SHORT TITLE

METHODISM AND INDIAN EDUCATION IN UPPER CANADA 1824-1847

THE METHODIST CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN EDUCATION IN UPPER CANADA 1824-1847

by

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ABSTRACT

THE METHODIST CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN EDUCATION IN UPPER CANADA 1824 - 1847

In their contact with the Indians, the Methodists found they had most success when they gathered them in villages. This supported the policy of the colonial government for dealing with aboriginal people.

Chapter I. Methodism and its growth in Upper Canada

Methodism was an organized missionary religion which came to Upper Canada from two sources. The Episcopal Methodists from the United States were the first arrivals followed by the Wesleyans from Great Britain. There was a struggle between the two groups for the control of their religion and of Indian missions in Upper Canada. The first union which took place in 1833 was dissolved in 1840. After a period of schism and discussions between leading Methodists in Canada and Great Britain, there was a reunion in 1847.

During this period, the dissension between the two groups was intensified by the government's distrust of the Canadian Methodists due to their American origin, their interest in the political situation in Canada and the Clergy Reserves. To

counteract their influence, the government encouraged the Wesleyans to establish missions among the whites and the Indians.

Chapter II. Methodist educational activity among the Indians

The first intention of the Methodists in Upper Canada was to supply the religious needs of white settlers. It was not until they had established circuits among them that they turned to the Indians. The means used to contact the Indians were visiting them, living with them, the employment of native teachers, and camp meetings. After visiting the Indians, a society would be organized and a school begun. Their first experience with an Indian settlement was with the Indians in the village on the River Credit built by the government. Their initial success primarily through the influence of Egerton Ryerson led to a system of organizing the Indians in villages.

The aim of the Methodists was to convert the Indians to Christianity. In this way, they had their greatest success in persuading their converts to adapt to the prevailing standards of white civilization. Before the introduction of Christianity, there had been resistance to any aspects of white life. Conversion was followed by the establishment of a school with a curriculum parallel to that taught to white

children as well as agricultural education. Manual labour schools and boarding schools were also established.

Chapter III. Problems encountered in educating the Indians and a solution to them.

Among the problems encountered by the Methodists in converting the Indians were those of religion and culture, increasing immigration in Upper Canada and the government policy towards the Indians. Although the Indians recognized One Great Spirit they lacked the sense of sin so strongly felt by the Methodists. The methods of education employed by the Indians differed from those of the Methodists. The Indian child had to transfer from a passive form of education to one in which he was active. Increasing immigration in Upper Canada introduced disease among the Indians. As they ceded more land to the Crown they felt insecure. As the Methodist missionaries tried to obtain a deed for the land on behalf of the Indians, they were confronted by the problem of who was the rightful owner of the land, the Crown or the Indians. Fostered by Sir Francis Bond Head, the Removal Plan which aimed to move the Indians to Manitoulin Island unsettled those who had established agricultural communities.

A tentative solution was suggested by Alder. The primary aim was to convert the Indians to Christianity which would lead to their acceptance of the white man's life. A

further aim was to give the Indians a measure of security and help them maintain the prevailing standards of white civilization. Indians should receive a deed to the land on which their reservations were situated. The literate should be allowed to vote. Central boarding schools should be established and there should be a resident farmer in each district. The statute forbidding the sale of liquor to the Indians should be put into effect. An ombudsman should be appointed as an intermediary between the Indians and the government.

Some of Alder's suggestions were accepted by the government which saw them as an answer to the problem of educating the Indians. The result was that the Indians were left on their reservations mainly in the care of missionaries with little other interest taken in their welfare.

ABSTRAIT

LA CONTRIBUTION DES METHODISTES A L'INSTRUCTION DES INDIENS AU HAUT CANADA 1824 - 1847

En rencontrant les indiens les méthodistes obtenaient le plus grand succès quand ils les rassemblaient en villages. Cette méthode maintenait aussi la politique du gouvernement colonial envers les autochtones.

Chapitre I Le développement du méthodisme au Haut Canada

Le méthodisme était une religion organisée et missionaire qui au Haut Canada remontait à deux sources. Les méthodistes épiscopaux des Etats-Unis furent les premiers à venir suivis par les wesleyens de Grande Bretagne. Les deux groupes se disputèrent l'administration de leur religion et des missions indiennes au Haut Canada. La première union qui eut lieu en 1833 fut dissoute en 1840. Après une période de schisme et de discussions entre les méthodistes principaux au Canada et en Grande Bretagne il y eut une réunion en 1847.

Pendant cette période la dissension entre les deux groupes était rendue plus forte par la méfiance du gouvernement envers les méthodistes canadiens dûe à leur origine américaine, à l'intérêt qu'ils portaient à la situation politique au Haut Canada et aux réserves du clergé. Pour

riposter à leur influence, le gouvernement encouragea les wesleyens à établir des missions parmi les blancs et les indiens.

Chapitre II L'activité pédagogique des méthodistes parmi les indiens

La première intention des méthodistes au Haut Canada était de satisfaire les besoins religieux des immigrants blancs. Ce ne fut qu'après avoir établi des circonscriptions ecclésiastiques parmi eux qu'ils commençaient à travailler avec les indiens. Les moyens employés pour se mettre en contact avec les indiens étaient de les visiter, d'habiter avec eux, d'employer des professeurs autochtones et de tenir des assemblées religieuses en plein air. Après avoir visité les indiens, ils organisaient une société et une école. Leur première expérience d'un établissement indien eut lieu dans le village de la rivière Credit construit par le gouvernement. Ce premier succès dû surtout à l'influence de Egerton Ryerson les amena à organiser les indiens en villages.

Le but des méthodistes était de convertir les indiens au christianisme. Les méthodistes le trouvèrent le meilleur moyen d'amener les convertis à adapter à la mode de civilisation des blancs. Avant l'introduction du christianisme les indiens avaient refusé d'accepter le genre de vie des blancs. L'établissement d'une école suivait la conversion avec un

programme d'études parallèle à celui offert aux enfants blancs aussi bien qu'une formation agricole. Des écoles d'arts et métiers furent aussi établies.

Chapitre III Les problèmes rencontrés dans l'instruction des indiens et une solution proposée

Parmi les problèmes que les méthodistes rencontrèrent pour convertir les indiens on peut noter la religion et la culture indienne, l'immigration croissante au Haut Canada, et la politique du gouvernement envers les indiens. Bien que les indiens reconnussent un Grand Esprit il leur manquait le sens de péché dont les méthodistes avaient tant de conscience. Les méthodes d'instruction employées par les indiens étaient différentes de celles des méthodistes. Au lieu d'être passif l'enfant indien devait être actif dans son instruction. Le nombre croissant d'immigrants au Haut Canada introduisit des maladies aux indiens. En cédant de plus en plus de leur terre à la couronne ils se sentèrent sans sécurité. En essayant d'obtenir un acte pour la terre au nom des indiens, les missionaires méthodistes se trouvèrent en face du problème de savoir qui était le possesseur légitime de la terre, la couronne ou les indiens. Encouragé par Sir Francis Bond Head le plan de déplacement qui tentait de déménager les indiens aux îles Manitoulin dérangeait ceux qui avaient établi des villages agricoles.

