to cater to the spiritual needs of Cariboo's native people. On the original mission site, a few old farm buildings and a small cemetery that holds both missionaries and Indians, are the only visible links with the early years of the Mission's history. Approximately a mile away, the Oblates now use the Mission ranch house as their headquarters to continue decades of unbroken missionary activity. The Mission ranch itself, begun when St. Joseph's was inaugurated in 1866, provides another historic link with the past. Built to bring Catholicism to the numerous Indian bands in the Cariboo district, the Mission witnessed the re-ordering of Indian civilization through Indian contact with many levels of white society. It witnessed also the advance of white civilization as the transient "boom and bust" gold rush towns of the eighteen fifties and sixties gave way to stable, prosperous ranching communities. St. Joseph's historical evolution was determined by the inter-action of these two civilizations, the pressures of Euro-Canadian immigration and the priorities of both Church leaders and missionaries.

The desire of the Oblates to begin permanent work among the Indians of Cariboo was part of a general missionary thrust that began in British Columbia in the second half of the nineteenth century. The

European churches, while intent on establishing an ecclesiastical[2] front in newly opened territory, were also concerned with the spiritual welfare and salvation of the Indians; in some cases, missionary endeavours presaged ecclesiastical developments. Missionaries sought to redeem the native peoples by converting them from "paganism" or "heathenism" to their particular brand of Christianity. Their methods of conversion were as varied as the religious precepts they offered to their prospective converts. Thus, William Duncan,[3] a lay preacher sent by the Church Missionary Society, established a model Christian Indian village drawing to it only those Indians who would totally reject their own culture and become pseudo-Victorians. With less spectacular success, Andrew McCullagh, a Scottish preacher who took Duncan as his model, established a settlement for Indians on the Nass River. A Methodist minister, Reverend John Booth Good, established himself among several Indian villages near Lytton and fought the influences of Indian medicine men and Catholic priests alike, dogmatically refusing concessions to the Indians who desired both Christianity and retention of some of their old customs. In 1859, Father Charles Pandosy O.M.I. opened the first Oblate Mission in mainland British Columbia in the Okanagan Valley and followed a traditional Catholic[4] missionary procedure, by establishing a school for Indian children.

The Oblates who founded St. Joseph's Mission used two methods of conversion; they taught Catholic religious precepts by using the Catholic Ladder,[5] a pictorial device created by Archbishop Francis Norbet Blanchet of Oregon, and they organized, in willing villages, the controversial "Durieu System."[6] This system which imposed a new

religious social order upon Indian society has been variously called "eminently successful," "paternalistic," and "dictatorial." It was instigated throughout British Columbia with varying degrees of success. Some Indians quickly fell under Church domination,[7] others agreed to accept some aspects of the system but retained a measure of independence, still others rejected it entirely. Equally, some missionaries imposed the full weight of the system while others, in total disagreement with its principles, avoided using it. The Indians of Cariboo were divided in their response; the missionaries of St. Joseph's were divided in both their attitude towards the system and in their priorities in general.

When St. Joseph's was established as an Indian mission it showed great promise. Both synchronization of Indian and Catholic beliefs and prior knowledge of Roman Catholicism combined to ensure the Mission's success, but over twenty years passed before the Indian became the prime focus of the Mission. The development of Indian missionary activity was retarded by two unfortunate but historically common factors: inter-denominational strife and the financial needs of the Church during the early years of frontier development. While many Protestant missionaries, due to the presence in the province of a regular clergy, concentrated all their efforts on the conversion to Christianity and on the welfare of the Indians, the Oblates at St. Joseph's, as the only Catholic clergy in the area, faced other tasks. Interdenominational strife and lack of control over missionary endeavours and funding had, in part, caused a failure of their earlier work in Oregon. Oblate Superior Louis D'herbomez, who, in 1864, was given charge of the newly-established Vicariate of British Columbia,[8]

allowed these unfortunate circumstances to establish the priorities in the Cariboo. Not until 1890, when Paul Durieu, successor to D'herbomez and devotee of Indian work, took charge of the Vicariate, did the Indian become the total focus of St. Joseph's Mission.

The history of St. Joseph's is not presented as typical of Oblate Missions in British Columbia. To define a mission as typical is to disregard the variations created by Indian cultural norms, geographical locations, economic factors, Indian and missionary dispositions plus other, wider, exterior influences. In Cariboo, three Indian tribes, each with its own culture, tribal organization, religious beliefs and its individual reaction to white influence responded in varying degrees to the Catholic missionaries. Within these tribes were bands whose contact with white civilization varied from frequent to virtually no contact at all. When Bishop D'herbomez opened St. Joseph's his concern was for all these Indian peoples. Because he had experienced the results of Catholic-Protestant clashes in Oregon and because the Oblates took on the task of spreading the Ecclesiastical Church throughout British Columbia, the Bishop was forced to re-assess the role of St. Joseph's. The difference in the priorities of D'herbomez and Durieu who, as soon as he was able, reversed the direction of missionary activity at St. Joseph's Mission, can be clearly seen in the following anecdote. During a mission given by D'herbomez in Oregon, the Indians:

> voluntarily took up a collection but in spite of the goodwill thus shown by the Indians, he refused the money because the Indians were poor and because enemies of Religion amongst the white people would tell the Indians that the priests came for their money . . . Durieu, who understood the Indians, insisted that the Indians pay for their Churches and their adornment and supplies and furnish

> the Missionaries with food and transportation, on the principle that an Indian values a thing, Religion included, according to what it costs him.[9]

Given the varying conditions under which the missionaries were received, the attitudes of those governing the evolution of the Mission and the capabilities and priorities of the missionaries themselves, the history of St. Joseph's Mission proves that missionary endeavours were subject to numerous variables and can not be categorized along denominational lines. Thus, no one Mission can be said to be the example of others in a denominational group. Close examination of individual missions, reveals many complexities and offers new insights into the history of Church-Indian relations.

Footnotes

[1]From 1890 to 1948 the Oblates ran a residential school for the Indians of Cariboo. In 1952 the Federal government purchased the buildings and 12 acres of land but the Oblates remained as administrators and teachers until 1968. Today, the school building is used as a dormitory for Indian children from distant villages who attend school in Williams Lake.

[2]The "ecclesiastical church" is the Church visible in the form of churches, parishes, schools, Catholic hospitals and other religious institutions.

[3]William Duncan has often been cited as being representative of missionaries of British Columbia. Like all missionaries and missionary endeavours, Duncan and his 'model' village of Metlakatla represent only the efforts and experiences of one man and the responses of only one group of Indians. This in no way makes him "representative" even within his own denomination.

[4]The use of the word Catholic throughout this paper refers exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church.

[5]For a thorough description and explanation of the use of the Catholic Ladder see Philip M. Hanley, "The Catholic Ladder and Missionary Activity in the Pacific Northwest," Unpublished M.A. Thesis (University of Ottawa, 1965) pp. 222-246. For distribution of the Ladder see Adrian Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 11 (Toronto, 1910) p. 290.

[6]For full explanation see Chapter 1, pp. 13-17.

[7]Edwin M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization (Vol. 13, No. 3) 1954, pp. 23-27.

[8]A Vicariate was a territorial unit originated by the Roman Catholic Church as an administrative area in pioneer territory. As its head was placed a titular bishop and it was divided into dioceses only when the growth of population warranted. As early as 1845, Archbishop Francis Norbet Blanchet of the Vicariate of Oregon, which then included present day British Columbia, requested Rome to erect New Caledonia as a diocese but in view of the comparatively small white population Rome rejected the proposal. Instead, the Diocese of Vancouver Island under Bishop Modeste Demers was established and New Caledonia (later mainland British Columbia) was made its dependency until 1864.

[9]Reverend Father F. Lardon O.M.I. D.D. "O.M.I. on the Pacific Coast (1847-1864)." This manuscript is believed to be the work of Father Lardon and taken by him from both Les Petites Annales des Missionaires O.M.I., 1931-1932, and uncatalogued material, no longer available, at St. Augustines Archives, Vancouver, cited hereafter as Lardon Manuscript.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST: PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED

"Behold a new mission opening up before us . . . our family will preach Jesus Christ from one ocean to another in these immense regions which have never known Him; what an apostolate."[1] So wrote Eugene de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate as his order accepted the Oregon Missions. In 1847, the first Oblate missionaries to the Pacific Coast--one priest, three scholastic brothers and a lay brother[2]--arrived at Walla Walla, Oregon Territory, where they established a mission on land provided, somewhat reluctantly, by Piopiomosmos (Yellow Serpent), a Walla Walla chief.[3] The Oblates had every reason to be optimistic about their future on the west coast. Their first foreign missionary work, begun in eastern Canada in 1842, had been so successful that the Bishop of Quebec entrusted the West to their care. Despite the initial optimism and the despatch from France of three additional missionaries,[4] in 1850 de Mazenod was planning to recall the members of his order. He had been appalled by the hardships they encountered and let them remain only because of the insistence of the Sacred Propaganda in Rome.[5]

The diverse problems encountered by the missionaries re-occurred when, in 1857, the Oblates moved to British Columbia. Four major difficulties had strong implications for the development of St. Joseph's. The constitution of the Oblate Order itself, written to establish an élite new order in France not to guide missionaries under stress in a foreign environment, in both Oregon and British Columbia put

undue pressure on the Oblates. In both mission fields rivalries with other religious denominations seemed inevitable and there were conflicts between the religious order and ecclesiastical leaders. The nomadic life-style of the Indians, the destructive influences of white "civilization" on the native peoples, and, except in British Columbia, Indian-white warfare, also impeded missionary development. These early difficulties experienced both in Oregon Territory and British Columbia, established the priorities that later determined the development of St. Joseph's Mission.

When he founded his order in 1812, the main concern of Eugene de Mazenod, a Provence parish priest, was to provide France with worthy clergy. He deplored the fact that because of the upheavals of the French Revolution and the anti-papal policies of Napoleon, there were few men of real ability among the priests and religious of France and that "the poorest, the most miserable, the most abject in society" were charged with bringing religious teaching to the people. When on January 25, 1816, de Mazenod inaugurated the "Missionary Society of Provence," he sought to improve both the quality of priests and religious and the quality of religious instruction. The original statutes of the order clearly stated these aims:

> The end of this society is not only to work towards the salvation of others in devoting ourselves to the ministry of preaching; it also proposes above all else to provide for its members the means of practising the religious virtues . . . their life will thus be devoted to prayer, meditation on the sacred mysteries, practise of the religious virtues, study of Sacred Scripture, the holy Fathers, dogmatic and moral theology, preaching and the direction of youth.[6]

On February 17, 1826, Pope Leo XII approved the Society, and its name

was changed to the Oblates of the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary.

De Mazenod's missionaries were to be an élite group. Writing to a would-be recruit he stated:

> If it were only a matter of going to preach the word of God in a haphazard fashion mixed with much human alloy or of scouring the countryside in the hope of winning souls to God without trying too hard to be really interior men, truly apostolic men, it would not be difficult . . . but do you actually think that I want this kind of merchandise? We must be truly saints ourselves.[7]

In order to achieve this state of perfection the Oblates had to devote long periods of time to spiritual exercises. They had to perform daily, weekly and monthly spiritual routines. Each day included periods of mental prayer, scripture study, visits to chapel, recitation of the rosary, examination of conscience and "Divine Office" (which could, in exceptional circumstances, be modified but never omitted); retreats and spiritual conferences were weekly and monthly routines. There was no excuse for omission of these devotions.

Initially, the only objective of the Order was to preach "missions" consisting of a set formula of prayer and preaching over a number of weeks, concentrating on the basic tenets of the Catholic faith, a method still used by the Oblates today. In time, the Order grew sufficiently in numbers to allow de Mazenod to send his priests and lay brothers to foreign missions to make "new conquests for the Faith."[8] When, in 1844, the Order began its foreign mission work, it added a new section to the Constitutions and Rules. Far from absolving the missionary Oblates from their spiritual chores, the new section stressed that difficulties presented by missionary endeavours were no excuse for neglect of spiritual exercises. By virtue of their removal from a

Congregation of Oblates, the missionaries were expected to be even stricter in observing all points of the rule, "especially those that [concerned] spiritual exercises."[9] Missionary Oblates in Oregon and British Columbia were frequently reminded of their obligations as religious by circulars sent from France; they were given the rules of contemplatives and sent out as missionaries. Handicapped by the inflexible, time-consuming nature of their Order's rules, the Oblates in Oregon and British Columbia were also faced with missionary competition, not unexpected, in the form of rival Protestant ministers.

II

What had begun with the Reformation could not be escaped even in the wilderness areas of the Pacific North West. The Oblates were not the first missionaries to arrive in the Oregon Territory. By 1846, the Jesuits and a few Canadian secular priests had twenty missions in the present area of eastern Oregon, Washington and Northern Idaho.[10] Both Methodists and Presbyterians had also reached the Coast, and the Presbyterians were established around Walla Walla where the Oblates initiated their work. On September 23, barely a week after the Oblates arrived, Presbyterian minister and missionary Marcus Whitman met Bishop Magloire Blanchet[11] and the French missionaries at Fort Walla Walla. Dr. Whitman expressed "intense dislike" for the Roman Catholic religion and said "he would like to cover the Catholic Ladder[12] (see Appendix I) with his blood to show the persecution of Protestants by Roman Catholics."[13] Whitman was especially angered by Catholic missionary use of the pictorial device created by Archbishop Blanchet, Bishop of

Oregon, as an easy method of teaching Christian precepts to the Indians. The Catholic Ladder, as it was named, was a painting depicting in linear form, the creation, the fall, various figures of the Old Testament, the birth and death of Christ, and the founding of the Catholic Church; then two roads were shown, one leading to Heaven through the Sacraments and the laws of the Catholic Church, the other leading to Hell "through the errors of Protestantism."[14]

The conflict between the two denominations became more serious when a month after the Oblates opened their first mission, Whitman and his wife were among a number of Americans massacred by Cayuse Indians at the Presbyterian mission near Walla Walla. A second Presbyterian missionary, the Reverend Henry Spalding, who had accompanied the Whitmans to Oregon and who ran a mission at Colville, accused the Roman Catholic clergy of inciting the massacre. His accusations aroused "violent resentment towards the Catholic clergy and missions"[15] which must have deepened when Archbishop F. N. Blanchet visited, instructed and baptized five Cayuse Indians several days before they were executed.

The outbreak of the Yakima War in 1855 caused further antagonism towards the Oblates because Chief Kamiakin, the organizer of the Indian revolt, had, six years earlier, invited the missionaries to bring Christianity to his people. Distrust and dislike ran so high that Oblate cabins and chapels "were pillaged and completely destroyed," the priests were forced to flee to Olympia,[16] and a petition was introduced into the Legislative Assembly to expel the Catholic clergy from Oregon.[17] The ill-feeling precipitated by denominational friction persisted even after most of the Oblates had moved to British Columbia

in 1858. Louis D'herbomez, Superior of the Oblates in the Pacific North-West, wrote to de Mazenod on December 18, 1859: "We are well aware that all the American employees, civil and military, detest us cordially and conduct themselves towards us in the most indifferent and frigid manner."[18]

D'herbomez had become acting-Superior in 1856 upon the return to France of the Oregon Superior Father Ricard. As a missionary, first among the Yakimas then among the less warlike Indians of the Puget Sound area, D'herbomez had first-hand knowledge of the problems caused by religious bigotry. He reported how one Indian said to him:

> Whitemen tell us that you lie to us and that you are the sons of the Evil Spirit come from the world of Fire and that your robes are black because the Evil Spirit dyed them so . . . you baptize our children so they will die.[19]

The problems of Catholicizing "les Sauvages" were compounded when ministers of rival religious faiths wrestled for the spiritual allegiance of the native peoples, and different ministers teaching different concepts all claimed to hold the truth.

In British Columbia, the traditional European rivalry, although less bitter than in Oregon, still threatened successful missionary endeavours. When D'herbomez became Superior of the Oblates in Oregon and the present province of British Columbia in 1858, he was well aware of Protestant, especially Anglican, developments. Bishop Modeste Demers, a Canadian secular priest with the responsibility of spreading the Ecclesiastical Church throughout the vast area of Vancouver Island, New Caledonia, the Queen Charlotte Islands and present day Alaska, tried to persuade the Oregon Oblates to take up missionary

work in his diocese. When, in January 1858, the Oblates indicated interest, he replied, "you must go as soon as possible into the Interior of the country as it is to be feared that the Hudson's Bay Company will send to that area Protestant ministers as they have already done in the case of Fort Simpson."[20] D'herbomez recognized that "The fight that lies ahead will be long and hard, as Protestant ministers are coming in ever increasing numbers. We must not let them get ahead of us . . ."[21]

Because of his concern over the Protestant thrust, he urged Eugene de Mazenod again in 1859 to establish missions on the Mainland. "Time is pressing," he observed, "the English Church have already an Episcopal See; their ministers are travelling in all directions, and they know as well as we do, how to choose the best places for the success of their purpose."[22] To Bishop D'herbomez the Indians needed to be saved from Protestant heresy as well as from paganism. To a man who also envisioned British Columbia as a "second California" where the Church would flourish among the increasing numbers of Irish, French, Canadian, Italian, Spanish and Mexican immigrants,[23] the spread of Protestant faiths presented a further threat.

Four years later, the religious rivalry was as strong as ever. The Anglicans were the chief competitors, but the Methodist missionaries were now also moving into British Columbia. D'herbomez sent Father Leon Fouquet O.M.I. on an exploratory visit along the northern coast line to counteract the work of the Protestant ministers and to establish posts at places they had not yet reached.[24] On his tour, Father Fouquet found that William Duncan of the Church Missionary Society had apparently told the Indians that "the Priests worshipped mere creatures, the Blessed

Virgin, and . . . did not teach school to the Indians and thus left them in as poor and miserable a state as they were in before [their] arrival."[25] Worried by such calumnies and by the publication of a letter of the Anglican Bishop of Victoria urging bishops, ministers, teachers, and catechists from England "to prevent the expansion of the Catholic Church in British Columbia,"[26] D'herbomez impressed upon de Mazenod's successor, Father Fabre, the urgent need for more missionaries. He particularly requested English-speaking ones who could set up Catholic schools.

When D'herbomez initiated the opening of St. Joseph's Mission in 1866, the Anglicans were already established among the coast Indians at Metlakatla just north of present-day Prince Rupert and on the Nass River; there were at least two Protestant ministers and two Protestant schools at New Westminster,[27] "ministers at Fort Hope, Fort Yale, Lytton, Fort Douglas, Lillooet and Kamloops,"[28] and Anglican, Methodist and Wesleyan ministers had preceded the Oblates in the Cariboo gold-mining area. By this time, Oblate priests and lay brothers were running Indian missions in the Okanagan, on Northern Vancouver Island and at St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser River where they had a school for Indian boys; they were also running a white parish and Catholic College for boys at New Westminster.[29] Circuit missionaries using Mission, Fort Douglas, Fort Hope and Fort Yale as outposts made journeys along the coast and to the interior. By opening St. Joseph's, D'herbomez was stretching his over-taxed missionaries still more thinly. Sacrifices had to be made to prevent Protestant expansion in an area where the Indians were both numerous and amenable, and where the white population

was beginning to settle. Unlike their Jesuit counterparts in Oregon, the Oblates in British Columbia had no help from French-Canadian diocesan priests in their increasing work. This situation retarded their missionary work at St. Joseph's.

III

Clashes between the Oblates and leaders of the Ecclesiastical Church in Oregon had initiated Oblate demands for a more secure situation in British Columbia; clashes with Bishop Demers increased their desire for autonomy. In both Canon Law and the Oblate Constitution, the Oblate Missionary Superior and his priests had to accept the directives of Oregon's ecclesiastical leaders.[30] However, what the Oblates felt was necessary to achieve their missionary goals and what the ecclesiastical leaders felt was imperative for the good of the Church in Oregon were not always compatible. Although the causes of discontent are somewhat obscure, two particular areas of grievance came to light. Land pre-empted by the Oblates for development of missions and mission farms had to be registered in the name of individual Oblates since American law did not recognize the rights of a religious group to own communal property. The ecclesiastical leaders believed that, although it was registered by Oblates, land belonged to the Church rather than to the Congregation. Since both the Order and the Oregon Church were in financial need, neither would give up what they considered to be their due right.

A second area of grievance arose when Rome made ecclesiastical changes in Oregon whereby some of the Oblate missions were placed under

the jurisdiction of Archbishop Francis Norbet Blanchet and some, including Oblate headquarters at Olympia, were placed under the direction of Magloire Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla. Bishop Magloire Blanchet and the Oblates had clashed as early as 1847 when the newly arrived French missionaries met the French-Canadian Bishop and three secular priests at St. Louis, Missouri, on their way to Oregon. Blanchet understood that the Oblates would not be arriving for several months, and "he was not entirely pleased" to see them as he had made no travel arrangements for them.[31] When they came under his jurisdiction, the Bishop decided to confine his Oblates to work among the Indians, and, enforcing this policy, in 1855, he removed them from the parish of Olympia, and put a diocesan priest in charge. This removed a valuable source of income from the Oblates. D'herbomez withdrew the Oblates from the diocese of Nisqually in 1857, "as the Bishop of that See wished to impose upon them conditions incompatible with the spirit of their vocation."[39]

For reasons such as this, the Oblates sought to make autonomy a condition of their taking up work in British Columbia. They believed it was absolutely necessary that New Caledonia be taken from Bishop Demers' jurisdiction and placed in the hands of a religious order with the Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic in charge, a member of that order.[33] In 1858, Eugene de Mazenod sent a Canonical visitor, Father François Bermond O.M.I., to investigate the situation. Like the Oregon Oblates he thought the missionaries should accept Bishop Demers' pressing request and move to British Columbia where they could hope for autonomy. To de Mazenod, he recommended that the Oblates should work temporarily

under the authority of Bishop Demers although it would be better "if the territory were confined exclusively to them as a Vicariate Apostolic."[34]

Father D'herbomez was Acting-Superior when the Oblate General Council negotiated an agreement with Bishop Demers to give the Oblates full liberty to establish and develop Missions in British Columbia. The Council requested Rome to establish an autonomous Vicariate for the Oblates in New Caledonia.[35] To hurry the process, D'herbomez went to Rome in 1862 to explain the situation in person. He carried a letter from the Superior General urging that no more time be lost in establishing the Vicariate. Problems between the Oblates and Bishop Demers had already arisen. Instead of concentrating on the Fraser Valley and the interior mainland, as Bishop Demers had wished, the Oblates established themselves firmly on Vancouver Island. Using Esquimalt as their base, they began missions among the Saanich and Cowichan Indians, explored the West Coast and established St. Michael's Mission at Fort Rupert. When a school begun by the Bishop was faced with closure, the Oblates took over that work. As Bishop Demers had no diocesan priests to assist him, the Oblates also worked in the Victoria parish. They were so well established that Rome considered making an Oblate co-adjutor with Bishop Demers. This did not please the Bishop and a political struggle began to hamper Oblate work.[36] In his letter to Rome, the Oblate Superior General wrote that the Vicariate was needed so that the Oblates could be "supported and encouraged in their efforts instead of having obstacles continually put in their way."[37]

The autonomy they desired was granted by Rome in 1864. Father D'herbomez, given the honorary title Bishop of the Melitopolis, combined

the roles of Director of Oblate Missions in the North-West and Ecclesiastical leader of the Mainland Vicariate of British Columbia. He was now in a position to use his priests and brothers as he so desired. The new situation, however, placed Bishop D'herbomez in the role of ecclesiastical leader. Together with the development of missions, he had to create an adequate financial foundation to build churches, residences, schools and charitable institutions throughout the Vicariate. Autonomy also forced each Oblate into dual roles. The missionaries were Roman Catholic priests and because there were no others available to Bishop D'herbomez to assist him in spreading the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Church the Indian missionaries had also to be spiritual guides to all the Roman Catholics in the Vicariate. As the Order's General Secretary reminded St. Joseph's Superior in 1879, "there are two persons in Monseigneur [Bishop D'herbomez] and also in each missionary."[38] St. Joseph's Mission was the first to be opened under the newly acquired autonomy. Its evolution between 1866-1882 reflected the limitations imposed by this autonomous position.

IV

Of the difficulties encountered by the Oblates in their years in Oregon, none was more universal than the nomadic life-style of the Indians and the detrimental effects of Indian-White contact. The method of rectifying these problems was also universal. Throughout North America--as in South America, Africa and Asia--missionaries encouraged the indigenous people, regardless of their cultural development, to settle in one area and to follow agricultural pursuits; to alleviate

problems caused by native-white contact, efforts were made to isolate the aborigines as far as possible. When confronted with "primitive" societies, missionaries were often overcome with a desire to establish pastoral, idyllic, almost utopian, Christian communities.[39] The missionaries of the Pacific North West were no exception. In 1862, William Duncan, aware of the danger to his missionizing efforts in the proximity of Indians to Whites, moved from Fort Simpson to the more remote abandoned Indian camp of Metlakatla. There he developed an Indian community of Christian Indians whose willingness to accept Duncan's autocratic rule and settle in neat rows of houses, wear modest Victorian clothing and acquire Victorian patterns of morality, amazed and delighted the people of British Columbia. Emulating Duncan, but with less spectacular success, in 1880 Angus McCullugh gathered the Indians of the Skeena in an attempt to create a similar model Indian society.

In 1868, Paul Durieu O.M.I. surpassed even Duncan's performance by bringing together the five existing Sechelt tribes on what is now known as the Sechelt Peninsula, and organized them so completely that, by 1871, a miniature Indian State, with the Bishop and missionaries "acting as supervisors over instituted tribal theocracies," had been established.[40] When he became Superior of Oblates in British Columbia and Bishop of New Westminster, Durieu reversed the direction of St. Joseph's Mission. He desired to accommodate the Indian peoples of Cariboo and to establish situations among them that had been created so successfully among the Sechelts and the Stalo Indians of St. Mary's Mission in the Fraser Valley.

Unlike his predecessor who had become involved in administration early in his missionary career,[41] Durieu spent all his Oblate life as an active missionary. Even as Bishop he retained for himself the missionary work at the Sechelt village. The conversion of the Indians was always of primary importance to him. While working in Oregon, where he remained until 1861, Durieu, along with the other missionaries, experienced the frustrations of working as a circuit missionary among nomadic Indians. Regardless of the responsiveness of groups of Indians, follow-up work was necessarily sporadic because of the size of the territory to be covered and the scarcity of priests. The most successful work was done at Olympia where groups from various tribes stayed for two or three weeks. During this time they learned the catechism, prayers and hymns. Copies of the Catholic Ladder would be distributed to those who showed the most promise and these Indians then acted as instructors to other groups who could not, or would not, attend the large gatherings. Baptism however, was restricted to infants and elderly Indians in danger of death, and to those who had rejected Indian ways for a full year. Without constant attention and guidance, few Indians kept their promises to give up superstitions, polygamy, gambling, and liquor. Durieu, even more so than other missionaries, gave a great deal of thought to these difficulties and "peu à peu son esprit pratique précisa un résumé essential des moyens à employer."[42]

Durieu borrowed the first elements of his method of Catholicization from the "Instructions on Foreign Missions" which de Mazenod had added to the Constitution and Rules in 1853. In part the founder wrote:

> . . . far from thinking it incongruent with their ministry to train the Indians to the duties of civil life, the Oblates will consider it as intimately connected with the missions' welfare and as most fit to the obtaining of better results. Every means should therefore be taken to bring the nomad tribes to abandon their wandering life and to build houses, cultivate fields and practise the elementary crafts of civilized life.[43]

De Mazenod specified that the missionaries should keep traditionally warring tribes peaceful and promote interior tribal harmony, industry and labour. Although he stated clearly that the Oblates should "never take upon themselves the government of the tribes," nevertheless, when tribal elections were held they were to procure votes for those capable of fulfilling the office, "namely of governing according to the dictates of Religion and Justice."[44] This mandate gave the Oblates the freedom to contemplate the establishment of missionary-controlled Indian communities.

Although the idea was not novel--the similarity of Durieu's System to the Jesuit mission prototype in seventeenth-century Paraguay has been documented[45]--Durieu added refinements that were to make it indelibly his own.[46] He began working out his method in Oregon, "surtout avec le P. Casimir Chirouse, parmi les tribus de Puget Sound (1858-61)."[47] He experimented with it next as director of diverse missions in British Columbia, then as Co-adjutor to the ailing Bishop D'herbomez and finally as Bishop himself.[48]

In a letter to Father Jean Marie LeJacq, dated November 27, 1883, Durieu included a detailed description of the workings of his system. "To bring the Indians to lead a Christian life" he stated "the missionary must exercise upon them a twofold action. A destructive

action, in destroying sin wherever it flourishes and a formative action, in moulding the inner man by instruction, preaching and the reception of the sacraments."[49] He went on to say that sin had to be destroyed "by repressing and punishing it relentlessly as an evil, horrible and degrading thing." The missionary had to "inculcate horror, fear and flight from sin" and the repression of evil was to be accomplished through the help of the chief and the watchman. The Indians played an active part in the imposition of the Durieu system.

In order to "proteger l'Indien contra lui-meme,"[50] he created an Indian state:

> . . . ruled by the Indian, for the Indians, with the Indians, under the direct authority of the Bishop and the local priests as supervisors. The administration consisted of the Chief, Sub-chief, Watchmen, catechists, even policemen, chantmen, "la cloche" [bell-ringers] men. The laws of that community were all the commands of God, the precepts of the Church, the laws of the state when in conformity with the laws of the Church, the Indian Act, the by-laws enacted by the local Indian government . . .[51]

All aspects of the Indian's life were governed by the Bishop's rules, and, since the missionaries could only visit many bands at infrequent intervals, the rules were applied by the natives themselves.[52] Sunday observance was strictly enforced. Weekday attendance at Mass (whenever possible) or at daily prayer and catechism sessions was demanded. Bells were used to regulate rising, praying, meals and work periods. Marriages were arranged by the Bishop and "parents did not dare to oppose him."[53] An Indian band could not possess such a harmless object as a football without Durieu's permission.[54] The Indians contributed to the support of the Church both by voluntary contributions and by fines paid to the priests as reparation for misdeeds.[55] Temperance Societies

were founded. Durieu insisted that the Indians give up all primitive dances, the pot-latch, all patronage of the shaman, all intoxicants and all gambling. These were to be replaced by church festivites [sic] and pageantry calculated to capitalize on the Indians' love of display. Durieu organized elaborate religious gatherings attended by thousands of Indians from both the coast and the Interior. St. Mary's Mission on the lower Fraser--the present day site of Mission City--was the preferred showplace for these events. The coastal Sechelts and the Fraser Stalo peoples provided impressive displays for the white population of New Westminster and Vancouver. The fervour of the Indian peoples' participation in such activities as "long foot processions, pyrotechnic displays, and tableaux of the Passion Play presented by Indian actors . . . left little doubt of the psychic usefulness of this pageantry to the natives."[56] In 1875, and again in 1890, large groups of Indians from the Cariboo area were taken to St. Mary's Mission to witness these 'glories' and be inspired by them. The 1890 visit, as shall be subsequently discussed, was a resounding success.

One particular aspect of Durieu's System which has special relevance for the historic development of St. Joseph's Mission was the type of priest who was assigned to initiate these radical changes in Indian society. Durieu personally trained his missionaries in the application of his methods. While not all the Oblates approved of Durieu's means of Catholicizing,[57] he inspired great devotion in those who wholeheartedly supported his system. Two such devotees were assigned to Williams Lake after Durieu took over as Vicar of Missions from the invalid Bishop D'herbomez in 1887. Fathers LeJacq and François

Marie Thomas were not only fervent supporters of the Durieu System, they were also men who possessed, particularly in the case of Father Thomas, dominant, strong-willed personalities. Under the leadership of a Bishop whose life was devoted to the creation of a Catholic Indian State, and his devoted apostles Fathers Le Jacq and Thomas, St. Joseph's Mission became truly an Indian Mission.

By 1864, the Oblates had confronted and overcome the difficulties presented by inter-denominational competition, conflict with ecclesiastical leadership and Indian nomadic lifestyle. The priorities of the two men who controlled the historic development of St. Joseph's Mission were governed by these past difficulties. Bishop D'herbomez, while concerned about Indian missionary work, had to direct, the growth and development of the Ecclesiastical Church in the face of Protestant competition. He had to deploy his men and resources primarily to this end. Paul Durieu, later Bishop Durieu, began life-long dedication to the salvation of the Indian peoples based on his own formula. The influence of both these men and their priorities can be seen in the evolution of St. Joseph's Mission.

Footnotes

[1]De Mazenod to Reverend Father Joseph Guiges, Oblate Superior in Quebec, January 21, 1847. Donat Lavasseur O.M.I., History of the Oblate Congregation, translated by a group of scholastics at Holy Rosary Scholasticate, Ottawa, 1959, p. 50.

[2]The first group consisted of Reverend Father Pascal Ricard (Superior), scholastic brothers Casimir Chirouse, Charles John Felix Pandosy, Georges Blanchet and lay Brother Celestin Verney. Chirouse and Pandosy were ordained by Bishop Magloire Blanchet at Walla Walla, in the present state of Washington, on January 2, 1848. Georges Blanchet, because of an accident to his right hand--which he looked upon as a sign from God of his unworthiness--refused ordination until 1873.

[3]Lardon Manuscript, p. 12.

[4]In August 1850, Reverend Father Louis D'herbomez and lay Brothers Phillipe Surel and Gaspard Janin arrived from France.

[5]Lardon Manuscript, p. 29.

[6]Correspondence of De Mazenod, Lavasseur, History of the Oblate Congregation, p. 26.

[7]Ibid., p. 21.

[8]De Mazenod to Cardinal Pedicini, January 2, 1826, Missions de la Congrégation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée 1936, Paris: A Hennuyer, 1862-1900; Rome: Maison Générale, 1900-1972. (Cited hereafter as Missions.)

[9]The Constitutions and Rules of the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Rome, 1945 edition, p. 21. (Cited hereafter as Constitutions and Rules.)

[10]Wilfred P. Schoenburg, Chronicle of the Catholic History of the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1960, Portland, 1962, p. 24. (Cited hereafter as Chronicle of Catholic History.)

[11]Magloire Blanchet, brother to Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet, was a French-Canadian priest who became Bishop of Walla Walla in 1846.

[12]See Introduction.

[13]Schoenburg, Chronicle of Catholic History, p. 24.

[14]Lardon Manuscript, p. 13.

[15]Ibid., pp. 25-31.

[16]Ibid., p. 38.

[17]Denys Nelson, "Yakima Days," The Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (January, 1928), p. 121.

[18]D'herbomez to De Mazenod, December 18, 1859, D'herbomez Correspondence File No. G.-CPP, Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa. (Cited hereafter as A.D. Ottawa.) A copy of American House Bill No. 17, "An Act to prevent Aliens acting as Teachers or Missionaries among the Indians of Washington Territory" was inserted into the "Déliberations du Conseil Provincial, 1851-1892," possibly a constant reminder of anti-Catholic hostility and its repercussions. A.D. Ottawa.

[19]Lardon Manuscript, p. 32. The presence of Protestant missionaries in Oregon and the fear of religious controversy arising among the Indians moved the Hudson's Bay Company to discourage the entry of Catholic priests. Letter of Governor Simpson to Provencher, Lachine, April 18, 1837. Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, Manitoba.

[20]Lardon Manuscript, p. 50.

[21]Ibid., p. 48.

[22]D'herbomez to De Mazenod, April 6, 1859, D'herbomez Correspondence, File No. 9-CPP, A.D. Ottawa.

[23]Report of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1861, File No. PB 517, A.D. Ottawa.

[24]D'herbomez to Superior General, Missions 1865, pp. 320-330. "L'apparition de ces deux Pères dans la Mission protestante établie depuis plusieurs années au nord des possessions anglaises, leur apparition, quoique bien courte, ne laissera pas que d'avoir de bons résultats."

[25]Fouquet to D'herbomez, no date given, Lardon Manuscript, pp. 71-75.

[26]D'herbomez to Father Fabre, May, 1863, Lardon Manuscript, p. 68.

[27]Sister Mary Margaret Down, A Century of Service, Victoria, 1966, p. 61.

[28]Lardon Manuscript, pp. 65, 66. Many were Anglican missionaries working under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

[29]See Chapter III, p. 3--transfer of St. Louis College.

[30]The Constitutions and Rules, p. 20.

[31]Lardon Manuscript, p. 12.

[32]Adrian Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Vol. 1, p. 219.

[33]The Oblates did not specify that their Order be chosen for the Vicariate; they suggested that any order chosen be given autonomy.

[34]Bernard to De Mazenod, January 1858, Lardon Manuscript, p. 41.

[35]Father Casimir Aubert, General Secretary to D'herbomez, April 20, 1858, Lardon Manuscript, p. 44.

[36]Bishop Demers was given the option of choosing a co-adjutor to assist him. He wanted a French-Canadian priest, but those who were approached refused his offer. Demers did not want an Oblate and he remained without a co-adjutor during his lifetime. London Manuscript, pp. 75-83.

[37]Father Fabre (De Mazenod's successor) to Cardinal Barnabo in Rome, February 14, 1862, Lardon Manuscript, p. 77.

[38]Father Martinet to Father McGuckin, September 27, 1879. Martinet Correspondence, A.D. Ottawa.

[39]This topic is covered by many historians; some examples are: Neil Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 31, June 1974, pp. 27-54; Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675, Boston, 1965; Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary, Toronto, 1975; Jean Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, National Museum of Man Publications in History, No. 5, Ottawa, 1974.

[40]Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," p. 23. The Indians of the Lower Fraser valley were organized equally successfully.

[41]D'herbomez became Acting-Superior of Missions in the Pacific Northwest in 1857 and remained in an administrative position until his death.

[42]P. Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois: Paul Durieu O.M.I., Marseilles, 1962, p. 215.

[43]Instructions of Our Venerated Father," Insert in Constitutions and Rules, Rome, 1936, p. 13., A.D. Ottawa.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Jacqueline Kennedy-Gresko, "Missionary Acculturation Programs in British Columbia," Etudes Oblat (July-September 1973), pp. 145-158; Gabriel Dionne, "Histoire des Methodes Utilisees Par les Oblats de Marie Immaculée Dans L'Envangelization des Indiens du' Versant Pacificque' au Dixneuvieme Siecle," M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1947. A.D. Ottawa.

[46]Lemert, "Life and Death of an Indian State," p. 24.

[47]Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 215.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Durieu to LeJacq, November 27, 1883, File No. HPK 5241, A.D. Ottawa.

[50]Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 215.

[51]Bishop E. N. Bunoz, "Catholic Action and the Durieu System, 1941," History of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Microfilm, University of British Columbia. (Cited hereafter as Microfilm, U.B.C.) For more detail, see Chapter 1, pp. 21-23.

[52]The importance of Indian participation in the Durieu System is revealed particularly in Cariboo where some bands were not visited more than once or twice a year, yet remained fairly steadfast.

[53]Bunoz, "Catholic Action and the Durieu System," Microfilm, U.B.C.

[54]Bishop Bunoz recalls an incident that occurred when he accompanied Durieu on a visit to the Sechelts. A group of young men had bought a football and uniforms and were preparing to play against another team. Durieu objected to the diversion, removed the football equipment and insisted, with success, that the Indians apply themselves instead to the clearing of some nearby swamp land which bred "frogs, mosquitoes and sickness."

[55]These fines were levied by the chief and watchmen when the priest was absent.

[56]Lemert, "Life and Death of an Indian State," p. 26.

[57]Father Lejeune who was a missionary at Kamloops for many years and who founded an Indian newspaper, The Wawa, bitterly opposed the system.

CHAPTER II

ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION ESTABLISHED: PROPITIOUS BEGINNINGS

In August 1866, under the direction of D'herbomez, the Oblates established in Cariboo the permanent mission of St. Joseph's; their primary purpose was the conversion and spiritual guidance of the numerous Indian bands scattered throughout the area. Simultaneously, they made a concerted effort to enlist the financial support of Cariboo's white Roman Catholic population for Church developments throughout the Vicariate. When Bishop D'herbomez authorized the opening of St. Joseph's Mission in 1866 it was to provide spiritual guardianship for all the Indians of Cariboo.[1] These Indians were of two main ethnic or language groups, the Athapascans and the Interior Salish. Among the Athapascans were the Upper and Lower Carriers (the latter being closer geographically to the Mission), the Chilcotin to the west and northwest and the Sekani and Babines to the north.[2] The Interior Salish, the Shuswap people, resided in the immediate vicinity of the Mission and to the south and southwest as far as Clinton and Okanagan Lake respectively.

Indian response to the invasion of their territory by fur-traders, miners and ranchers had been far from uniform. The Carriers and Shuswap had been active in the fur trade; but the Chilcotin, who saw no real advantage in the trade since they had satisfactory commercial intercourse with the Coast Indians, violently repelled attempts to build trading forts in their territory.[3] Some Indians, predominantly Shuswap, sometimes worked for miners and ranchers; others were occasionally held responsible for the murder of unwary prospectors.[4] The Chilcotin were

responsible for the only Indian massacre in British Columbia's history.[5] Although they did threaten to go to war over the loss of their land, compared with the Indians of Oregon, the Interior tribes could not be considered totally aggressive towards the whitemen.

Bishop D'herbomez's decision to open St. Joseph's Mission was based on two factors: the positive response of the Indians to Oblate circuit missionaries and the goodly number of Roman Catholics living in gold-mining communities.[6] The Bishop visited Cariboo in the summer of 1866 and was impressed by "the good dispositions" of the chiefs of various bands from Alkali Lake to Soda Creek.[7] He was also aware of the "mille à douze cents Catholiques dans les mines du Cariboo"[8] who, he hoped, would contribute to a mission for Indians as well as church and school building funds. Without realizing the advantages to the Oblates of the compatability of Shuswap, Carrier and Roman Catholic beliefs, nor the extent of the Indians' prior knowledge of Roman Catholicism, the Bishop opened St. Joseph's at a time when there was as yet little contamination by white civilization, and, of great importance to the Bishop, no denominational challenge; the immediate response of the Indians was gratifying.

The earliest and most complete capitulation to Roman Catholicism came from the Shuswap people. By 1906, among these Indians, Shamans, dancing, feasting and potlatching had all but vanished.[9] This tribe and the Carrier people responded with the most interest and enthusiasm to Oblate teaching. Both held pre-contact religious beliefs that were similar in many respects to Christian beliefs. Anthropological studies have revealed numerous elements of native religious beliefs that

resembled Christian, even specifically Catholic dogma. The Shuswap believed in two great spirits they called the Old-One and Coyote. The Old-One, chief of the ancient world, was all-powerful. He regulated the seasons, weather and animals--the last he commanded to multiply. He led different tribes into the country which they now inherit and gave them the languages they were to speak. When the Old-One had finished his work, he disappeared towards the east; some say he went to the sky where he watched the earth. Some believed he lived in a spirit-land from which he sometimes sent messengers. The Indians expected him to return some day and make the world a better place.

The Old-One had, as his chief assistant or transformer, a spirit called Coyote. Although the description of Coyote varies somewhat from the Christian idea of Jesus--Coyote was somewhat vain, lazy, and mischievous--there were enough similarities to ensure familiarity for the Indians. Coyote was sent to travel over the world to put it to rights. He was gifted with powers beyond those of other spirits and had great knowledge; it was said that he would either precede or accompany the Old-One on the day both returned to earth bringing with them the souls of the spirit land. This return to earth would mark the beginning of a golden age when the dead would be re-united with the living, and everyone would live a life of ease and happiness.

It is easy to see how closely these beliefs resembled the Christian belief in God, His Son, Creation and the Apocalypse. Of even greater importance in the receptiveness of the Shuswap towards the Oblates was the belief that the apocalyptic event would be preceded by

the appearance on earth of one or more messengers from the Old-One who were to make the world a place of happiness for the living and the dead. When the Indians first saw Catholic priests, they are said to have believed them to be these messengers presaging the apocalyptic event.

Other similarities undoubtedly made the Oblate task easier. The Shuswap believed in souls and guardian-spirits and held two great festivals a year, at mid-summer and in mid-winter. They believed that souls, on leaving the body, travelled to a far place "somewhere beyond or at the edge of the world," a spirit land where it was always warm, where berries were always ripe, grass always green, flowers profuse, and flies and mosquitoes were non-existent. Christian belief in immortality of the soul was perfectly comprehensible to the Shuswap.

The Catholic religion accepted and proclaimed the existence of guardian spirits; each person was said to have a guardian-angel whose role was to protect its charge from evil. This belief synchronized beautifully with the Shuswap belief in guardian spirits:

> Women did not pass the back nor the head of a man lying down without warning him. This was principally because they might startle the man and his guardian spirit might harm the woman.[10]

Although the Shuswap guardian spirits protected the Indians from physical harm, and took the form of animals, birds and other natural elements, in this specifically Catholic belief, the Indians could have recognized their own. The most notable festivals held by the Shuswap were the mid-summer and mid-winter ghost or circle dance celebrations. On the morning of the dance they fasted and washed; at noon they feasted and prayed to the Chief of the Dead to preserve them from all harm. At

the coming of the Catholic priests several bands of Shuswap elevated this god to the rank of a sky deity and identified him with the Christian God. In view of the timing of these festivals, the Indians were able to relate more easily to the Christian feasts of Christmas and Easter.

The Shuswap pre-contact religion lent itself to synchronization with the Catholicism. The Carrier pre-contact religion had a similar nature; in addition, it had acquired a degree of Catholicism through the "prophet movement." The natural religions of the Carriers, as described by anthropologists, contained five elements of basic Catholic belief: belief in a supreme spirit, group worship, belief in a soul and a soul's after-life, belief in personal spirits and belief in confession to a medicine man. Although the first three beliefs are said to have been lightly held,[11] they nevertheless gave some familiarity to missionary talk of God, church attendance and the importance of the soul. Since the Carriers offered food and drink to their sky deity when asking for favours, the priests' action of offering bread and wine at the Mass would be well understood. The strongest Carrier belief was their belief in spirits, the servants of a supreme being, whose objectives were to protect or harm the individual.[12] Angels and devils' roles in society as preached by Oblates, were not new concepts to the Carriers. A purely Catholic concept observed by a clerk who lived among the Carrier tribes from 1810-1819 was that of confession. Daniel Harmon wrote:

> When the Carriers are severely sick, they often think that they shall not recover unless they divulge to a priest or a magician every crime which they may have committed, which has hitherto been kept a secret.[13]

These natural similarities were of great value to the Oblate missionaries. By the time St. Joseph's opened, however, many Catholic elements had been incorporated directly into the Carrier religion through the "prophet movement."[14]

The "prophet movement" manifested itself in British Columbia in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Initially, it involved Indians who had travelled long distances from their country and had come into contact with various missionary groups. On their return to their people, these "native prophets" acted the role of the missionaries, imitating aspects of Christian ritual.[15] The Northern Carriers had their own prophet, Beni, who, having temporarily disappeared from his tribe, returned and taught his people to say prayers, make the sign of the cross, repent, and lead a new life.[16] About 1834, a movement that affected a larger area was spreading rapidly through the southern Carriers.[17] In 1829, two Indians, one a Spokane, the other a Kutenai returned to their homes after being baptized and educated by the Oblates at Red River. One of the Indians, Spokan Gerry, preached his new religion and his message was spread over great distances.[18] John McLean, a trader at Fort St. James, wrote of the movement reaching his area where "it spread with amazing rapidity all over the country."[19] Singing and dancing, use of new rituals and gestures were incorporated into Carrier religious festivities. "Prophet Dances" included the observance of a Sabbath, the use of written language for preaching, the sign of the cross and terms such as "Jesus Christ" and "Amen". When the Oblates arrived among these Indians, the Catholic rites they imposed were not in conflict with Indian religious observances.

This indirect contact with Christianity was followed in the early decades of the nineteenth century by two forms of direct Catholic contact. One was via the personnel of the fur-trade; the other through the brief but important visits of Father Modeste Demers in 1842, and Reverend Father John Nobil S.J. between 1845 and 1848. To the advantage of the French-speaking missionaries, French-Canadian trappers and Roman Catholic Iroquois employed by the fur companies had to some extent familiarized the Carriers and Shuswap with Catholic ways. According to one writer, the Iroquois implanted the idea of monotheism among the Northern Carriers.[20] Some of these Eastern Indians decided to remain out West and, forming a village at Tête Jaune Cache, they took Shuswap girls as wives.

French-Canadians also married Indian women and like the Iroquois became sources of knowledge on Catholicism. While unlikely to be for the most part devout, practising Catholics, they were in a position to pass on knowledge of the "black robes" and of the act of baptism. Believing as all Catholics did that an unbaptized child could not enter heaven, and given the mortality rate among young children, these Catholic parents would administer this rite of admission to the Church to their children. As soon as a priest was available the children would be baptized anew.

Although discouraged from influencing Indian social structure, some fur trade personnel made positive attempts to convert the Indians who came to trade. William McBean[21] and Daniel Harmon, both Company clerks, tried to teach Christianity to the Indians, while the Catholic Indian wife of Factor Peter Skene Ogden "never tired of communicating

her religious knowledge to the aborigines who repaired to Fort St. James."[22]

Direct knowledge of Roman Catholic priests began in 1841 when Modeste Demers left Oregon and travelled north to seek out the Indians of New Caledonia and judge their receptivity of Catholicism. Baptizing children wherever possible along his route Demers reached the Williams Lake area via Fort Okanagan and Fort Thompson (Kamloops).[28] He preached to the local Shuswaps whom he requested to build a small church. Promising to visit them on his return, Demers travelled on to Fort Alexandria where he baptized twenty-eight children.[24] After a three day visit to Stuart Lake Demers returned to spend the winter at Fort Alexandria preaching daily to the Indians and leaving copies of the Catholic Ladder with the Chiefs.[25] Demers then returned to the Shuswaps preaching to the Indians of Chimney Creek, Alkali Lake and Soda Creek.[26] These Indians built a small church and house for the priest and, before Demers, "having baptized 436 infants,"[27] returned to Oregon in February 1843, the Alexandria Indians also completed a chapel. At Chimney Creek a large cross was built to commemorate Demer's visit. When this Indian band moved to Williams Lake, (about 1863), they took the cross with them.[28]

Between 1845 and 1848, John Nobili S.J. also travelled in Cariboo. Unlike Demers, he encountered not only Shuswap and Carrier but also the Chilcotin people upon whom he left a particularly strong impression. Unlike the Shuswap and Carrier, the Chilcotin believed in guardian spirits but had nothing else in common with Catholicism. They did not believe in life after death or the "happy hunting ground"

concept; indeed, they had an active skepticism regarding such ideas.[29] A proud and feared people,[30] many rejected the fur-trade and violently opposed white intrusion into their territory. In spite of such poor missionary conditions, Father Nobili made a long-lasting impression on the Chilcotin. An incident related by a Protestant minister, Reverend R. C. Lundin-Brown, reveals the tenacity with which even the "terrible Chilcotins" clung to the scant knowledge of Christianity left by Father Nobili.

While on a visit to Fort Simpson in 1861, the Anglican minister took the opportunity to preach to a gathering of Indians who were in the area. A group of Chilcotins, among them Klatsassan the warrior chief who was to become notorious for his leadership of the Waddington massacre, listened to Brown's preaching, then approached him. Klatsassan began to search the startled man who asked what the Indian wanted. Klatsassan "pulled out of his bosom a crucifix which was tied around his neck." He wanted to see the minister's for "he had been taught to recognize it as the mark of the true priest."[31] Reverend Brown wrote in his memoirs:

> I was not the first to preach Christianity to his tribe. Some twenty years previously, certain Roman Catholic missionaries had crossed over from Canada into British Columbia and with their wonted zeal had preached to the natives. Probably from want of time they did not teach them very much of religion, but what they did teach had been received with ardour and retained with amazing fidelity.[32]

In his own journal, Father Nobili mentions only one visit to a village of Chilcotins, a twelve-day stay in October 1845.[33] Since Demers did not visit them at all, the Chilcotin had retained an interest in Christianity based on this one brief visit. Although for many years

following the establishment of St. Joseph's the Chilcotins showed themselves to be the most perverse of Christians, they both welcomed and accommodated the missionaries. In addition to these favourable conditions, the Oblates were to benefit from the comparative isolation of the Cariboo Indians from densely populated areas of white civilization.

As previously noted, in North America, missionaries had long found it necessary to isolate prospective Indian converts from the morally and socially disruptive elements of white civilization. The churches realized that the moral and social concepts that they taught their prospective converts could not readily be seen in frontier society. It was advisable, therefore, that the Indians, who were expected to be more Christian than the Christians, should be separated from any aspect of white civilization other than the Churches.[34]

In both Oregon and coastal British Columbia the establishment of missions where the Indians could be isolated from such morally and socially disruptive elements as drink and prostitution had been hampered by an encroaching white population. Even the model mission of St. Mary's was only thirty-five miles from the rapidly growing city of New Westminster. In Cariboo, however, Indian/white contact was minimal for many bands. The establishment of fur trade forts throughout the interior in the early nineteenth century had provided some of the usual social and economic contact problems but not on the scale encountered near the fast developing areas of the Lower Mainland. In the case of the Chilcotin, contact in this era was even more limited since many of these Indians did not participate in the fur-trade.

From 1858, waves of gold-seekers provided instant pockets of white population, making drink and opportunities for prostitution particularly available to those Indians who had camps in the mining area. In 1866, an Oblate priest referred to Shuswap Indian girls in the Richfield area who had become prosititutes.[35] Some Indians, quick to learn the value of gold, applied themselves to mining; others worked for mining companies. This contact led to several murders of miners by the Indians.[36] In general, however, large numbers of Cariboo's three tribes remained isolated from white communities--as some still do today.[37]

From his own experiences, D'herbomez was aware of the advantages to conversion in this isolation. Demers had remarked also to D'herbomez on the difference this condition could bring:

> It is my hope and wish that you will be able to send a missionary to visit the Indians in the Interior of the country . . . I know their dispositions and I do not hesitate to say that it is among these Indians that there is much good to be done, because, unfortunately, the Fraser Indians have been greatly affected by the bad example of the worthless white people with whom they come in contact.[38]

By the time D'herbomez was able to comply, contact with the white population had intensified in Cariboo but, compared with other areas in the colony it had not proved too damaging. This made conditions favourable for the success of a mission.[39]

Equally favourable was the absence of concerted denominational competition for the allegiance of the Indians. In 1866, Cariboo was still in effect "unclaimed" missionary territory. The gravity of the results of earlier Oblate/Protestant clashes strongly influenced the choice of mission sites. Although the Oblates would fight for missionary rights when the situation arose, in general, Catholic missions were not

established in direct competition with Anglican and Protestant ones.[40] Apart from the Sechelt mission, the Oblates left the coastal Indians to the ministrations of other denominations.[41] When Demers first appealed to the Oblates to come and work with the Indians under his episcopal jurisdiction, fear of Protestant advance into the interior of the colony added urgency to his plea. In spite of the Bishop's misgivings, the Oblates had no competitors among the Cariboo tribes to hinder their conversion plans.

Anglicans and other Protestant ministers had settled in Cariboo ahead of the Oblates but left after the gold rush peaked. During the early years of the gold rush, several ministers had appeared in the mining communities of Richfield, Barkerville and Cameronton, on the richest of the gold creeks, William's Creek. Within a few years the Episcopalians had two churches, the Presbyterians one, the Wesleyans had built a chapel and the Methodists a Meeting House. By 1866, however, all had been abandoned in response to the decline in gold-seeking activities. Public spiritual activity was reduced to religious meetings regularly held in Cambrian Hall, situated at the lower end of Barkerville, "where English and Welsh services were held every alternate Sunday."[42] There was no ordained minister, and no attempts appear to have been made by any of the above-mentioned denominations to establish missionary work among the Indians. Initially, the Oblates had the field entirely to themselves.[43]

Under these propitious circumstances, Father James Maria McGuckin O.M.I. arrived on Saturday August 18, 1866 by stage from New Westminster in Richfield, the most prosperous of William's Creek's

mining communities.[44] Father McGuckin's first task was to select the best site for the establishment of the new Mission. While in Richfield, he was to minister temporarily to the spiritual needs of the Roman Catholics living in the area and to take up collections both for the maintenance of the new mission and also for the support of other Church endeavours. After taking up quarters in the "Paris and London Hotel," Father McGuckin walked through Richfield and the neighbouring communities looking for a place he could use as a temporary chapel. He received a warm welcome from the local Roman Catholics. Patrick Kerwin, an Irish storekeeper, offered the use of his store and, with willing friends, put the place in order. A Frenchman, Monsieur Lallier,[45] who had previously accommodated Oblates during their missionary circuits of Cariboo, offered to prepare a room for the priest in his house. Father McGuckin accepted the use of the store but, preferring a measure of independence, went looking for a cabin for himself. Unable to find one close to his temporary church "owing to the large importation of Chinamen," the Oblate accepted the loan of a cabin from Kerwin.

To Father McGuckin's astonishment, the enterprising Kerwin took up a collection among the miners--some of whom left money for him "sticking in the stumps of trees"--and, within a week of the Oblate's arrival, purchased one of the warmest houses on the Creek. This he presented to Father McGuckin with a promise to raise further subscriptions to find and pay a contractor to make any alterations necessary to turn the house into a combination church and rectory. Father McGuckin, although embarrassed by these arrangements, as he had not been instructed to acquire property in Richfield, nevertheless urged

the Bishop to authorize acceptance of the new "church" which Kerwin had already named St. Patrick's. He also requested permission to return to Richfield after he had settled the situation of the new mission. In McGuckin's eyes, the enthusiasm of the Roman Catholics warranted more than passing attention by the Church.

Having established contact with the Catholics, McGuckin now turned his attention to his primary task, the choice of the new mission site. In spite of intensive investigations over a number of years, there were still eight possible sites to be considered in the fall of 1866.[46] The criteria were as follows: a convenient gathering place for the numerous Indian bands scattered throughout the 60,000 square miles of Cariboo[47]; close enough to a developing white community to ensure financial support from Roman Catholics, yet isolated enough to minimize undesirable white influence; in possession of a sufficient tract of fertile land to make the mission self-supporting as soon as possible and large enough to encompass an area on which to settle the Indians, initially when they came to celebrate extended feasts, and eventually as a permanent mission-orientated group.[48]

For several years prior to 1866, D'herbomez had requested the Oblates who made missionary circuits of the area to report on any favourable site. Fathers Leon Fouquet and Florimund Gendre made such journeys in 1864 and 1865 respectively. Both concluded that either Quesnelmouth[49] or Soda Creek offered good possibilities. In July 1866, Father Charles Grandidier who had travelled through Cariboo several times, made detailed studies of several sites. Although he presented a list of eight possibilities to D'herbomez he favoured two, a farm in the

San Jose River Valley[50] owned by a Mr. Pomeroy and some unclaimed land near 141-Mile House. Father McGuckin decided in favour of the farm. It was as central as could be for the Indians; it stood approximately half-way between Alkali Lake and Soda Creek, an area of Shuswap Indians, and it was reasonably close to Quesnel, a regular gathering place for Carrier and Chilcotin. It was only 70 miles from the mining areas of William's Creek where Father McGuckin had received such an encouraging welcome, yet this was distant enough to discourage intercourse between Indians who gathered at the Mission and the undesirable elements who inhabited the Creeks. Most importantly, as both Father McGuckin and Grandidier stressed, the land was fertile, came complete with farm equipment and some stock, and could support a mission "as soon as the first crop was in."[51]

In April 1867, Bishop D'herbomez purchased Pomeroy's farm and this transaction marked the official beginning of St. Joseph's Mission. The purchase was delayed because Church interest in the property caused the owner to raise his original asking price. Throughout the winter months, in spite of Father McGuckin's urging, the Bishop was reluctant to pay more than $600.00.[52] The problem was overcome "through the diplomatic service of Mr. Toomey and Mr. Denis Murphy"[59] who bought the farm from Pomeroy for much less than he offered it to the Bishop. They then sold it to D'herbomez for the price they paid. In addition, they put in a wheat crop and Murphy gave a milk-cow to the new Mission.[54] During these negotiations, a second Oblate priest, Father Francis Jayol was sent to Cariboo, where he temporarily resided with Murphy at Deep Creek and visited the local Shuswap. Brother Philip Surel was also sent

to begin work on the Mission land as soon as the sale was complete. The choice of Surel was sound, as he was a farmer's son and was a carpenter by trade. At the same time, Father Jayol moved into an old cabin on the Mission property. This served as home, chapel and a centre to which the local Shuswap were invited to receive basic instruction in the Catholic religion.[55] Father McGuckin urged the Bishop to consent to the replacement of this cabin by a larger house that stood on the boundary of the Mission land; although tenanted, it was included in the purchase. The cabin, as well as being in a state of disrepair, offered "no shelter for the Indians if they came in any number to be instructed"; the house, however, was large enough to contain "a chapel, schoolroom, dormitory, kitchen, refrectory and two or three small rooms besides." Father McGuckin wrote enthusiastically to D'herbomez, that if the house could be moved and prepared, "before the end of the summer the whole machinery of the Mission would be ready for work."[56]

Father Jayol, who was temporary Mission superior, remained at the Mission to deal with early adjustments and to concentrate on building a strong interest in St. Joseph's among the neighbouring Shuswap. Meanwhile, Father McGuckin made himself "pretty busy" getting to know as well as possible Indian bands more widely dispersed. In the spring of 1867, he visited Fort Alexandria and Quesnel where he met with members of the Carrier and Chilcotin tribes. These Indians received Father McGuckin with interest and enthusiasm. During a four-day visit to Fort Alexandria, the Oblate spoke for four or five hours daily with both local Southern Carrier and visiting Chilcotin. He reported to D'herbomez that the Alexandria Indians "desired nothing more than to

know and serve God." This enthusiastic assertion was doubtless due in part to Father McGuckin's success in persuading some Carriers, who were camped close to white settlement and exposed "to the worst of vices," to move back to their people. The Chilcotin, after asking the priest to come to visit their camps, disappeared before definite plans concerning this visit could be made. This pattern of Chilcotin inconsistency would be maintained for many years.[57]

At Quesnel the missionary found about fifty local Carriers plus a dozen or so Northern Carriers from Fort George and Stuart Lake. The latter had travelled south with the Hudson's Bay Company personnel. Again, the Indians were attentive to Father McGuckin's preaching; moreover, they seemed amenable to Oblate intrusion upon their social order. When Father McGuckin explained the Durieu plan to create church officials among the bands, they responded enthusiastically. The Oblate wrote to the Bishop that "the Chief wished to elect two watchmen and two policemen whilst I was there, all the Indians desired it also, and accordingly I aided them in their choice and gave them such instruction as I judged necessary." The Chief of the Stuart Lake Indians told the Oblate that he was under instruction from his people to bring back a priest "by force, if necessary."[58]

Notwithstanding possible Indian enthusiasm "consequent on novelty," in regard to the election of church officials for the groups, this interest was an encouraging sign to the priest. The Indians were not only willing to listen to Catholic teaching, they were willing also to accept certain aspects of Durieu's plan for conversion. Gratified by this positive response, Father McGuckin persuaded Bishop D'herbomez to

visit the area and observe the Indians' dispositions for himself. Consequently, on May 1, 1868, the Bishop arrived at St. Joseph's. With him came Father LeJacq a new superior for the Mission and Brother George Blanchet who, as one of the original five Oblates to come to Oregon, was fully conversant with the problems of new missions.

Leaving the new personnel at St. Joseph's, Bishop D'herbomez and Father McGuckin went north, spending five months visiting Carrier Indians. Indian response to this visit was so favourable that the large area was incorporated into St. Joseph's Mission district. On the return journey, the Bishop had: ". . . la satisfaction de bénir dix églises ou chapelles . . . le village indien de Quesnelle, saint Michel, fort Alexandria, saint Jacques; Soda Creek, sainte Anne; Alkali lake, saint Pierre; Dog Creek, saint Paul; Canoe Creek, saint Gabriel; Tli-te-Naitan, saint Laurent; le Pavillon, sainte Marie, refuge des pécheurs; Clinton, l'Assomption."[59]

Both missionaries and lay brothers were responsible for erecting these numerous log churches throughout the Mission district. These structures, usually one-room affairs, signalled both the Church's proprietary rights and Indian allegiance to Roman Catholicism. The Indians often displayed eagerness to help with the building process but they were, at best, erratic assistants. Seasonal hunting and fishing trips, paid employment either on developing ranches or in the mine-fields[60] and plain lack of interest in consistent work, reduced their participation in church building activities. In spite of this uncertain help, the Oblates managed to erect nine chapels within the space of two years. In addition to these Indian churches, the Bishop also blessed

St. Patrick's Church at Richfield where the congregation had purchased a bell and had had it transported from San Francisco for the occasion.[61] The Bishop had every reason to feel optimistic as he returned to New Westminster leaving further developments at St. Joseph's to LeJacq, McGuckin, Surel and Blanchet.

D'herbomez's decision to replace Father Jayol with Father LeJacq and to add Brother Blanchet to the Mission staff created a strong, versatile, team at St. Joseph's--although, as it developed, one aspect of Father McGuckin's character was somewhat detrimental to missionary endeavours. Father McGuckin, the only English-speaking Oblate in the Vicariate, was popular with the English-speaking Catholic population of Cariboo, particularly with the large contingency of Irishmen on the mining creeks. Born in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland, McGuckin's religious convictions "were strengthened by the Orange fanaticism with which he was surrounded."[62] He came to Victoria from Ireland in 1863 and, upon his arrival Father McGuckin was made vice-principal of St. Louis College, a position he held for three years. During that time, he performed parish work among the English-speaking Catholics. When funds were needed to provide a church for the benefit of French-Canadian, French, Spanish and Italian Catholics of the Victoria area, Father McGuckin put into practice his valuable talent as a fund-raiser. He persuaded many English-speaking Catholics and Protestants to contribute to the new venture and St. Louis Church, next to the College, was opened early in 1865.[63] Such talents were needed at the opening of St. Joseph's. In addition to missionary work among the Indians, Father McGuckin would be a suppliant for funds for the Church.

What the Bishop could not have foreseen was the negative effect on missionary endeavours occasioned by Father McGuckin's passionate devotion to the rules of the Order. The Irish Oblate was scrupulous in his obedience to de Mazenod's commands; moreover, he expected a similar dedication from his colleagues. When he became Superior in 1873, his attempts to enforce daily, weekly and monthly religious routines caused friction between himself and the other over-worked Oblates.[64]

LeJacq's talent lay in field work among the Indians. The French Oblate who had arrived in 1862, initially took charge of both Victoria's Irish population and the Indians of Esquimalt. When Bishop D'herbomez opened St. Michael's at Fort Rupert in August 1863, Father LeJacq was sent north to spend three unsuccessful years working among Indians who resisted all Oblate efforts to convert them. Those Indians who were willing to accept Christianity preferred to follow the teachings of Protestant ministers, including Duncan, who had arrived before the Oblates.[65] Undaunted by this experience of failure, LeJacq gave himself wholeheartedly to the conversion of Cariboo's Indians. He became a devoted disciple of Durieu, "adhering strictly to that method of dealing with the Indians evolved by his former companion."[66] Sometimes accompanied by Blanchet, LeJacq happily trekked from camp to camp under the most rigorous conditions, building solid Indian acceptance of the Catholic faith on the foundation laid in earlier years.

The small churches served as spiritual centres for the Indians both during the visits of the priest (often only twice a year for Carrier and Chilcotin) and in his absence. To give the Indians a complete mission, according to the desire of de Mazenod, required seven

days; since there were twenty-two bands to be visited and only the few summer months assured contact with them all,[67] the visits often had to be shortened. Since the Oblates would not baptize an Indian unless there was evidence of complete rejection of "immoral practises, pagan dances, superstitions and sorcery"[68] for at least one year, it was imperative that Durieu's system be applied whenever possible. Thus an élite was formed within acquiescent bands. This élite represented Church authority in the absence of the missionary. It became its responsibility to see that everything the priest taught was not forgotten between visits. The missionaries chose two catechists one for the men and one for the women, to teach Catholic doctrine on a daily basis. The Catechism[69] was the mainstay of this teaching and daily repetition was expected to increase knowledge. Two watchmen were chosen to oversee this daily instruction, plus a daily prayer period; this ensured all who had promised the priest they would attend, kept their word. A Chief was appointed to be the "zealous leader" of the new social order.[70] Wherever possible this was an hereditary or elected chief, but if the band chiefs proved unco-operative or were considered ineffectual, another Indian was chosen.[71]

LeJacq and McGuckin implemented this pattern throughout the mission district but LeJacq appears to have made the most impact. A man of deep conviction, he had little problem obtaining Indian acceptance of Durieu's system. While personality and presentation was important, events sometimes combined to assist the Oblate in his work of conversion. Father Thomas who had worked for sixty years as missionary in Cariboo recalls stories of Father LeJacq that were told to him by the Indians.[72]

On one occasion Father LeJacq was called to baptize a dying Indian at Soda Creek. The harsh winter weather delayed the priest so that when he reached the camp the Indians told him the woman had died. The Oblate entered her home and sitting by the woman said "Agathe amato" (Agatha, get up). She opened her eyes, sat up, was baptized, then fell back dead. The story spread far and wide among the Indians. On another occasion, in 1869, although Father LeJacq forbade him to do so, a Stikeen (Northern Carrier) brought a Medicine Man to cure his sick child. During an all-night dance to effect the cure, the Medicine Man dropped dead. Two days later the child died also. Father Thomas wrote, "This made a deep impression on all--much deeper than all Father LeJacq's sermons could make."[73]

Although Father LeJacq travelled into Chilcotin and Carrier country, he spent a great deal of time with the Shuswap who were closer to the mission. These Indians had the most contact dealings with the whites and therefore needed the most supervision. One band in particular, a Williams Lake group, received very close attention. Around 1870, this band was responsible for the murder of some miners, and consequently the government would not assist them in establishing a reserve. The Oblates invited the Indians "to establish a small village just across the San Jose from the Mission and placed quite a large meadow at their disposal."[74] The band remained until 1881 when the missionaries persuaded the government to buy a ranch close by the Mission as a reserve for them.[75] Father LeJacq spent much time with this group devoting every Sunday that he was not out in Mission territory, to their instructions. This Shuswap band gave St. Joseph's

missionaries the opportunity to develop a model Indian community. As Father LeJacq wrote to the Superior General years later:

> In the beginning our Christians, especially the Shuswap part, seemed animated with the best dispositions and for several years gave their missionaries the sweetest consolation and caused them to concur the brightest hopes.[76]

A more tangible result of early missionary work was reported by Father McGuckin in April 1873. About 400 Indians had assembled at St. Joseph's for the Easter services. They arrived on Palm Sunday and remained until Easter Monday. During that time all baptized Indians who gave evidence that they had not relapsed into former practises were given the sacrament of Penance. Twenty adults were baptized and approximately the same number of couples were married.[77]

Among the Indians were twenty Chilcotin with three of their chiefs. The appearance of the Chilcotin was most gratifying, for these Indians remained still the most elusive. Missionaries in Chilcotin country often failed to make contact with them even when prior arrangements for meetings had been made with various bands. In June, at the request of the three chiefs, Father McGuckin went into Chilcotin country to capitalize on the interest displayed at Easter.[78] He found a camp of between 250 and 300 Indians, including two groups the Oblate had never seen before. These were deputations from camps of Stoney Indians "situated near the foot of the Coast Range." The Stoney Indians, according to Father McGuckin, had "always borne a hard and bad name." Since they requested instruction and agreed to elect a "chief" as Church representative, McGuckin saw "no reason to fear being able with God's help to make them pretty good Christians"[78]--an optimistic assertion given the general reputation of the Chilcotin.