Alder proposa une solution. Le premier but était de convertir les indiens au christianisme ce qui les amènerait à accepter la manière de vie des blancs. Un autre but était de donner aux indiens quelque sécurité et de les aider à maintenir cette manière de vie au niveau des blancs. Les indiens devaient recevoir un acte se rapportant à la terre sur laquelle leurs réserves étaient situées. Ceux qui savaient lire et écrire devaient avoir le droit de vote. On devait établir des internats centraux et un fermier devait résider dans chaque district. On devait exécuter l'acte défendant la vente de boissons alcooliques aux indiens. On devait désigner un intermédiaire entre les indiens et le gouvernement.

Le gouvernement accepta quelques-unes des suggestions d'Alder parce qu'il y trouvait la solution au problème de l'instruction des indiens. Il en résulta qu'on laissa les indiens à leurs réserves confiés pour la plupart aux soins des missionaires et qu'on s'y intéressa peu.

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INTRODUCTION

This study springs from an interest in the Indian in Upper Canada and his position in the development of Canadian history. It stems from a suggestion that I examine the work of a religious order in the area of Indian education. As the Methodists were active in Upper Canada during the nineteenth century, I thought it would be interesting to examine their contribution to the education of the North American Indian.

The hypothesis of this study is that while the Methodists made significant contributions to Indian education, at the same time, they helped to ensure that Indians were confined to reservations.

Through an historical approach, this thesis attempts to reveal the contributions made by Methodism to Indian education. It will examine some of the problems confronting the Methodist ministers and their attempts to solve them.

The year 1824 was appropriate for the beginning of this study because it marked the establishment of the first Methodist Indian school for the Mohawks on Grand River. After showing the struggles between the two groups of Methodists, their educational efforts and problems with the Indians, I

limited the period of study to 1847 when the two Methodist Conferences re-united. The date was also apposite as the late 1840's revealed a greater interest in establishing industrial rather than elementary schools among the Indians.

The work of the Methodists among the Indians was an offshoot of the establishment of their religion in Upper Canada. Methodism was introduced into the province from two sources. The Episcopal Methodists came from the United States while the Wesleyans originated in Great Britain. After ceding Upper Canada to the Episcopal Methodists in 1820, the Wesleyans ventured to return to the province in 1831. This caused the first union between the Canadian and English Conferences in 1833. Friction between the two groups led to their separation in 1840. A period of schism followed until the re-union of the Conferences in 1847.

The Methodists were the most zealous of the various denominations to attract members in Upper Canada. Due to their itinerant ministry, they were able to maintain contact with whites and Indians in remote areas. In response to Indian request, they began to establish schools and became one of the major contributors to Indian education.

The struggle between the two groups for the control of Methodism did not cause either to relinquish its missionary endeavours. This was due to several factors. The organization

of Methodism was such that the missionary committee could function separately from the administrative body and could continue its work despite dissension among the latter. The structure of the religion allowed a routine to be established so that missions could be regularly visited and supervised. Finally, Methodism was an intensely evangelical religion which meant that missionary work had to be maintained to justify the existence of the Church.

Having converted the Indians to Christianity, the first step of the Methodists was to establish schools. In addition to basic elementary subjects they taught the rudiments of farming and simple industrial education to enable the Indians to adapt to the predominantly agricultural economy of Upper Canada. In the manual labour schools, the boys were given more intensive instruction in farming while the girls were taught housekeeping. The early boarding schools established by the Methodists were to become a regular feature of Indian education.

When the Methodists began to work with the Indians, the culture of the latter, already weakened by contact with the whites, yielded to that of Christianity. Together with cultural change, the Methodists also introduced a change in the economic base of Indian life. They tried to convert the Indians from nomadic bands of hunters to settled communities of farmers. They also endeavoured to change the ethos of the Indian by exposing him to a change in the method of

education from learning passively through experience to learning actively and competitively by rote. These measures were supported by the government which viewed missionary endeavour as a convenient solution to the problem of dealing with native peoples.

Although the Methodists met with some success, the overall effect was to isolate the Indians from their culture and from the white community. The Indians neither integrated with Canadian society nor were they able to maintain a cultural identity on their reservations. They became a neglected aspect of Canadian life.

The fact that there were two sources of Methodism in Upper Canada poses the question of which was the more influential. Until 1832, the Canadian Methodists held the field alone. During 1832, however, the Wesleyans who had been invited by the government to enter Upper Canada began to establish missions among the Indians. Due to their better financial position, they were able to establish more efficient day and manual labour schools than the Canadian Methodists. With Wesleyan control of all missions in 1833, more money was made available to the Canadian mission schools. When the two Conferences separated, the Wesleyans, because they suffered no financial loss, were able to maintain their three Indian schools in the usual manner. The Canadian Methodists, however, deprived of Wesleyan financial support were faced with supporting their schools alone. From an administrative and

financial point of view, it could be said that the Wesleyans had the greater influence. However, the Canadian Methodists were more influential in establishing schools because they had laid the foundation of Indian education in Upper Canada before the arrival of the Wesleyans.

Primary sources include Methodist missionary letters and the Chief Superintendent's Correspondence of Upper Canada, available at the Public Archives in Ottawa. These include references to Methodist business but, in the material studied, not a great deal concerning their work in Indian education. Methodist missionary letters are also available at the United Church Archives in Toronto. They tend to stress the internal problems of the Methodists in Canada rather than their work with the Indians. Other sources include the correspondence between the Lieutenant Governors and the Colonial Secretary during the 1830's, published by the British Parliament and available at McGill University. These contain sections on Upper Canada as well as the other provinces.

Also available at McGill University are the early histories by Methodist ministers. These include Case and His Cotemporaries in five volumes by John Carroll; The History of the Ojebway Indians and The Life and Journal of Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-by by Peter Jones; The History of Methodism in Canada by George Playter; Canadian Methodism, The Clergy Reserve Question and The Story of My Life by Egerton Ryerson;

and The History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada by Thomas Webster. All these works refer to the struggle of Methodism to establish itself in Upper Canada and to the work of the Methodists with the Indians.