Three chiefs were known to McGuckin: Ke-ogh, "a good man but a poor chief," lacking "energy and courage" but whom the Oblate felt would improve once his Indians were properly organized; Anaham, "a good chief," energetic and fearless, who kept his Indians in thorough subjection; and Alexis, "who was made Chief by Judge Cox in 1864." Father McGuckin appointed the "usual officers" of the Durieu System for Alexis' Indians and promised to do the same for the other two chiefs the following year when they would endeavour to have all their Indians assembled for the purpose. Again McGuckin exuded confidence as he told the Bishop that, although the work of Christianizing the Chilcotins would be "a little slow," patience and perseverance would succeed eventually.[79] While work by Father LeJacq and McGuckin among the Indian bands was prospering, another promising avenue of missionary work was opening up.

As early as July 1867, Father McGuckin wrote to Bishop D'herbomez of the necessity of fitting up the Mission house as a school since "all the Indians from the junction to Stuart's Lake are anxious to send their children to school."[80] Father McGuckin's chief concern at this time was for the education of Indian girls, although he realized that schools for both sexes were needed. His sojourn in the mining area led him to press for a school for girls, some of whom were in a "deplorable state." "In vain shall we teach the boys," he wrote to D'herbomez, "as long as the girls are ignorant and wicked."[81] Since Catholic mothers were considered to be a mainstay of the Roman Catholic Church, Father McGuckin emphasized the desirability of Catholic Indian mothers. "To regenerate the Indians," he told the Bishop, "we should

begin with the mothers of the future generation."[82] Father McGuckin however was preaching to the converted. On November 28, 1868, Bishop D'herbomez wrote to the Superior General, "à Saint Joseph, nous avons ici une belle terre, et nous nous preposons d'y établir bientôt des écoles industrielles et agricoles pour nos pauvres petits sauvages."[83]

The establishment of schools for Indian children had already become part of Oblate missionary endeavour. When he established the first Oblate mission on the Mainland in the Okanagan in 1859, Father Charles Pandosy built a small school at the Mission to accommodate both Indian and the few white children in the area. This first venture into Indian education was not a success.[84] Indian parents could see little advantage in reading and writing for their children; when the children were not running away from the confines of the one-room school, they were being kept away. Six months after the school opened, all the Indian children were withdrawn when a child was accidentally killed while in the care of the priest. In 1861, the Oblates opened a highly successful industrial school for Indian boys at St. Mary's Mission. Four years later, acting as Ecclesiastical leader of the Church, Bishop D'herbomez requested the Sisters of St. Ann who since their arrival from Canada in 1858 had established schools on Vancouver Island, to open schools for both Indians and whites at New Westminster, the Indian school to be supported by the Vicariate if necessary.[85]

Indian mission schools served a dual purpose. They educated the Indians to a 'civilized' level offering both academic and industrial training to achieve this end; more importantly they provided constant exposure to Catholic doctrine. In view of the Bishop's desire for

Indian education at St. Joseph's, Father McGuckin's assurance that the Indians of the Mission desired education for their children, and the availability of space at the Mission house, a school for Indian boys under the direction of the Oblates was a logical move. In June 1869, while Bishop D'herbomez was in Europe and Durieu had charge of affairs in Cariboo, Father McGuckin was informed by Father Horris, the Vicariate bursar, that the Vicariate would sanction the opening of an Indian school for boys at St. Joseph's Mission.[86]

With so many circumstances in its favour, St. Joseph's Mission held out the promise of being one of the Oblates' most successful Indian missions. Although not by design, the Bishop chose to open a mission among Indians whose religious beliefs synchronized with Catholic doctrine. In one sense, the missionary did not have to overthrow the Indians' religious beliefs, he had only to give a new meaning "to the fragmentary truths of a natural revelation."[87] The spirits, for example, which were of a more immediate concern to the Indian, since they provided an answer to everyday problems, could be placed in the role of good and bad angels; by re-ordering the Indians' ideas of the spirits, the missionaries could loosen the hold of the medicine man who traditionally had all knowledge of the spirit world. In addition to the synchronization of beliefs the missionaries of St. Joseph's were familiar to many Indians through prior knowledge of Roman Catholicism. The prophet movement had already led to the incorporation of some Roman Catholic rites among the Indians, particularly among the Carriers. The influence of the French-Canadian fur traders and their Indian partners from the east was considerable. As Archbishop Blanchet himself wrote:

"To the Canadians and the Iroquois . . . is due the honour of opening the way for the Catholic missionary."[88] These favourable pre-contact conditions, the comparatively slight cultural contact of interior Indians and the expanding white population, the lack of denominational challenge in the mission field, and the continued positive response of the Indian bands of Cariboo all worked to the advantage of St. Joseph's Missionaries. The efforts of Fathers LeJacq and McGuckin to follow Durieu's methods were doing well; the education of Indian youth in the religious atmosphere of a parochial school would ensure their continued success.

Footnotes

[1]See Map Appendix II for geographical locations.

[2]In 1873, the Sacred Heart Mission, Stuart Lake, was opened to accommodate these northerly tribes.

[3]E. S. Hewlett, "The Chilcotin Uprising of 1854," BC Studies, No. 19 (August, 1973), p. 52; H. E. Rumley, "Reactions to Contact and Colonization of Religious and Social Change Among the Indians of British Columbia," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, U.B.C., 1973 (Cited hereafter as "Reactions to Contact and Colonization.")

[4]Victoria Colonist, August 23, 1863.

[5]The Chilcotin attacked and killed members of a surveying party who were attempting to survey a road through Chilcotin territory to the gold fields of Cariboo. They also killed a miner who was camping at one of Chilcotin campsites. This outbreak of Indian violence against the white man in British Columbia is known as the "Waddington Massacre."

[6]D'herbomez to Superior General, February 23, 1863, Missions 1865, pp. 309-314.

[7]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 9, 1867, Reel 408, Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.--McGuckin correspondence taken from microfilm is cited hereafter as Microfilm, U.B.C.

[8]Fouquet to D'herbomez, August 10, 1864, Reel 407, Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[9]Material used in the following section is taken from a study of the Shuswap done by James Teit for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of 1900. "The Shuswap" Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 11 (Part 7), 1909. P.A.B.C. (Cited hereafter as "The Shuswap")

[10]Teit, "The Shuswap," p. 469.

[11]Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada, Ottawa, 1963, p. 367.

[12]Adrian Morice, O.M.I., The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, Toronto, 1905, p. 5.

[13]Daniel Harmon, Sixteen Years in Indian Country, 1800-1816, Toronto, 1957, p. 251.

[14]A detailed study of the prophet movement can be found in H. C. Rumley's thesis, see Chap. 1, footnote 62.

[15]Rumley, Reactions to Contact and Colonization, p. 50.

[16]Ibid., p. 51.

[17]Morice, History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, p. 225.

[18]Robin Fisher, "Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890," Ph.D. Thesis, U.B.C., 1974, p. 186.

[19]Morice, History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, p. 225.

[20]Diamond Jenness, The Sekani Indians of British Columbia, Ottawa, 1937, p. 64.

[21]Morice described William McBean as "a sort of lay preacher whose hybrid religion betrayed his own Cree origin since it consisted mostly of vague notions about the Deity . . . coupled with vain observances the main burden of which was reduced to shouting and dancing." History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, p. 225.

[22]Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, p. 280.

[23]"Memoirs of Father François Marie Thomas," p. 5. Unpublished manuscript, O.A. Vancouver. (Cited hereafter as Memoirs.)

[24]Possibly children of French Canadians.

[25]Schoenburg, Chronicle of Catholic History, p. 12.

[26]Father Thomas wrote: "To the adults he taught short prayers and hymns--years later I had the aged Captain Charlie of Soda Creek sing these hymns to me. He had learned them from his father who was present at the above mentioned Mission." Memoirs, p. 6.

[27]Schoenburg, Chronicle of Catholic History, p. 12; Rapports sur les Missions du Diocese de Quebec qui sont secouvres par l'Association de la Propagation de la foi, 1843, P.A.B.C.

[28]Memoirs, p. 6.

[29]R. B. Lane, "The Cultural Relations of the Chilcotin Indians of West Central British Columbia," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Washington, 1953, p. 57.

[30]Ranchers in the Chilcotin area who hired Shuswap Indians to help move their cattle had to rope and brand all the herd before entering Chilcotin country. The Shuswap were so afraid of the Chilcotin that they refused to enter the district. George Terry, "History and Legends of the Chilcotin," Williams Lake, 1958, p. 14, P.A.B.C.

[31]R. C. Lundin-Brown, Klatsassen and Other Reminiscenses of Missionary Life in British Columbia, London, 1873, p. 5. (Cited hereafter as Klatsassen.) For information on Father Nobili's work in B.C., see John B. McGloin, "John Nobili S.J. Founder of California's Santa Clara College: The New Caledonia Years, 1845-1848," B.C. Historical Quarterly 1953, pp. 215-222; Gilbert G. Garrigan, The Jesuits in the Middle United States, Vol. 2, New York: America Press, 1938.

[32]Lundin-Brown, Klatsassen, p. 6. Lundin-Brown was referring to Modeste Demers who, while originally from Canada, had entered British Columbia via Oregon; the Jesuits stationed at Colville who were in British Columbia from 1845-1848 were originally from the United States.

[33]Morice, History of the Northern Interior, p. 335.

[34]Robert Berkhofer Jr. "Model Zions for the American Indian," American Quarterly, Vol. 15, 1963, p. 187.

[35]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 1, 1866, Microfilm U.B.C.

[36]Cariboo Sentinel, August 19, 1863. Interestingly, a petition signed by 150 citizens of Victoria asked for the release of three Indians who had murdered miners at Deep Creek. To the chagrin of the Sentinal reporter, the Indians were released.

[37]Many Indian bands, particularly the Chilcotin and Carriers north of Chilcotin territory still live by trapping and hunting. During the winter months their villages are cut off completely by severe winter conditions. In spring an Oblate missionary from either St. Joseph's or, more recently, from Stuart Lake travels to these isolated bands and baptizes children, marries couples who desire it, and offers services for those who died.

[38]Bishop Demers to D'herbomez, March 13, 1858, Reel 407, Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[39]As late as 1944 Father Jack Hennessey O.M.I. missionary to the Chilcotin suggested that a new missionary who was being sent to Chilcotin country study that language; Chilcotin use of English remains minimal. Until approximately three years ago, Chilcotin children had to have special classes in the English language before attending school.

[40]An exception was St. Michael's at Fort Rupert, North Vancouver Island. Although there was no established Protestant minister there, the Indians were under the influence of Duncan. The Methodist minister Crosby did not shy from direct competition. In 1871, Father Marchal wrote to Paul Durieu: "The Methodist minister fixed in the centre of villages, unable to extend at his desire his conquests by preaching of his doctrines, according to the savages, resorted to menaces. Anybody who refuses his communion will be driven from his country and transported with the Catholic priest to an isle in the Ocean where he

will have neither sweet water nor wood nor food of any sort and where he shall soon die of misery. Marchal to Durieu, February 12, 1871. O.A. Vancouver.

[41]According to Lemert, Durieu made abortive attempts to communalize the Homalthks, Tlahoose and Sliammen of Powell River; Father LeJacq, who accompanied Father Fouquet on a journey up the coast and across to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1863, was warned that he would not be able to exercise his missionary zeal since Father Fouquet's instructions were simply to explore and assess the receptiveness of the Indians.

[42]Cariboo Sentinel, June 11, 1868. An angry resident wrote to the newspaper: "It is some two or three years since we were visited by a single protestant minister of any denomination . . . The Wesleyans had once a chapel here . . . now all that can be found is the place where it stood. The Episcopal Church have two places standing, but no gospel sound is ever heard there. The Presbyterians had one also and that . . . has been abandoned." The Victoria British Colonist, August 3, 1863, reported that private donors contributed $1,200 for the construction of an Episcopal church while two Methodist ministers Doctor Evans and Reverend Lachler Taylor built a meeting house by voluntary contribution.

[43]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 16, 1873. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[44]Information on McGuckin's arrival and reception was obtained from a letter from McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 25, 1866. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[45]Monsieur Lallier became a valued friend of the Oblates, often assisting in collections for the Church.

[46]Father Grandidier to D'herbomez, November 20, 1866, A.D. Ottawa. After a discussion with McGuckin, Grandidier listed the eight possibilities for the Bishop's perusal. Dennis Murphy also wrote to the Bishop and suggested Pomeroy's farm as the best buy. Murphy to D'herbomez, August 10, 1866, Reel 408, Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[47]The Provincial Council decided on 7th and 8th of October 1866, that "there would be a mission established in the district of Williams Lake . . . the place must be centrally located as far as possible for the natives." The square mileage information was found in Abstracts from Reports on Cariboo District made by British Columbia Land Surveyors to the Department of Lands 1891-1927, King's Printer, Victoria. P.A.B.C.

[48]An area of mission land was set aside as a gathering place from the Indians when they came in any numbers to St. Joseph's. This was referred to by various missionaries as the "Indian rancherie"--a term also applied to mission gathering places on reserves.

[49]The present town of Quesnel.

[50]The San José River derived its name from José Tressierra, a Mexican who owned land close by on Three Mile Creek. Memoirs, p. 8.

[51]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 15, 1866. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[52]Minutes of the Vicariate, October 7/8, 1866. File No. PB 517 A.D. Ottawa.

[53]Memoirs, p. 9.

[54]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 15, 1867, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[55]McGuckin to Frederick Sima, Esq., August 22, 1867. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[56]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 15, 1867. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[57]All the information given on McGuckin's meetings with these northerly Indians is given in the letter of McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 9, 1867 and re-iterated in a letter of McGuckin to Father Jayol, July 8, 1867. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Report of D'herbomez to Joseph Fabre, Superior General, November 28, 1868, Missions 1870, pp. 87-108; Number 10, was the parish church at Richfield.

[60]G. M. Dawson, "Climate and Agriculture in Northern British Columbia," Canadian Pacific Report, 1880, p. 127. P.A.B.C.

[61]Report of D'herbomez to Joseph Fabre, Superior General, November 28, 1868, Missions 1870, pp. 87-108.

[62]Anon, "The Reverend Father McGuckin," B.C. Catholic, January 9, 1941, O.A., Vancouver.

[63]Ibid.

[64]For a detailed account of Father McGuckin's persistent demands that the Rules be followed regardless of other activities--a view closely aligned to De Mazenod's--see Margaret Whitehead, "The Early History of St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake, British Columbia, 1866-1882," Honours Thesis, University of Victoria, 1977.

[65]The Catholic missionaries were well aware of the importance of being the first in the field as their Oregon experiences and the failure at St. Michael's, North Vancouver Island,had taught them.

[66]Memoirs, p. 14. Father Thomas wrote that although Father LeJacq did not immediately uproot "all their vices," he broke through the Indians' "natural reserve and won their affection."

[67]McGuckin to Durieu, January 5, 1870, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[68]Memoirs, p. 10.

[69]Since the Oblates used the Catholic Ladder created by Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon, it is quite possible that they also used the Quebec catechism that was translated into Chinook, the fur-trade language, by Bishop Modeste Demers during his stay in Oregon in the early 1840's.

[70]Memoirs, p. 14. A letter of Durieu to LeJacq, November 27, 1883 (File No. HPK 5241, Archives Deschâtelets) also explains, in great detail, the selection of church representatives; Bishop Bunoz, "Catholic Action and the Durieu System," Reel 410, Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[71]The Shuswap had war chiefs, hunting chiefs and chiefs of dances. Some men were elected chiefs because of their wisdom, wealth, even their excellence of oratory. Each band had one hereditary chief descended from the male line. If a man had several sons, the "best" was elected. Teit, "The Shuswap," p. 569.

[72]A collection of these stories appears in Memoirs.

[73]Memoirs, p. 10.

[74]Report of the Vicariate written for the General Chapter in 1893, File No. PB 517, Archives Deschâtelets. Ottawa; Father Thomas gives a detailed account of the move to mission property and points out the existence of an Indian cemetery in the area concerned; W. M. Meason J.P. to Lenihan, November 7, 1879, "At Williams Lake there is no Indian reserve and the Indians do not own a single acre. They are living on land belonging to the Catholic Mission," Microfilm B-292C-10119. P.A.B.C.

[75]This is the present day reserve called Sugar Cane.

[76]LeJacq to Superior General of Canada, October 21, 1895, uncatalogued manuscript, O.A., Vancouver.

[77]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 20, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[78]The Indians were probably impressed by the elaborate ceremonials attached to the Easter services. In his letter to LeJacq on the topic of his system, Durieu specifies in great detail the elaborate ceremonials to be observed in the presence of the Indians.

[79]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 5, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[80]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 9, 1867, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[81]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 15, 1866, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[82]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 27, 1869. File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[83]D'herbomez to Superior General, Missions, 1870, pp. 87-108. A.D. Ottawa.

[84]An Oblate Indian school was established on the Tulalip Reserve in Washington territory but it was a government supported school and Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse, the Oblate in charge, was paid as a government employee.

[85]D'herbomez to Sister Mary Providence, June 22, 1865. Archives of Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria. (Cited hereafter as A.S.S.A. Victoria.)

[86]McGuckin to Father Horris, August 17, 1869: McGuckin makes reference to a letter he has received from Father Horris concerning the Indian school.

[87]Father Philip Michael Hanley,"Fathers Blanchet and Demers and Missionary Preaching in Oregon," M.A. Thesis, Pontifical Gregorian University, 1965, p. 142. (Cited hereafter as "Missionary Preaching in Oregon.")

[88]Hanley, "Missionary Preaching in Oregon," p. 121.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND RANCH: A CHANGE OF DIRECTION

In spite of favourable conditions previously noted, the 1870's saw a decline in Indian missionary activity in St. Joseph's mission district. Indian religious instruction, to which the native peoples had responded so favourably, was minimized almost to the point of neglect. Indian education, initially so keenly desired by both the Bishop and his missionaries, was shelved for over twenty years. Between 1870 and 1896, St. Joseph's developed as both an education centre for the white population of the Cariboo[1] under the direction of the Oblates and the Sisters of St. Ann,[2] and as a successful farm/ranch run by the Oblates. These changes were the direct result of the Oblate obligation to develop the ecclesiastical church.

Although the Oblates were not a teaching order,[3] those in mission fields often had to enter the field of education, and soon after they moved into British Columbia, the Oblates began to teach. Although they began their work in education by opening Indian schools, in 1861, D'herbomez requested permission of Bishop Demers to open a school for white boys in Victoria. A boys' school opened by Demers and run by the Clerics of St. Viator from Quebec had failed because the Clerics could not teach in English. Since dissatisfied parents were on the point of moving their sons to Protestant schools, Demers signed a contract permitting the Oblates to establish St. Louis College. At first the college was nothing more than a few rooms in the Bishop's residence. D'herbomez purchased land and founded the college in August 1863. When D'herbomez

became Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of British Columbia, in 1864, he took on the task of establishing schools throughout his district. The Roman Catholic Church in Europe gave the highest priority to parochial education for its youth, and a large percentage of the Catholics in the Cariboo were Europeans; the Cariboo's French Canadians were also accustomed to Catholic schools for Catholic children. D'herbomez's task was to ensure that the Catholic children in the Vicariate were not forced to attend Protestant schools through lack of Catholic facilities.

By 1865, however, the Oblates had only established on the mainland the Indian school for boys at St. Mary's Mission. The Protestant denominations had already begun formal education in New Westminster. In August 1862, the Reverend R. Jameson, a Presbyterian minister, had opened a non-denominational school; in April 1863, under the direction of Mr. James McIlveen, the first public school was opened.[4] Consequently, there was urgency in two letters written in June 1865 by Bishop D'herbomez to the Sisters of St. Ann in Victoria. The possibility of the Sisters opening a school for girls in New Westminster had been discussed previously; now the matter had become pressing. Bishop George Hill, Anglican Bishop of Columbia, was also pursuing educational goals. D'herbomez wrote:

> I am sure that you understand that I could not expose myself to another delay as regards the Sisters school when I tell you that Bishop Hill has just announced . . . that a lady is going to open a Collegiate School in the city.[5]

A week later Bishop D'herbomez wrote again to the Victoria convent, that haste was necessary "to prevent protestant schools from gaining ground."[6]

By the end of the month the Sisters had opened a school for both white and Indian children in a convent which D'herbomez had

prepared for them. Simultaneously, St. Louis College was transferred to New Westminster. The New Westminster schools were boarding schools as well as day schools and accepted Catholic children from throughout the Vicariate. Two years later, D'herbomez requested the Sisters to manage an Indian Residential School for girls at St. Mary's Mission. Indian and Métis children were transferred to this school from New Westminster on November 25, 1868. While the Sisters offered to help support this new endeavour with surplus funds from their now white school for girls in New Westminster,[7] the funding of the Indian schools was primarily the responsibility of the Oblates; in addition, sufficient funds had to be acquired to keep the Oblate school for white boys running efficiently.

To obtain the finances necessary to continue educational developments within the Vicariate, D'herbomez requested the missionaries who made circuits through the rich gold-mining areas of the Cariboo to make collections among the Catholic miners. In 1866, Father McGuckin was requested to use his fund-raising talent to find financial support for Church projects. The response of the miners and settlers was very generous. In a little over a year, with the assistance of several Catholics living in Richfield, the Oblate collected twenty-two hundred dollars in donations for the Church from both miners and settlers; approximately one-third of this was collected for the Sisters of St. Ann. While it was donated willingly, the money was not donated unconditionally. As noted earlier,[8] the Roman Catholics began to pressure Father McGuckin soon after his arrival to establish a regular church and clergy at Richfield. They decried the fact that while the Protestants had built several, albeit now empty, churches, the Roman

Catholics had to endure makeshift arrangements. They complained continually that "no priest ever stopped during the Winter and that they only came in Summer to make collections."[9] In January 1867, Father McGuckin made it clear to the Bishop that the new church of St. Patrick's needed a permanent pastor:

> As William's Creek will be a great centre of the population, and there are now a good number of Catholics well disposed and desirous of attending to their religious duties . . . a Father should remain as much as possible amongst them.[10]

In the same letter Father McGuckin announced that he had begun to teach three boys, local Catholic children, whom he instructed in their "holy religion" as well as in reading and writing.

Makeshift educational facilities were no more welcome to the people of the mining district however than makeshift religious opportunities. For a while, Father McGuckin was able to persuade Catholic parents to send their children to the schools in New Westminster. As the Cariboo passed its peak as a goldmining region and ranching, farming, and related small businesses took its place, Catholics began to pressure for the establishment of local Catholic schools for their children. Although Father McGuckin saw the need for and encouraged the Bishop to supply Indian education, under pressure from his parishioners, he began to plead also for educational facilities for white children. He reminded Bishop D'herbomez of the financial support supplied by the Cariboo's Catholics and urged him to carry out "the good work" without delay. He wrote, "The people in subscribing so generously in these hard times will demand as much generosity on our part, and will expect to see that their money has been put to good purpose."[11] Although D'herbomez was aware "de la générosité des

catholiques français et irlandais de cette partie égloignée [sic] de le vicariat"[12] and could ill-afford to neglect their needs, both a shortage of manpower and a precarious financial situation prevented him from opening another school. While the Bishop was in Europe seeking both recruits and money for his Vicariate, events occurred which forced a resolution of the school situation in the Cariboo.

When the decision was made to establish an Indian school at the Mission, McGuckin had reacted with alarm. In a letter to the Bursar he made it clear that he expected the Sisters of St. Ann to come to open "a double school," at St. Joseph's, one for white children and one for Indians, and looked upon this as so necessary that he "never thought of opposition from headquarters." He went on to state categorically that it would be an error to suppose that the people of the Cariboo would support such a school:

> . . . the miners will subscribe for Orphans but not for Indians. Mark well this difference therefore if you have nothing but an Indian school at St. Joseph's, never calculate in raising a subscription towards supporting it. . . . parents cannot be expected to subscribe if you refuse to educate their children for payment.[13]

Father McGuckin stated that an elementary school for girls under ten years old and boys under seven years old was required; he assured the Sisters that they would have between twelve and twenty paying pupils if they opened the school immediately.

The priest went on to list the reasons why the Catholic population should be accommodated: "as true representatives and Apostles in this New Country of our Holy Religion, [the Oblates] should provide education for orphans and children of white parents as well as of the natives"; the school could act as a "feeder" for those in

New Westminster; "half-breeds," whose fathers were "generally able and willing to give a helping hand in the carrying out of holy and great undertakings" could be accommodated; all the children in the area who would be given the opportunity through education to play a major role in the development of the Province, would be raised and educated as Catholics; the school would be fully supported without cost to the Vicariate and would be seen as tangible evidence that the two thousand dollars now collected by Father McGuckin for school purposes, was being put to good use; finally, the Oblates had "the sympathy and support of all or nearly all the inhabitants from Clinton to Barkerville," but "owing to the slow movements of Superiors," their patience was nearly exhausted. The Protestants were now making efforts to establish a school on Williams Creek and some were negotiating with Bishop Hill to send a minister. "Experience" concluded Father McGuckin "should teach you to take firm possession of all before these scourges arrive."[14]

In spite of Father McGuckin's concerns, possibly because of the Bishop's absence, the school question was left in abeyance until December the following year. At that time a meeting of concerned parents at Richfield petitioned Governor Anthony Musgrave to establish a school district in the area. Father McGuckin wrote in haste to Father Durieu; "now what is to be done? Of the 16 or 17 children belonging to William's Creek about 12 of them are Catholics. Shall all of these go to the Common School?"[15] He went on to suggest a plan that would satisfy Roman Catholic parents and yet would not be too costly for the Vicariate. Feeling that the parents of non-Catholic children would not object to a Catholic teacher, he proposed that all parents sign a

petition urging the Governor to appoint the resident Oblate as local teacher under the terms of legislation passed in 1869.[16] A house adjoining the church that the local Catholics had purchased for the priest could serve as the school and this would result in a saving to the local board who normally would have to finance the building of the school. An added attraction for a Vicariate in need of funds was the salary of "approximately $1,000 per annum" that the teacher would receive.[17]

Two weeks after receiving Father McGuckin's letter, the Council of the Vicariate discussed the developing situation and Father McGuckin's solution. The Council decided "qu'on ne pourrait autoriser le R. P. McGuckin à se charger de l'école commune à Richfield." However, it resolved that a school for white boys would be opened at St. Joseph's Mission and that "un frère instituteur sera envoyé à William's Lake."[18] The school was to be opened in September 1871 with Father McGuckin in charge.[19] In June 1871, Bishop D'herbomez returned from Europe to face the requests of his missionaries that the additional burden of the school be taken from them. Neither Father McGuckin who had charge of the Richfield parish, the farm management and missionary work among the Carriers and Chilcotins, nor Father LeJacq who visited both Shuswap and Chilcotin bands, believed the school would be a success if left in their busy hands.

D'herbomez shared the concerns of his missionaries. In July 1872 he informed Father McGuckin, whom he appointed as the new Superior of the Mission, that as soon as a combined convent and school was built, he would send three Sisters to take charge of education at the Mission.

As the people "were most anxious to see the School opened," they contributed generously to a collection for the new building.[20] When, by May 1873 the Sisters had not yet arrived, Father McGuckin suggested that the Sisters should advertise in the Cariboo paper "to give a proof of the opening of the school as . . . there are some people incredulous on this point."[21] The Bishop however was experiencing difficulties with the Sisters of St. Ann which were not resolved until 1876.

When the Sisters of St. Ann answered Bishop D'herbomez's request for Sisters to run schools established in his Vicariate, they agreed to provide nuns for schools "au fur et à mesure que le développement des Missions et l'immigration le demanderaient."[22] Consequently the Bishop, in February 1873, confidently addressed himself to Mother Mary Eulalie, Superior-General of the Sisters of St. Ann, in Lachine Quebec, on the topic of "un nouvel établissement de soeurs dans l'intérieur du pays à la mission de St. Joseph." The combined convent/school building was now near completion and was "une des plus grandes qui sont construits à l'intérieur du pays." The Bishop explained that the building had "deux compartiments entièriment séparés, l'un pour le Pensionnat des filles, l'autre pour celui des petits garçons, les appartements des soeurs se trouvent au Centre." D'herbomez stressed that it was necessary "d'y placer deux soeurs capables de faire l'école en anglais, d'autant plus que le gouvernement veut établir partout des écoles mixtes où l'on enseigne que l'anglais."[23]

The reply to his request was not encouraging. The Sisters had no personnel available and D'herbomez was forced to consider asking other orders to undertake the work.[24] In June, Father Durieu took the

place of an ailing D'herbomez at the General Chapter of the Congregation in Paris where he was made co-adjutor for the Vicariate.[25] On his return to Canada in October, he visited the Sisters of St. Ann at Lachine pleading the cause of the Bishop. On his return to New Westminster, he wrote on behalf of the Bishop to Lachine and again reiterated what was required of the nuns in the Vicariate. At St. Joseph's "il faut pour la fin d'avril 1874, cinq soeurs parce que cette école doit renfermer trois départements: un pour les jeunes garçons en dessous de 8 ans; un autre pour les jeunes filles issues de parents blancs et un troisième pour les filles sauvages."[26] Again the Oblates stressed the importance of haste as "les écoles athées ou protestantes se muliplient partout," and the Bishop:

> . . . regarde comme un de ses premiers devoirs d'ouvrir dans chaque district de Mission des écoles ou les enfants, tant des blancs que des sauvages puissent recevoir une éducation conforme aux principes de notre Sainte Religion.[27]

In spite of a reiteration by Durieu that the Bishop would be forced "pour trouver un congrégation de soeurs qui . . . se feraient un bonheur de se dévouer à l'instruction de la jeunesse dans ce Vicariat,"[28] the December 1873 council meeting of the Sisters of St. Ann decided "que la Communauté n'accepterait pas la mission de Williams Lake . . . pour la raison qu'elle n'a pas les sujets nécessaires pour ces missions lointaines qui en quelques années réclameraient un trop grand nombre de soeurs."[29]

Although Bishop D'herbomez was willing to find a replacement order, it would take time, and events in Cariboo made the establishment of a school absolutely necessary. The Bishop was correct when he spoke of government plans to build a school in Cariboo. The Cache Creek

boarding and day school building was commenced in 1873 and the school formally opened on June 2nd 1874.[30] Within one month the school had thirty-six pupils--as many as the building could accommodate. According to British Columbia's first School Act passed May 15, 1865, all Common schools were to be conducted upon "Non-sectarian Principles . . . all books of a Religious Character, teaching Denominational Dogmas [were] strictly excluded."[31] Because of the initial success of the school, the Superintendent of Education recommended that a second such institute be erected at Soda Creek. On December 9, 1873, faced with both pressure from Catholic parents[32] and the threat of non-Catholic educational facilities, the Oblates were forced to abandon plans for Indian education and open a boarding and day school for white boys at St. Joseph's Mission.

Although they opened the school before completion of the Cache Creek School, it looked for a time as if the Oblates might have left it too late. Provincial education was free, while the Oblates were obliged to charge a fee.[33] The economy of the Cariboo was as precarious as most farming-ranching areas and cash was often in short supply. When the Mission school opened, only four boarders and three half-boarders presented themselves. With the exception of one, all were illiterate and "ignorant of even the simplest of prayers."[34] Father McGuckin was nevertheless optimistic; "these are the boys that will shortly hold the first place in Society in this section of the Country. They will be all ours if we only can manage to educate them under our care.[35]

The beginnings were small but the development of the school was most gratifying. The priests and teaching-brothers were educated

men, and even non-Catholics appreciated the quality of the education offered by the Mission. The boarding school at St. Joseph's was soon filled to capacity and Father McGuckin requested both additional teaching help and classroom space.[36] In less than a year, boys were attending from all parts of the Cariboo. Writing to Bishop D'herbomez after a brief visit to the Richfield parish, Father McGuckin explained that he had brought back five new boarders for the school from Stuart Lake; Mr. Hamilton of Quesnel was expected to bring down several more later in the week. In addition, two boarders from the Cache Creek school moved to St. Joseph's and the priest was promised "ten more that had been at the same Institute last year."[37] The movement of boys from Cache Creek was a most gratifying event. The reputation of the school grew and pupils even from distant Victoria attended.[38]

If the boys' school was flourishing, the lack of a girls' school was causing great distress to the Mission. There was no way that the Oblates could conceive of establishing a school to accommodate both boys and girls. Until the sisters arrived to open their school only one girl had received any schooling at the Mission and it was not a happy situation for Father McGuckin. In 1874, the two half-boarders at the school, were the children of the Felker family, including one daughter aged about ten or eleven whom McGuckin permitted to come to school with her brothers since she and her brothers were "ignorant of the first notions of their religion." While the girl "advanced rapidly in secular and religious knowledge" she also advanced into womanhood--at least too much so for the peace of mind of the priest. When Father McGuckin refused to take her back after the summer vacation, her mother threatened

to send the girl to the common school. Thus Father McGuckin was forced to ask the Bishop's permission to continue giving her lessons.[39]

Within the Catholic Church, the idea of mixed classes was anethema. When pleading, as he continually did, for the nuns to open a girls' school, Father McGuckin constantly referred to the only alternative offered to Roman Catholic parents, the "den of infamy" at Cache Creek:

> There are upwards of 30 pupils in the common school . . . boys and girls, up to fourteen years old, all eat, study, play and sleep together in the same apartments. Could a more diabolical institution be established for ruining the Children of the Country?[40]

In August, 1874, the priest's expectations of such a situation were realized when a fourteen year old Catholic girl, whose father had been waiting "year after year" for the opening of a parochial girls' school, was expelled for "immorality."[41]

In April 1875, McGuckin lost patience with the situation regarding the proposed Sisters' school. The parents who had "subscribed so liberally towards the building of the house for the Sisters," were now charging that the money was raised under false pretences and that the Sisters of St. Ann were "humbugging" the Bishop. The Superintendent of Schools had asked for a second boarding school to be opened at or near Soda Creek and if this came to pass Father McGuckin warned the Bishop, it was pointless for any nuns to go to St. Joseph's. "The foothold that we worked so hard and sacrificed so much to obtain in this section" he wrote "will be lost and the rising generation with it."[42]

The threat of the new school led Bishop D'herbomez to intensify his search for an order willing to assist him. He wrote, to

the Sisters of Providence who were established in Oregon and, simultaneously, he requested Father McGuckin to write to the Sisters of the Presentation Order in Gragheald, Ireland, to see if they would be interested in the work.[43] As a result, three Sisters of Providence arrived at St. Joseph's in September 1875, and in November, the Presentations, wrote and offered nuns for the Mission.

The Sisters of Providence were "delighted" with everything they saw at the Mission. On condition that they could be "sole and absolute proprietors" of the convent and ten to twenty acres of land, they proposed, if approval could be obtained from the Mother Superior in Quebec, to open an orphanage and boarding school for Indian girls, a hospital and a boarding and day school "for white and half-breed girls." The Sisters made it clear that the Indian work would be their primary concern, with the white school secondary and "as a means of carrying out the works of Charity."[44]

In their letter, the Sisters of the Presentation offered to take on the role of teaching "the whites, half-breeds and Indians" but "as part of the bargain," they desired Father McGuckin to travel to Ireland for the Sisters.[45] In spite of these generous offers both of which would have complemented Indian missionary activity, neither Order took on the work at St. Joseph's. In January 1876, Father McGuckin received an apologetic letter from Sister Peter, one of the nuns who had visited the Mission earlier. Reverend Mother General had written that it was impossible for her to send Sisters to St. Joseph's.[46] On February 23, 1876, at a Provincial Council Meeting, the Oblates decided to reject the offer of the Presentations as "elles sont des Soeurs

cloitrées."[47]

Perhaps because of the Bishop's determination to "contre-balancer partout et le plus tôt possible le pernicieuse influence des écoles athées"[48] the Sisters of St. Ann finally relented. In September 1877, Mother Mary Eulalie, General Superior, and Sister Marie Helene, Assistant General who were in British Columbia for the official opening of St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria, accompanied Sisters Marie Clement, Marie Joachin and Marie Octavia on their journey to St. Joseph's Mission.

Unlike the Sisters of Providence, Mother Mary Eulalie was not impressed by the aspect of St. Joseph's Mission. In spite of the warm welcome of Fathers McGuckin and Charles Marchal, the isolation of the Mission caused the Superior General to have misgivings. She was quite willing, if the Sisters so desired, to return the nuns to Victoria. The young Sisters wished to remain and Mother Mary Eulalie reluctantly agreed. In the combined convent/school building "about 110' x 30', situated upon the side of a mountain, opposite the Father Oblates' School," the Sisters began twelve years of teaching. Their pupils were the children of ranchers, miners, French-Canadians and Catholic Indian mothers married to white men.[49]

For a number of years both mission schools received approximately thirty and forty children each. Because Bishop D'herbomez desired the Oblate school to succeed, he allowed four Oblate priests for the Mission, three primarily for teaching in the school[50] and one for missionary work among the Indians. In his Memoirs, Father Thomas pointed out that because so many priests were required to teach in the school, the over-burdened Indian missionary, at that time Father Marchal,

had to add more Indian bands "to his flock."[51] Since the schools were primarily boarding schools, the children needed supervision twenty-four hours a day. Although the Oblate school advertised "Thorough English and Commercial Education,"[52] the boys were often taught all aspects of farming and ranching. Some parents, although they paid full fees, desired their sons to work "3 or 4 hours a day . . . so that their children might learn to do something more than reading and writing."[53] In addition, some boys worked to pay for their schooling. In February 1878, McGuckin asked the Bishop to send another Brother to the Mission for the express purpose of teaching these boys the rudiments of husbandry.[54]

Summer vacation did not bring respite for often a dozen or more boys remained at the school and had to be cared for. Father McGuckin who was both principal and teacher began to complain to the Bishop concerning the pressures of his work. In July 1876, he wrote to D'herbomez:

> Our vacation commenced on the 25th inst. and still 15 boarders will spend their vacation with me and probably more will arrive in a week or two; so you may easily imagine my free time for my other duties. It is only while they are in bed that I can find time to attend to other things.[56]

Again in December 1877, Father McGuckin complained to the Bishop that while the pupils were progressing well, it was "not quite as well" as he wished. In a most revealing statement he wrote: "I have so many occupations that it is impossible for me to spend long enough with them . . . Next Wednesday I intend to leave DV[56] to visit the Indians of Soda Creek and Quesnelle and will be absent about 18 days. This upsets everything, and often I am disturbed during my classes."[57] After a

visit to the Indians of Quesnel, Alexandra and Soda Creek in February 1878, McGuckin reported that he could not "well leave the school even for a week or two at a time."[58]

In spite of the time already devoted to the school, yet another area of education was introduced at St. Joseph's in 1877. Young men who desired to become Oblates were accommodated at St. Joseph's where they were taught Latin and theology by the experienced priests teaching there. Michael Hanley who "desired very much to become a priest"[59] was sent by the Bishop from New Westminster as early as 1874. In January 1877, Father McGuckin asked the Bishop's permission to allow several pupils who were "anxious to commence studies for the Priesthood," to begin their Latin studies without delay.[60] The Bishop acquiesced but the young men were expected to assist in the school during the year or two they spent in theological study. In spite of this help, Father McGuckin felt the need for still more assistance. To this end, he wrote to a friend in Ireland offering to pay the passage--with the Bishop's consent--of any young men who desired to become priests but who lacked the finances to acquire the necessary education. By this means, he obtained the services of a Mr. James McBride who arrived in August 1881.

Although both schools succeeded very well, especially with regard to the "amount of good done" and the academic and religious instruction imported to the rising generation of Whites and Métis who attended them, they were scarcely, at any time, paying institutions.[61] The uncertainty that accompanied the early years of agricultural developments in the Cariboo, such as severe weather conditions, fluctuating markets and the inexperience of many farmers and ranchers,

led to years of financial difficulty. In some years, the parents of children attending the schools had insufficient means to pay their fees; the Mission was obliged to assist the Sisters by providing sustenance for them and their charges. To have turned the children away would have been tantamount to pushing them into government schools. Produce and other goods therefore, were accepted in lieu of money; in February 1881, for example, Mr. Eagle, who had two daughters in the school "and others growing" offered to build an addition to the over-crowded convent "as payment for schooling."[62] In April 1880, the total amount of unpaid fees for both schools was $7,000.[63]

At this time, Father McGuckin began to urge the Bishop to open schools at Kamloops which would both lighten the load of the Oblates at St. Joseph's and open up again the possibility of Indian education at the Mission. However, a recurring theme appeared. "I think it would not be prudent to close entirely the Schools at the Mission," wrote the Oblate, "lest the Protestants or Government would take advantage of it to open one of their own."[64] Throughout the seventies and eighties this theme had effectively changed the role of St. Joseph's Mission. It was not however the only factor contributing to that change.

II

In May 1868, Brother Blanchet, recently arrived at St. Joseph's, wrote to Paul Durieu: "Comme je ne suis pas encore au courant des affaires de la ferme je ne vous dirai que peu de choses pour cette fois--c'est immense, il y a de quoi occuper six personnes."[65] Brother Blanchet had pinpointed another reason besides the changes in educational

planning, why the Mission personnel had less time for missionary activity. Between May 1866, and October 1881, the size of the farm grew from 160 to 1,600 acres.[66] The Oblates expanded the ranch because the Vicariate needed a financial base, and Father McGuckin was able to persuade the Bishop to realize the possibilities in developing a successful farm/ranch. Such development however, could only be achieved by drawing on the still limited manpower from other areas of activity.

St. Joseph's Mission followed the pattern of other Oblate missions when, at its inception, the Bishop purchased sufficient land to enable the missionaries to build a chapel, residence, and school and to establish a self-supporting farm. In Oregon the Oblates had planted gardens around their missions, for the Indians often were starving and could not be relied upon to supply provisions for the priests and brothers. The Indians were encouraged to visit these small-holdings and gardens in the hope that they would be inspired to farm and plant gardens for themselves.[67] Father Pandosy, who established the Oblates' first mission in British Columbia in the Okanagan Valley, wrote enthusiastically to Bishop D'herbomez of the area's agricultural potential. "If Brother Blanchet is able to send us some vine cuttings," he wrote, "we shall be able to start a plantation."[68] As in Oregon, the Oblates again used this farm to 'civilize' the Indians. Historian Frank Buckland wrote of the Oblates' first years as Okanagan farmers that "they planted vines, fruit trees[69] and garden seeds, with very little assistance from others to encourage them in their desire to teach the Indians husbandry as well as Christianity."[70] In both Oregon and British Columbia, the Oblates began farming to provide food for them-

selves and as an example to the Indians. In this latter regard, they adhered to the widespread belief that the Indian would become "civilized" if, in addition to being educated, he became a farmer.[71] Under the supervision of an enthusiastic Father McGuckin, St. Joseph's took a different direction. The mission farm became both a farm/ranch that supplied St. Joseph's needs and also, as Father McGuckin anticipated in 1867, "a great resource for more than this Mission."[72]

When the Bishop and his council resolved to establish a mission in the district of Williams Lake, they decided that, "on y prendra au moins 100 arpents[73] de terre cultivable, on pourrait se contenter de 80 pour se mettre à deux ou 3 miles [sic] d'un camp sauvage." The Council also added the provisor that "on puisse arroser de terrain, y elever des animaux et que les principales recoltes, pomme de terre et blé" could be raised without danger from frost.[73] The mission site finally chosen was particularly well adapted for the raising of stock, both cattle and horses, and while land surveyors had pointed out that green crops could be grown in abundance, they also observed that it took "intelligence in selecting the sites to raise hardier varieties of small grains and vegetables."[74]

Prospects looked good and McGuckin suggested that the Bishop pre-empt a further 160 acres when recording Pomeroy's place since, as McGuckin understood it, the ranch had to be taken up "in such a manner that the length [did] not exceed the breadth more than 1/3." Moreover, McGuckin explained, if the Bishop wanted to have the water rights on the creek, he would have to record and pre-empt 640 acres. This figure was the least that should be recorded, for the Oblates would then have "a

most valuable and most desireable property if ever the country [became] inhabited."[75] McGuckin saw prospects for the mission farm far beyond a self-supporting basis. At the end of 1867 he informed Bishop D'herbomez that in the following year he intended to plant thirty-eight acres in wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, turnips, peas and beans. These plans necessitated the acquisition of another brother as soon as possible.[76] McGuckin visualized the farm not only as a provider for local needs but as a source of income for both present and future missionary activities and as financial support for the Vicariate.

Apparently there were some who did not share McGuckin's enthusiasm for in a letter to D'herbomez in December 1867, the priest felt called upon to reply to criticism that had been levelled at his plans. Father McGuckin strongly argued the need to expand the farm's area in spite of the limited resources in manpower and money available in the Vicariate. He suggested that since St. Joseph's was "the best farm on the upper country and everything raised on it [would] meet with ready sale at the highest prices," it would be good business to send a brother from another mission to them. If necessary, St. Joseph's could pay two or three hundred dollars a year compensation to the donor mission to allow them to employ a replacement labourer. A brother at St. Joseph's was well worth a thousand dollars a year because the wages of labourers in the Cariboo were very high and even the Indians refused to work "for less than a dollar per day."[77]

McGuckin went on to defend his plans for agricultural activity at the mission. To those Oblates who insisted that there was "no necessity for farming so much," McGuckin had a ready and valid answer.

The farm-ranch was needed to support the already established schools at New Westminster and to raise money for new schools for boys and girls at St. Joseph's and elsewhere. Each mission was expected to support the Vicariate's ecclesiastical programme as well as missionary endeavours among the Indians.[78] Of those Oblates who thought that collections among the settlers would suffice to meet these ends and obligations, McGuckin asked, "how could any person go to the settlers in the neighbourhood and ask for a subscription, and at the same time have the best farm in the country lying waste. Let us first make the best use of our own means."[79] For the next fifteen years, Father McGuckin and his colleagues proceeded successfully to do so.

In 1872, Father McGuckin attempted to place the running of the farm in the hands of secular people. Between May 1871 and October 1872, the ranch had expanded considerably. In May, 1871, Father McGuckin applied to purchase four hundred acres adjoining the Mission ranch.[80] By July 1872, "in consequence of the fences put up and about to be put up,"[81] McGuckin explained to D'herbomez that the Mission would soon be needing a greater range for the cattle than it now possessed,[82] and suggested the purchase of an adjoining property. If the Mission acquired it at the asking price of $400 it would be able to provide "for any amount of stock that [they were] ever likely to possess."[83] While the Bishop was considering this new plan,[84] Father McGuckin, faced with the prospects of schools to establish and run, suggested to the Bishop that the Oblates should run the ranch on a "shares" basis, a common practise in the Cariboo at that time. The conditions generally laid down were that the property holder provided the land, teams, implements

and half the seed; the contractor took care of the teams and ploughs, provided the rest of the seed, sowed, reaped and thrashed, "in a word [did] all the labour and [paid] all the expenses until the grain was put in the granary."[85] The grain was then divided equally between both parties. With such a contract, the missionaries, including Father McGuckin, who in his role of supervisor had little time for missionary work, would be freed from the largest part of the agricultural work.

The Bishop accepted the arrangement and a legal agreement was duly drawn up in 1872 between the mission and Edward Shearer, who took an interest in the proposal and had "sufficient means to undertake it." Shearer agreed, in exchange for the above mentioned terms plus "five yearling heifers and four heifer calves," to put in seventy acres of each crop, wheat, barley and oats, to keep all equipment in good repair, as well as fences, ditches and dams, to cut, haul and put up new fences, to clear all the land covered in willow and sow the same in Tomothy hay. In addition, Shearer had to "take good care of all the cattle and their increase." There were several other clauses but basically, the agreement did free the missionaries from extensive farm and ranch work.[86]

Since Shearer was a "steady, sober, honest Catholic"[87] McGuckin had great faith in his ability to work the farm-ranch to its best advantage; but as early as February 1873, Shearer began making plans to get out of farming and a time-consuming and unpleasant lawsuit ensued. Writing to the bishop in April 1873, McGuckin explained that the troubles they were having with Shearer "would be too long a story to commit to paper." Apparently the good Catholic had turned out to be "a regular tyrant,"[88] and, complaining that the deal between himself and

the Oblates was unfair, he took possession of the neighbouring ranch recently purchased by the order and refused to move. Over a period of several months, the affair became more heated, and in September the matter went to court. With Judge Begbie presiding, Mr. Davies appearing for the Oblates and Mr. George Walkem for Shearer, the case went to arbitration. The arbitrators agreed that Shearer should be ejected from the mission property but awarded him $800 "for giving up his lease of 4 years."[89] Although the Oblates felt the decision unjust, and their lawyer advised an appeal, the Bishop decided that enough scandal had been caused and he accepted the settlement.[90] It was an expensive lesson for St. Joseph's Mission, for although neighbours promised help with the work left unfinished by Shearer, and the Bishop advanced the money from the Vicariate to settle the matter, the Mission had to repay the Vicariate.[91] Father McGuckin's attempt to lift the burden of agricultural work from his missionaries had failed; from this time on the Oblates ran the ranch themselves.

Father McGuckin purchased a property adjoining the Mission land in October 1872. Explaining to Bishop D'herbomez why he agreed to purchase, McGuckin wrote that Mr. Bates who had already purchased all the land that lay alongside this property, was also interested in purchasing more land and that "he would so hem us in on all sides with fences that we would have no room for our stock."[92] In 1880, another farm adjoining Mission land came on the market when its owner decided to leave for the United States; he offered his farm for $200. Father McGuckin appealed to D'herbomez:

> We have unanimously agreed to ask your lordship's permission to be allowed to purchase it. Principally on account of the

> water which, whoever wins the farm, has the right of carrying through our ditch, . . . Of course the land would be very useful to us for grazing etc. There are rails enough on it to fence it. We are willing to sacrifice other necessary wants in order to have it and prevent a Chinaman or some other from having it.[93]

This desire to prevent 'bad neighbours' from encircling the mission land, caused another claustrophobic reaction in May 1881 when the Oblate Superior was informed that five pre-emption claims had been taken up "between the Graham place at the Rocky Point and the 150 Mile House."[94] The cattle had obviously increased beyond what had been earlier anticipated, for Father McGuckin reported that only the first flat between the mission ranch and the Felker farm remained unoccupied. With the advice of Fathers Baudre and Gurtin, he staked off 320 acres of this flat to secure grazing for the mission cattle. This land was recorded in August 1881.[95] Each time a request for more land was made, it was granted. By 1881 the ranch amounted to 1,600 acres.

A combination of good management and good husbandry created a highly successful farm ranch. The necessity to acquire more land speaks in itself for the increases in stock, and when new property was acquired a good bargain was always made. In obtaining the Graham ranch, the Oblates acquired in addition to the land, "a barn, cabin, dairy, a good deal of fencing, also a wagon worth about $100, a good plough, harrow, a good roller, irrigator, wheelbarrow, grain cradle, 2 scythes, neck yoke, 2 hay forks, 2 rakes and a good sleigh"[96]; Messier's place gained them more control over the water rights[97]; the 1881 pre-emption secured 320 more acres of grazing land.

Although subjected to all the sudden reversals of both weather conditions and market conditions, the Oblates' good management helped

them survive even the most severe conditions. In 1874, for example, when extremely wet weather caused most farmers to lose their crops, the Oblates "in spite of the wet weather and want of help" produced "a very abundant crop . . . of first quality."[98] The winter of 1879-1880 proved to be extremely severe; the temperature fell to -50°F; this was very hard on the stock, which however had "not suffered very much, having plenty of fodder and pretty good shelter."[99] The severe weather continued into late February and Father McGuckin indicated in his report that if it did not change, most of the settlers would lose their stock:

> A large number are already dead. We have lost only 4 calves yet but several of our young cows are poor and weak. I think we shall have fodder enough. The Indians have lost a good many of their horses and are likely to lose nearly all of them.[100]

That severe winter was followed by floods, and it was May before ploughing could begin. There was little hope that farmers could plant Spring wheat, but the Oblates had had the foresight to sow "the only Fall wheat sown in the neighbourhood."[101]

Through good management and hard work as Father McGuckin had foreseen, the Mission farm ranch proved to be a valuable asset to the Vicariate. St. Joseph's was able to help St. Louis' Mission, Kamloops, when because of bad management it got into financial straits. In 1876, St. Joseph's could afford to make a yearly contribution of $850 towards education requirements at the Mission.[102] In 1877, Father McGuckin requested permission of the Bishop to give "2,500 or 3,000 lbs. of wheat" to the Sisters of St. Ann at St. Joseph's[103]; this policy of helping the Sisters continued until they left Williams Lake. Although Father McGuckin regularly complained about the problems of "making the

two ends meet,"[104] the farm ranch was an undeniable success. What had begun as a home farm had developed into a substantial property where, besides the many acres under cultivation, there were growing herds of cattle, a herd of horses, pigs, chickens and garden produce; it became and remained the greatest resource of the Vicariate.[105]

Throughout the seventies and eighties two factors governed the development of St. Joseph's Mission; the necessity of providing educational facilities for white children in the face of Protestant or Government educational advances, and the necessity of establishing a financial resource for the young Vicariate. Both Bishop D'herbomez and Father McGuckin were obliged to give preference to white over Indian education because the Oblates saw the need to protect Roman Catholic children from the "evils" inherent in secular education. In spite of the great demand on the Bishop's limited manpower, the schools were viewed as priorities. Father McGuckin's vision that the farm ranch could become, in future, a tremendous asset was one shared by many intelligent land-owners of the period. By 1885, "most of the large cattle ranches within the area today were either fully formed or well on the way to their point of maximum growth."[106] Both these successful developments were accomplished at the cost of a considerable drain on missionary manpower.

Footnotes

[1]The school opened to accommodate Catholic children but accepted any denomination.

[2]A comprehensive study of the work of the Sisters of St. Ann is Sister Down, A Century of Service.

[3]Eugene de Mazenod had provided in the Constitution and Rules for his priests and brothers to assume the role of educators. The provision, written in full below, does not appear to relate to the education of native peoples: "When the good of souls may seem to require it, and this may more easily happen in missionary countries, the Provincial and his Council, may build or take charge of Minor Seminaries or Colleges. And in such institutions, the members of our Society will earnestly endeavour to give the young an education that is not only Christian, but literary and Scientific as well. "The Direction of Youth," no. 133, Constitution and Rules, p. 46.

[4]Down, A Century of Service, p. 61.

[5]D'herbomez to Sister Mary Providence, Local Superior, Vancouver Island, June 14, 1865. A.S.S.A. Victoria.

[6]D'herbomez to Sister Mary Providence, June 22, 1865. A.S.S.A. Victoria.

[7]Sister Mary Jeanne, Superior General to Bishop D'herbomez, August 30, 1864. A.S.S.A. Victoria.

[8]See Chapter 2, p. 12.

[9]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 2, 1866. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[10]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 7, 1867. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[11]McGuckin to D'herbomez, December 4, 1867. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[12]D'herbomez to Superior General, November 28, 1868. Missions 1870. A.D. Ottawa.

[13]McGuckin to Father Horris, August 27, 1869. File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa. There was little love lost between the miners and the Indians. Robin Fisher discusses this in Contact and Conflict, pp. 95-102.

[14]Ibid.

[15]McGuckin to Durieu, December 17, 1870. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[16]McGuckin is referring to Section II, paragraph C of the "Ordinance to establish a uniform system of Public Education throughout the Province," passed in the Legislature, February 24th, 1869. Donald Maclaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Colony of British Columbia," Doctoral Thesis, University of Washington, 1936, p. 99.

[17]McGuckin to Durieu, December 17, 1870. Microfilm, U.B.C. A night school and a library that McGuckin established soon after his arrival in Richfield was an added source of income.

[18]Minutes of the Council Meeting of the Vicariate of British Columbia, January 9, 1871. Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[19]McGuckin to Durieu, April 3, 1871. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[20]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 26, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[21]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 16, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[22]Durieu to Mother Mary Eulalie, Mother Superior, Lachine, Quebec, December 1, 1873, Archives of the Sisters of St. Ann, Lachine. (Cited hereafter as A.S.S.A. Lachine.)

[23]D'herbomez to Mother Mary Eulalie, February 22, 1873, A.S.S.A. Lachine.

[24]D'herbomez to Mother Mary Eulalie, April 21, 1873, A.S.S.A. Lachine.

[25]Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 23. This appointment made Durieu Bishop D'herbomez's successor. He was made honorary Bishop and given the title Bishop of Marcopolis.

[26]Unlike Bishop D'herbomez, who expressed the need for two white schools, Durieu still insisted upon Indian education at St. Joseph's.

[27]Durieu to Mother Mary Eulalie, December 1, 1873, A.S.S.A. Lachine.

[28]Ibid. On April 23, 1873, D'herbomez wrote to Mother Mary Eulalie, "je serais forcé dans le cas ou vos soeurs ne pouvraient se charger cette année de l'école de St. Joseph, d'appeler d'autres soeurs dans l'interieur du pays."

[29]Council Meeting of the Sisters of St. Ann, Lachine, December 27, 1873. A.S.S.A. Lachine. D'herbomez suspected that Sister Mary Providence was "en partie la cause" why he could not obtain more Sisters. Dossier D'herbomez, Fol. 67, Archives générales O.M.I., Rome.

[30]"Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year ending 31st July 1874," Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1st

March-22nd April, 1875, P.A.B.C.

[31]Maclaurin, "The History of Education," p. 48. The School Ordinance of 1869" however, gave clergymen of any denomination, permission to visit the schools, before and after regular hours, "to impart such religious instruction as [they] may think proper to the children of [their] denomination. Maclaurin, "The History of Education," p. 102.

[32]On August 17, 1873, McGuckin wrote to D'herbomez that due to "the anxiety of the parents to see the school established finally," he would be obliged to teach himself.

[33]See Appendix III for prospectus.

[34]From its inception, the school stressed the importance of religious education.

[35]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 12, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[36]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 23, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[37]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 5, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[38]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 3, 1879, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[39]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 5, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[40]Ibid. The Cache Creek School acquired a bad reputation for immorality.

[41]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 5, 1874. The specific reason for the girl's discharge is not given.

[42]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 5, 1875, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[43]Father McGuckin had a cousin who belonged to the Sisters of the Presentation with whom he corresponded.

[44]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 2, 1875, Microfilm, U.B.C. In outlook they differed from the Sisters of St. Ann who began with schools for white and métis children whose parents could pay, and with surplus funds from these establishments they supported their Indian schools. Sister Mary Jeanne to D'herbomez, August 30, 1865, A.S.S.A. Lachine.

[45]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 20, 1875, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[46]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 24, 1876, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[47]Déliberations du Conseil Provincial, February 23, 1876. A.D. Ottawa.

[48]D'herbomez to Sister Mary Providence, March 22, 1875. A.S.S.A. Lachine.

[49]Sister Marie Infant Jesus to Reverend Mother Irene, Lachine, July 12, 1930, A.S.S.A., Victoria. Detailed information on the work of the Sisters of St. Ann at Williams Lake can be found in: Sister Marie Jean de Pathmes S.S.A. Les Soeurs de Sainte Ann. Un Siecle D'Histoire 1850-1950, Lachine, 1950; Reverend Elie Auclair, History of the Sisters of St. Ann, trans. Sister Mary Mildred, Victoria, 1938; Sister Mary Theodore, Pioneer Nuns of British Columbia, Victoria, 1931; Letters of Sister Mary Octavia to Mother Mary Irene (no date given); Sister Mary Octavia to Reverend Mother Superior, February 16, 1879; Notes on History of Williams Lake Mission by Sister Mary Octavia. Letters in File No. 2-C-5-5, A.S.S.A. Victoria.

[50]D'herbomez was asked in May 1875 to find lay teachers for the school because of the shortage of missionaries available in Europe. General Father Martinet to Bishop D'herbomez, May 24, 1875, Unpublished manuscript, Oblate Archives, Vancouver.

[51]Father Thomas, Memoirs, p. 17.

[52]See Appendix III.

[53]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 20, 1876. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[54]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 17, 1878. In 1880, this practise was discontinued. These boys proved to be a mixed blessing for the Mission. While their help was appreciated, particularly at harvest time, a priest or brother had to constantly supervise and train them which put an added strain on manpower.

[55]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 30, 1876, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[56]Deo Volente: God willing.

[57]McGuckin to D'herbomez, December 30, 1877, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[58]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 7, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[59]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 26, 1877, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[60]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 6, 1877, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[61]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 10, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[62]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 13, 1881, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[63]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 10, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Brother George Blanchet to Paul Durieu, May 15, 1868, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[66]When the Bishop purchased the property in May 1867, 320 acres were recorded; 160 acres purchased at that time, the rest pre-empted and purchased July 4, 1871. Data taken from Records of Lands and Mining Departments, Government of British Columbia, Victoria. By 1850, the Ranch was 5,000 acres and, in 1964, the Oblates purchased the Onward Ranch, an adjoining property.

[67]In Oregon, although better land was available, the Oblates felt that they must live as close as possible to the Indians. Lardon Manuscript, p. 16.

[68]D'herbomez to Superior General, November 4, 1862, Missions, 1870, p. 307.

[69]Apple trees were first planted in the Okanagan Valley by Father Pandosy. Only two of the original orchards remain. Missions, Spring 1958, p. 5.

[70]Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, Vancouver, 1959, p. 67.

[71]See for example: Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary. Toronto, 1975; William T. Hagan, American Indians, Chicago, 1961; Ronald N. Satz, American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era, Nebraska, 1976; Bernard Sheehan, Seeds of Extinction, New York, 1973.

[72]McGuckin to D'herbomez, December 4, 1867, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[73]An "arpent" equals approximately one acre. Larousse Modern Dictionary, Paris, 1960.

[74]Déliberations du Conseil Provincial, October 1866, A.D. Ottawa.

[75]Abstracts from Reports on Cariboo District made by British Columbia Land Surveyors to the Department of Lands, 1891-1927, King's Printer, P.A.B.C., p. 99. (Cited hereafter as Reports on Cariboo District.)

[76]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 15, 1867, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[77]McGuckin to D'herbomez, December 4, 1867, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[78]Ibid.

[79]McGuckin to D'herbomez, December 4, 1867, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[80]McGuckin to Paul Durieu, May 27, 1871, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[81]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 22, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[82]According to government surveys, each head of cattle required about 10 acres of range for sustenance, Reports on Cariboo District, p. 53.

[83]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 4, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[84]The Bishop delayed his answer and Father McGuckin was forced to take responsibility upon himself to purchase the Graham place.

[85]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 30, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[86]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 31, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[87]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 30, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[88]McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 20, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[89]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 2, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[90]The quarrel had become so serious that at one point Shearer had threatened to shoot Father Marchal.

[91]McGuckin to D'herbomez, December 3, 1873, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[92]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 4, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[93]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 21, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[94]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 2, 1881, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[95]Records of Lands and Mining Department, Government of British Columbia, Victoria.

[96]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 4, 1872, File No. HPK 6282, A.D. Ottawa.

[97]Father McGuckin took out water rights for the mission for 100 years in 1872.

[98]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 20, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[99]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 10, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[100]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 21, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[101]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 4, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[102]Déliberations du Conseil Provincial, 1876, A.D. Ottawa.

[103]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 5, 1877, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[104]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 10, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[105]Report of the Vicariate, 1918: "St. Joseph's Mission has been for many years and still is the principal support of the Vicariate thanks to the possessions of tractable land and to the administration of those who have been and still are in charge." Oblate Archives, Vancouver.

[106]Thomas R. Weir, Ranching: The Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia, Geographical Branch Memoir 4, Queen's Printer, 1955, p. 56.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL: THE DURIEU SYSTEM IN CARIBOO

Throughout the years that St. Joseph's Mission was developing as an education centre for white children and a successful farm/ranch, it neglected its primary purpose, missionary work among the Cariboo's Indians. This neglect soon began to take its toll, and gradually the Indians' "good dispositions, instead of growing stronger with time, evaporated little by little."[1] Some merely relaxed in fervour, others returned completely to their old ways. Father McGuckin was not unmindful of what was happening. His correspondence to Bishop D'herbomez between 1874 and 1882 is replete with observations on the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the Indians. He refers constantly to two major problems: the Indians' rejection of the missionary who replaced Father LeJacq, and the lack of missionaries to work among the Indians. Although he was occupied with school and ranch developments, Father McGuckin was forced to try to remedy the situation by visiting various bands when he could[2]; he also took an interest in the developing problem between the Indians, settlers and government over land claims, and in the growing Indian concern over lax liquor laws.[3]

In spite of his efforts, the Indians remained comparatively neglected. "For several years, the mission did no more than languish,"[4] until, in 1887, Bishop D'herbomez, who had been seriously ill for many years,[5] handed over his role as Vicar of Missions to Paul Durieu. Although D'herbomez did not die until June 1890, Durieu became the active head of the Vicariate. Under his control St. Joseph's returned

to its primary purpose--to catholicize the Indians of Cariboo. However, by the time attempts were made to repair the situation and re-establish St. Joseph's as primarily an Indian Mission, the promise held out at the inception of missionary work appeared to have been lost.

In June 1873, Bishop D'herbomez unwittingly dealt the first blow to successful Indian work in the Cariboo when he transferred Father LeJacq to Stuart Lake. The devoted Durieu disciple and dedicated Indian missionary went north to open a mission for the Northern Carrier tribes. With him went Brother Blanchet who was ordained at this time. The Bishop sent Father Marchal as Father LeJacq's replacement. Although he had had experience among the Sechelts[6] and the Indians of the Lower Fraser at St. Mary's Mission, Father Marchal did not have the same charismatic appeal for the Indians as Father LeJacq; he could not rouse the response which the Indians accorded his predecessor.

The importance of a missionary's personal appeal for the Indians could not have been more clearly revealed than in the developments between Father Marchal and the Shuswap and Lower Carrier peoples, bands situated reasonably close to St. Joseph's. Father Marchal tried valiantly to reach and instruct all these Indian bands, as well as the widespread and distant Chilcotin. Often he would be back at the Mission only a short time before leaving again to visit other camps. The following examples of his busy itinerary illustrate his efforts. During November and December 1874, travelling either by canoe or on foot, Father Marchal visited both the Chilcotins, and the Alkali Lake and Canoe Creek Shuswap Indians. He went on to Soda Creek to administer the sacraments to elderly Indians who were unable to travel to St. Joseph's.

He returned to the Mission for the Christmas celebrations then left once more on January 2, 1875. This time he travelled north to the Indians of Alexandria and Quesnel. He was also expected to visit the white Catholics of St. Patrick's Parish, Richfield but, because he had to travel south to visit the Indians of Lillooet and the surrounding district and return to the Mission before Easter, he was "obliged to put off this visit until April."[7] In spite of his efforts, Father Marchal began to lose ground with the Indians.

As early as 1875, there were indications that Father Marchal was having difficulties. Father McGuckin wrote to the Bishop requesting another priest for St. Joseph's, "one who will gain the goodwill of the Indians." The matter was urgent since the Indians were becoming "dissatisfied" with Father Marchal and, consequently many were becoming "indifferent" towards the Catholic religion.[8] By January 1876, Father Marchal had visibly lost a hold on the bands within easy reach of the Mission. In 1875, he had given Chief William, Chief of the Indians camped at the Mission, permission to allow the young men of the camp to sing one of their traditional Indian songs; the permission was given for one occasion only but the Indians continued to revive the old custom in defiance of the priest. Consequently, Indians at Canoe Creek, Dog Creek and Alkali Lake returned also to singing "bad songs" and, in addition, they revived Indian dancing and gambling games. When the bands gathered at the Mission at Christmas,[9] Father Marchal tried to persuade the Indians to give up the "bad habits" to which they had returned; but, he made little headway. The Indians' refusal to reject their ancient customs put the missionaries "under the necessity of refusing them

absolution," and a stand-off situation arose. Father McGuckin lamented the lack of a priest who would gain the Indians' respect and reverse the 'backsliding.'[10]

The breach between Father Marchal and the Shuswap Indians continued to widen.[11] During the 1877 Christmas celebrations when a good many of the recalcitrant Indians arrived at St. Joseph's, Father Marchal attempted once more to instruct them; yet his efforts were "in vain." He preached in Shuswap but, in spite of Father Marchal's assertion that he pronounced it well, the Indians disparaged his pronunciation. "At all events" wrote Father McGuckin to the Bishop, "all his efforts for them are of no use."[12] There is no clear evidence of how Father Marchal, despite his efforts, lost the control so necessary to effective missionary work. Father McGuckin's reports to the Bishop merely pointed out that his co-worker was failing to hold the Indians' interest in their newly-acquired religion.

As Mission Superior, Father McGuckin enumerated for the Bishop the shortcomings of every priest and Brother sent to St. Joseph's--and in this respect Father Marchal was no exception. However, since Father McGuckin was the only available choice to replace Father Marchal on the missions, it was not in the busy Superior's interest to point out the failure of his fellow Oblate unless it was absolutely necessary. In January 1877, for example, Paul Durieu visited St. Joseph's and insisted that Father McGuckin share the missionary load by taking charge of the Shuswaps and Lower Carriers; the Oblate Superior protested to Bishop D'herbomez that, given his busy schedule, he could see no possibility of being able to visit these Indians before the next school summer

vacation.[13] Because it was "utterly useless" for Father Marchal to meet with the Indians, Father McGuckin visited the Indians of Quesnel, Alexandria and Soda Creek in February 1878 despite his other responsibilities; he then spent a week with the Shuswaps nearest the Mission.[14]

Although the most persistent, Father McGuckin was not the only Oblate to remark on Father Marchal's difficulties. According to Father LeJacq Father Marchal "vainly rebuked, chided and reproached, he was preaching in the desert."[15] In his Memoirs, Father Thomas came to the same conclusion and indicated that Father Marchal's problems were personality related. "Father Marchal threatened and thundered in vain," he wrote, "Father LeJacq alone had sufficient influence to keep the Shuswaps on the straight and narrow path or to bring them back when they fell into their old disorders."[16] Despite Father Marchal's lack of rapport with the Indians, no other missionary was assigned either to replace him or to assist him. Oblates were made available for teaching duties and Oblate Brothers for farm work, but, regardless of Father McGuckin's many warnings, the situation regarding Indian missionary endeavours remained static.

As early as August 1874, Father McGuckin wrote to his Bishop with a warning that lack of manpower was a serious impediment to Indian missionary work:

> It is impossible for us to manage the school and give fair play to the Indians. We must have time to study the Indian language or our Mission is bound to fall behind . . . the children and young boys and girls are much neglected because we cannot give them the instructions which they need to preserve them from evil and teach them to lead Christian lives. What a pity it is to see people so well-disposed, so much neglected.[17]

Both this complaint over lack of manpower and the visible results of this missionary neglect, became recurring themes in Father McGuckin's correspondence.