Other primary sources which provide background material and insight into the problems of the time are works by contemporary observers. These include North American Indians by George Catlin; Christianity the means of civilization shown in the evidence given before a Committee on the House of Commons by D. Coates, Reverend John Beecham and Reverend William Ellis; The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley A.M. edited by Nehemiah Curnock; Lord Durham's Report; Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada by Marin Doyle; The Town of York by Edith G. Firth; The Manners Customs and Antiquities of the Indians of North and South America by Samuel Goodrich; A Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada by J. George Hodgins; A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America by Samuel Farmer Jarvis; John Wesley edited by Albert C. Outler; Oneŏta and Notes on the Iroquois by Henry R. Schoolcraft; Life of Joseph Brant Thayendanegea by William Stone; and Documents and Opinions by John Strachan.

For the religion and customs of the Indians, it was necessary to go back to the Jesuit Relations, The History of the Five Nations by Cadwallader Colden and The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons by Father Gabriel Sagard.

There are other primary sources included in the bibliography to which no direct reference is made. These include The Canadas in 1841 by Sir Richard S. Bonnycastle; History of the Settlement of Upper Canada by William Cannif; A History of Canada and of Other British Provinces in North America by George J. Hodgins; Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada by Anna Brownell Jameson; and Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America by Paul Kane.

Of the many secondary sources, the following proved most useful; Upper Canada the Formative Years by Gerald M. Craig; Wesley and his Century by Reverend W. H. Fitchett; Parsons & Politics by Goldwin French; Land Policies of Upper Canada by Lillian F. Gates; A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America 1763-1912 by Stanley C. Johnson; The Indians of Canada by Diamond Jenness; Moral Education among the North American Indians by Claude Andrew Nichols; Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada by J. Harold Putman; The School System of Ontario by George W. Ross; The Makers of Canada by Duncan Campbell Scott and Pelham Edgar; The History of Methodism by Abel Stevens; The French Canadians by Mason Wade; Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century by Robert F. Wearmouth; and Early Methodism in Upper Canada by Star Floyd Maine.

Attempts to locate any previous studies of Methodist educational activity among the Indians in Upper Canada have met with a negative response. A doctoral thesis at McGill

University by Patrick Russell Judge on Indian Church Schools refers to the work of the Church of England in Manitoba under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel during the 1850's.

The term Upper Canada is used throughout to refer to the region later known as Canada West.

During the period covered by this study, Upper Canada was still in the process of development. Settlements were isolated from each other and from the rest of the country.

The people often led a subsistence existence. In 1838 Lord Durham wrote:

> A very considerable portion of the Province has neither roads, post offices, mills, schools, nor churches. The people may raise enough for their own subsistence, and may even have a rude and comfortless plenty, but they can seldom acquire wealth; nor can even wealthy landowners prevent their children from growing up ignorant and boorish, and from occupying a far lower mental, moral and social position than they themselves fill. Their means of communication with each other, or the chief towns of the Province, are limited and uncertain. With the exception of the labouring class, most of the emigrants who have arrived within the last ten years, are poorer now than at the time of their arrival in the Province. There is no adequate system of local assessment to improve the means of communication; and the funds occasionally voted for this purpose are, under the present system, disposed of by a House of Assembly which represents principally the interests of the more settled districts, and which, it is alleged has been chiefly intent in making their disposal a means of strengthening the influence of its members in the constituencies which they represent. These funds have consequently almost always been applied in that part of the country where they were least needed; and they have been too frequently expended so as to produce scarcely any perceptible advantages.[1]

During the time the Methodists were working with the Indians, Upper Canada gradually acquired a public education system which was established with the Education Act of 1846.

Although acts were passed concerning education in 1798 and 1807, the schools envisaged were not elementary schools

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[1] Lord Durham's Report, Gerald M. Craig (ed.), (McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), p. 100.

but secondary schools based on the principal of the English public schools.[2] It was not until 1816 that an act was passed concerning elementary education. The sum of £6,000 was appropriated for such schools as might be established by law but no school was to receive more than £25. If the inhabitants of a township built a school and could show that 20 children were in attendance, they could authorize three persons to act as trustees to appoint a teacher. The trustees were responsible for the examination and appointment of the teacher.[3] The balance needed to maintain the school had to come from subscriptions.[4]

In 1820, the Government Grant was reduced to £2,500 in an attempt to reduce the cost of education. Teachers of each district were to share the grant but no teacher was to receive more than £12. 10s per year. The District Treasurer was not to receive any further money until he had already accounted for the sums paid to him. Any money not spent by the District Treasurer was to be returned to the Receiver General.[5]

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[2]J. H. Putman, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada (Queen's University, 1912), p. 37.

[3]4th George IV Ch. XXXVI, The Statutes of the Province of Upper Canada (Kingston U C: Francis N. Hill 1831), p.207.

[4]Ibid., p. 208.

[5]1st George IV Ch. VII, J. G. George Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1894) Vol. 1, p. 172-173.

In 1822 Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, established the Upper Canada Central School based on the monitorial system of the British National School as devised by the Reverend A. Bell. One school was to be established in each town and £100 was to be given to the master of each school.[6]

There was at this time little interest in education on the part of the general population. A letter from a Mr. E. A. Talbot revealed the ignorance of the mass of the population:

> The great mass of the Canadian people are at present completely ignorant even of the rudiments of the most common learning. Very few can either read or write; and parents who are ignorant themselves, possess so slight a relish for literature and are so little acquainted with its advantages, that they feel scarcely any anxiety to have the minds of their children cultivated...They will not believe that 'knowledge is power,' and being convinced that it is not in the nature of 'book-learned skill' to improve the earnestness of their sons in hewing wood or the readiness of their daughters in spinning flax, they consider it a misapplication of money to spend any sum in obtaining instruction for their offspring.[7]

The act of 1824 saw the establishment of a General Board of Education for the whole province. The sum of £150 was granted in addition to the regular amounts for the establishment of Sunday schools to allow 'moral and religious instruction to the more indigent and remote settlements in the several districts of the province' through books and tracts.[8]

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[6] Ibid., p. 179.

[7] Putman, op. cit., p. 44-45

[8] The Statutes of the Province of Upper Canada, p. 354.

The Board of Education for each district would now examine the teacher instead of the trustees. A teacher had to hold a certificate signed by at least one member of the Board.[9] Government grants to education were also extended to include Indians.[10]

By 1826 there were 340 common schools. According to the report of Dr. Strachan, Chairman of the Board of Education, seven to eight thousand children were being taught reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Since parents sent their children to school in rotation, the younger ones in summer when the roads were good and the older ones in winter, Strachan estimated that, in fact double the number were in school, bringing the total to twelve to fourteen thousand. He felt people were beginning to realize the value of education.[11]

In spite of the increase in attendance, however, the common school left much to be desired. An address in 1831 by the Assembly to Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant Governor, stressed the need for better education in the province:

> ...there is in this Province a very general want of education; that the insufficiency of the Common School Fund [the total Government grant for schools in 1831 was $11,200] to support competent, respectable and well-educated

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[9] Idem.

[10] Idem.

[11] Putman, op. cit., p. 49.

> teachers, has degraded Common School teaching from a regular business to a mere matter of convenience to transient persons or common idlers, who often teach the school one season and leave it vacant until it accommodates some other like person to take it in hand, whereby the minds of our youth are left without cultivation, or, what is still worse, frequently with vulgar, low-bred, vicious, or intemperate examples before them in the capacity of monitors.[12]

Despite the awareness of the plight of common schools, however, not much was done to improve them. In 1839 the London District Board commented:

> The masters chosen by the Common School Trustees are often ignorant men, barely acquainted with the rudiments of education, and, consequently jealous of any school superior to their own.[13]

The uniting of Canada in 1841 witnessed a flurry of activity in the area of education. In 1841 Lord Sydenham, the Governor General, expressed the need for a better system of education. Introduced into the Upper Canada Assembly by Solicitor General Day, an act was passed referring to the whole province of Canada. However, it was never implemented. The aim was to unite the provinces culturally but each had already developed a system of schools suited to its population. What did survive from the act was the provision for

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[12] Ibid., p. 75.

[13] Ibid., p. 95

separate schools, whereby dissentients in township schools could withdraw and form their own school.[14]

In 1843 a new act was passed referring to the Province of Upper Canada. A Chief Superintendent and an Assistant Superintendent of Common Schools were appointed for the Province of Upper Canada. A school fund was established. The government paid a certain amount to each township and property owners then paid an equal amount, or, if the Councillors chose, a double amount. The balance of the teacher's salary was raised by a rate bill paid by the parents of the children.[15]

A model school could be established in each township where the teacher would receive a higher proportion of the school fund if he gave free instruction to other teachers. It was left to the district to decide whether or not to establish a model school. Once a normal school was established, the teachers of the model schools had to have certificates of qualification from the professors of the normal school. County superintendents were appointed by the wardens. Town or city superintendents were appointed by the municipal council. In each section ratepayers were to elect a Board of

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[14]4th and 5th Victoris Ch. XVIII, Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 53.

[15]Idem.

Trustees which would be responsible for school property, the course of study and the choice of text books. The right to establish a separate school was retained. If ten or more resident freeholders applied, Protestants or Roman Catholics could request a Separate School. Model schools would receive a larger grant from the legislature.[16] A conscience clause was included stating that 'no child shall be required to read or study in or from any religious book, or to join in any exercise of devotion or religion that shall be objected to by his or her guardian.'[17]

The weakness of this act was that it could lead to friction between the local and county superintendents as the former were subordinate to the latter. The town or city superintendent had to submit an annual report to the county superintendent in order to maintain the full grant to his district.[18] There was also no set course of study or text books, nor was there any guarantee of competent local superintendents.[19]

In 1844 Egerton Ryerson was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Education and applied to the Lieutenant Governor,

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[16] 7th Victoria Ch. XXIX, Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 259-261.

[17] Ibid., p. 259.

[18] Ibid., p. 254-255.

[19] Putman, op. cit., p. 103-104.

Lord Metcalfe, for a leave of absence to visit schools of the United States, Great Britain and Europe.[20]

Ryerson recommended a school system of elementary, model, grammar schools and colleges. The elementary schools were to replace the common schools, the model schools would be industrial or trade schools and the grammar schools were to be academic secondary schools.[21] He saw the need for a universal system of education which would help counteract the poverty of Upper Canada:

> The first feature then of our Provincial system of Public Instruction should be universality; and that in respect to the poorest classes of society. It is the poor indeed that need the assistance of the Government, and they are proper subjects of their special solicitude and care, the rich can take care of themselves. The elementary education of the whole people must therefore be an essential element in the Legislative and Administrative policy of an enlightened and beneficent Government.[22]

The 1846 Act was based largely on Ryerson's report. It provided the basis for all future legislation on education. Provision was made for the appointment of a Chief Superintendent of schools appointed by the Governor with a salary of

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[20]Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 138.

[21]"Part II of the Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada," Hodgins, op. cit., p. 195-196.

[22]"Part I of the Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada," Ibid., p. 146.

£500. He was the chief executive officer of the Government in the field of education. He was to see that the money granted to schools by the Legislature was distributed according to the purposes for which it was granted. He was to prepare appropriate forms and rules for school reports and to decide upon complaints made to him. He was also to provide uniform and approved text books in all schools, to advise on suitable plans for schools, books for school libraries and to be superintendent of the normal school as soon as it was established.[23]

The Governor also had the authority to appoint a Board of Education which was to assist the superintendent on matters relating to education. It could select the location of a normal school and regulate the number and salary of the teachers employed there. It could examine, recommend or disapprove of 'All Books, Plans or Forms' submitted to it.[24]

The sum of £1,500 was appropriated for the establishment of a normal school and £1,500 for the salaries of teachers and maintenance of the schools.[25]

District superintendents were retained and were appointed by the District Municipal Councils. The Councils

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[23] 9th Victoria Ch. XX, Ibid., p. 59-60.

[24] Idem.

[25] Idem.

could raise a sum of money equal to that granted by the government.[26]

In an attempt to have better inspection of schools, statutory visitors were given the right to visit schools, examine the progress of students and advise the teacher. The statutory visitors included clergymen, judges and justices of the peace.[27]

School trustees were retained as were fees to be paid by the children. The conscience clause was continued as well as the right to establish separate schools. Teachers' certificates were also divided into three classes.[28]

The merit of the act was that Ryerson established a school system which would work. He achieved this by coordinating the different aspects of education under a central authority in the position of the Superintendent and the Board of Education. As a result according to Putman education in Upper Canada became more efficient and less dependent on local control.[29]

Between 1824 and 1846 therefore, a system of popular education evolved in Upper Canada culminating in the education act of 1846. While the government's attention was directed to

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[26]Ibid., p. 61.

[27]Ibid., p. 64.

[28]Ibid., p. 67-69.

[29]Putman, op. cit., p. 130-131.

establishing a system for the whites, the education of Indians tended to be left to the missionaries. It is true that Indians could be included in the government grant but in practice little was done for them. Once they had established a common school, the whites were likely to object to the presence of Indian children whose parents paid no taxes for the support of the school, and they expected Indian students to stay in their own schools supported by their tribes.[30]

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[30]Petition to the Chief Superintendent, Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 296.

CHAPTER I

METHODISM AND ITS GROWTH IN UPPER CANADA

1. Methodism as a religion

The first fifty years of the eighteenth century in England witnessed the general decay of religion.[1] Montesquieu commented on the lack of religion in England.[2] Bishop Butler wrote:

> It has somehow come to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious....Men treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point amongst all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject to mirth and ridicule.[3]

Such writers as Steele and Addison through their essays made a moral commentary on their times and attempted to correct the literary taste of the day by painting Christian

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[1]Rev. W. H. Fitchett, Wesley and His Century (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1906), p. 4.