In 1876, William, the Shuswap chief, returned completely to Catholicism only after a severe attack of sickness; because "death was feared by him," he rejected the old ways once more and consequently all the William's Lake Indians went to Confession at Easter. The Soda Creek Chief, however, remained "in revolt" against the Mission and, "most of his Indians believe themselves obliged to follow his example."[18] In the fall of 1879, Father Marchal visited the Indians of Alexandria, Quesnel, Blackwater and Kluz-Kuz Lake. At Blackwater the Indians received him well but at Kluz-Kuz Lake the Indians would not give up their "feasts" and "he could do nothing at Fort Alexandria."[19] The Indians in the Lillooet area began to show "great want of fervour" and among some bands "all the savage practices, chants, dances, feasts which they had given up in order to embrace Christianity were re-instated in force."[20] By 1878, the Chilcotins had not been visited for almost two years and, wrote Father McGuckin, "knew more [about the Catholic faith] five years ago than they do today."[21] As the Oblate Superior warned the Bishop, "when there are too many irons on the fire, some of them must grow cold."[22] Despite these conditions, until 1878, Father McGuckin remained "wholly dependent on Father Marchal."[23]

As well as keeping New Westminster fully conversant with the situation regarding neglect of the Indian's spiritual development through lack of suitable and sufficient manpower, Father McGuckin took an interest in the material well-being of the Indians. While in

Victoria in 1873, he visited the Federal Indian Superintendent, Dr. Israel Wood Powell, to discover his attitude towards the Indian reserve problem. Powell assured the priest that he was "very anxious to lay off land for the Indians" and he promised to visit St. Joseph's, if possible, in the coming fall. "He told me," wrote Father McGuckin to Bishop D'herbomez, "that there was a difficulty between the Federal and Provincial Governments about the quantity of land to be given to each Indian family. The former are not willing to give as much as the latter demands."[24] The Oblate solicited a promise from Dr. Powell that the latter would send to the Mission any medicine required by the Indians.[25] In the Summer of 1874, Marcus Smith,[26] the government surveyor, visited Father McGuckin and the two men discussed the Indian land situation. Smith "appeared to be very desirous of obtaining justice for them . . . he intends using all his influence with the Government of Ottawa to obtain for them such assistance and grants of land as they stand in need of." The Oblate was well acquainted with Smith and obtained the promise from him that he would do "all in his power for the Indians of our Mission."[27]

In July 1874, Bishop D'herbomez sent a petition to St. Joseph's and requested Father McGuckin to see that it was signed by the Indian Chiefs of Cariboo. The petition was a request for a fair deal in regard to land allocation. The Bishop intended to send copies of the petition, on behalf of the Indians of the Province, to the "Council of Indian Affairs" in Victoria, to the Federal Government and, if necessary to the Queen of England. The Bishop sent petitions to all the Missions, exhorting his missionaries "de défendre les intérêts des

sauvages en les aidant à obtenir le terrain qu'ils réclament pour eux et leurs enfants." The Bishop continued:

> tout en engageant nos sauvages à être calmes a ne point penser à la guerre nous les exhortons à se montrer fermes et énergiques dans leurs justes réclamations; vos Indiens feraient bien l'imiter ceux du Fraser et d'envoyer le plutôt possible leurs pétitions. Vous pouvez les aider, ce sont là des moyens légaux dont ils peuvent et doivent user pour défendre leur droits.[28]

In spite of the Bishop's concern, Father McGuckin was reluctant to ask the Indians to sign the petition. Doctor Powell had promised the Indians that either he or James Lenihan[29] the second Indian Superintendent, appointed in 1874, would visit the Cariboo during July[30] and the priest felt that "it would be best to wait and see what the government would for for them." After this meeting the Indians would know "what they want and what they should ask for."[31]

As Father McGuckin anticipated, the Indians were not interested in signing the petition until they had seen the Indian Commissioner and knew what he would do for them; "they want to talk to him themselves," wrote the priest, "before making any complaint or demands."[32] Apparently while they were prepared to be guided spiritually by the Oblates, the Indians were not yet prepared to be advised by them in material matters. In September, Father McGuckin discussed once more with the Bishop, the problem of Indian reserves in Cariboo. Although the Indians of Williams Lake, Canoe Creek and others felt very much "the want of land," they did not know where to take up land, "even 40 acres" fit for cultivation:

> Unless the Government will purchase land from the white settlers, there are not 40 acres of farming land for each Indian family between Lillooet and Cariboo. Perhaps it

> would be found if the government would go to great expense in bringing water upon it.

If Dr. Powell did not keep his promise to visit the Indians, Father McGuckin felt sure there would be no further difficulty "in bringing them to their senses" and obtaining their signature on a petition.[33]

In August 1877, Father McGuckin began a campaign to pressure Lenihan into resolving land claims for the Cariboo Indians. "It is certain the Indians have been badly used," he wrote to Lenihan, "and they have been tampered with by settlers and nothing less than a speedy settlement will restore peace in their minds."[34] Indian Commissioner Lenihan visited St. Joseph's in October 1877, and remained four days. He saw William, the Shuswap Chief, at the Mission and promised to send farming implements to Williams Lake, Soda Creek and the Chilcotin Indians. He looked at their land situation "but of course, he could do nothing."[35] In February 1878, Father McGuckin informed the Commissioner that during his recent visits to the Indians of Quesnel, Alexandria, Soda Creek and Williams Lake, they "repeatedly expressed their anxiety about the settlement of their land question." The Indians of Soda Creek were particularly concerned as quartz had been discovered near their land and they feared another invasion of miners into their territory. The priest warned that the Indians were becoming agitated.[36] In April, the Oblate wrote again, this time in stronger terms:

> The Indians in this section are becoming very discontented and using threatening language on account of the delay in settling their reserves. I have used all my endeavours to keep them quiet up to the present but it is evident that they will not heed me much longer in this matter if something is not done for them immediately.[37]

In spite of these warnings, another eighteen months passed by without

any change in the situation.

The point of desperation was reached as, in November 1879, many Indians of the Cariboo faced starvation after a bad salmon run and a poor hunting season. A letter written by Chief William[38] was published in the Daily British Colonist. It told of the starvation of his people. Since all the land and the fish had been taken by the whiteman, and "the noise of the threshing machine and wagon" had frightened the game and the beaver, the Indians had nothing to eat. Consequently the young men were threatening to ignore the Chief and go to war. Four days after the letter appeared in the press, Lenihan wrote to Father McGuckin as he "disbelieved the whole or most of it."[39] The Oblate, however, collaborated Chief William's statements. He wrote to Lenihan that he was already assisting the Indians to keep them from starving, that the Indians did not have land enough to raise one tenth of the crops they required for their support, and that the young men would have "recourse to violence" rather than die of starvation. In addition, wrote Father McGuckin:

> The Chief of the Alkali Lake tribe told Father Marchal that his young men were urging him to allow them to go to war with the Whites. The Chilcotin and many others I know will only be too glad to join them in order to have the opportunity of avenging old wrongs.

The only way of removing the danger, warned the priest, was for the government "to afford immediate relief to those in want" and to assure the Indians that there would be no further delay in settling their claims.[40] As a result of this letter Ottawa authorized relief in the form of flour and meat.[41] After further pressure from both Father McGuckin and the local Indian Agent, James McKinley, the Federal

government bought a ranch near Williams Lake and some land at Deep Creek for the Indians of Chief William's band.[42]

Although the land question was of primary importance to the Indians a second problem was developing, the availability of liquor to many of the bands. In July 1874, Bishop D'herbomez sent a "Prohibition Petition" to St. Joseph's and told his missionaries to obtain the signatures of both Indians and Whites. The "Methodist or Presbyterian Society of Ontario" was circulating the petition which was to be presented at the next Dominion Parliament Session.[43] While he expected problems with Cariboo's Whites who were "not at all satisfied about the Law already passed restricting the brewing of liquor to Victoria and New Westminster," Father McGuckin did not expect any resistance from the Indians. "As for the Indians" he wrote confidently, "of course we can get them to sign it at any time."[44]

Since under Durieu's System drunkenness was a serious sin, those Indians who wished to continue receiving the sacraments had to resist the temptation of liquor. The Church's law was supported by the Chiefs who, as time went by, became greatly alarmed by the availability and consequences of alcohol. The Indian Chiefs, particularly those of Quesnel, Alexandria, Soda Creek and Williams Lake area were concerned because the authorities in the district "were not willing to go to any trouble to suppress the liquor traffic." In fact, people who were supplying alcohol to the Indians were going unpunished "through the neglect of the authorities." The Chiefs were concerned about their people and wished to have "some means of punishing evil doers." They asked Father McGuckin to write to the government authorities for them.

"They wish to know" wrote the Oblate to Lenihan, "how much the government will contribute towards the erection of suitable lock-ups in each camp and if they may expect any assistance towards the guarding and maintenance of prisoners."[45] As a spokesman for the Indians during these years of growing desperation for the tribes, Father McGuckin helped to maintain a good rapport between them and the Church as missionary endeavours continued to be neglected.

In 1879, Father Marchal moved to Stuart Lake[46] and the Oblates who taught in the school, including Father McGuckin, visited the Indians whenever they could.[47] These visits, while maintaining the contact between the Indians and the Church, did little to advance Indian education; "whether through the fault of the Fathers, Indians or circumstances the Indians are receiving no serious instruction."[48] In 1882, the Bishop moved Father McGuckin to New Westminster[49] and for eight years a succession of missionaries tried without avail to revive the original response of Cariboo's Indians to the Catholic Church.

When Father Adrian Morice arrived at St. Joseph's in 1882, he concurred with Father McGuckin's conclusions regarding the spiritual neglect of the Indians; "par impossibilité de suffire à tout, nous n'avions pas encore pu nous occuper spécialament de ces sauvages." Commenting particularly on the neglect of the Chilcotin, Father Morice wrote that despite previous visits by the missionaries "leur ignorance des vérités de la foi est telle." Father Morice caused "une véritable tempête" among the Indians when he refused to baptize a number of Chilcotins because of their lack of knowledge; Morice wrote to his friend, "on me représenta que les prêtres qui m'avaient précédé au lac

Tleuzkenz avaient toujours remis ainsi d'année en année, et à la fin ils n'étaient point revenus." Since 1873, the missionaries of St. Joseph's had lost ground steadily. In confining work among the Chilcotins to Father Morice, Bishop D'herbomez told the Oblate missionary that, although previous work had been done among the bands, the mission to the Chilcotin was to be considered "une mission nouvelle."[50]

Until 1890, notwithstanding individual efforts to strengthen the faith of Cariboo's Indians, the status quo remained unchanged. In April 1890, Paul Durieu initiated proceedings to open Indian schools at Williams Lake under the direction of both the Oblates and the Sisters of the Child Jesus.[51] A month later Durieu officiated at an event that revived interest in the Catholic religion among many of Cariboo's Indian bands. In May 1890, a gathering of Indian tribes at the Sechelt village was planned by Durieu and the Sechelt chiefs. Its purpose was to mark the dedication of the new "église de style romain" which had just been completed by the Sechelt people. Invitations were dispatched to the various Indian tribes under the care of Oblate missionaries. Father Marchal, who had returned to St. Joseph's in 1887, took a group of Shuswap and Carrier Indians to participate in the event.[52] According to Father LeJacq, who returned to St. Joseph's in 1890, the visit was greatly beneficial to St. Joseph's missionary endeavours.[53]

It has been said that Paul Durieu "understood" the Indians.[54] To what extent he did so is open to conjecture, but certainly the elaborate community-orientated ceremonials attached to the solemn opening of new churches fulfilled the Indians' need "to celebrate religious and mystical aspects of existence."[55] At a time when both

missionaries and government were attempting to suppress the potlatch, Durieu was encouraging a Christian substitute. As with the potlatch during the week of the consecration of the church, all work was put aside; one group of Indians played host to many others; the wealth of the host group was displayed in the costly exterior and interior of the church[56]; ritual dances were replaced by religious ceremonials, and the host village fed and entertained its visitors. As will be discussed, the way was opened for visiting groups to reciprocate.

The Sechelt village was a model for other Indian bands. It was constructed along the lines of a "civilized" white village with symmetrical rows of neat houses; the new twin-towered church dominated the village. Delegations from a dozen tribes arrived, "chacune de ces délégations était conduite par leur missionaire." Seven chapels were prepared on the outskirts of the village where the Indians could, as far as possible, hear preaching in their own languages. Paul Durieu and Bishop Lemmens of Vancouver Island headed the twenty-two Oblates present at the gathering. Durieu commenced the celebrations with "la bénédiction solonnelle de l'Église en présence de 2000 sauvages." As usual, the ceremonies were elaborate and impressive. Thirty Indians were selected as a guard of honour for the Eucharist which was exposed in the new church, and there were two solemn processions in which Indian children strewed flowers and the adults carried statues and candles.[57]

This event was impressive in itself, but the gathering was interrupted by the death of Bishop D'herbomez. Bishop Durieu hurried back to New Westminster accompanied by all the Indian chiefs and principal men of each tribe at the gathering--including those from

Cariboo. All officiated in the solemn ceremonies marking the funeral of the Bishop--a second impressive demonstration. On their return home, the Cariboo Indians "related the wonders of which they had been spectators and excited lively regrets in the hearts of their compatriots"; in the words of Father LeJacq, "there came a revolution in spirits."[58] In October, the Shuswap band of Alkali Lake held a festival similar to the one they had seen at the Sechelts. Again, the reason was the blessing of a new church. All the Indian bands of St. Joseph's Mission district were invited and Bishop Durieu, accompanied by Fathers LeJacq, Chirouse and LeJeune presided at the event. After this celebration, the Indians of Sugar Cane Reserve--the Indians who had lived close by the Mission until the government bought Mr. Bates' ranch for them in 1881--resolved "in a general assembly of the whole village"[59] to replace their present church with a new one and to hold a like festival at its completion. Durieu's insistence on ceremonial and pageantry was paying dividends; a religious revival was underway in Cariboo.

The gathering of the bands at Sugar Cane from July 9th to July 15th 1895 was a perfect example of the Durieu System in action.[60] In preparation for the visit by the Bishop the Indians prepared an area of land large enough to accommodate all the bands who arrived. They built an "arch of triumph" and hung it with Venetian or Chinese lanterns; they placed a throne beneath the arch for the Bishop, and organized a place for each visiting chief and his band. At the beginning of the festivities a group of "élite" young men from each tribe was chosen to ride ahead of the Bishop's carriage from the Mission

house to the reserve. A volley of rifles was fired as the Bishop reached Sugar Cane and, after he was seated ceremoniously on the throne and greeted by the chiefs, an address was read by an Indian. Hymns and solemn benediction followed.

During the following six days the Indians followed strict procedures. A bell awoke everyone at 5:00 a.m. Morning prayers began at six and were followed by a few minutes of silence, a hymn and Mass. After breakfast a "grand session" was held. In these sessions, wrote Father LeJacq, all things were arranged: abuses were corrected; delinquents were censured; differences were "terminated"; the catechism was explained and new hymns were practised. In the late afternoon, prayers and hymns were followed by benediction and a second "grand session." To ensure that everyone attended the services, and because the weather was "tropically hot . . . and the limpid water of Williams Lake glistening in the sun . . . was, for a few, a temptation," Bishop Durieu posted watchmen "equipped with their notebooks and pencils" to watch for those who succumbed to temptation. In the evening "a list of all delinquents, in stenographic letters, was tacked on His Lordship's door." All retired at ten o'clock and watchmen were posted to enforce the curfew.

As well as reinforcing the Durieu system among the Indian bands of Cariboo, the Bishop used the mission at Sugar Cane as an opportunity to inaugurate his Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia in St. Joseph's Mission district.[61] The Society with the Bishop as president, was a "regular association" with a constitution, regulations and statutes; "in consequence it enjoyed before the law all the

rights and privileges of such associations." The Bishop wished to establish the Society in every Indian village, and the chief--that is the chief recognized by the Church--was made the local president of his branch of the Society. As the local president, the chief was empowered, "without being subject to arrest and prosecution, [even if he broke certain laws] to maintain order and discipline among the Indians and members of the said society." The stress placed here by Father LeJacq on the ability of the chief to control his Indians "within the law" resulted from a blow delivered to the Durieu System in 1892 when an Oblate priest, along with a group of Lillooet Indians, was arrested and tried by a local magistrate for the whipping of an Indian girl.

It has been previously noted that public confession and punishment for wrong-doing was part of Durieu's system. For severe offences a whip was sometimes used. The question of whether or not public whipping was part of tribal law before the arrival of the missionaries is open to conjecture[62]; it was administered, however, with the knowledge and consent of the priests for such serious sins as adultery and drunkenness. On March 29, 1892, Father Chirouse, an Indian Chief, Kilapoutkui of the Lillooets, and two Indians were charged with inflicting grievious bodily harm on Lucy, a seventeen year old Indian girl. The priest was not present at the whipping. He had been consulted and suggested that the girl receive fifteen lashes for an unspecified sexual offence. After the priest left the village, the Chief ordered a further fifteen lashes be administered.[63] The priest and the Indians were found guilty by the local magistrate and given prison sentences. Bishop Durieu appealed to the Governor General who,

"after having taken knowledge of the documents furnished by Bishop Durieu, granted Father Chirouse and his companions in misfortune a total remission of the sentence inflicted by the judge of Lillooet."[64] In light of this event and the publicity it generated, Bishop Durieu felt it necessary to establish a totally "legal"[65] organization within each band--one that would be encouraged by white society, one that would give the Chief the same powers as before, yet one within which the Church still could maintain control.

Father LeJacq explained fully how the Society was set up and operated.[66] The ten chiefs present at Sugar Cane were instructed to stand near the Bishop at the side of the altar, around which ten temperance flags were draped. The Bishop addressed all the Indians but particularly the chiefs:

> 'You hate drink,' he said to them, 'but the heart of man is inconsistent especially the heart of the Indian. To aid you to persevere in your good sentiments you are going to be joined together to form a society.'

The Bishop then explained the constitution and the statutes; "he indicated the way wherein to exercise control in their villages without leaving themselves open to prosecution in court"and without exposing themselves "to the pesterings of bad whites." After the Indians had sworn to give up drink, to obey the statutes of the Temperance Society and to submit to the penances given by the Chiefs if they failed to keep their pledge, Durieu presented each Chief with a temperance flag. He also promised to send to each village a register containing the Society's statutes, which everyone had to sign. This register was to be deposited at the foot of the altar so that every time the Indians entered the Church they would be reminded of their vow to abstain from

drink.

Having both superintended a religious revival among the Shuswaps and Lower Carriers and established the Temperance Society in Cariboo, Bishop Durieu further strengthened the role of St. Joseph's as an Indian mission by establishing there the first Indian novitiate.[67] In May 1897, four Indian girls from the Stalo tribe of the Fraser Valley arrived at St. Joseph's. They had been educated at St. Mary's Mission by the Sisters of St. Ann and desired to become teaching nuns. The Bishop arranged for the Sisters of the Child Jesus at St. Joseph's to accept the girls for their six months probationary period. During that time Sister Lumina, who was appointed their novice mistress, studied the sincerity of the girls' interest in religious life, and their physical, mental and spiritual fitness. "They were good girls" wrote Father Thomas to Father George Forbes, "but I suppose that they were lonesome and they persevered only five or six months and then went home to their reserves." Six years later a Shuswap girl completed her novitiate and was sent to a convent in North Battleford. Although she "persevered" until her death approximately ten years later, Father Thomas concluded that "she was perhaps not as happy in religious life as a white girl might have been."[68] Despite its failure, the novitiate was a mark of the Bishop's confidence in the spiritual progress of the Indians.

In the same month that he opened the novitiate, the Bishop appointed Father Thomas as Indian missionary to St. Joseph's. Young, energetic, Durieu-trained and totally devoted to the Bishop and his system for Indian conversion, Father Thomas was well-suited to the task of perpetuating the revival of Indian interest in the Catholic religion.

When Father Thomas arrived at St. Joseph's, Father LeJacq[69] was the superior and principal of the Indian school while Father Dominic Chiappini was bursar and had charge of the farm/ranch. Consequently, Father Thomas was assigned to attend the Shuswaps, Carriers and Chilcotins. Numerically, with regard to Indian work, nothing had changed. In Father Thomas however, Paul Durieu had found a man like himself; for sixty years the missionary followed the Bishop's system faithfully and strictly, and "deviated from certain parts only when this became necessary."[70] He was to put the fear as well as the love of God into Cariboo's Indians, and the Indians responded well to his efforts.

Two examples of this response reveal Father Thomas' devotion to Durieu's system, in its original unmodified form.[71] The Elgatcho Indians were Carriers who were not within the geographical boundary of St. Joseph's Mission. Father Morice however had visited them in 1884 and Father Marchal saw them in 1896. These visits had been brief; the priests taught a few prayers and baptized infants and adults "in danger of death." In 1899, when Father Thomas was on his way to visit the Chilcotin bands, some Elgatcho Indians "came a considerable distance" to ask the priest to baptize a young woman who was dying in their village. Father Thomas obliged them and the following year he returned to the village where he "organized the camp according to Bishop Durieu's method." He appointed "a chief for church affairs, Captains and other leaders to preside at the prayers said in public and a Watchman to attend to the good order of the village." During Father Thomas' visit a regular mission was held, attended by Indians from Kluskuz Lake and Ootsa Lake. These visiting Indians taught the Elgatcho their prayers

while Father Thomas "taught the Chief, Captains and Watchmen their duties."[72]

The second example of Father Thomas' use of the Durieu system involves the Chilcotin Indians. As has been noted, these Indians were the most resistant, not only to missionaries but to white people in general. The passing of the years had not softened their independent attitude. In 1880 there was a confrontation between Chilcotin Chief Anaham, "a man of great intelligence and authority,"[73] and a government survey party led by Peter O'Reilly--a man who was appointed Indian reserve commissioner although "the Indians had made strong complaints about nearly every reserve that he laid out as a magistrate during the colonial period."[74] O'Reilly set the limits of a reserve for Anaham but these did not include the Indians' meadows. After a discussion, when O'Reilly refused to make the necessary changes, Chief Anaham said to him, "'I will give you my last word. No whiteman will ever cut hay in these meadows.'" O'Reilly, his officers and policemen returned to their camp. In the morning O'Reilly sent a messenger asking the Chief to come to see him. Anaham told the messenger that the commissioner must come to him as Chief Anaham had given his final word the previous evening. O'Reilly returned to the Chief's camp and "gave Anaham the village its surroundings and the distant meadows."[75] In 1880, the Chilcotin had lost none of their spirit.

In 1873, Father McGuckin had understated the situation when he reported that Christianizing the Chilcotins would be "a little slow" but certain. Father Chiappini, who had tried to convert them for several years felt sure the Chilcotins "had let Redemption pass." Even the

indomitable Father LeJacq felt that Father Thomas would "never accomplish anything."[76] And, in spite of Father Morice's successful attempt to procure land for a Chilcotin band,[77] they resisted his missionary efforts.[78] When Father Thomas paid his first visit to the Anaham village in 1897, he found that while "a good number of them led excellent lives, . . . the majority indulged in superstitious practices and a certain number of the women, most of them still pagan, cohabited with white men." To correct these 'faults,' Father Thomas spent six or seven days among them and organized them according to Durieu's system. The watchmen and policemen that Father Thomas appointed did more than watch over village morality. They brought back to the village "even from great distances," the women living with whitemen; when necessary they would bring them back a second or third time. "These women were finally converted," wrote Father Thomas, "induced to return to their villages with their half-breed children and, after the customary year of probation, were baptized." The village of the Anaham band became a regular mission centre for the Chilcotins and Father Thomas was forced to give "two 5 or 6 days missions at Anaham because so many Indians came."[79]

Although these Indians responded well to Father Thomas and many, after proof had been provided that they had given up their old ways, were baptized, Father Thomas' work did not end there. Under the Durieu system baptism was not regarded as proof of conversion, because the Bishop recognized the possibility of Indian self-interest motivating the desire for baptism. As he wrote to Father LeJacq:

> To a missionary who finds this work of continually watching and destroying, too crude and humiliating, experience teaches

> that without it the result is pagans whitewashed by baptism, continuing to live as they lived of old, cloaking their evil lives under the mantle of religious hypocrisy! It is a truism that the Indian quickly brings his religion in accord with actions that flatter his self-interest and passion . . . the Indians although baptized, saying their prayers, and even confessing, very often retain within their hearts pagan ideas and maxims which will often be the norm of their daily actions.[80]

In a second letter to LeJacq, Durieu went on at length and in great detail to explain the methods by which the missionary, after instilling in the Indians "a salutary fear of God and of disobedience to His law," could fire the Indians hearts "with the fear and trembling that is in every true Christian heart as often as they approach the sacrament [of Holy Communion]." Indians wishing to receive this sacrament had to ask the missionary formally; they then underwent a year or more of probation during which time they were watched over, instructed, tested, and reprimanded by an Indian watchman especially chosen for this work who was known as "the watchman of Jesus Christ!" During the years of preparation--the actual time period was decided by the zeal of the candidate--the Indians had to show their respect and love for Jesus Christ by frequent visits to the Church, by constant "assistance" at all the religious exercises, catechism and prayers, during and outside the time of regular missions, by guarding themselves against temptation to sin, and by putting their trust in their appointed watchman, "seeking him out and lovingly practising his recommendations."[81]

The above are just a few of the measures that Durieu insisted upon before the Indians could receive communion. Father Thomas followed Durieu's plan to the letter. Consequently, thirteen years passed from the time that he first organized the Chilcotins of Anaham village until

Father Thomas gave Communion to the first Indians of this band--three adults and four children. From that time on, however, the numbers increased yearly and other Chilcotin villages began to present themselves as candidates for the sacrament. According to Father Thomas this was the "Golden Age at Anaham and in the other Chilcotin reserves." As proof of Indian response to Father Thomas' efforts, the number of Communions distributed "by the indefatigable Father Thomas" in St. Joseph's district had risen from 600 in 1898, to four thousand yearly by 1918.[83]

Another measure of Father Thomas' success can be found in the attitude of the Indians towards church-building. As noted earlier, the Sechelt festival had created a spirit akin to religious revival among many of Cariboo's Shuswap and Carrier tribes. New churches were built and old ones replaced. Father Thomas encouraged the Indians to continue this pattern and, in addition, to build a cabin for the priest so that he no longer had to share the Chief's cabin.[84] The Oblate began his Indian church-building among the Shuswaps of Canoe Creek. The old church was in such a state that "the snow and wind blew in between the logs." Father Thomas needed $2,500 to raise a new church and a cabin. Before calling a general meeting of the whole village to discuss the issue, the priest "spoke confidentially to the more sensible Indians and . . . went personally to one who had great influence and was fairly well off but entirely opposed to the building of the church." Having disarmed the opposition, Father Thomas succeeded in persuading all the men to donate $25 each towards the church and each woman promised a $5.00 donation. After negotiations for a carpenter were completed, the

Canoe Creek Indians sent a delegation to their friends at Canim Lake to ask permission to trap on their hunting ground; not only was the permission granted but a number of Canim Lake Indians helped in the trapping. The Indians decided that all the animals, which they had trapped, except those caught during the last two weeks, would be sold for the benefit of the church. They repeated this procedure the following year and raised enough money for both buildings.[85]

In 1902, Bishop Augustine Dontenwill, who succeeded to the Vicariate on the death of Durieu in 1899, and Fathers LeJeune, Chirouse and LeJacq, officiated at the blessing which had all the pomp and pageantry of previous events. A huge cross carried by eight Indians was erected, there was a torchlight procession of the Blessed Sacrament, and processions in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. During the ceremonies, the Bishop confirmed fifty Indians.[86] The mission closed with a General Communion, then "everybody shook hands with everybody else and, full of happiness and legitimate pride at the success of the religious gathering the eight hundred . . . returned home."[87]

The new churches built on the other reservations were financed, erected and blessed in the same way--"except for the fact that, as time went on, the ceremonies and religious celebrations may have been a little more elaborate." By 1923, the Indians financed a new church at Anaham; by selling horses to their fur-trapping neighbours the Elgatcho whose horses had been killed "by a severe winter and lack of hay," the church was furnished with "a beautiful confessional which came from Vancouver at a cost of $120.00, a beautiful altar railing, statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph, a beautiful sanctuary lamp and a

nice holy water font"; and the whole ceremony was an imitation of Bishop Durieu's ceremonies at the blessing of the Sugar Cane church in 1895.[88] The "revival" spirit was being maintained.

Because circumstances and personalities had decreed that St. Joseph's Mission for the Indians of Cariboo should develop in other ways, the spiritual welfare of the Indians was for many years neglected. While some attempts were made to overcome the personnel problems and the Mission took an interest in Indian social welfare, Indian interest in Catholicism had either wavered or completely vanished by the 1880's. The Mission was "re-born" in the 1890's, however, when Bishop Paul Durieu, through the appeal of his elaborate, Indian-participating ceremonials re-captured the interest of Cariboo's Indians; by sending Father Thomas, his devoted follower, to St. Joseph's, the Bishop ensured the continuation of that interest. The Bishop's plans however were not limited to stimulating Indian fervour in the various bands throughout St. Joseph's Mission district. He also intended to make good the promise extended to the Indians at the inception of the Mission--the promise to educate their children.

Footnotes

[1]LeJacq to the Superior General, October 25, 1895, Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[2]After 1873, Father McGuckin undertook missionary journeys only when pressured to do so as his work as School principal, Oblate Superior, and administrator of the ranch occupied all his time.

[3]In 1860, an act was passed to prohibit the sale of alcohol to Indians. However, according to the British Colonist, March 8, 1860, selling liquor to the Indians was a profitable business in Victoria.

[4]LeJacq to the Superior General, October 25, 1895, Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[5]Paul Durieu had been made co-adjutor in 1875 because of D'herbomez's ill health.

[6]Father Marchal submitted a detailed report to Durieu of a visit to the Sechelts, January 15, 1872. The report contains first-hand information on the potlatch given by William, "Chief of the Kaumalko" [sic] to which the Chilcotin were invited. Microfilm, U.B.C.

[7]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 9, 1875, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[8]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 1, 1875, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[9]The Indians did not reject Christianity. Like the Chiefs at Nanaimo who wanted the Methodist missionaries to allow them to continue their dances and continue to attend the church, the Shuswap wanted to combine the old and the new. Thomas Crosby, Among the Am-ko-me-nums or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast, Toronto, 1907, pp. 104-5.

[10]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 4, 1876, Microfilm, U.B.C. Father Morice made the following observation with regard to giving rules to the Indians: "Once given that decision cannot be repealed, once out, that order must ever stand good under pain of suggesting either indecision, therefore weakness or even ignorance which, in a superior would do away with all respect on the part of the inferior. A man who can make a mistake has no right to command according to the Indians." Morice, Fifty Years in Western Canada, Toronto, 1930, p. 48.

[11]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 7, 1876, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[12]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 17, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[13]McGuckin to D'herbomez, January 6, 1877, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[14]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 17, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[15]LeJacq to the Superior General, October 25, 1895, Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[16]Memoirs, p. 18.

[17]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 29, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[18]McGuckin to D'herbomez, May 7, 1876, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[19]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 3, 1879, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[20]LeJacq to the Superior General, October 25, 1895, Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[21]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 3, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[22]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 17, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[23]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 7, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[24]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 17, 1873. This was a difficulty that was never resolved.

[25]Ibid.

[26]According to Father McGuckin, Mr. Smith had been commissioned by the federal government to find out all information possible regarding the Indians of British Columbia.

[27]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 29, 1874. It is not clear here whether the priest is referring to all the Indians of the Mission district, all Catholic Indians, or the specific band of Shuswap encamped near the Mission.

[28]D'herbomez to Father McGuckin, July 16, 1874, D'herbomez to Father Baudre, April 15, 1874. Dossier D'herbomez, File No. G-LPP, 1435, Folio 15, 16, Oblate General Archives, Rome.

[29]James Lenihan's appointment as superintendent was difficult to understand; a Toronto businessman, he was totally unfamiliar with the Indians of the province. On the unsuitability of Lenihan and the government appointees, both federal and provincial, see Fisher, Contact and Conflict, Chapter 7.

[30]Powell met McGuckin in June 1874 "on the road to Boston Bar," and re-iterated his desire for an early meeting with Cariboo's Indians.

[31]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 25, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[32]McGuckin to D'herbomez, August 29, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[33]McGuckin to D'herbomez, September 3, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[34]McGuckin to Lenihan, August 23, 1877, Miscellaneous Box 17, Legislative Library, Victoria.

[35]McGuckin to D'herbomez, October 7, 1877, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[36]McGuckin to Lenihan, February 14, 1878, Microfilm B-292, C10119, P.A.B.C.

[37]McGuckin to Lenihan, April 10, 1878, Microfilm B-292, C10119, P.A.B.C.

[38]McGuckin claimed to have had no part in writing the letter, although Mr. Kelly, who wrote what the Chief dictated, was employed as a teacher at St. Joseph's boys' school.

[39]McGuckin to D'herbomez, November 22, 1879, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[40]McGuckin to Lenihan, November 22, 1879, Microfilm B-292, C10119, P.A.B.C. Lenihan sent a telegram to the federal government Indian Commissioner, L. Vankoughnet in Ottawa: "Father McGuckin collaborates statement condition Indians on Williams Lake district would recommend immediate relief."

[41]Vankoughnet recommended that the Indians be made to work for the relief sent.

[42]In his Memoirs, Father Thomas tells how an Indian, "the father of Baptiste Kra-al, because the snow was so deep, got his snowshoes caught in the branches of a snow-covered fir tree and hung there for two hours or so until released by another hunter." Father McGuckin and McKinley used this incident to pressure the government to provide more land for this band of Indians.

[43]Father McGuckin was opposed to following the lead of Protestants and suggested that the Catholic Bishops present their own petition.

[44]McGuckin to D'herbomez, July 25, 1874, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[45]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 18, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C. Father McGuckin expressed concern that the Indians' present mode of punishment was "too rigorous"--he does not explain what this method was. In the Williams Lake Agency Report for 1884, the Indian Agent noted that the Indian Chiefs in his agency were very concerned about the effect of alcohol on their people, and were troubled by the growing loss of their influence upon their people in respect to temperance. Sessional Papers (No. 3), A1885.

[46]It is not clear who recommended moving Father Marchal. Father McGuckin addressed himself to D'herbomez on the question of new personnel, yet, as Vicar of Missions, Durieu had authority in this respect also.

[47]Both Father Grandidier and Guertin made a number of visits to the Indians.

[48]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 13, 1881, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[49]Father McGuckin became parish priest at the Holy Rosary parish in Vancouver; later he was made bursar of Ottawa University. He did not return to Indian mission work.

[50]Father Morice to Father Tatin, September 5, 1883, Missions 1883, pp. 350-374.

[51]This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

[52]In a letter to his family written in November 1887, Father LeJacq explained how Father LeJeune, missionary at Kamloops, had obtained special rates from railway officials for Indians attending these reunions.

[53]LeJacq to Superior General, October 21, 1895, Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[54]The expression "he understood the Indians" occurs in Lardon's Manuscript, Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, LeJacq's correspondence, Father Thomas' Memoirs, and in a number of articles on Durieu that are written up in the Missions.

[55]Fisher, Contact and Conflict, p. 127.

[56]John Veillette and Gary White, Early Indian Village Churches, Vancouver, 1977.

[57]Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 174.

[58]LeJacq to Superior General, October 21, 1895. Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[59]The total number of Indians in Sugar Cane Reserve was 150 according to LeJacq.

[60]All the information in the following paragraphs regarding this event are to be found in LeJacq to Superior General, October 21, 1895.

[61]See Appendix IV.

[62]The missionaries made some interesting observations on the use of corporal punishment among the Indians. Writing to the Bishop on

November 10, 1873, Father McGuckin stated: "Judge Begbie gave Foster and the people of Clinton good advice to interfere no more between the Indian Chiefs and their subjects and told the Clinton Chief to punish his people as he was accustomed to do when they misbehaved. He gave the Chief a paper authorizing him to do so and sent a copy of it to Dr. Foster. I spoke to Begbie and Walkem of this matter . . . Walkem is most anxious to see the Indian Chiefs use the whip in earnest. It is likely he will try to have a law passed in the coming Session of the Assembly on this subject."; (George Walkem was premier of British Columbia from February 1874 to January 1876 and from June 1878 to June 1882--Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Vancouver, 1958). Father (later Bishop) E. M. Bunoz wrote in a report to his Superiors in Rome published in Petite Annals 1893, Vol. 31: "The Chief was absolutely in his rights. From time immemorial the laws and customs of the Indians gave to the Chief, aided by his council, the authority of the legislature, and by that granting to him the right of giving sanction to the law by punishment of offences. To the eyes of the Indian these are sacred rights."; Father LeJacq wrote in his detailed letter to the Superior General, October 25, 1895: "Down to recent years, the Chief was enjoying . . . a certain power of repression. He had power to punish severely. The Indian practice [gave] him the right to lash, handcuff, condemn, to fine, to lock up, to fasting etc. . . . Consequently he was feared and as fear is the beginning of wisdom, it meant the reign of order and discipline. Though in the eyes of the government this was an anomoly, still in need of the good resulting, it tolerated it, allowed it go on, in spite of the frequent reclamations suggested by malevolence and bigotry"; Father Morice, Fifty Years in Western Canada, p. 27, remarks: "The captains are the ministers of the whip which they administer to those who ask for it or are condemned to receive it by the chief acting as lay magistrate."

[63]"Report of Father Bunoz" Petite Annals 1893; testimony given at the trial by the Chief and Indians accused affirms this.

[64]Ibid.; these documents could have been those signed by Begbie to which McGuckin referred in 1873.

[65]There is no evidence in the Government Gazette for the years 1892-1896 that Durieu did in fact apply for the incorporation of his Society. Research among the relevant D.I.A. Files in Ottawa also failed to produce evidence of the Society's legality.