[2]Idem.

[3]Idem.

virtues in a favorable light.[4] Their influence, however, was superficial. It was moral but not religious.[5]

Stevens enumerates the conditions which resulted from the decline in morality and observance of Christian virtues. Viewing the scene through the eyes of a Methodist, he emphasizes the corruption in society and the Church of England.

It was fashionable to denounce Christianity as priestcraft.[6] The upper classes ridiculed piety and desired to rise above its fanaticism. The lower classes were ignorant and abandoned to vice.[7] Christianity was a factor absent from people's lives.[8]

The Church of England was in a state of decay and a means of reform was necessary. Candidates for the clergy were uneducated and lacked knowledge of the scriptures.[9] When John Wesley first started to preach, the Anglican Church was an "ecclesiastical system under which the people of England lapsed into heathenism, or a state hardly to be distinguished from it."[10]

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[4]Joseph Addison, Addison's Papers in the Tatler Spectator and Guardian (Edinburgh: W. Creech and J. Sibbald, 1790, Vol. I, p. 65.

[5]Abel Stevens, History of Methodism (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1858), Vol. I, p. 24.

[6]Idem.

[7]Ibid., p. 27.

[8]Ibid., p. 29.

[9]Ibid., p. 28.

[10]Ibid., p. 30.

Methodism emerged in response to the crying need for reform in the social life of the nation and the economic life of the people. It was a time when human life was held in low esteem. The death penalty was given for minor thefts. Deportation was a common form of punishment. Convicts might be shipped to the colonies and sold as servants.[11] Wesley desired a moral and religious reform. He wanted New Testament Christianity to be put into practice.[12]

The term Methodist originated as a name for a group of students at Oxford University who agreed "to observe with strict formality the method of study and practice laid down in the statutes of the university."[13] As the students became more "Methodical in their conduct and in the disposing of their time,"[14] they were named Methodists. The term had in fact been used a hundred years earlier to describe a group of nonconformists because of their views concerning the method of man's justification before God.[15]

The first Methodists were Charles Wesley, William Morgan, Mr. Kirkman and John Wesley. In 1730, John Wesley

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[11]Robert F. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century (London: The Epworth Press, 1945), p. 131-132.

[12]Ibid., p. 135.

[13]Ibid. p. 114.

[14]Idem.

[15]Stevens, op. cit., p. 73.

was made head of the society. From the beginning it was a missionary religion whose members concerned themselves with the poor and destitute. The first members visited the gaols where they instructed prisoners and prayed with the sick. They developed a systematic plan to provide religious instruction to prisoners to comfort the afflicted and to relieve the poor.[16] They formed societies which met weekly and gave donations for the poor. Stewards were appointed to distribute the contributions.[17]

The aim of the early societies was "the suppression of vice, the encouragement of religious and secular education and assistance to the poor."[18] They appointed individuals who were to travel among the people, teach them to read the bible and to catechize children.[19] Due to a lack of ordained ministers, itinerant teachers or preachers were part of the Methodist organization from the beginning so that they could keep in constant touch with Methodists throughout England.

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[16]Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley A M (London: Robert Culley), Vol. 1, p. 96-97.

[17]"The Rules of the United Societies," Albert C. Outler (ed.), John Wesley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 177-178.

[18]Idem.

[19]Thomas Webster, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada (Hamilton: Canadian Christian Adv. Office), p. 9.

The main purpose of the Methodists was to help each individual work out his own salvation. Originally they did not want to form a church separate from the Church of England but sought "to reform the nation and more especially the Church."[20] Because the churches were closed to them, the Methodists began to preach outdoors where they attracted large numbers of people. As they became committed to field preaching they travelled to towns throughout England where they preached to crowds. In this way they attracted the poor and ensured the gospel was made available to them.[21]

One advantage which the Methodist Church possessed was that its ministers, however few, taught the same doctrine. Egerton Ryerson sums up the doctrines they preached as:

> the natural depravity of the human heart, the atonement made by Jesus Christ as a full and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; the offering of salvation to every individual, on the condition of repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; justification by faith alone; but from the faith which justifies, good works proceed; the witness of the Spirit which may be enjoyed by every believer attesting his sonship; and the pressing after "holiness, without which no man can see the Lord," - followed by the doctrines of future rewards and punishments, together with the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.[22]

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[20]Wearmouth, op. cit., p. 116.

[21]The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley A M, Vol. II, p. 167-173.

[22]Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 73-74.

The three main doctrines were repentance, faith and holiness.[23] Most Methodist preachers began their preaching with the theme repentance. Ryerson quotes Dr. Bangs as preaching to the destitute in Canada on the theme: "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."[24] In fact, according to Ryerson, the first Methodist preacher was known as a legio tonans because his cry was: "Repent and be converted."[25]

To the Methodists, repentence was not merely regretting past sins and wanting to avoid them but was an awareness of the innate sin within the individual.[26] In repenting the individual experienced the three phases of repentance: holy sorrow for the sins he committed, confession of sin, and renunciation of sin.[27]

Faith was not merely an acceptance of the doctrine of redemption but brought trust in God. It united the soul to God.[28] After admitting repentance and faith, the individual

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[23]Ibid., p. 75.

[24]Ibid., p. 78.

[25]Idem.

[26]Idem.

[27]Ibid., p. 79.

[28]Ibid., p. 80.

underwent pardon, adoption and regeneration,[29] which led to a state of holiness:

> By pardon, we are delivered from the punishment and guilt of sin through the merits of Jesus Christ; by adoption, we are taken into the family of God, are dignified by His name, and made partakers of all the privileges of His children; by regeneration we are restored to the moral image of God - we are stamped with the seal of His likeness - we are renewed in righteousness and true holiness. New faculties are not given; but the qualities, the character, the tendency of our intellectual and moral powers are changed and improved . . . until the God of peace sanctifies us wholly, preserving our whole spirit, soul and body unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.[30]

The Methodist preachers hoped to make their hearers undergo these experiences. With the salvation of the individual as their aim, the missionary zeal of the Methodists caused them to work unceasingly to convert the unbeliever. The itinerant system enabled them to reach remote areas where their appeal was based on emotion through the constant threat of damnation contrasted with the blessing of conversion. Their instruction: "Go not always to those who want you, but to those who want you most"[31] inspired them to seek out the poor, the destitute and the heathen whom they evangelized with great enthusiasm. It was their enthusiasm

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[29] Idem.

[30] Ibid., p. 80-81.

[31] Wearmouth, op. cit., p. 189.

which aroused the antagonism of the formal and rigid Church of England.[32]

Another aspect of Methodist preaching which antagonized members of the Church of England was their teaching that Jesus Christ was the saviour of all men. From this it followed that just as all men were equal before God, so were they equal before the law.[33] Ryerson quotes de Tocqueville:

> The religion which declares that all men are equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law. - Religion is the companion of liberty in all its battles and all its conflicts; the cradle of its infancy and the divine source of its claims.[34]

Ryerson also emphasises that a further claim for religious and civil liberty was that Methodism based its teaching directly on the bible, which was the only source guiding man's judgement in religious faith and duty. Religion was to be promoted by moral and spiritual influences not by any law or government action.[35] Such teachings were far from popular with a government largely composed of members of the Church of England who sought to make it the established Church of Canada. But it was these convictions which were to guide the Methodists in their dealings with the Indians

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[32] Ibid., p. 115

[33] E. Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 133.

[34] Ibid., p. 138.

[35] Ibid., p. 139.

when they petitioned for them to receive the title of their land.

Their enthusiasm did not prevent the Methodists from organizing their religion. Once they had a congregation, the Methodists established a society. A steward was appointed in charge of the society. He would receive offerings from the class leaders and pay travelling expenses to the preachers.

Members of the society were distributed into classes of approximately twelve one of whom was appointed leader. He met them once a week for religious discussions and conversation and to collect their contributions towards the expenses of the society. He would report the result to the steward or lay preacher regularly.[36]

The first condition for admission to class was "a desire to flee the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins."[37] This desire was shown first by doing no harm and avoiding evil of every kind. The second condition was that they should show their sincerity by doing good of every possible kind to all men:

> by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping the sick and prisoners.[38]

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[36]"The Rules of the United Societies," Outler, op. cit., p. 177-178.

[37]Ibid., p. 178.

[38]Ibid., P. 179.

The third condition was that they should attend public worship, the Lord's supper, family and private prayer, study the bible and practice fasting and abstinence.[39]

The acceptance of itinerant preachers was also part of the organization. Unlike the lay preacher who mainly confined his preaching to Sundays while continuing his employment during the week, the itinerant preacher devoted all his time to preaching and visiting.[40] No academic qualifications were required for the position. "Spiritual gifts and graces combined with zeal and passion and efficacy in saving souls were the virtues looked for."[41] The conference of 1780 said:

> We admit no one as a Travelling Preacher unless we judge him to have Grace, Gifts, and Fruit, so we cannot receive anyone as such any longer than he retains those qualifications.[42]

From the beginning of its missionary work, the Methodist Missionary Society drew up regulations for Methodist Missions which indicated control should stem from England.

> It is our particular request that Societies should be formed in every station exactly upon the plan established in England; and that the general rules should be put in force with regard to

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[39] Idem.

[40] Wearmouth, op. cit., p. 226-227.

[41] Idem.

[42] Ibid., p. 228.

Stewards, Leaders, Local Preachers and members; not forgetting to promote the temporal interest of the Missions by Weekly, Quarterly and Annual Subscriptions; as this will tend to lessen the general expence [sic], and therefore enable the Committee to extend their sphere of action by sending Missionaries to those places to which they have pressing calls.

Resolved I: No missionary in the West Indies, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada, Bermuda and the neighbouring Islands, shall be permitted to draw for more than Fifty Pounds at one time without previous advice and explanation of the extraordinary nature and circumstances of the case and permission from the Committee.

...Resolved III: That in case a Missionary be suspended by his brethren, he shall be sent to England by the first ship; should he refuse to return, he shall have no further claim on the connexion but be considered excluded.

...Resolved VI: That when Missionaries return to England, the societies where they have laboured are requested to pay the expence of their passage; at least so far as their temporal circumstances will admit of it.

Resolved VII: That when a Missionary draws a bill upon the Treasurer, he shall specify to the Secretaries for what particular purpose it is drawn, and the name of the Circuit to which the account is to be placed in the Annual Report.

...Resolved IX: That the earliest information shall be given to the Committee of any alteration which shall take place in any of the foreign Stations.

Resolved X: That proper Registers be kept in all Missionary Stations of Baptisms etc.[43]

The regulations provided the structure and the working rules for the organization of a mission. Once the Methodists had attracted a congregation, they knew what steps to take to

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[43]Methodist Missionary Society, Missionary Committee Minutes, Vol. 1-6, (Ottawa: Public Archives).

establish a permanent basis for a Church. The division of the society into classes offered a means of enforcing the high moral standards demanded for entrance. The order and discipline which the rules gave to the informal Methodist approach contributed to the success of the Methodists in the missionary field.

2. The first Methodist Ministers in Upper Canada

Before the establishment of the Canadian Conference in 1824, Methodist ministers came to Upper Canada from two sources. The first was the American Conference founded in 1784 by John Wesley. The second was the Wesleyan Church in England which sent missionaries to Canada.

The organization of the Methodist Church in America began in England where in 1784, John Wesley ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as presbyters so they could administer the sacraments when they reached that country. He then ordained Dr. Coke as bishop or superintendent of the American Church. Wesley justified his action in a letter of ordination:

> Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the same Church, and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers:

> Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And, therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer, (being assisted by other ordained ministers,) Thomas Coke, Dr. of civil law, a presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work.[44]

At a special conference on Christmas Day 1784 in Baltimore Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury (one of the earliest Methodist ministers in the United States) were accepted as general superintendents. Dr. Coke therefore ordained Mr. Asbury first as deacon and elder and then as bishop or superintendent.[45] Twelve preachers were then ordained elders and three were made deacons. At this time the doctrines of the American Methodist Church, its government and discipline were established.[46] The Methodists adopted the doctrines of the Church of England and took the descriptions and articles from the Common Prayer Book. An episcopal form of government was chosen with bishops, elders and deacons and the name adopted was the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The first Methodist minister to come to Upper Canada from the American Conference was William Losee in 1790. He

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[44]George F. Playter, The History of Methodism in Canada (Toronto: Anson Green, The Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1862), p. 12.

[45]Idem.

[46]Ibid., p. 14.

was authorized to preach in any available opening. Then, in response to a petition from the Midland district in Canada, the New York Conference authorized him to return to Upper Canada and form a circuit. By 1792 he reported 165 Methodist members.[47] Losee was followed by other ministers appointed by the New York Conference until the war of 1812.

Before the war, the ceaseless activity of the American circuit preachers had caused the increase of Methodism in Upper Canada. In 1810 there were 2600 members.[48] The scattered converts evidenced their willingness to adhere to Methodism through their readiness to support ministers and build chapels. The ministers were not very concerned with worldly matters. They were faced with the sheer problem of survival. Their simple faith believed that conversion and sanctification led to heaven. The door would be closed if one did not live in a sober and upright fashion.[49]

During the war of 1812, the Ministers in Upper Canada continued to work on their circuits, lessening the anguish where they could:

> Any distinctive contribution Methodism as such had to make was in the lessening of the harshness of

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[47] Ibid., p. 34.