[66]The information in the following paragraphs are taken from LeJacq's letter to the Superior General, October 21, 1895. Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[67]A novitiate was where young girls (or young men) spent a probationary period preparing for admittance into a religious order. On February 27, 1896, Bishop Durieu wrote to his nephew: "J'ai une jeune fille sauvage de 19 ans qui brûle du desir de se consacrer à Dieu." Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 193.

[68]Father Thomas to Father Forbes, February 1956, Uncatalogued Manuscript, O.A. Vancouver.

[69]Father LeJacq was an ailing man when he returned to St. Joseph's; he died in 1899.

[70]Father George Forbes, March 30, 1957 to unknown subject. Possibly an allusion to corporal punishment. Uncatalogued Documents, Cariboo Indian School, Williams Lake, British Columbia.

[71]Throughout his Memoirs, Father Thomas refers constantly to the "Durieu System" but mentions a Temperance Society only once and the reference is obscure in that the reader is unsure whether the Oblate is referring to a Temperance Society for whites or Indians.

[72]Memoirs, p. 30. In 1885, Father Morice visited the Kluskuz Indians and "put up in their midst that so useful organization to be seen in all Catholic villages: chief, captain, watchmen and soldiers." Fifty Years in Western Canada, p. 35.

[73]Memoirs, p. 37.

[74]Fisher, Contact and Conflict, p. 199.

[75]Memoirs, p. 37. Father Thomas is passing on 'oral' history. This and many stories given in his Memoirs were told to him by Indians, settlers, government officials and missionaries. In the Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Indian Branch, Ottawa, January 28, 1895, Sessional Papers No. 8: "I am informed that the Chilcotin Indians have staked out a large tract of land in the Chilcotin Valley and declared that it should not be encroached upon by the whiteman . . . great prudence should be exercised in dealing with them."; on July 6, 1897, Franz Boaz, noted ethnologist, wrote to his wife that he found the Chilcotin "very contrary and hard to handle." Ronald P. Rohner, The Ethnology of Franz Boaz, Chicago, 1967, p. 208.

[76]Memoirs, p. 35.

[77]Father Thomas was told by a Mr. Norman Lee, a rancher, that Father Morice had raced to 150 Mile House to pre-empt some land before another man could do so. Father Morice then handed over his claim to the Indians. Memoirs, p. 37.

[78]Father Morice suggested that the Fraser River was a barrier to work among the Chilcotin. "Le Fraser . . . a certaines epoques, est pour le Missionaire comme un barriere infranchissable." Missions 1883, p. 356. Father Thomas however did not let any season prevent him from visiting the Chilcotins. In winter he crossed the river on ice, in the spring run-off by horse and by boat--perilous journeys, but possible.

[79]Memoirs, p. 40.

[80]Paul Durieu to Father LeJacq, November 27, 1883, File No. HE 1791, D96C, A.D., Ottawa.

[81]Paul Durieu to Father LeJacq, February 25, 1884, File No. HE 1791, D96C, A.D., Ottawa. The Report of the Vicariate for 1898 stated: "The Indian Catechists stationed in each village . . . have succeeded in instilling into the hearts of these good people a great spirit of religious piety."

[82]Memoirs, p. 42. Father Thomas stresses the fact that the Indians were not drinking alcohol during this period.

[83]Reports of the Vicariate of British Columbia for the years 1898 and 1918. In 1918, Father Thomas was caring for 1,400 Indians plus "500 whites or halfbreeds." It must be noted that until quite recently, communion could be received once a week only.

[84]Father Thomas had "no personal objection to sleeping in an Indian cabin or under a tree" but as many Indians came to the priest with private problems, he felt the need for a private place.

[85]Memoirs, pp. 22-24. It is interesting to note that, in 1884, the local Indian Agent considered the Canoe Creek band "the least promising tribe" in his agency, "there being some among them who are prevented only by fear of the law from being troublesome." Sessional Papers (No. 3) A 1885.

[86]These confirmations are indicative of the religious progress among the Indians of St. Joseph's Mission district.

[87]Memoirs, p. 25.

[88]Ibid., p. 43. By 1920, the Indians of Cariboo were paying the travelling expenses of the missionaries--even for passage on the P.G.E. railway.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN EDUCATION: PERSEVERANCE IN ADVERSITY AT ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION

Where St. Joseph's Mission in the 1880's had witnessed the end of white parochial education, the 1890's saw the beginnings of Indian education. In 1891, at the instigation of Bishop Durieu, St. Joseph's opened an Indian Residential Industrial School under the direction of the Oblates. Paul Durieu had always seen the necessity for Indian schools at the Mission. Moreover, he had observed as a member of the staff the success of the Indian Residential Industrial Schools which had been opened for boys and girls at St. Mary's Mission in 1867 and 1870 respectively.[1] Confident that the concept of the Residential School answered the purpose of the Order and ensured a sound Catholic and 'civilizing' education for the Indians,[2] the Oblates, under Durieu's direction, opened a government-supported Indian Residential School at Cranbrook in 1889, and a second at Kamloops in 1890. St. Joseph's became the fourth such school under the direction of the Oblates, who used their own land and buildings for it. This condition of their contract with the federal government added a financial burden to the diverse and recurring problems of the Mission school: personnel difficulties, a lack of adequate government support, the hostility of whites towards the school, and most significantly, the fundamentally negative attitude of the Indians. From 1890 to 1964--when the federal government finally took over the school--these problems, with the exception of personnel difficulties which were resolved by 1902, plagued

the Oblates at St. Joseph's. Nevertheless, the Oblates persevered in order to ensure a Catholic education for Catholic Indians. This perseverance, a byword of religious orders, had kept the idea of Indian education alive at the Mission during the years in which white education was given priority.

By the late 1870's many Indian bands in the interior, particularly the Shuswap, had been exposed for a number of years to encroaching white 'civilization.' At St. Joseph's, Father McGuckin became concerned that this protracted contact would damage the Indians' belief in their newly-accepted religion. Confronted with the probability that a large population would arrive in Cariboo within a year or two "because of developing mining activities," the priest voiced his concern to the Bishop. The time had come to establish schools for the Indians both at St. Joseph's and at Stuart Lake where mining activities had recently commenced. The Oblate Superior saw in religious education a way for the Indians to retain "their original simplicity" in the face of advancing and corrupting white society. Because of the decline in missionary endeavour many Indian children were not being taught their new religion at home and consequently a boarding school was absolutely necessary to protect the children from the "evils" that would soon confront them.[3] When the Bishop suggested opening day-schools for the Indian children of Cariboo, Stuart Lake and Kamloops, Father McGuckin instantly demurred. Unless the Bishop provided new school buildings and, more importantly, "good, competent teachers," day schools would fail.[4] When, in the spring of 1880, the Oblate Superior heard that Bishop D'herbomez was opening a school for white girls at

Kamloops under the direction of the Sisters of St. Ann, he formulated a plan to answer the question of Indian education in Cariboo.

Father McGuckin began his lengthy exposition[4] by reminding the Bishop that in the four mission districts in the interior the Indian children were without a single school. The children of Stuart Lake were "safe enough" as they were receiving considerable instruction in their religious duties from Fathers LeJacq and Blanchet. By contrast, the children of Cariboo and the Okanagan region were growing up "without instructions and without Sacraments." Continuing to press his case, the Oblate warned that Indians who had grown up lacking religious instruction were "advancing rapidly every day in the pride, indifference, and vices of their heretical and infidel neighbours." Returning here to a familiar theme, Father McGuckin reminded the Bishop that the Oblates in Cariboo had so far been "little troubled with heretical Ministers--but let them come(?)" he added ominously. If nothing was done to instruct young Indian people, the Church would lose them. Having presented the problem, Father McGuckin turned to the solution.

Following a pattern of segregation established by both the Oblates and the Sisters of St. Ann at New Westminster[5] (and by the Sisters on Vancouver Island), Father McGuckin suggested that the white and métis children attend schools at Kamloops while the Indian children attended school at the Mission. The Mission had resources which, if added to a government grant and managed well, could support one hundred Indian children "judiciously chosen from the various Indian Villages." The Oblate Superior was convinced that "with God's help" the children, "when thoroughly instructed and trained in their necessary duties,"

would be the means of restoring the Indians of Cariboo to the Catholic Church. Although the consistent concern of Father McGuckin was the spiritual neglect of Indian children, the entrepreneur in him could not resist adding that the arrangement he suggested would secure the education both of whites and Indians without incurring a great deal of additional expense.

Despite its apparent logic, this plan was not implemented. In 1886 and 1888 respectively, St. Joseph's lost its function as a centre of education for white boys and girls. After the boys' school at Kamloops opened in 1880 the numbers at St. Joseph's declined until it was closed in 1886. The remaining boys were sent either to Kamloops or to St. Louis College in New Westminster. The Sisters of St. Ann remained for two years more maintaining between twenty and thirty girls, many of whom were orphans living on the Sisters' charity, or children of financially troubled farmers and ranchers who were behind in their payments. As the Sisters' debt increased, they were forced to accept only paying pupils but their schools at Kamloops, Victoria and New Westminster already provided adequate places for such girls. On May 26, 1888, the Sisters' General Council meeting in Lachine resolved to close the girls' school at Williams Lake[6] until the population increased.[7] With white education at an end, the way was now open for the commencement of Indian school.

In the spring of 1890 Bishop Durieu wrote to Francis James Barnard, M.P. for Yale-Cariboo district,[8] on the subject of the desirability of an Indian Industrial and boarding school at William's Lake.

Durieu explained:

> The Indians are now compelled to fall back upon the land for their support.[9] But being untrained they are unable to derive a real advantage from the cultivation of their land and the rearing of cattle. Whence it happens that every year we find so many destitute amongst them. How great a boon an industrial and Boarding school would be both to the young Indians and their parents who would benefit by the knowledge acquired by their children after their return to the Reserve.

The Bishop suggested that the best place for such an establishment was St. Joseph's Mission as the mission site was in fact selected "so as to be fitted for an Industrial School for Indians . . ."[10]

In recommending that education combined with agricultural training would 'civilize' the Indians and help them to cope with their new situation, Paul Durieu was re-iterating a point of view that had been held in North America since at least 1743.[11] In 1743, an American missionary, the Reverend John Sergeant, had suggested that Indian educational institutions should divide the Indians' time "between Study and Labour as to make one the Diversion of the other . . . A farm attached to the institutions would both provide the place to labour and sustain the scholars."[12] In 1819, the American Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, established a fund for Indian education but supported "only those endeavours which stressed agriculture and 'mechanical arts' for boys and spinning, weaving, and sewing for girls."[13] In 1803 the Presbyterian General Assembly supported a school among the Cherokees where Indian children were used "to light up beacons by which the parents might gradually be conducted into the same field of improvement."[14]

In Canada the theory that the Indians would benefit by

education and agricultural knowledge was followed with equal determination.[15] In 1676, on the site of present day Montreal, the Sulpicians established an industrial school for the Indians. Methodist missionaries in the 1820's and 1830's demonstrated the arts of cultivation to the Indians; the "manual labour schools at Alderville and Muncey were intended to teach the children farming and model farms were attached to the schools."[16] In 1847, G. Vardon, then Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs asked Dr. Egerton Ryerson for his suggestions "as to the best method of establishing and conducting industrial schools for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian tribes."[17] Ryerson replied:

> in respect to intellectual training . . . give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic . . . but in addition to this, pupils of the industrial schools are to be taught agriculture, kitchen gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements.[18]

In the same vein, Paul Durieu wrote to Bernard that "the [Indian] girls would be instructed in the management of a dairy as well as in every other branch of housekeeping; whilst the boys could be instructed in everything pertaining to the business of the farm, so as to fit them for management of their own farms hereafter."[19]

After examining the Mission property in December 1890, Indian Agent, William L. Meason, reported to his superior in Victoria, Federal Indian Superintendent, A. G. Vowell, that the site was "sufficiently isolated" from the nearest settlement and wagon road.[20] Since in a further report,[21] Meason again stressed the suitability of the locale in terms of its isolation, the Department of Indian Affairs obviously subscribed to the notion that segregation from populated areas was

desirable. In February 1891, Meason inquired under what terms Durieu would sell the two school buildings to the Department. The Bishop regretted that he could sell only the building occupied formerly by the Sisters of St. Ann plus approximately twelve acres of land adjoining the school,[22] but submitted "another proposition" whereby the Church would operate the proposed schools:

> I propose to use all the buildings of St. Joseph's for the Industrial School, and undertake to manage and run it with the Rev. Fathers and the Sisters of Charity[23] for the capitation grant of $130 per annum for each Indian pupil if allowance is made the first year for fifty children. We will give them board, clothing, care, education and training in two or three trades, the Government being at no further expense than the capitation grant.[24]

The Department of Indian Affairs soon accepted this generous offer.[25]

The first problem that the Oblates encountered, and one which they overcame, was the difficulty of obtaining competent Catholic staff. Bishop Durieu expected that the Sisters of St. Ann would provide staff for the schools, particularly in light of Sister Mary Infant Jesus' letter promising the return of the Sisters to St. Joseph's as soon as the number of children increased. In April 1890, the Sisters accepted his offer to run the Kamloops Indian Residential School which was temporarily under the direction of lay personnel. Writing to express his happiness at their decision, he took the opportunity to inform the Sisters that the federal government had "made it almost certain" that St. Joseph's would be chosen for an Industrial School; he asked about their plans to return there.[26] The Sisters of St. Ann, however, were "very hard pressed to answer the needs of existing work" and refused to consider a new undertaking within the next two years.[27] Since Bishop

Durieu was not prepared to wait, he began proceedings to buy back the Sisters' property at St. Joseph's[28] and opened negotiations with the Sisters of Providence in Oregon. After agreeing to take up the new work[29] the Sisters of Providence decided, in November, 1891, they could not take on the responsibility of "l'Ecole industrielle des filles sauvages à Williams Lake."[30] The religious orders were apparently having difficulty keeping up with the demand for their services in the expanding communities of the West. In order to open the girls' school as soon as possible, Bishop Durieu hired lay people until he could find an order of nuns for the work. On July 14, 1891, Durieu wrote to Vowell: "We are ready to open the Industrial School at Williams Lake."[31]

According to the contract between the Oblates and the Indian Department, the Bishop was obliged to provide properly qualified teachers for both schools at the Mission. At the girls' school, and as a temporary measure only, the Council installed "une bonne institutrice catholique" who had "les qualités et la volonté de se charger de cette oeuvre"[32]; Durieu was still determined to have a religious order for his schools. In 1893, after attending a General Chapter of the Congregation in France, Durieu went to his home in Puy where he visited the Sisters of the Child Jesus.[33] Two years later he asked the Superior General of the Order for some Sisters to work in his diocese.[34] In the spring of 1896, in answer to his request, four Sisters of the Child Jesus, Sister Aimee, who was made Superior, and Sisters Euphrasia, Fabian and Felician, all of whom "had begged to come to the West of Canada,"[35] arrived in British Columbia. The Bishop accompanied the nuns

to Williams Lake where "un grand nombre de Sauvages attendait les Soeurs à la Mission pour leur souhaiter la bienvenue."[36]

While Paul Durieu could count himself fortunate to have the Sisters of the Child Jesus for the girls' school, he and his successors had a great deal of misfortune in securing staff for the boys. Durieu did not want a repetition of past years when so many Oblates at St. Joseph's were living their lives as school teachers. He wanted an Oblate principal but he wanted to use lay people as teachers and disciplinarians. The problem was getting reliable Catholic male teachers to come to the wilderness area of Williams Lake. As Bishop Dontenwill, Durieu's successor, wrote to Vowell:

> We have to labour under heavy odds in a district which is hard and expensive to reach and in which a man accustomed to the social conditions elsewhere finds it still harder to live. Hence when a young man has realized a little money, he returns to civilization.[37]

The temptation to drink was often irresistable in isolated areas, and frontier schools attracted men of uncertain character. The Residential School at St. Joseph's was no exception; finding men of good character willing to work with the Indian children at the Mission was an impossible task.

The school was open for a year before the Bishop found a "suitable" blacksmith or carpenter to teach industrial skills.[38] In September 1892, the Oblates engaged Patrick MacCarrill, a blacksmith who could "turn his hand to anything" including farming and carpenter work, as the "Master of Trades." The man looked promising but would sign only a one-year contract; the next year he demanded an increase which the Mission could not afford.[39] His place was taken by a Mr. Horan who,

although a satisfactory employee in many respects, "would not abandon his pretensions to do as he pleased." Father LeJacq dismissed him in 1896 for ignoring the principal's advise and taking "too active a part in electioneering." As a replacement was not found, Horan was re-hired in 1899 but his second term was marked by a series of offences against the school. He took three months leave of absence in 1901, leading the Principal to believe he had the permission of the Indian Agent; in 1902, he was "drunk and disorderly" at 150 Mile House, threatening the school's reputation, and he got into debt which was considered "discreditable to an employee of the school which paid him a good salary."[40]

Every attempt was made to pick men who were suitable, but the problem remained. Mr. Bridger, hired as academic teacher in September 1900, resigned his position on June 9, 1901 "giving for reasons that he could better his position."[41] In spite of this he later wrote letters to Father Boening "couched in the most friendly language" and begged to be taken back as teacher or "in any capacity."[42] As he had "commenced to make serious charges against the management," soon after his departure, his overtures were rejected. In the hopes of reversing the situation, the Bishop turned to the East and "purposely" hired two men from Ottawa, Mr. Brophy and Mr. Fahy. Mr. Brophy "did very well" until Christmas 1901, when "he disgraced himself twice by going to the 150 Mile House, the second time without leave, and there gambled and intoxicated himself." Because of the scandal, particularly because of the bad example to the Indians, Brophy was dismissed.[43]

This unfortunate situation regarding staff could not be

allowed to continue. In 1902 the Oblates recognized their dependency on religious staff and replaced most of the laymen. Oblate Brothers took over the roles of carpenter-instructor and disciplinarian, and two Sisters of the Child Jesus were employed to teach the boys. Mr. Fahy was retained as agricultural instructor. For many years the problem of obtaining suitable lay staff for schools in the interior remained; only the religious orders were willing to accept the isolation. In September 1945, for example, a Day School for Indian children of Alexis Creek could not open because a teacher had not been found. Father John Hennessy, an Oblate missionary, was asked "to fill in for the winter months" while attempts were made to interest the Sisters of Christ the King in providing staff.[44] While the Oblates were able to rectify the personnel problem, they faced other more indefatigable obstacles.

The contract between Paul Durieu and the federal government initially appeared to be equally favourable to both parties. Ratified by Vowell, May 18, 1891,[45] it called for a nine part agreement, the government: to provide a per capita grant, to arrange the curriculum (half a day's instruction in academic subjects and the remainder of the day given to trade training), to select the trades to be taught, to decide which children would attend, to inspect the schools, and to exercise authority to fire unsatisfactory teachers.[46] The Bishop hired the staff, "including a carpenter and a blacksmith,"[47] and provided religious education for the children. By retaining ownership of the land and buildings for the Oblates, Durieu may have been trying to

minimize government control but, in the long run, the contract was not advantageous for the Mission. The absence of any agreement on responsibility for maintaining the buildings and property caused financial problems that plagued the School for years to come.

Initially all went smoothly; the School received adequate quarterly cheques. From time to time, however, the cheques arrived late. Then, in 1893, Vowell advised an astonished Father LeJacq that the grant would be given for twenty-five students rather than fifty.[48] Vowell ascertained that although the Indian department had recommended payment for fifty pupils that number was reduced to twenty-five in Cabinet.[49] Angered by the Department's stance, Father LeJacq suggested to the Council of the Vicariate that the Oblates should "put the government on the spot" by threatening to close the school until the allocation for fifty children was re-established. Aware that the government would call upon another denomination to take over if they should refuse to operate the school, the Council decided to be prudent. While regretting the situation, the Council advised Father LeJacq that "it would be very difficult to force the government to re-establish the allocation considering that the whole business [had] been proposed and promised by the agent of the government and . . . never voted by the Chambers." The Order agreed to arrive at a solution by negotiation and, as a temporary measure, to cut expenses, by closing the girls' department.[50]

Within two years, the School had proved to be a financial burden. The girls' school building purchased from the Sisters of St. Ann required $4,000 worth of renovations. The boys' building was too old

and too small for efficient management. In addition, the Oblates had had to provide cash for beds, bedding, and necessary workshops and tools for vocational training in blacksmithing, carpentry and shoe and harness making.[51] The Bishop was obliged to keep two separate school staffs, maintain the buildings and pay two cooks. Eventually, a compromise was reached; the government paid for thirty-five pupils and granted $2,000 towards a new boys' school.[52] When, in the spring of 1894, the government sent a quarterly cheque for only $756 Bishop Durieu threatened to close the girls' school permanently unless the government kept to the original agreement.[53]

Financial bickering between the Oblates and the federal government continued. Because the land and the buildings remained in the hands of the Order, the government was understandably reluctant to invest money in them. The government was willing to provide smaller items such as recreational equipment, laundry materials, linoleum, even milk cows; but when it came to major expenditures it took the view that the Residential School was not a government school "but Oblate buildings used as such."[54] In 1910, for example, the Oblates put hot-air furnaces in both schools at a cost of six hundred dollars, but the government refused a grant towards the cost.[55] Similarly in 1919, when the Oblates requested a grant to defray the cost of a new lighting plant, the matter was left in abeyance, "the Cariboo School being Church owned and not the property of the Department."[56]

This theme persisted throughout the copious correspondence between the School principals, the Indian agents and the officials of the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. In 1936, the local Indian

Agent remarked that since the Oblates operated an extensive ranch and employed the school boys whose labour was free, they should not be continually asking for assistance.[57] In reality, the ranch helped to finance the School. In 1917 the government grant, expanded to include seventy children, was $8,222; school expenditures totalled $8,757 and the ranch, which provided meat, fuel, and vegetables, carried the deficit.[58] In 1919 when the lighting plant was installed and in 1920 when the Oblates installed a new sewer system at a cost of $2,000, "the high price received for the [ranch] cattle during the war provided the necessary cash."[59]

In spite of continuous financial problems, the Oblates adhered to the original contract until 1958.[60] New school buildings had been required for several years and the Oblates were understandably reluctant to provide them. With an increased government interest in day schools for the Indians, the future of residential schools was uncertain and there was little use outside of the field of education for large school buildings at St. Joseph's Mission. Although they continued to run the School as paid federal employees the Oblates in 1958 sold to the federal government the twelve acres of land on which the present buildings stand.

While the financial problems were caused in some respects by Durieu's lack of foresight, he could not have foreseen the persistent hostility the Indian school generated among the local settlers. In the early years of the school, this hostility led to repeated government

investigations. Before the school opened, F. S. Bernard M.P. who had been instrumental in first bringing Bishop Durieu's idea for an Indian Residential School in Cariboo to the attention of the federal government, expressed his concern that "contrary to protestations made by [him] at various times" the School was placed completely under the control of the Catholic Church.[61] While the reasons for Barnard's protest remain unknown--although he could have been protesting on behalf of constituents--the reason for the hostility of some of the local settlers is quite clear. They saw the School as a threat to their livelihood.

In May 1894, R. V. Davison, one of Barnard's constituents, complained that the school manufactured goods "at penitentiary prices," providing unfair competition for local businessmen and undermined his harness business.[62] Father LeJacq denied that the school wanted "to run opposition to anybody"[63] but needed an outlet for the articles manufactured by the Indian boys. M. Scott, Deputy Superintendent-General in Ottawa, agreed this was a reasonable and a common practise and that because of insufficient government funding such schools had to "sell the products of the Industries taught . . . to provide sufficient revenue."[64] Although an investigation revealed that Davison's complaints were "without foundation,"[65] the accusations continued and became more virulent.

One general complaint in 1899 led the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to direct Indian Agent Bell, the local government representative and Superintendent Vowell to make full independent reports of the situation. The two inspectors visited the school "without having notified the school authorities of their intention to inspect it." In

separate reports, they exonerated the school of all charges. Contrary to the charge that the Oblates took in white children "and half breeds," the men found none at the school; accused of teaching only one trade, the Oblates were in reality teaching harness-making, farming, milking, dairying and gardening; accused of being "dirty and not properly clothed", the children and staff were found to be clean and well-fed, and the children could answer questions "more readily" than many white children in the common schools in the area. The inspectors also concluded that although the harness shop was "carried on a paying basis," the cuts in prices did not interfere with other local products. After the inspection, Vowell called on the Bishop and suggested that the boys be taught carpentry; Durieu assured Vowell "that what the Department most desired would be attended."[66]

These reports did nothing to assuage the unpopularity of the school. Whether through an aversion to the Indians or to the religious order, many local residents who opposed the institution continued their complaints and even claimed that the coming of the Indian Agent or of Vowell was known beforehand.[67] In July 1900, E. A. Carew-Gibson of 150 Mile House complained to Vowell that the school had established a large warehouse and blacksmith shop at 3 Mile Creek where "grain and hay [were] supplied and sold through their agent at the blacksmith shop." In addition, Carew-Gibson charged the Mission with running a harness shop and butcher shop, and with using their religion "to secure cheap labour and other assistance."[68] Another investigation was made and the charges were declared unfounded.[69] "Carew-Gibson," declared Deputy Superintendent McLean, "must have been misled by the misrepresentations

of highly prejudiced parties."[70]

Because of further complaints received in Ottawa[71] about ill-fed and ill-treated Indian children, the Department telegraphed Vowell on April 12, 1902, to make a full inquiry into the school's management. To insure that the school was unaware of his intention to visit, Vowell remained at 150 Mile House until after 5 p.m. on the evening of April 24th and then drove quietly to the school "so as to arrive in time to find the children at their evening meal." Vowell found the food to be "good and wholesome [although] it being Lent they had no meat." After speaking privately with the children and visiting a local reserve at Alkali Lake to question parents, Vowell concluded that the children were well cared for, although the use of corporal punishment as a form of discipline might be moderated.[72]

In reporting to the Department, Vowell again raised the issue of local hostility. After describing how the school planned to resume instruction of older boys "in practical gardening" the Superintendent wrote that the programme had been discontinued the previous year because the boys were too small for agricultural work and because local settlers and storekeepers had complained the Mission was using cheap labour. Vowell explained that this was an erroneous impression because the marginal work done by the older pupils "could not reasonably be considered as a factor in the economic working of the Mission land." Vowell concluded that his inspection had given confidence to both the children and the Indian parents that the Department was looking after the childrens' interests. The inspection also let the Oblates understand "that their actions in the conduct of the School (were) under

close observation."[73]

In spite of frequent inspections, prejudice continued and threatened "to interfere with the teaching of agriculture to the older boys . . . the most important branch of industrial school work."[74] The complaints which had arisen out of a charge of unfair competition gave way to recurrent complaints about water rights. Under Father McGuckin, the Mission had taken out water rights between Lac la Hache and Williams Lake. As these towns developed, perennial attacks were made on the Mission's practise of closing off a dam for periods of time to allow low-lying lands to dry before haying began. In addition, there were complaints of sewage from the school entering the San José River and finding its way into local water supplies. Although a close rapport eventually developed between the school and some of its neighbours, others always manifested some resentment.

Staffing and economic problems, and the local hostility encountered by the Oblates of St. Joseph's Mission, were issues between the Order and white Canadian society. They could be overcome or minimized by persistence, diplomacy or political adjustment. One problem which the Oblates and the Sisters of the Child Jesus encountered at the Indian school was both inescapable and inexorable. This was the negative attitude of many Indians, both children and adults, toward the strict, frequently harsh, educational regime imported from Europe and implemented without modification throughout North America. The priests, brothers and nuns who were teaching the Cariboo's Indian children knew only one form of education. Schools were operated under strict controls;

school staff expected order, strict obedience, total attentiveness and disciplined behaviour and, if a child failed to act according to the expected norm or exhibited behavioural problems, the answer was punishment.

This system of education, applied in all schools, public, private and parochial, had the support of parents who themselves had experienced the same.[75] When the Residential School was established at the Mission, this European system was applied without any consideration being given to cultural clash. It was never considered necessary to alter the system to accommodate children whose personality traits included concentrating on and enjoying the present and, under advice from others, exercising personal freedom of choice.[76] The Indian child who had never been confined for long periods of time, who had been educated in the closeness of the extended family group, and who had never been physically punished for his misdeeds, was expected to conform to the alien education pattern. Indian parents were unlikely to understand Father LeJacq's commonly-held belief that fear was the beginning of wisdom; Indian children could not be expected to understand that even the most patient or sympathetic teacher saw value in the use of corporal punishment.

Confronted by a daily routine controlled by bells, that consisted of hours spent sitting in classrooms or in chapels, that restricted outdoor activities to those which were deemed learning experiences, and that left little or no margin for childish pursuits, the Indian children rebelled. They displayed their aversion to this alien system in a simple, basic way; they ran away. Although they were

not the first children to run away from the Mission school--in the 1870's Father McGuckin complained that white and métis boys under his care ran away--they were the first to leave in such great numbers and with such consistency. In September, 1901, Father Thomas wrote to Father LeJeune at Kamloops that forty-eight students had run away during the summer; "Parmi les échappés et échappées"; wrote the missionary, "il y en a qui se sont sauvés 2 ou 3 fois."[77] The following year an eight-year old boy from Alkali Lake who was among a group of winter-time runaways, died of exposure.[78] By 1910, the problem of runaways was so acute that the principal was unable to send any Indian boys out on the farm for instruction.[79]

The reasons given by the children for their constant efforts to escape the school included a dislike of physical punishment, a desire for freedom from school discipline, a wish "to play with the boys" and, in the case of older boys, a desire to work and earn some money.[80] Other more mystical influences were also responsible for the runaway situation. For example, two Indian boys told the Sisters that they had left the school because the owl commanded them to do so.[81] Commenting on the runaway situation, Bishop Dontenwill pin-pointed the conflict between the Indian and White cultures that resulted in aversion to the school. While the School was endeavouring to inculcate the principles of religion and morality, the children found moral directions "irksome." The Indians had a "holy horror" of anything which was systematized. Consequently, when Indian children had to face the necessity "of going against their hereditary inclinations to indulge in their love for independence and [were] constrained in their habits of disorder, it

[was] not surprising that they should wish to throw off the yoke of discipline."[82] Hoping to reduce the numbers of runaways, the Oblates and Sisters dismissed children thought to be ring leaders. Although there were some lulls--in some years there were only one or two runaways--the basic pattern of group desertions carried on into the 1940's, in spite of efforts to improve the school situation.

Over the years conditions at the School improved as attempts were made to increase and expand recreational activities. School concerts for which the children made the costumes, scenery and decorations became a yearly diversion.[83] The manual training shop was expanded, and the Indian boys received "invaluable training in the operation of machinery and the conducting of ranch activities."[84] Some of the boys were employed by the School during the summer months, receiving a fair wage of $50 per month.[85] In the summer of 1932, for example, the boys erected a new building under the supervision of the School's manual trainer. That same year boys from the School took first prize at the Kamloops Fair for cabinet-making and first prize in agriculture; the girls took second prize in needlework and painting, and third prize in cooking.[86] In 1942, the old Mission church was converted into a gymnasium, and a skating rink was prepared for skating and hockey. The boys played against white boys from Williams Lake and even the girls, "breaking through an old tradition," were allowed to skate.[87] In 1945, Indian boys formed a corp of Air Force cadets; in 1946, Indian girls formed a pipe band. In 1944, Mr. William Christie the local Indian Agent reported that the boys were now afforded more liberty of movement and consequently for a while, there were fewer truancies.[88]

Despite the efforts of more enlightened Oblates and Sisters to make learning less arduous, to provide outlets for the childrens' energy, to provide elements of competition,[89] and employment opportunities, the Indian children continued to reject the School. In 1932, the School principal hired a night watchman as a fire precaution and reported that, in consequence, none of the children tried to run away.[90] In 1943, a number of Alkali Lake boys "broke away from the School and were two nights camped out in the bush"; in May 1944, in spite of Christie's optimism, twenty-three boys ran away.[91] An interesting reversal is revealed by Christie's letter to the Oblate Provincial Superior. While acknowledging that the principal, Father McGrath, had made the children happier by giving them more freedom and less discipline, Christie warned that unless a disciplinarian were engaged, he would be forced to close down the School.[92]

The negative reaction of the children was the one constant in the Indian school response situation; the reaction of adult Indians is more difficult to define. In 1902, Bishop Dontenwill complained that parents and relatives were "abbettors of the truancy and that the support adult Indians gave to the runaways prompted the children to "launch forth with more vigor."[93] Five years later, Father Boening, when requesting an increase in "pupilage,"[94] commented that the adult Indians were "learning more and more to appreciate the school and its work."[95] In 1911, however, when the runaway situation prevented Indian boys from studying agricultural pursuits, the principal asked the Indian Agent to support the School by informing the Indians of "its necessity and benefits to them." Father Boening pointed out that the Indians of

Cariboo were ignorant regarding the purpose, the working and benefits of the school. "How could they know?"[96] he asked.

The first knowledge of white education methods that most of the Cariboo Indians acquired was from their runaway children. When in earlier days the Indians of Cariboo had sought from the missionaries educational opportunities for their children, they did not visualize handing the young Indians over to the complete care of the Church. Indian learning experiences involved contact with the whole band, and while the Indians realized that outsiders would necessarily be involved in teaching the new 'mysteries' to their children, they neither expected nor desired the loss of band contact. By the time the Mission school was ready to receive Indian children many years had passed in which the Cariboo's Indians had struggled to adjust to their loss of land, loss of tribal government, loss of social patterns and, in many though not all cases, loss of independence. The missionaries were now asking them to give up their children and the Indians, initially, had the choice of keeping the children close to ensure continuity with the past, or of giving the children up so that they could gain new knowledge which might help them to understand and to survive the new situation.

Whether it was the wrong time of the year, as Durieu suggested, or a reluctance on the part of the Indians to make the commitment, the Residential School opened with only twelve pupils--a far cry from the hundred that Father McGuckin had anticipated. Over the years, in spite of the difficulty of getting the government to pay for more children, the numbers attending the school increased. By 1907, there were seventy-six pupils at the school and Father Boening requested

the Indian Affairs Department to allow an increase in enrolment from fifty to eighty. The local Indian Agent supported the increase. "I do not think the request unreasonable" he wrote to Vowell, "they have all the facilities for teaching that number and, in fact, have had nearly that number for some time attending the school, although getting an allowance for only fifty pupils."[97] It was not until 1915, however, that an increase of ten extra pupils was allowed.[98] A year later the number was increased to seventy. In 1922, another increase of ten was allowed, and in May 1932, the Department gave grants for 95 pupils while the number in actual attendance at the school increased to 115. The Oblates always had more pupils than the Department had authorized because they took in "orphans or children living in surroundings endangering their faith or morals."[99]

These figures, while apparently indicating more willingness on the part of the Indians to have their children educated, do not accurately reflect a change of attitude. Undoubtedly the closer ties which were re-established with the Mission during the period of religious revival, and the influence of Father Thomas who successfully used his powers of persuasion to gain Indian acceptance of the School, contributed to the increase in numbers.[100] Besides, not all Indian parents were averse to their children being disciplined by the School. In 1902, Father J. D. Chiappini, speaking under oath at an inquest into the death of an Indian child, told the court that parents sometimes complained of their children being punished while "others had written and told [the Oblates] to whip them if they ran away."[101] However, in 1895, education became compulsory for Indian children between the age of

seven and sixteen, and the Mission school was the only educational institution available for Indian children in Cariboo. When parents were reluctant to part with their children, Indian police took the children from their homes to the School. Those bands who had settled on reserves, attempting an agricultural existence, were easy to police; and it is consequently difficult to make an accurate assessment of their attitude towards the School. Indians who still lived by hunting and trapping remained relatively aloof from white contact and could more easily avoid sending their children to be educated. Between 1925 and 1946, Chilcotin reaction to the School, as noted, for example, by government officials, indicated to the Mission Oblates and federal government officers that over a period of time the Indians became more receptive to the idea of sending their children to school.