[48] Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 47.

[49] Idem.

> war, for while Methodists of both nationalities fought the "enemy," when they found them to be Methodists the spirit of fraternity rose superior to bitterness. Case [a Methodist minister] visited the prisoners and the wounded after the battle of Sackett's Harbour and was able to relieve some with money raised at a neighboring camp meeting. Itinerants with contacts on both sides of the international boundary found it possible to render excellent service to the distressed and wounded. On the Vermont-Canadian line the American Methodists held a quarterly meeting to accommodate their Canadian brethren who had been debarred from religious services, so the so-called enemies linked in the bonds of religious brotherhood formed one great congregation, divided only by an invisible boundary which each national group recognized.[50]

As far as Canadian Methodism was concerned, two results of the war were to hasten the creation of an independent Church in Canada and to cause British Wesleyans to come to Upper Canada.[51] During the war Wesleyans had been invited to Quebec in 1814 and their work spread to Upper Canada. After the war when Canadian Methodism once more came under the jurisdiction of the American Conference, dissension developed between the Canadian Methodists and the Wesleyans.[52]

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[50]Star Floyd Maine, Early Methodism in Upper Canada, (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1934), p. 60.

[51]Idem.

[52]Idem.

Dissension between British Wesleyans and Canadian Methodists

British ministers preached within the boundaries of the American circuits, and occupied several chapels (places of worship used by the Methodists) which had for years been occupied by American ministers.[53] The American preachers were grieved because they were represented as being enemies of the government when they actually taught subjection to the right powers.[54] The Wesleyans were favored by the government because they "professed loyalties supposedly lacking in their rivals and carried the spirit of eighteenth century officialdom."[55] It was found that the Wesleyans appealed to the more pretentious elements in towns and in border districts which had suffered during the war. The Americans were received favorably by scattered settlers and those not close to the border.

As they had done so much pioneer work, the Americans understandably were resentful of the Wesleyans. Eventually on August 23, 1820 at the American Conference, it was agreed that the American missionaries would have possession of Upper Canada while the British would keep to Lower Canada.[56] The resolutions were:

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[53] Methodist Missionary Letters, Vol. 2 (Ottawa: Public Archives).

[54] Idem.

[55] Maine, op. cit., p. 61.

[56] Missionary Committee Minutes, op. cit., Vol. 2.

1. That the Upper Province is so adequately supplied by the American Conference as not to present that pressing case of necessity which will justify our expending our funds upon it.
2. That Mr. Emery has engaged that its full supply by American preachers shall be as far as possible attended to.
3. That this measure at once terminates the disputes as to Montreal.
4. That it will prevent collision without sacrifice of public good.
5. That Lower Canada demands our effort rather than Upper Canada . . . and the labours of the brothers there being truly missionary.[57]

In 1824 the Canadian Conference was established when the American Conference decided:

1. That there shall be a Canadian Conference under our superintendency, bounded by the boundary lines of Upper Canada.
2. That a circular shall be addressed to our preachers and members included within the bounds of the Canada Conference, expressive of our zeal for their prosperity and urging the importance of their maintaining union among themselves.
3. That a respectful representation be made to the British Conference of those points in the late agreement between the two connexions, which have not, on the part of their missionaries been fulfilled.[58]

The establishment of the Canadian Conference was followed by the formation of the Canadian Missionary Society in the same year.[59] It led to an organized awareness of the

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[57]Idem.

[58]Playter, op. cit., p. 236.

[59]Ibid., p. 242.

missionary needs of new settlements and of the Indians.[60] Work with the latter had already begun. In 1821, the American Conference had organized a Committee on Indian Affairs.[61] By 1823, there was a Sunday school for the Mohawks on Grand River. But it was the organization of the Canadian Missionary Society which gave impetus to the spread of educational work among the Indians. Melioristic, the Methodists were convinced that, by converting the Indians to Christianity, they would effect their moral improvement.[62]

Wherever an Indian mission was begun, a school was established to instruct the Indians in the tenets of Christianity and white civilization. The Methodists looked to the schools to provide native teachers who would enable them to spread the gospel among unconverted Indians.[63]

Once the Canadian Missionary Society was established, it functioned separately from the Conference. This enabled missionary work to continue whatever problems might beset the administrative body.

On May 22, 1828, at Pittsburgh, the Canadian Conference severed its connection with the American Church and became

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[60] Ibid., p. 262.

[61] John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries (Toronto: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1869), Vol. II, p. 349.

[62] Playter, op. cit., p. 267.

[63] Ibid., p. 264.

independent of it.[64] Once the separation occurred, the Canadian government in its distrust of the Methodists began a campaign to bring Wesleyan ministers from Britain. Charges of republicanism and lack of patriotism had long been laid against the Methodist Church. In 1825 in his sermon at the funeral of Bishop Mountain, John Strachan in referring to the Methodists stated:

> when it is considered that the religious teachers of the other denominations of Christians, a very few respectable ministers of the Church of Scotland excepted, come almost universally from the republican states of America, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments, it is quite evident that if the imperial government does not immediately step forward with efficient help, the mass of the population will be nurtured and instructed in hostility to our parent church, nor will it be long till they imbibe opinions anything but favourable to the political institutions of England.[65]

In 1828, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, wrote to the authorities in England recommending that the English Missionary Society be offered a grant to send missionaries to Upper Canada.[66] From the casual and territorial revenue of the Crown, the Wesleyans were offered £1,000 towards the support of their Canadian missions.[67] Ostensibly the purpose of establishing missions

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[64] Ibid., p. 315.

[65] John Strachan, Documents and Opinions, J. L. H. Henderson (ed.), (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p. 93.

[66] Webster, op. cit., p. 257-258.

[67] E. Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 307.

was to convert the Indians but the real aim was that they should undermine the influence of the Canadian preachers wherever possible.[68] Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant Governor who succeeded Sir Peregrine Maitland, supported his suggestions in a letter to the Wesleyan secretary in London.[69] He proposed the Wesleyans establish a mission among the Indians on the St. Clair River. Colborne had intended to offer this position to a minister of the Church of England but as none was available he was turning to the Wesleyans. At the same time he invited them to extend their labour in the Province:

> he [Sir John Colborne] shall hear with much satisfaction that it is their [the Wesleyan's] intention to appoint other missions to the Province both for the purpose of converting the Indians and of collecting the scattered Wesleyan Methodists who are daily arriving from the United Kingdom and probably will not join the Episcopal Methodists involved as they are in local political dissensions and in disputes with Methodist separatists.[70]

As deliberations proceeded between the two groups of Methodists, the Canadian missionaries were concerned with progress in the field of Indian conversion and education. They looked to the Wesleyans as a source of aid and in 1831 Peter Jones and Egerton Ryerson were in England to appeal for

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[68]Webster, op. cit., p. 258.