In 1925, R. H. Cairns, federal School Inspector in British Columbia, recommended to the Superintendent of Indian Education in Ottawa that the School be enlarged to accommodate the Chilcotin children. The Pacific Great Eastern Railway ran through Chilcotin country and, as there was a station at the Mission ranch, it would provide transportation facilities.[102] Several Chilcotin attended the School in 1925 but, because that same year two Indian children at the School died of tuberculosis, the Chilcotin parents withdrew them all.[103] Revealing their desire for education, the Chilcotin then requested a day-school "in their own country"[104]; this however was refused.[105] The Chilcotins gradually returned to the School. In 1929, three Chilcotin children attended the Mission school; in 1930, twelve. The children dispelled the fear of Indian Agent, H. E. Taylor, and the School that they would

have difficulty mixing with the other Indians because of the language barrier; the newcomers proved to be "most adaptable." Taylor was optimistic that more Chilcotin children would come and he twice requested buildings as extra classrooms. He explained:

> I am receiving continual applications from Chilcotin Indians, for admission of their children to school and I feel that we are losing a great opportunity, especially after having overcome the original reluctance of the Chilcotin to make use of the School. If we continually refuse admission to their children the parents will doubtless give up the idea.[106]

In his Report of 1931, George S. Pragnell, Inspector of Indian Agencies, noted that the Mission school had more applicants than room and that, while some of the Chilcotin were being accommodated, "more should be at the school."[107]

By 1932, there were one hundred and twenty children in the School, thirty-four of whom were Chilcotin. Father Forbes, the principal, believed the Indians were now "well-disposed" towards the School and he was particularly pleased by the presence of the Chilcotin children. He maintained that the progress of the few Chilcotin who had attended in the past despite "general opposition" (presumably from other Chilcotin) had helped to influence others.[108] In December 1935, Father Forbes informed the Department that he had more applications for admission for the following September than he would be able to handle, a situation which proved to the Oblates that the Shuswap and Chilcotin parents were satisfied with the School.[109] The Oblates' satisfaction was noted in The Vancouver Daily Province which reported in July 1930, on the journey through the Cariboo of Premier S. F. Tolmie and W. A. McKenzie, Minister of Mines. The reporter noted that the two government

officials had visited the Residential School. "Those who are sceptical about Indian education should go to St. Joseph's Mission," the paper stated "Father Rohr will tell you that, generation by generation, schooling is working wonders among the natives, making them good farmers and good housekeepers."[110]

The developing interest of the Chilcotin could represent a more positive attitude on the part of Indian parents towards the Mission school.[111] The Indians of the Cariboo may have decided that education was something "good in the white man's road"[112] and acted accordingly. However, a letter written in March 1936 gives insight into another possible explanation for the change. A Chilcotin wrote to his son at the Residential School:

> I didn't make much money this year, just enough to buy grub to live on. You are lucky to be in school where you get plenty to eat. If you were home you would get hungry many days.[113]

The increase in numbers of Chilcotin attending the School coincided with the Depression years and, as work the Indians had formerly done was now being done by whites, many bands suffered hardships. The Chilcotins may have been forced to send their children to the School because of their poor economic situation.[114] Whatever the reasoning behind the new attitude, the Oblates were gratified that the School was fulfilling its purpose as an educational institute for the Catholic children of the Cariboo.

While the 1930's witnessed a change in Indian attitudes toward the School, the 1940's brought several significant changes to St. Joseph's Mission. The Durieu System had long vanished in many areas,

due primarily to prolonged Indian/White contact.[115] The Oblates now being sent to St. Joseph's were uncomfortable with and critical of the tenets and practices instigated by Paul Durieu. They claimed its stern and moral stance and emphasis on ritual made the System close to being Jansenistic.[116] The Indians themselves were ready for a change. When Father Morris began missionary work in the Cariboo, he discontinued the practise of using an interpreter for his sermons; this greatly pleased the Indians, many of whom no longer understood the words of the interpreter. Gradually, as missionary priests avoided and ignored the System, it fell into disuse--although Father Thomas, who died in February 1957, attempted to keep it alive until poor health forced his retirement from missionary work. While his missionary method disappeared, one of Bishop Durieu's other plans for St. Joseph's was revived.

During 1947 a novitiate was built at the Chilcotin Anaham Reserve. On December 8, 1947, the first six postulants of the newly created all-Indian Sisterhood of Mary Immaculate began their religious life. The order was placed under the guidance of Father Francis Sutherland O.M.I. and the young Indian girls who came from reserves throughout British Columbia were trained by the Sisters of Christ the King.[117] Other Indian girls joined the original group but the novitiate failed. While their intentions were good, the young Indian girls had little perseverance. According to Mother St. Paul (Teresa Bernard) who was Superior at Anaham, the girls loved their freedom too much and they seldom stayed longer than a year or two.[118]

A fundamental change in school attendance policy made a

considerable impact. The Oblate contract with the federal government called for the education of Indian children from age six to sixteen. Officially, government policy remained in force; unofficially a more tolerant policy was in operation. The Indians were given the freedom to send their children to school whenever they felt that the children were ready and to withdraw them whenever they wished them to begin working, even though they had not reached the required age. Taking advantage of this flexible situation, the Indians, particularly the Chilcotins, sent their children to the School just long enough for them to learn English and then withdrew them. Many of the Cariboo Indian children were not sent to school until they were ten or older; this situation left them academically behind white children but it satisfied the Indian parents. As Father Alex Morris, (principal at the School between 1946-1952 and 1956-1961) stated: "The Indians don't like to send them [the children] to start too young as they feel the white man's way of life is not desireable."[119] As a result of the flexible policy, there was a severe drop in the numbers of runaways. Between 1946 and 1952 only one child, an Indian girl, ran away from the School.[120]

While adjustments were being made at the School, external events foreshadowed the end of denominational control of education at St. Joseph's Mission. Following the advice of Indian witnesses,[121] a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons recommended that the federal government should exercise its responsibility for Indian education.[122] Because it was "an extremely difficult task" to provide an educational programme for the children of Indians who still engaged in hunting, trapping and other seasonal

activities over a large area, the Committee concluded that Residential Schools should be maintained for pupils not within range of day schools. Whenever possible, however, the day school system had to be inaugurated and day schools established on the reserves.[123] By 1957, several day schools had been established among the Shuswap, Lower Carrier and Chilcotin. In spite of this, the Residential School remained the primary education centre. In 1957, for example, a total of forty-one Shuswap children attended three day schools, while one hundred and fifty-four Shuswap attended the Residential School.[124] The Oblates continued to operate the School until 1964, when, the federal government took complete charge of it and approximately ninety-five other denominational schools across Canada.

Although the Oblates are no longer responsible for Indian education, they remain in Cariboo to continue over a hundred years of ministry to the Indian people. Three Oblate priests now cover an area once covered single-handedly by Father Thomas. A fourth Oblate priest from Fort St. James flies in to visit the Anahim Lake and Elgatcho Indians. Of the three Oblate Brothers attached to the Mission, two are directly involved in administering and running the ranch[125]; the third maintains a close relationship with the Indian children as both friend and unofficial cultural relations officer. More flexible than their counterparts of decades ago, the Oblates of St. Joseph's Mission work towards a closer understanding between the Indians of the Cariboo and the Church.

* * *

From the inception of St. Joseph's, Indian education had remained a goal of the Oblate missionaries. For many years, circumstances conspired to keep the Mission from fulfilling this important task, but the idea of a school for Indian children of the Cariboo never died. When Bishop Durieu succeeded Bishop D'herbomez he quickly involved the Order in government-supported Indian education. Under his guidance, St. Joseph's finally opened an Indian Residential school. The task of educating the Shuswap, Carrier and Chilcotin children of the Cariboo was not an easy one; the School was beset by social and financial problems which constantly hindered the advancement of education. The common frontier problem of finding suitable staff for the School was resolved, as often was the case, by employing a religious order to teach in both schools. Other problems like the economic struggle and the hostility of both local settlers and Indians towards the School remained constant.

Lacking full government support, the School struggled constantly to improve its facilities and to provide education for any Indian child in need--regardless of the quota set by the federal government. As it had supported the early missionaries with funds, the ranch provided also for the support of the School. When the School attempted to raise money by selling articles manufactured by the pupils, it provoked the hostility of surrounding settlers and entrepreneurs although--judging from Barnard's attempts to place the School in other hands--the seed of hostility towards either the Roman Catholic Order or the Indian peoples, was already alive in the surrounding community.

The major obstacle confronting the Mission Oblates was the negative attitude of the Indians--an attitude which remained constant

among the children. By the 1890's even the most remote Indian bands in the Cariboo had been influenced to some degree by the now numerically dominant white society. The eagerness with which the Indians had sought education for their children in the 1860's and 1870's had all but vanished. The children became important in the struggle for cultural survival, and the children did not easily deny their birthright of freedom. They totally rejected the initially harsh, restrictive, alien school system. Even the more comfortable, secure, relaxed surroundings of later years could not entice them. Yet, generation by generation, parents who themselves had rejected the School, sent their own children to the Mission.

Indian parents began by aiding runaway children. As time went by parents were forced by law to send their children to the School. By the 1920's and 1930's however, government agents were being pressured by Indians to enrol Indian children at the Mission. The reason for this change of heart can only yet be conjectured.[126] Perhaps through a closer relationship with the Church and increasing participation in white society, the Indians may have come to see some value in education for their children. Yet for many Indians, a deteriorating financial situation could equally well have provoked a change of attitude. However, Indian feelings regarding the School might also be discovered in the words of a white man, Bud Felker, who attended the School with the Indians in the early nineteen hundreds: "I tell you, no fooling, it was a pretty good school . . . I meet some of the Indian men who went to school with me sixty years ago, and they say 'Not too bad a place that Mission school.'"[127]

Footnotes

[1]See Chapter II.

[2]The importance of Indian education as a means for retaining and strengthening the Catholic faith was promoted into the 1950's. "These Indian Residential Schools form an ideal 'set up' and constitute the best method and most efficacious organization for the effectual diffusion of our holy faith." Report of the Canonical Visitation of St. Peter's Province, Canada, October 1950-May 1951, A.D., Ottawa.

[3]McGuckin to D'herbomez, February 17, 1878, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[4]Information contained in following two paragraphs are taken from McGuckin to D'herbomez, April 10, 1880, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[5]In her book A Century of Service, Sister Down explained how public pressure forced the Sisters to enforce segregation. The Oblate stance was more likely the result of the desire to separate Indians and Whites at all levels both to preserve them from the "evils" inherent in white society and to facilitate Church control.

[6]Minutes of the General Council Meeting of the Sisters of St. Ann, Lachine, Quebec, May, 1888, A.S.S.A., Lachine.

[7]Sister Mary Ann of the Child Jesus to Bishop D'herbomez, June 10, 1888, A.S.S.A., Victoria.

[8]According to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, this letter opened the correspondence on the possibility of a Residential School at Williams Lake. Vankoughnet to A. G. Vowell, Indian Superintendent, Victoria. There is no date on this letter but its contents place it at the end of 1891 or the beginning of 1892. R.G. 10 Vol. 6437, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. (Cited hereafter as P.A.C.)

[9]Durieu is referring here to agricultural pursuits as followed by the Europeans. As hunters, fishermen and stock raisers, the Indians of the Cariboo were already living off the land.

[10]Durieu to Bernard, exact date unknown as the original document is damaged. This letter was forwarded to Vankoughnet, April, 1890. R.G. 10 Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[11]A pamphlet published in the United States, in 1743, was entitled: "A Letter from the Revd. Mr. (John) Sargeant of Stockbridge to Dr. Colman of Boston; Containing Mr. Sargeant's Proposal of a More effectual Method for the Education of Indian Children; to raise 'em if possible into a civil and Industrious People, by introducing the English language Among Them; and thereby instilling in their Minds and Hearts, with a

More lasting Impression, the Principles of Virtue and Piety." Part of Sargeant's proposal was the establishment of Residential Schools.

[12]Robert Berkhofer Jr. "Model Zions for the American Indian," American Quarterly, Vol. 15, 1963, p. 177.

[13]Ronald N. Satz, American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975, p. 248.

[14]Berkhofer, "Model Zions for the American Indians," p. 177.

[15]"The government considered that no better means could be adapted for the civilization of the Indians than to follow the example of the Industrial Schools in the United States from which such good results have been obtained." Unknown author, "The Q'Appelle Industrial School," Missionary Records, August 1902, p. 268, P.A.B.C.

[16]Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary, p. 65.

[17]"Report of the Welfare and Training Service of the Indian Affairs Branch, 1946," Pamphlet R.G. 10 Vol. 6811, p. 3, P.A.C.

[18]Ibid., p. 4.

[19]Barnard to Vankoughnet, April 2, 1890, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C. Because the size of reserves in British Columbia did not allow for future generations to take up land, Durieu's plan was somewhat idealistic. However, it was in keeping with the beliefs of the time.

[20]Meason to Vowell, December 26, 1890, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[21]Meason to Vowell, April 19, 1891, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[22]The Oblate living quarters were incorporated into the boys' school.

[23]This is a reference to the Sisters of St. Ann.

[24]Durieu to Meason, February 25, 1891, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C. Although under study, the Order-in-Council granting a per capita grant to Residential Schools was not passed until October 22, 1892--notwithstanding, the School did receive funds from the Department of Indian Affairs. Minutes of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act, 1946-1949. House of Commons Journals, Vol. LXXXVII, 1946, Parliamentary Library, Ottawa. (Cited hereafter as House of Commons Journal, 1946.

[25]On May 11, 1891, the Department's Chief Clerk requested the government "to insert in the Supplementary Estimates for 1891-2 capitation grant of $130 for fifty pupils for the new industrial school to be established in the Williams Lake Agency under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church." R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[26]Durieu to Sister Mary Providence, April 15, 1890, A.S.S.A., Victoria.

[27]Sister Mary Providence to Durieu, June 11, 1890, A.S.S.A., Lachine.

[28]Durieu to Sister Mary Providence, July 8, 1891, A.S.S.A., Victoria. Durieu asked for the "Act of Sale" which was given to the Sisters by the Oblates.

[29]The Sisters accepted under the condition that they could have the $130 per pupil given by the government. Minutes of the Oblate Vicariate Council Meeting, New Westminster, July 6, 1891, P.B. 517, A.D., Ottawa.

[30]Minutes of the Oblate Vicariate Council Meeting, New Westminster, November 12, 1891, P.B. 517, A.D., Ottawa.

[31]Durieu to Vowell, July 14, 1891, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[32]Minutes of the Oblate Vicariate Council Meeting, November 12, 1891, P.B. 517, A.D., Ottawa.

[33]Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 184.

[34]The diocese of New Westminster was established in September 1890.

[35]Sister Jean Gabriel, Provincial Superior of the Sisters of the Child Jesus, North Battleford, Saskatchewan to Sister Mary Theodore, S.S.A. August 11, 1943, A.S.S.A., Victoria.

[36]Durieu to his niece, Sister Ste. Paul, February 28, 1896. Besson, Un Missionaire d'Autrefois, p. 193. When the nuns arrived there was no question of challenging their qualifications--in spite of the fact that they had just arrived from France and had to teach the Indians the English language. The fact that they belonged to a religious order and had come to the West to devote their lives to the education of the Indians was qualification enough. As local Indian Agent, A. Daunt, wrote to the D.I.A. the missionaries in the West were held in "reverence" by those who lived in the East. Daunt to D.I.A. August 1st, 1920, R.G. 10 Vol. 6436, P.A.C. The nuns' ability to teach was not questioned for many years. During the Special Joint Commission Meetings of 1946-49, the Indians expressed dissatisfaction at the lack of qualified staff in Indian schools. In 1947, Father Alex Morris, School Principal at St. Joseph's, had to provide the local Indian Agent with the teaching qualifications of the nuns at the Mission.

[37]Dontenwill to Vowell, February 26, 1902. R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[38]Local Indian Agent Moffet to Vankoughnet, August 23, 1892, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[39]LeJacq to Vowell, December 22, 1892, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[40]Dontenwill to Vowell, February 20, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Memo from Vowell to Department of Indian Affairs, April 14, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[43]Dontenwill to Vowell, February 26, 1902; Bell to Vowell, February 28, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[44]Quarterly Report of William Christie, Indian Agent, September 30, 1945; "It is difficult to get teachers to work in white schools, you can imagine how much more difficult it is to get teachers to teach in Indian schools. Added to this natural reluctance, are the two additional factors of isolation and, in many cases, unsatisfactory accommodation." Welfare and Training Service of the Indian Affairs Branch, 1946, R.G. 10, Vol. 6811; in 1946, 15 Indian Day Schools throughout British Columbia were closed because of a lack of staff. House of Commons Journals, 1946, p. 128, P.A.C.; The Sisters of Christ the King took over the Anaham School in 1945.

[45]Durieu to Vowell, March 23, 1894, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[46]House of Commons Journals, 1946, p. 219; Vowell to Vankoughnet, May 18, 1891, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437. The Department also controlled leave of absences e.g. Vowell asked permission "to allow Sister Superior to leave the School because she is ill." Vowell to A. W. McLean, Superintendent General, February 18, 1909; Permission was granted, April 20, 1909, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[47]Vowell to Vankoughnet, June 1st, 1891, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[48]"It will be impossible for me to run the machine if the government is delaying so long to send in the cheque." LeJacq to Vowell, June 15, 1893, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[49]Vankoughnet to Vowell, December 12, 1893, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[50]Minutes of the Oblate Vicariate Council Meeting, November 22, 1893, PB 517, A.D. Ottawa.

[51]Durieu to Deputy Superintendent, T. Mayne Daly, D.I.A. March 23, 1894, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[52]In making the agreement with Durieu, Vowell may have overstepped his authority.

[53]Minutes of the Oblate Vicariate Council Meeting, October 6, 1894, PB 517, A.D. Ottawa.

[54]Father George Forbes, School Principal, to Reverend Father Provincial, May 14, 1937, A.D. Ottawa.

[55]Father Boening, School Principal, to Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1910, R.G. 10, Vol. 6438, P.A.C.

[56]Dr. McGill to W.J.F. Pratt, Secretary D.I.A. May 1919, R.G. 10, Vol. 6438, P.A.C.

[57]Indian Agent Taylor to Secretary, D.I.A., January 21, 1936, R.G. 10, Vol. 6438, P.A.C.

[58]Accounts of Williams Lake Industrial School, year ending March 31, 1917, File XVII-H-54, A.D. Ottawa.

[59]Father Welsh, Provincial to Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 20, 1922, R.G. 10, Vol. 6438, P.A.C.

[60]Research did not reveal any attempts on the part of the Oblates to persuade the government to take over the School prior to 1945. In 1945, the Oblates decided that the time had come to change the situation. "Every time we ask for a grant for repairs of any kind, the Department always reminds us that the School is Church owned and they do not feel obliged to put money in buildings they do not own." Father McGrath to the Superior General, November 22, 1945, A.D. Ottawa; "It is a well-known fact that the provision for our Residential Schools is not enough. If we had to pay proper teachers salaries--as the whites get, to our Fathers, Brothers and Sisters we could not financially run the schools." Father Sutherland to Father Birch, October 2, 1951, Uncatalogued material, O.A. Vancouver.

[61]Bernard to Vowell, October 1, 1891, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C. In an undated letter to Vowell, Vankoughnet wrote: "According to our returns, out of 1,859 Indians in the whole William's Lake Agency only 49 are Protestant," R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C. Vankoughnet does not distinguish between Christian and non-Christian.

[62]Davison to Barnard, May 21, 1894, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[63]LeJacq to Vowell, July 14, 1894, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[64]Scott to Daly, June 19, 1894, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[65]J. D. McLean, Secretary D.I.A. to Vowell, June 1st, 1899, R.G. 10, Vol. 6437, P.A.C.

[66]McLean to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, June 1st, 1899, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[67]Memo from Vowell to McLean, April 14, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[68]Carew-Gibson to Vowell, July 23, 1900, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[69]Indian Agent Bell to Vowell, October 14, 1900, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[70]McLean to Vowell, November 2, 1900, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[71]One complaint was made by Mr. Bridges, former teacher at the School. Vowell to McLean, D.I.A., April 14, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[72]Memo of Vowell to McLean, April 14, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[73]Ibid.

[74]McLean to Father Boening, School Principal, November 29, 1910, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[75]Indian Agent Daunt wrote an interesting and revealing comment to McLean in 1921. The subject was the former School principal, Father Maillard, who had been a strict disciplinarian. "I do not think he was cruel, as we understood it in college in our day, but the lower you go in the human strata the more delicate the susceptibility apparently becomes, and what would not appear out of the way to a Duke's son in the way of discipline would entail great hardship and outrage upon that of the working man or an Indian." October 18, 1921, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[76]John F. Bryde, Modern Indian Psychology, South Dakota, 1971, p. 96.

[77]Thomas to LeJeune, September 23, 1901, A.D. Ottawa.

[78]Bell to Vowell, February 28, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[79]Boening to McLean, January 8, 1911, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[80]Memo from Vowell to D.I.A., April 14, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C. The School kept a punishment book which listed offences and disciplinary action. Reasons for strapping were given as concealing bedwetting, impertinent language, fighting, and not knowing set lessons.

[81]Interview with Sister Patricia, S.C.J., May 9th, 1979.

[82]Dontenwill to Vowell, February 26, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[83]Indian Agent, H. E. Taylor, to Mackenzie, Assistant Deputy and Secretary D.I.A., December 30, 1929, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[84]Taylor to McKenzie, February 27, 1930, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[85]Father Joseph Grey, Oblate Superior General to Mackenzie, April 12, 1932, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[86]Seven Indian schools competed; no mention is made of white schools. Forbes to Mackenzie, December 13, 1932, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[87]Report of William Christie, Indian Agent, to the D.I.A., December 1943, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C. The report does not make it clear whether the girls were being allowed to skate for the first time or being allowed to mix with the boys at the rink.

[88]Report of Christie to the D.I.A., April, 1944, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[89]Bryde points out that conformity with the group was more akin to Indian nature than the desire to "get ahead, or on top of the group." Modern Indian Psychology, p. 96.

[90]Forbes to Mackenzie, December 13, 1932, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[91]Report of William Christie, to the D.I.A., August, 1944, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[92]Christie to Father Scannel, Provincial Superior, June 28, 1944, A.D. Ottawa.

[93]Dontenwill to Vowell, February 26, 1902, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[94]The federal government had to approve any increase in the number of children attending the School since the D.I.A. financed it.

[95]Boening to Frank Pedley, Superintendent General, D.I.A., October 26, 1907, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[96]Boening to McLean, January 8, 1911, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[97]Bell to Vowell, October 24, 1907. The increase was also supported by Duncan Ross, M.P. for Yale-Cariboo, and by Mr. Greer, federal school inspector. Memo D.I.A., R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[98]McLean to Inspector Cairns, federal school inspector, June 10, 1915, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[99]Report of the Vicariate, 1932, Oblate History, Microfilm, U.B.C.

[100]Forbes to MacGill, Deputy Superintendent, D.I.A., November 5, 1932, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[101]Inquest on the death of Duncan Sticks, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[102]Cairns to Russell T. Ferrier, August 5, 1925, R.G. 10, Vol. 6438, P.A.C.

[103]Interview with Father John Hennessy, former Cariboo missionary, March 8, 1979.

[104]Father Forbes to Dr. MacGill, Deputy Superintendent General, D.I.A., November 5, 1932, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[105]It was another twenty years before the Chilcotin had a day school.

[106]Taylor to W. E. Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, March 28, 1931, PC 101, A.D. Ottawa.

[107]Inspection Report, Williams Lake, No. 6, October 16, 1931, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[108]Forbes to MacGill, Deputy Superintendent General, D.I.A., November 5, 1932, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[109]Forbes to A. F. McKenzie, D.I.A., December 12, 1935, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[110]Vancouver Daily Province, July 14, 1930.

[111]Capitalizing on parent interest, the Oblates attempted to introduce an adult, two week, "Pro-Recreation" programme at the School. Chief David Thomson, Tommy Harry, May Johnson and Augusta Johnson, all from Alkali Lake, attended. The Chief decided to have a building erected on the reserve for recreational purposes but the Indian Agent admitted that it was difficult to rouse Indian interest in the programme since "most of them were out working." Report of William Christie, October 1943, R.G. 10, Vol. 6436, P.A.C.

[112]"I have advised my people this way: when you find anything good in the white man's road, pick it up. When you find something that is bad, or turns out bad, drop it and leave it alone." Words of Sitting Bull, Bryde, Modern Indian Psychology, p. II.

[113]This note, written in English, was included in a letter of Father Forbes to the Deputy Superintendent General, D.I.A., March 7, 1936, R.G. 10, Vol. 6438, P.A.C.

[114]The plight of the Indian during the Depression is not fully documented. Those who had become accustomed to doing seasonal work,

would undoubtedly be hard hit. Those bands who even today live by trapping and hunting, may have suffered less but it seems likely that white men looking for sustenance entered and poached on Indian reserves and trapping areas.

[115]Although the Indians of the Cariboo were never subjected to the intense population pressure which, according to Lemert, precipitated the end of the Durieu System among the Sechelt and Fraser Valley Indians, they came into sufficient contact as to modify their responses to the authority of the Church.

[116]The Jansenist heresy stressed the forms of religious ceremony to the exclusion of the deeper meanings behind them.

[117]The Missionary Sisters of Christ the King who arrived in the Cariboo in 1944 opened a hospital at Anaham Reserve, taught in the day school and ran the novitiate for Indian girls.

[118]Only two Indian girls actually completed their novitiate at Anaham. The novitiate closed in the late 1950's. Interview with Mother St. Paul, April 5, 1979.

[119]"Which Way our Indians: Progress or Squalor," The Province, March 21, 1957.

[120]Information obtained from interview with Father Morris, March 1979.

[121]The attitude of the Indians towards the Residential Schools is not easy to determine. Many Indians speak ill of the Schools, blaming them for the destruction of Indian cultural heritage. e.g. "The Suppression of B.C. Languages: Filling in the Gaps in the Documentary Record," Sound Heritage, Vol. IV, 1977, pp. 43-75. Others praised the Schools for the benefits education brought to them. Andy Paull, Past President of the North American Indian Brotherhood and leading agitator for Indian rights in British Columbia, wrote that he owed his ability to speak on behalf of his people to the Oblate missionaries and the Sisters of the Child Jesus; Chief Paul Bull in a letter to Father Patterson at Anaham, dated July 18, 1955, wrote: "We always knew that children get better training and taken care of better than the day schools." O.A., Vancouver.

[122]The Committee acknowledge that the Indians declared themselves grateful for the part of the Churches in financing their education but they now desired complete government control.

[123]Minutes of the Special Joint Committee, House of Commons Journals, 1974.

[124]"Survey of B.C. Missions, 1957," Box 29, O.A., Vancouver.

[125]Until recently Brother Orland O'Regan, who is now ranch administrator, worked as a school counsellor for the D.I.A.

[126]It is necessary to document the Indians' reasons for seeking entrance into the Mission school for their children before more than a conjectural statement can be made.

[127]"Rapping with Bud," Uncatalogued undated manuscript, St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake.

CONCLUSION

When Bishop D'herbomez opened St. Joseph's Mission he was interested primarily in the salvation of the Indian peoples of the Cariboo. He saw the white Catholics in the gold-field area as a source of sorely needed funds to help the Order establish both the ecclesiastical church and new mission fields. Cariboo's Catholic population, however, did not remain a transient one. By 1866, the major gold strikes had been "played out" and while miners long remained part of the Cariboo scene, many men turned to the more stable pursuit of agriculture. Miners and entrepreneurs became farmers, ranchers, and agricultural suppliers. French-Canadians, once engaged in the now declining fur trade, also turned to more sedentary occupations. For the Oblates of St. Joseph's the result of this shift to a settled population was a new responsibility--Catholic children. white and métis, in need of parochial education.

Of the several alternatives facing the Oblates, only one was feasible. The Vicariate council vetoed Father McGuckin's plan to involve the order in provincial education,[1] the social climate did not lend itself to accept mixed Indian-white schools[2] and, while Catholic parents were initially prepared to send older children to schools in the south, they would not send young children. After the settlers had donated funds for local Catholic schools, they became adamant; they would not send any children out of the district. To a Bishop and local Superior very aware of the dangers to the spiritual development of Catholic children in non-parochial schools, the only alternative was to provide educational facilities for whites at St. Joseph's Mission.

In order to provide for educational needs and many other ecclesiastical projects, including the opening of new missions, Louis D'herbomez needed sources of income. Money from donations, collections, mass stipends, and the Propagation of the Faith did not provide a solid financial base. When Father McGuckin arrived in the Cariboo he quickly realised the potential of land ownership--not for purposes of speculation but as an agricultural resource to serve the Vicariate for many years to come. He had little problem convincing the Bishop of the soundness of his plan and over the years the ranch/farm expanded and flourished. As with most agricultural pursuits, there were lean years but the land never failed to be the resource that Father McGuckin anticipated. While the ranch and the school were successful undertakings, they had one important negative result. By using manpower for the white school and the ranch, the Oblates were forced to neglect the primary purpose of the Mission, the spiritual care of the Indians.

Many Indians of the Cariboo were well prepared to accept Roman Catholicism. Their pre-contact observances, their response to the pre-contact "prophets" and to early missionary contact, and their enthusiastic reception of the Oblates, boded well for the success of St. Joseph's. This enthusiasm needed to be kept alive, particularly at a time when other white men, settlers and government officials, were giving the Indians grounds to distrust and reject white society. In the unsettling decades of the 1870's and 1880's when many Indians were fast losing their land, missionary work was minimal and plans for Indian education were abandoned. In spite of the efforts of the Oblates to assist the Indians in their struggle with the government, Indians who

had responded with fervour to early missionaries fell away from the Church as the missionary appointed to serve them failed to impress them. While Father Marchal worked tirelessly among them, he could make little headway. The importance of the role of personality in missionary/Indian relationships is clearly defined in the Indian movement away from the Church in the 1870's and 1880's. Father Marchal's vacillating policy resulted in a return to the old ways and a loss of missionary control. Because of a lack of personnel available for missionary work, no attempt was made to improve the situation until the mid-1880's. By that time, neglect had taken its toll. The Chilcotin, who were known to the Oblate missionaries as a difficult people to convert, were not visited for months, sometimes years. By the end of the 1880's the potential of St. Joseph's Mission appeared to have been lost.

A reversal took place at the turn of the century with the beginnings of a religious revival in Cariboo and the arrival of Father Thomas, a rather "stern and exacting"[4] man, devoted to the missionary methods of Paul Durieu. By the 1890's many Indian bands of Cariboo were forced to face the reality that their traditional way of life had gone and that they would have to make adjustments. It has been suggested that the successful pressure of frontier society had, by this decade, shaken Indian confidence in their old ways and left them susceptible to the beliefs brought in by the missionaries; at a time when Indians "were being forced to ask fundamental questions,"[5] the missionaries are said to have arrived with the answers. Father Thomas' successful work among the Chilcotin and the Carrier bands of Elgatcho and Anahim Lake indicates a need to qualify the conclusion.[6]

The Chilcotin, in particular, adopted few of the trappings of white civilization. For many years they even rejected European-style clothing, a relatively innocuous form of acculturation, easy to reconcile with the old ways of thinking.[7] While they traded very successfully with white people--Father Thomas refers to a fur-trader who accompanied him into Chilcotin country for many years with thousands of dollars to trade[8]--they managed to keep contact to a minimum. As James Teit remarked, "the amount of mixture with the whites [had] been very slight and very few half-breeds [were] met with."[9] The Chilcotin continued to depend on trapping and hunting for a living and, along with the Elgatcho and Anahim Lake Carrier Indians, had the foresight to "take the missionaries' advice" and register their trap-lines when the provincial government declared it necessary in 1921. Although this did not eliminate the problem of white poachers on Indian trapping territory, it gave the Indians a certain measure of protection. Indians who refused to register their lines were frequently charged with trespassing.[10]

It was not until the social upheaval brought about by the Depression era that the Chilcotins were forced to make accommodations to the alien culture. In spite of this, they retained their spirit of independence[11] and until recent years many Chilcotin children preparing to attend school had to be given special classes in the English language because their parents, although understanding it, did not speak the language at home. Given their propensity for retreating from contact and its related problems, and their determination to avoid complete acculturation, it seems unlikely that the Chilcotin saw in Roman Catholicism a way of dealing with their new situation.

Two other possibilities explain, to a large extent, why the Chilcotin, along with the Shuswap and the Lower Carrier were drawn back to Roman Catholicism[12]: the attractiveness of the Durieu System to the interior tribes and the personality of Father Thomas. The Durieu System presented the Indians with an opportunity to potlatch at a time when the government had legally banned the Indian festival.[13] They could blend the religious ceremonies surrounding church-building and the traditions of the potlatch. All the elements were present: the hosting of other groups, the display of wealth--translated into church style and decor--and the element of competition. The redistribution of wealth was not an immediate part of the service but the giving away of furs to build the church provided in some measure for this Indian need. In addition to providing the Indians with a viable substitute for an ancient and psychologically necessary custom, the Durieu System, in the form of the Indian Total Abstinence Society, provided support for many Indian chiefs at a time when alcohol was severely disrupting Indian culture. Durieu attacked a vice that Indian chiefs already saw as a severe threat to the future of their peoples. The Society provided a method by which the Indians could police each other and, through subjugation to authority and discipline within their own society, rid themselves of a destructive force. By establishing the Society, he also appeased white people who, while they condemned Catholic Church control over the Indians, could not fault the Church's attempt to stamp out the "demon drink."[14]

A Society or a "system" is only as strong as its leadership. Paul Durieu had the charismatic appeal necessary to impose his will and his ideas on the Indian peoples of British Columbia but he could not

remain with all the various groups to capitalize on the enthusiasm both he and his system generated. To ensure the success of his plan, he personally trained new arrivals in his methods before sending them into the field. François-Marie Thomas whose task was to sustain and build on the receptiveness of Cariboo's Indians, was an ardent Durieu man; he also had the type of personality which appealed to the Indians.

The "cult of personality" is one that still mystifies, but a necessary ingredient is a people's belief that they are led by someone dedicated to their good. For sixty years Father Thomas worked among Cariboo's Indians determined to bring them to God and giving himself entirely to the task. He put the fear as well as the love of God into the Indians and his dedication to what he believed to be right for the salvation of the Indians earned him their respect and, in many cases, their love.[15] As with other missionaries who made an impact on the Indian population of British Columbia, Father Thomas was exacting and uncompromising. He was still enforcing the Durieu System into the 1940's when other Oblates were seeing it as totally unsatisfactory.[16] While Father Thomas, for several decades continued to minister alone but successfully to the numerous Indians of Cariboo, other Oblates were engaged in fulfilling the early promise made to the Indians to provide educational facilities for their children.

Like many others before them, Bishop Durieu and the Oblates at St. Joseph's Mission saw in the Residential school an ideal vehicle for Indian acculturation.[17] The school would provide the religious environment necessary for the upbringing of Catholic children and would provide training in agricultural and homemaking pursuits, as well as a knowledge

of English. This philosophy was followed with little modification for over fifty years. During that time, the Oblates at the Residential School were confronted by many problems: insufficient funds from the government, a situation often overcome by the use of funds or supplies from the ranch; the hostility of local settlers which lessened over the years but which did not entirely disappear; the poor quality of teaching staff, a difficulty which was resolved by using religious personnel for both schools and, perhaps the most difficult of all problems, the reluctance of the Indians, both adults and children, to participate in the total cultural immersion process offered to them. There was no way in which Indian children accustomed to freedom and lessons taught in the closeness of an extended family situation could accept or adapt to the restraint and institutionalization of the Residential School. Equally there was no way in which the religious orders at St. Joseph's could compromise the only teaching situation they understood; one which had been adequate for 'civilized' children was considered adequate for all children. That the situation was hard on the Indian children was of less concern than that without a Catholic environment Indian souls would be lost.

Indian parents, unwilling to be separated from their children for protracted periods of time, and perhaps unwilling to be the recipients of ideas passed on to them through their children, initially aided Indian runaways. With the passing of the years, the enforcement of the law requiring the attendance of Indian children at school, the influence of the missionary who was drawing Indians closer to the Church, and the dawn of poor economic situations on many Indian

Reserves, Indian parents sent their children to school in greater numbers.[18] During the Depression era in particular, survival became imperative and the school at least provided sustenance for the children. Some attempts have been made to assess the Indians' reaction to the alien environment of the Residential School--particularly in regard to the schools' role in suppressing the Indian languages.[19] The actions of the Chilcotin in sending their children to school just long enough to acquire knowledge of English would indicate that there are other elements to consider before condemning the Residential School's insistence on the use of English. Certainly at St. Joseph's where three tribes speaking several dialects had to be educated simultaneously, the use of a common language was a practical necessity.

Theoretically, the Indian Residential School at St. Joseph's should have succeeded in its objective of drawing the children closer to the Church and instilling 'civilized' moral precepts. Unlike the Indians of the coast and Fraser Valley, the interior tribes remained relatively free of vast population pressure. The indefatigable Father Thomas remained an authority figure for many years and no other denomination appears to have given him competition. At a time when the Durieu System was beginning to disintegrate in other areas,[20] Father Thomas was establishing it in Cariboo. Consequently, children attending the School were likely to have a certain amount of religious knowledge and be familiar with the priests. In the School the emphasis was on religion; academic and vocational training was of secondary importance. In spite of the best efforts of the Oblates and Sisters of the Child Jesus to mould the Indian children into strong Roman Catholic 'civilized'

people, on leaving school the majority of children reverted to the ways of the reserves. Succeeding generations followed the same pattern. According to Father Morris, tribes in Africa taught by the Oblates made more progress "in the white man's ways" in thirty years, than the Cariboo Indians had made in a hundred; the Indians were more tenacious at holding on to their ancestral way of life than any other native groups the Oblate Order had dealt with.[21]

The Mission Residential School, like all such institutes, was too alien to Indian culture to be a major success. Yet, even if the Oblates had had insight into the problems, (and given their background there is no reason why they should have thought differently) and had supported the idea of day schools on the Reserves, the financial burden would have been intolerable. There was never sufficient money to run one establishment; the cost of running many would have been exhorbitant. Given the view of the government that Residential Schools answered the purpose of Indian education--and it was quite happy for all the Churches to assume a great deal of financial responsibility--no government funds would have been forthcoming for what would have been considered an impracticable scheme. Added to problems of finance, was the problem of staffing. The Church in British Columbia could ill-afford to provide a series of day schools with staff from its religious orders. And, as has been demonstrated, the priests, brothers and nuns were the only staff who were prepared to work devotedly in the interior of the country. When day schools eventually opened in Cariboo in the 1940's they were still the only staff available for quite some time. In spite of its drawbacks, the Residential School at St. Joseph's Mission was, in its

day, the only logical answer to the education of children from the vast area of Cariboo.

Begun under auspicious circumstances, St. Joseph's Mission steered an erratic course as an Indian Mission. By force of the priorities of Bishop Louis D'herbomez and the enterprising local Superior Father James McGuckin, the salvation of the Indian peoples of Cariboo was subjected to necessary long-term planning of the ecclesiastical church at a time when the Indians were desperately adjusting to the invasion of their land. The Mission's satisfactory evolutionary progress along the lines of both white education and financial commitment to a developing financial resource, impeded its evolutionary progress as an Indian mission. This situation was reversed towards the turn of the century. Paul Durieu's plans for St. Joseph's Mission put it firmly back on its original course. In 1929, Archbishop William Mark Duke of Vancouver complained to the Oblate Provincial that "at Williams Lake the whites were neglected in favour of the Indians."[22] By 1931, there were three Oblate priests and three Oblate Brothers at St. Joseph's Mission all engaged exclusively in Indian work--a situation which remains to this day.

Over the years a close relationship developed between St. Joseph's Mission and the Indians. Even though for a time they were diverted from their primary purpose, the intention of the missionaries in developing that relationship was clear and constant: to improve the spiritual welfare of the Indians. The response of the Indians to the Mission was governed by many variables and, since that response is judged primarily by non-Indians, its nature remains open to conjecture.

By 1941, however, according to the missionaries of St. Joseph's, all the Indians of Cariboo were Roman Catholics. The Oblates had at least nominally succeeded in their goal of bringing salvation to the Cariboo.

Footnotes

[1]Research has not uncovered any reason for the veto of this plan. The Oblates may not have wished to be under provincial government control.

[2]On racism and early Catholic education see Down, A Century of Service, pp. 49-50.

[3]Mass stipends were monies paid by Roman Catholics to have masses said for their intentions. e.g. Masses for dead relatives.

[4]A. J. Drinkell, "The Reverend Father Thomas, O.M.I. A Reminiscence," Uncatalogued material, O.A., Vancouver. Drinkell was a settler from the Dog Creek area.

[5]Fisher, Contact and Conflict, p. 131.

[6]Because of their extraordinary cultural development and their continuous contact with white 'civilization,' the coastal Indians have received more attention, from both historians and anthropologists, than the interior tribes. This study, although primarily church history, illustrates the variation found in missionary/Indian contact among the bands of the Cariboo. Studies of contact reaction of the many other peoples of the interior remain to be done.

[7]Residential Education for Indian Acculturation, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, Ottawa, 1958, p. 29.

[8]Memoirs, p. 17.

[9]Teit, "The Shuswap," p. 273.

[10]Undated document written by Father Thomas. The missionary explains how Indians around Williams Lake refused to register, as did Chief Basil of Bonaparte Reserve. These Indians claimed that the trap lines and the country belonged to them.

[11]Father John Hennessy, O.M.I. "The Cariboo Indian Missions," Missions 1941. Father Hennessy was the first permanent help given to Father Thomas.

[12]Among some more remote groups some of the reasons discussed in Chapter II may still have stood.

[13]The 1884 Act to Amend the Indian Act of 1880 outlawed the potlatch festival. The Indian response was divided. Some Indians supported the law, some openly defied it, while others circumvented it. See F. E. LaViolette, The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in B.C., Toronto 1973; Fisher, Contact and Conflict.

[14]In line with other provinces, British Columbia had active temperance groups. The first, the Victoria Central Women's Christian Temperance Union was incorporated in 1893. B.C. Gazette, 1893, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149.

[15]This thesis does not dwell on the physical hardships endured by the missionaries of the Cariboo but the following excerpt from Drinkall "A Reminiscence" illustrates the conditions under which they operated. "The accommodation accorded him [Father Thomas] was often times pitiful both in quantity and quality . . . His winter itinerary was a most exacting one requiring long journeys by open sleigh with temperatures of 40 to 60 below zero. On these occasions he was relayed from one village to the next by the Indians. Upon occasion snow-drifts or other hazards would render it impossible to reach his destination in one day and camping out, with none too much covering or provisions, became a necessity."

[16]Not all Oblates regarded the passing of the Durieu System as a positive step. At the funeral of Father Thomas, Brother Patrick Collins O.M.I. remarked: "It is noticeable that since his method of teaching religion has been stopped, piety and Church ruling has not been going on so well and it is feared that if such a way is let go on a few more years prayer and religion will be lost altogether." Uncatalogued material, O.A., Vancouver.

[17]This idea was still prevalent in 1957 when a conference of Oblate Residential School principals concluded that: "Residential Schools are acknowledged as being necessary yet for the education of orphans and children of nomadic or destitute parents."

[18]In 1945, the federal government paid family allowances for children attending the School to the School instead of to the parents. "It was thought that there might be difficulty getting new pupils for the Cariboo Indian Residential School this season due to the non-payment of Family Allowance to pupils attending Residential Schools . . . there is an increase in pupils this year." Christie Quarterly Report, September 1945, R.G. 10.

[19]See Sound Heritage, 1977.

[20]Lemert,"The Life and Death of An Indian State," p. 26.

[21]"Which Way Out Indians: Progress or Squalor," The Province, March 21, 1957.

[22]Father Grant to Father Rohr, School principal, December 11, 1929, A.D., Ottawa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY

1. Unpublished

Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa.
Accounts of the Williams Lake Industrial School, year ending March 31, 1917.
Christie, William. Correspondence Outward, 1944.
Déliberations du Conseil Provincial, 1866-1892.
D'herbomez, Bishop Louis. Correspondence Outward 1858-1890.
Durieu, Bishop Paul. Correspondence Outward, 1883.
Forbes, The Reverend Father George. Correspondence Outward, 1937.
Martinet, Superior General. Correspondence Outward, 1879.
McGuckin, The Reverend Father James Maria. Correspondence to Bishop D'herbomez, 1869-1882.
Minutes of the Oblate Vicariate Council Meetings, 1891-1894.
Report of the Canonical Visitation of St. Peter's Province, Canada. October 1950-May 1951.

Archives générales O.M.I., Rome.
D'herbomez, Bishop Louis. Correspondence Outward, 1873.

Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, Manitoba.
Simpson, George. Correspondence Outward, 1837.

Archives of the Sisters of St. Ann, Lachine.
D'herbomez, Bishop Louis. Correspondence Inward, 1875.
Durieu, Bishop Paul. Correspondence Inward, 1873-1891.
Minutes of the Council Meetings of the Sisters of St. Ann, Lachine, December 1873-May 1888.
Sister Mary Ann, S.C.J. Correspondence Outward, 1880.

Archives of the Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria.
D'herbomez, Bishop Louis. Correspondence Inward, 1865.
Sister Jean Gabriel, S.C.J. Correspondence Outward, 1942.
Sister Mary Jeanne S.S.A. Correspondence Outward, 1864.
Sister Mary Octavia, S.S.A. Correspondence Outward, 1873.

British Columbia: Ministry of the Environment.
Records of Lands and Mining Departments.

Oblate Archives, Vancouver.
Drinkell, A.J. "The Reverend Father Thomas O.M.I. A Reminiscence." MS.
Forbes, The Reverend Father George. Correspondence Outward, 1957.
Lardon, The Reverend Father F. "O.M.I. on the Pacific Coast (1847-1864)." MS.

LeJacq, The Reverend Father Jean-Marie. Correspondence to the Oblate Superior of Canada, October, 1895. MS.
"Survey of British Columbia Missions, 1957" MS.
Thomas, The Reverend Father François Marie. Correspondence Outward, 1956.
Thomas, The Reverend Father François Marie. "Memoirs of Father François Marie Thomas." MS.

Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
McGuckin, The Reverend James Maria. Correspondence Outward, Microfilm.

Public Archives of Canada.
Department of Indian Affairs. Black Series. Western Canada, Record Group 10, Vols. 6436, 6437, 6438, 6811.

University of British Columbia--Microfilms.
Blanchet, The Reverend Father George. Correspondence Outward, 1868.
Bunoz, Bishop E. N. "Catholic Action and the Durieu System, 1941." MS.
Demers, Bishop Modeste. Correspondence Outward, 1858.
Fouquet, The Reverend Father Leon. Correspondence Outward, 1864.
Grandidier, The Reverend Father Charles. Correspondence Outward, 1860-1872.
Marchal, The Reverend Father Charles. Correspondence Outward, 1872.
McGuckin, The Reverend Father James Maria. Correspondence Outward, 1866.

Minutes of the Council Meetings of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1871-1876.

Reports of the Vicariate of British Columbia, 1861-1918.

2. Published

Government Documents:

Abstracts from Reports on Cariboo District by British Columbia Land Surveyors to the Department of Lands, 1871-1927. Victoria: King's Printer, 1929.
British Columbia. Reports of Indian Agents. Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1885.
British Columbia. "Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year ending 31st July 1874."
Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1st March-22nd April, 1875.
Minutes of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act, 1946-1949.
House of Commons Journals, 1946-1949. Parliamentary Library, Ottawa.

Memoirs:

Crosby, Thomas. Among the Am-ko-me-nums or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1907.
Crosby, Thomas. Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship. Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914.
Lundin-Brown. The Reverend R. C. Klatsassen and Other Reminiscences of Missionary Life on British Columbia. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1873.

Oblate Records:

Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. London: Burns and Oates Ltd., 1891-1902.
Missions de la Congrégation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée. Paris: A Hennuyer, 1862-1900; Rome: Maison Générale, 1900-1972.
Petites Annales des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée. 1893, Vol. 31, Paris.
Rapports sur les Missions du Diocèse de Québec qui sont secourues par 1'Association de la Propagation de la Foi. Quebec: Frechette et Cie, 1843.
Residential Education for Indian Acculturation. Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission. Ottawa: Oblate Fathers, 1958.
The Constitutions and Rules of the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Rome, 1945 edition.

Others:

Dawson, G. M. "Climate and Agriculture in Northern British Columbia." Canadian Pacific Report. 1880.
Morice, Adrian S. A First Collection of Minor Essays Mostly Anthropological. (n.p.: n.d.)
No author. St. Ann's Journal. April 1949. Victoria: Acme Press Ltd., 1949.
Rohner, Ronald P., ed. The Ethnography of Franz Boas: Letters and Diaries of Franz Boas Written on the North Coast from 1886-1931. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Newspapers:

The British Colonist 1860-1868.
The Cariboo Sentinel 1863-1868.
The Government Gazette 1892.
The Vancouver Daily Province 1930-1957.
The Williams Lake Tribune 1961.

B. SECONDARY

1. Published

Auclair, The Reverend Elie. History of the Sisters of St. Ann. Translated by Sister Mary Mildred. Victoria: Sisters of St. Ann, 1938.

Begg, Alexander. History of British Columbia from its Earliest Discovery to the Present Time. Toronto: William Briggs, 1894.

Berkhofer Jr., Robert. "Model Zions for the American Indian." American Quarterly (Vol. 15, 1963), pp. 176-190.

Berkhofer, Robert F. Salvation and the Savage. Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

Besson, P. Un Missionaire d'Autrefois. Marseilles: n.p., 1962.

Bryde, John F. Modern Indian Psychology. South Dakota: University of South Dakota, 1971.

Cronin, Kay. Cross in the Wilderness. Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959.

de Pathmes, Sister Maria Jean. Les Soeurs de Sainte Anne. Un Siecle D'Histoire 1850-1900. Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte Anne, 1950.

Down, Sister Mary Margaret. A Century of Service. Victoria: The Sisters of St. Ann, 1966.

Duff, Wilson. The Upper Stalo Indians. Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 1, 1952. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1952.

Fisher, Robin. Contact and Conflict. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.

Garrigan, Gilbert G. The Jesuits in the Middle United States, Vol. 2. New York: American Press, 1938.

Graham, Elizabeth. Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1975.

Hagan, William. American Indians. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Harmon, Daniel. Sixteen Years in Indian Country, 1800-1816. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1957.

Hennessy, Father John O.M.I. "A Winter Missionary Expedition in the Cariboo." Missions 1941, pp. 51-57.

----------. "The Cariboo Indian Missions." Missions 1941, p. 50.

Hewlett, E. S. "The Chilcotin Uprising of 1854." BC Studies, No. 19 (August, 1973), pp. 50-72.

Jenness, Diamond. The Indians of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Kennedy-Gresko, Jacqueline. "Missionary Acculturation Programs in British Columbia." Etudes Oblat (July-September 1973), pp. 145-158.

Lemert, Edwin M. "The Life and Death of an Indian State." Human Organization (Vol. 13, No. 3, 1954).

Levasseur, Donat. History of the Oblate Congregation. Ottawa: Editions Des Etudes Oblats, 1959.

McGloin, John B. "John Nobili S. J. Founder of California's Santa Clara College: The New Caledonia Years, 1847-1848." B.C. Historical Quarterly, 1953, pp. 215-222.

Morice, Adrian S. History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada. Vol II. Toronto: The Mission Book Company, 1910.

----------. The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Toronto: William Briggs, 1905.

Nelson, Denys. "Yakima Days," The Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (January, 1928), pp. 45-51.

Ormsby, Margaret. British Columbia: A History. Vancouver: Macmillan of Canada, 1958.

"The Reverend Father McGuckin." B.C. Catholic (January 1941).

Satz, Ronald N. American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

Schoenburg, Wilfred P. Chronicle of the Catholic History of the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1960. Portland: Gonzaga Preparatory School, 1962.

Sheehan, Bernard. Seeds of Extinction. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1974.

Teit, James. "The Shuswap," The Jesup North Pacific Expedition Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. II.

Terry, George. History and Legends of the Chilcotin. Williams Lake: n.p., 1958.

Theodore, Sister Mary. Pioneer Nuns of British Columbia. Victoria: Sisters of St. Ann, 1931.

Veillette, John and Gary White. Early Indian Village Churches. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.

Weir, Thomas R. Ranching: The Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia. Geographical Branch Memoir No. 4. Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1955.

2. Unpublished

Dionne, Gabriel. "Histoire des Methodes Utilisees Par les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans L'Envangelization des Indiens du 'Versant Pacifique' au Dixneuvieme Siecle." M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1947.

Fisher, Robin. "Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890." Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974.

Hanley, Philip Michael. "Frs. Blanchet and Demers and Missionary Preaching in Oregon." M.A. thesis, Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, 1965.

----------. "The Catholic Ladder and Missionary Activity in the Pacific Northwest." M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1965.

Lane, R. B. "The Cultural Relations of the Chilcotin Indians of West Central British Columbia." Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1953.

Maclaurin, Donald. "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia." Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1936.

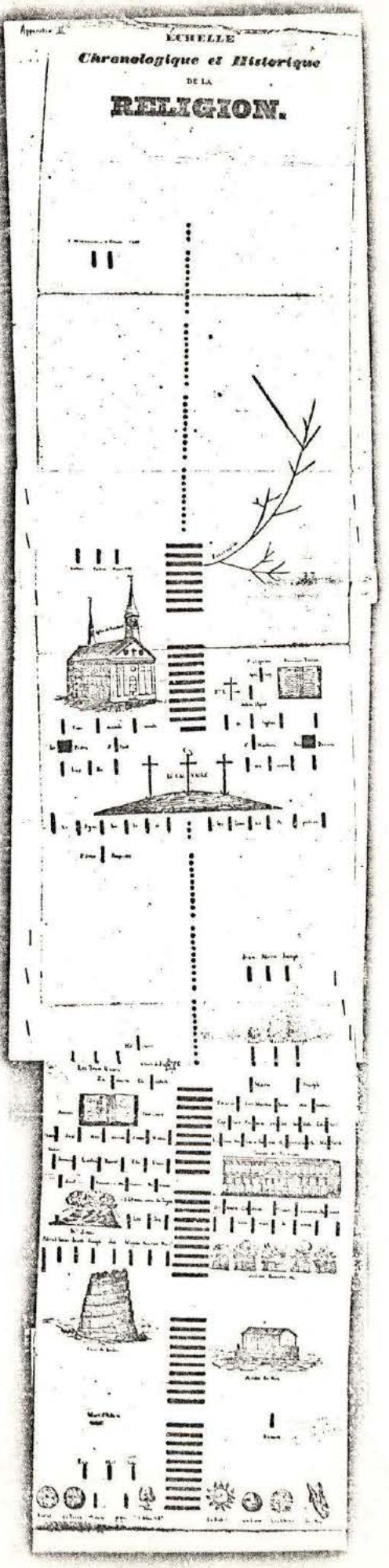
Rumley, H. E. "Reactions to Contact and Colonization of Religious and Social Change Among the Indians of British Columbia." M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973.

Whitehead, Margaret M. "The Early History of St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake, British Columbia, 1866-1882." Honours thesis, University of Victoria, 1977.

APPENDIX I

Quebec Ladder Devised By Archbishop

First Printed in 1843


ECHELLE
Chronologique et Historique
DE LA
RELIGION.

APPENDIX II

Map of St. Joseph's Mission District

Red Crosses Indicate Mission Churches


193
PRINCE GEORGE
QUESNEL
WILLIAMS LAKE
100 MILE HOUSE
70 Mile House
LILLOOET
ASHCROFT
CACHE CREEK
LYTTON
PEMBERTON
WHISTLER
SQUAMISH
VANCOUVER
WESTMINSTER
HARRISON LAKE
HOPE
CHILCOTIN
FRASER
THOMPSON
CARIBOO
OKANAGAN
COAST MTNS
Chilako
Nechako
Chilanko
Fraser
Quesnel
Bowron
Cariboo
Thompson
Harrison
Pemberton
Lillooet
Squamish
Whistler
Garibaldi
Alta Lake
Gold Bridge
Bralorne
Shalalth
Anahim Lake
Redstone
Alexis Creek
Riske Creek
Alkali Lake
Big Creek
Gang Ranch
Lac la Hache
Horsefly
Likely
Barkerville
Wells
Bowron Lake
Lake Park
Moose Heights
Bouchie Lake
Tatlayoko Lake
Chilko Lake
Taseko Lakes
Tatla Lake
Kleena Kleene
Nimpo Lake
Charlotte Lake
Puntzi Lake
Chezacut
Nazko
Quesnel Lake
Cariboo Lake
Horsefly Lake
Mitchell
Niagara
Ahbau
Narrow L.
Pinkerton L.
Isaac Creek
Lone Butte
Canim Lake
Deka Lake
Forest Grove
Meadow Creek
Big Bar Creek
Clinton
Loon L.
Hihium L.
Walhachin
Spences Bridge
Stein Mtn
Skihist Mtn
Zarkwaski Mtn
Cairn Needle
North Bend
Boston Bar
Spuzzum
Yale
The Old Settler
Harrison Hot Springs
Agassiz
Chilliwack
Mission
Abbotsford
Langley
Surrey
Burnaby
New Westminster
Port Coquitlam
Port Moody
North Vancouver
Howe Sound
Britannia Beach
Squamish
Whistler
Garibaldi Highlands
Garibaldi Park
Mt. Garibaldi 8670
Cayoosh Creek
Seton Portage
Seton Lake
Anderson Lake
Shalalth
Gold Bridge
Bralorne
Carpenter L.
Lajoie
Pavilion
Marble Canyon
Fountain
Lillooet
Bridge R.
Thompson R.
Fraser R.
Chilcotin R.
Chilko R.
Taseko R.
Homathko R.
Klinaklini R.
Dean R.
Bella Coola
Anahim Lake
Nimpo Lake
Charlotte Lake
Puntzi Lake
Chezacut
Nazko
Quesnel Lake
Cariboo Lake
Horsefly Lake
Mitchell
Niagara
Ahbau
Narrow L.
Pinkerton L.
Isaac Creek
Lone Butte
Canim Lake
Deka Lake
Forest Grove
Meadow Creek
Big Bar Creek
Clinton
Loon L.
Hihium L.
Walhachin
Spences Bridge
Stein Mtn
Skihist Mtn
Zarkwaski Mtn
Cairn Needle
North Bend
Boston Bar
Spuzzum
Yale
The Old Settler
Harrison Hot Springs
Agassiz
Chilliwack
Mission
Abbotsford
Langley
Surrey
Burnaby
New Westminster
Port Coquitlam
Port Moody
North Vancouver
Howe Sound
Britannia Beach
Squamish
Whistler
Garibaldi Highlands
Garibaldi Park
Mt. Garibaldi 8670
Cayoosh Creek
Seton Portage
Seton Lake
Anderson Lake
Shalalth
Gold Bridge
Bralorne
Carpenter L.
Lajoie
Pavilion
Marble Canyon
Fountain
Lillooet
Bridge R.
Thompson R.
Fraser R.
Chilcotin R.
Chilko R.
Taseko R.
Homathko R.
Klinaklini R.
Dean R.
Bella Coola

APPENDIX III

The Colonist August 24, 1879 P. 1

Board School
For Boys

St. Joseph's Mission B. C.

Under the direction of the Oblate Fathers

It is beautifully situated in the San José Valley Williams Lake

The course of studies embraces a

Thorough English and Commercial Education

TERMS - Board, Tuition, Washing and Mending.

Per Session of 10 Months $150

There has not been a single case of sickness amongs't the pupils

since the School was opened in Dec. 1873

Studies will be resumed on Thursday Sept. 25th 1879

For further particulars apply to

Rev. J. M. McGuckin OMI

Superior

APPENDIX IV

Canoe Creek Council No. 83 Total Abstinence Society of B.C. 1895
Established in Canoe Creek Indian Village by the Grand President of the Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia.

All the members of the local Council called Canoe Creek and numbered No. 83 promises and bind themselves to faithfully follow the rules and the general regulations and usages or Direction of the Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia, the principals of which are contained in the following statutes of said Society.

Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia

1. The Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia is an association of Indians desirous of applying themselves earnestly to the practices of the Duties of a good Catholic and a useful citizen, desirous also of assisting each other to check the passion for fermented beverages and thereby to avoid the awful evils originating in the abuses of intoxicating drinks.
2. The end of the Society is to make its members more particularly acquainted with their duties as Catholics and as Citizens and to enable them to fulfill those duties in a becoming manner.
3. The Society having for object the moral improvement of the Indians in British Columbia shall establish branches, one for each locality, said branches shall be called Councils, each Council to receive a name and a number.
4. Having also for object to check the craving for strong drinks, the Society binds to members to pledge themselves to abstain from any kind of intoxicating drinks or fermented beverages for life.
5. In order to strengthen its members in their war against the Devil of Drink the Society obliges them to avoid bad company and especially the company of those who are addicted to drink. The Society obliges them also to shun the places and occasions wherein they would be exposed to the danger of breaking their pledge of total abstinence.
6. They shall faithfully comply in every case with the enactment of the Indian Act 1886 by giving information of the person from whom, the place where, and the time when, intoxicants have been procured by them or by any other Indian.
7. Moreover the Association shall be strictly faithful to the various fractions of their church, they will approach the Sacraments time the priest comes to their village, they will pray together every day, they will have a meeting every Sunday in order to know themselves in their good resolutions.
8. Should a member become guilty of a breach of his pledge or of any bad behavior he shall during the aforesaid meeting appear before the local President of the Council or before the Watchman holding his shore, ask pardon for the scandal given renew his firm purpose not to offend again in future and receive a public penance from the Local President.

9. The society will be under the immediate control of a Grand President who will be no other than the Bishop of the Diocese who shall name from time to time a Delegate to visit the various councils of the vicinity.
10. But like all other well regulated societies each council has its local government peculiar to itself composed of a local President named also Caye, some Watchmen and a _____, all of whom to be selected and removable at will by the Grand President or his Delegate.
11. It is the duty of the local President or Caye to see that all the rules of the Society be faithfully observed by the Members of his council. It is his duty not only to admonish but also to give the penances in use in the society to such members as may fail in the duties imposed by the society.
12. The duty of the Watchman is to aid the local President or Caye in the discharge of his functions, to call before the local President during the meetings the member who may have failed in their duties or given scandals by their misdeeds. The first Watchman will supply the local president's place during the latter's absence. If the first watchman is also absent, the second will take the President's place and so on for the other watchmen.
13. The recepting of a new member shall take place always in a general meeting and in the presence of the associates who will thus become witness of the pledge of each member of the council.
14. On his accepting, the new member will pledge himself with a solemn and public promise the focus of which is given below. He will sign his name or make his mark into the register of the members of the council of the Society or a visible testimony that he binds himself to the following:-
    1. I pledge myself and promise to abstain from every kind of liquour and of fermented beverages for life.
    2. I pledge myself and promise to observe faithfully the rules and regulations of the Society and to follow the direction given by the Grand President or his Delegate.
    3. I pledge myself to perform a public penance to be designated by the grand president or his delegate or by the local president of a council of the society, every time I be found guilty of immorality, gambling, assisting at a Pot-latch at a Camannor [sic] feast or at any meeting or Ceremony forbidden by the society.
    4. I pledge myself and promise to pay so the repairs or decorating of the Church of my village each time I break my pledge of total abstinence of fermented beverages according to the following scale adopted in this Council.
       $4 if he accuses himself) for an unbaptized
       $5 if he accuses himself) for a Christian
       $5 if he accuses himself) for a communicant
       $6 if he accuses himself) for the president and watchmen of the Council or chief and watchman of the village.
       Adam X Chief President
       Narcisse X Captain 1st watchmen.
       Willunben X

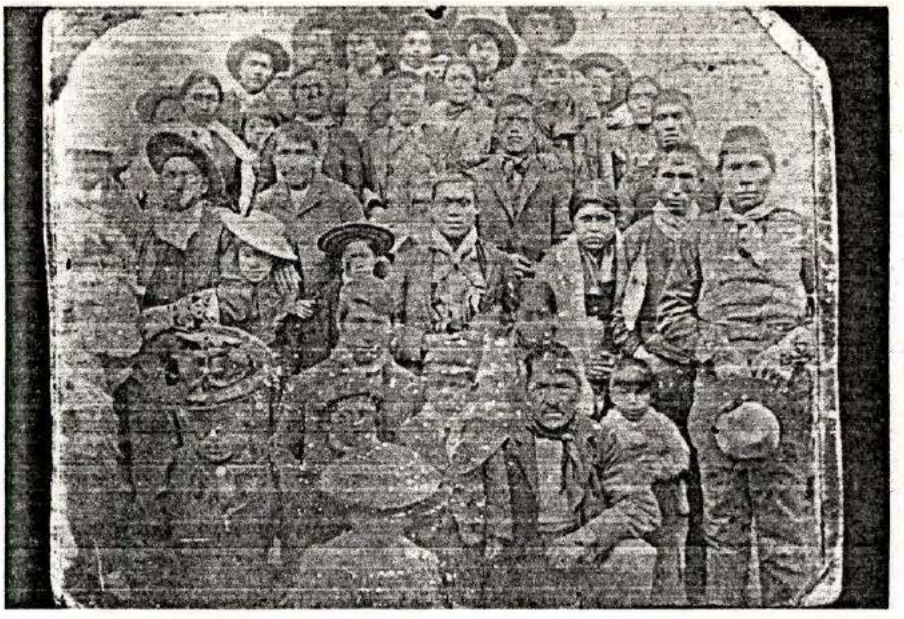
APPENDIX V

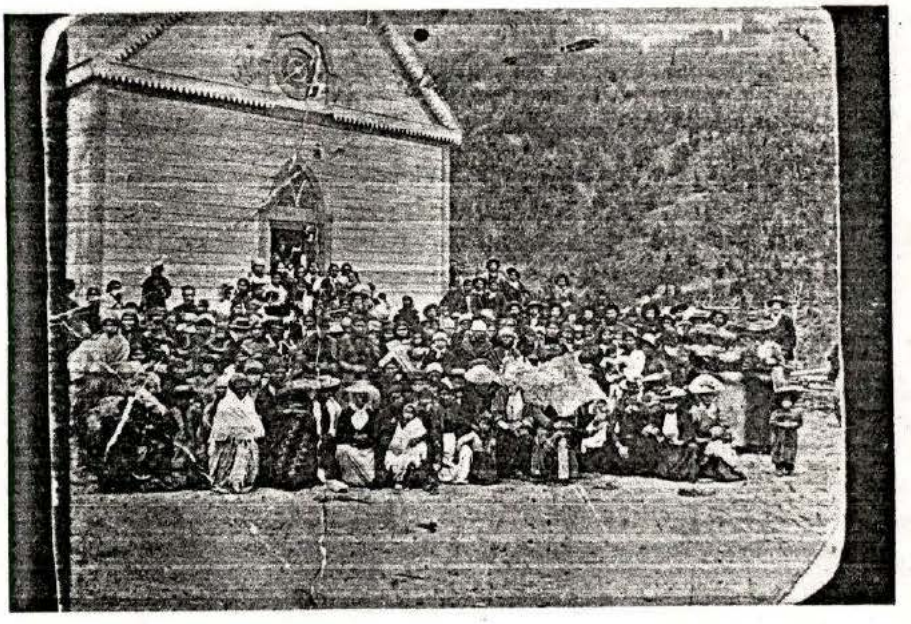
Blessing of the Canoe Creek Church

1902

Bottom Photograph Shows Bishop Dontenwill (Centre)

Father LeJeune (Left) and Father Chirouse (Right)





APPENDIX VI

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Dept., Ottawa. FEBRUARY, 1948

Indian Sisterhood Founded

HANCEVILLE, B.C.—The first postulants of the all dian Sisterhood of Mary-Immaculate have taken the black ibit at the Sacred Heart Church, Anaham Reserve, B.C., Dec. 8, 1947. Sutherland

The new order is under the guidance of Father Francis ullivan, O.M.I., who was delegated by Bishop Jennings, of mloops, to receive the postulants. The Sisters of Christ e King will help the new Sisterhood to train in the ways religious life. Sister St. Bernard is the novice-mistress.

The six postulants who joined Dec. 8th are to begin their vitiate in May. They will en wear the white and blue bit. The novitiate is under nstruction, and will be ready occupation in March.

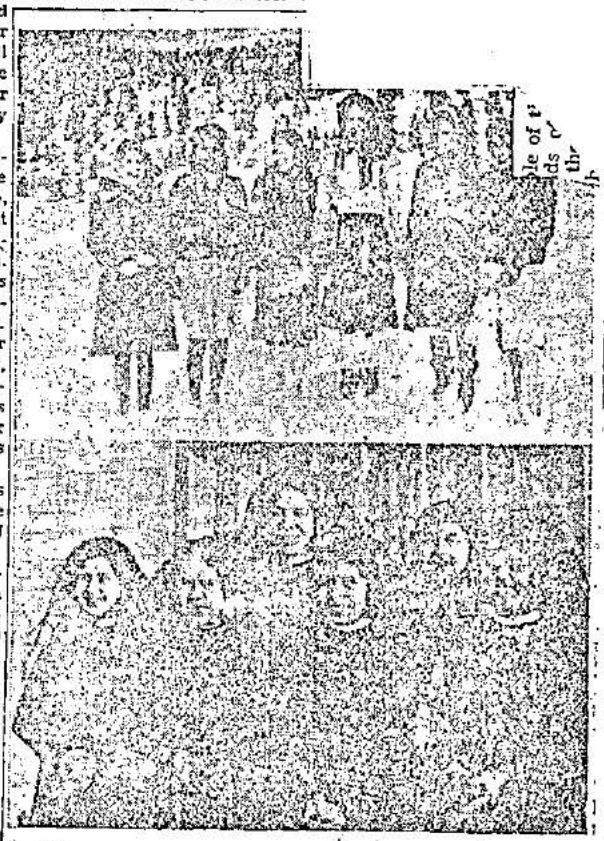
The conditions to join the In- n Sisterhood are, first, the sire to lead the religious life, be in good health, at least years of age ,and have a min- um Grade six education. fter the two years' term as vices the Sisters will be admit- t to take their first vows. en they will continue their dies, through High School, d afterwards train for quali- d teachers or registered nurses the purpose of serving their n people in B.C., and perhaps other provinces of Canada.

Thus one of the fondest wishes the Church, that is to have ive workers will be fulfilled the grace of God.

Anaham Reserve is in the Chil- in country, 75 miles from lliams Lake B.C. The Chil- in Indians were converted 50 rs ago by Father Thomas, M.I., who is still with them.

For further information on the w Indian Sisterhood, one may ite directly to Fr. F. Suther- d, O.M.I., Hanceville, B.C., or Sister St. Bernard, Novitiate, nceville, B.C.

More pictures of the novitiate page 8.)



The six Indian girls before entering the Novitiate at Anaham (below) the same girls as postulant Sisters of Mary Immaculate; they are: (back row): Sister Smith (Kakawis), Sr. Edwards (Lillooet; (front row): Sr. Miller (Fraser Valley), Sr. Kathleen Thomas (North Vancouver), Sr. Dora James, (Kuper Island), and Sr. Adeline Thomas, (Kuper Island).

VITA

Surname: WHITEHEAD Given Names: MARGARET MARY

Place of Birth: Oldham, Lancashire, England Date of Birth: March 26, 1937

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

CAMOSUN COLLEGE	1973 to 1974
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA	1974 to 1979

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. (Honours)	1977	University of Victoria, Victoria

Honours and Awards:

Provincial Government Awards, 1973-1977

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1977/78, 1978/79

Allen and Elizabeth McKinnon Scholarship, 1976

Leon J. Ladner, B.C. History Scholarship, 1977

J. S. Ewart Memorial Fund, University of Winnipeg, 1978

Simon Fraser Open Graduate Fellowship, 1979

Publications:

Two articles accepted and forthcoming for Oblate Missions, Ottawa.

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation

MISSIONARIES AND INDIANS IN CARIBOO:

A HISTORY OF ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION,

WILLIAMS LAKE, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Author [redacted]

Margaret Mary Whitehead

June 27, 1979.