[69]Oct. 26th, 1831, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Correspondence 1821-1832 (Toronto: United Church Archives).

[70]Idem.

donations to support the missions and schools among the Indians in Upper Canada. They did not envisage Wesleyan entrance into the missionary field in Upper Canada.

William Case, the Superintendent of Indian Schools and Missions, mentioned to Peter Jones 'a fine awakening spirit in several parts of the Indian lands.'[71] Two missionaries had set out to establish a school and mission at Sah-kung on Lake Huron.[72] The translation of the Gospel of Saint Matthew was to be followed by one of Saint Luke. The Reverend James Evans who had translated the Book of Genesis and the Psalms was preparing a Vocabulary and Dictionary of the Chippewa Language.[73] He included details of the extent of Methodist work among the Indians:

> Thus, Brother, you see that our field of labour is very extensive, extending from Lower Canada to Lake Huron and Mackinaw -- an extent of not less than eight hundred miles, embracing ten bodies or tribes of Indians, including sixteen schools, -- four hundred and twenty children -- employing eight white, and nine native Missionaries. All praise to the Great Shepherd! Five of these bodies (Grape Island, Rice Lake, Simcoe, Sah-kung, [Saugeen] River Credit) have all embraced Christianity; have all become a praying people! The work is now going on for the conversion of four of the other bodies out of the five, viz.,

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[71]Letter March 30th, 1831, Carroll, op.cit., Vol. 3, p. 280-281.

[72]Ibid., p. 281.

[73]Letter April 28th, 1831, Ibid., p. 283.

> Bay Quinte, Grand River, Munceytown, and Mackinaw. All of the Missions, as far as we hear, are progressing.[74]

In conclusion he suggested that Peter Jones and Egerton Ryerson request the British and Foreign Bible Society to authorize that more of the Scriptures be translated into the Iroquois and Chippewa language. He also hinted at the need for financial support from the Wesleyans since such extensive work involved considerable expense.[75]

At the Canadian Conference held in York, 1831, James Townley, the spokesman for the English Conference revealed the Wesleyan's intentions to come to Upper Canada.[76] The Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada met to answer the proposals and to protest against the interference contemplated by the English body.

The argument put forward by the Canadian Committee was that such a move violated the agreement made in 1820 by which the Wesleyans were to confine their work to Lower Canada. The Indian tribes north and east of Lake Huron came under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Methodists as they had already established missions among them. The Canadians feared that

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[74] Ibid., p. 285.

[75] Idem.

[76] Webster, op. cit., p. 258.

Wesleyan intervention would create divisions among Methodists and reduce their influence. They had established missions:

> as no missionary society beyond the Atlantic can possess the same facilities with ours of doing an equal amount of good with the same means; as the formation of a Methodist Society in Upper Canada, distinct from that already established is a disavowal of the already recognized principle, "that the Wesleyan Methodists are one in every part of the world," it will in all probability produce serious misunderstandings and party disputes in our connexion -- make unfavorable impressions upon the minds of the Indians by attempts at forming distinct societies of professedly the same people among them and do material injury to our Missionary Funds in this Province.[77]

If, however, the Wesleyans decided to establish missions west or north of Lake Huron, or near Hudson's Bay, the Canadians were willing to offer every assistance.[78]

Ignoring the opinion of the Canadians, the Wesleyans continued with their plans. A letter from the British Wesleyan Society to the Colonial Secretary November 12, 1832, claimed the aim of sending Wesleyan missionaries to Upper Canada was to diffuse "sound British principles."[79] The society would increase its missionaries in Upper Canada by sending five financed by the Wesleyan Mission Fund. A mission among the Indians was already begun:

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[77]Extract from the Minutes of the Board of Managers, York, Oct. 4th, 1831, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Correspondence 1821-1832.

[78]Idem.

[79]Methodist Missionary Society, Copies of Outgoing Letters Aug. 1820 - Feb. 1836, (Ottawa: Public Archives).

> having had experience already of the beneficial results of the attempts to evangelize this class of savages which have been . . . in the neighbourhood of several of our regular stations . . . also that the Indians of Canada ought to be kept from under the influence of foreigners whose missionaries will otherwise still more largely extend their labours among them.[80]

3. The union between the Canadian Methodists and the British Wesleyans

Mr. Alder, the representative of the English Conference, accompanied by three English ministers, came to Canada in 1832 to arrange for English missionaries to be sent to Canada. The Canadian Methodists were dismayed but to avoid rivalry and division it was suggested that the two Conferences unite. The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Board invited the English ministers to a meeting and proposed a plan of union.

The proposal for union between the two Conferences was made at the Hallowell Conference in 1832. The resolutions set forth reveal the conciliatory attitude of the Canadian Methodists.

The Canadian Conference yielded to the Wesleyans in matters of church governance and discipline. The Canadians agreed to accept the discipline and financial ruling of the Wesleyan Methodists. An annual president would replace the episcopal system. They would adopt the English Conference's procedure for admitting candidates into the itinerant

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[80] Idem.

ministry and their ordination of ministers. The English Conference was given authority to appoint a president in Canada. All missions were to belong to the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Canadian Methodist Missionary Society was auxiliary to it.[81] The resolutions were accepted by the British Conference held in Manchester August 1833 and the Articles of Union were established. George Marsden was appointed president of the Canadian Conference and Joseph Stinson superintendent of Canadian missions.

Although the latter came under the financial control of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee they remained separate from them in their missionary work. As an auxiliary of the Wesleyan Committee they made reports to it but union did not lead to fusion of the two groups.

The result of the first union was that the Wesleyans entered Upper Canada, opening missions in the white settlements and among the Indians. They also established Indian schools.

On February 7th, 1834, a letter to Dr. Alder from Upper Canada reported that the missions were in "a state of perfect peace and in several of them, there are cheering indications of growing prosperity."[82] Progress was reported in converting

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[81]Articles of Union 1833, Synod Minutes Canada 1823-1854, Methodist Missionary Society (Ottawa: Public Archives).

[82]Wesleyan Missionary Correspondence 1833-1845 (Toronto: United Church Archives).

the pagan Indians at Munceytown.[83]

The missionary Society Report from Upper Canada in 1837 revealed that missionary work had generally progressed in spite of attempts by white traders to exploit the Indians.[84] The Indians had been moved from Grape Island to Alderville and the children at Rice Lake showed improvement in spite of interrupted attendance. Improvement was impeded at Lake Simcoe because uncertain land tenure had unsettled the Indians. At Saugeeng, the River Credit, Grand River and St. Clair, progress was noted as the Indians adapted to farming and the children attended school. At Grand River, exploitation of the Indians by local white settlers hindered the work of the missionaries.[85]

In spite of an improvement in the financial situation, difficulties still arose. At one point, the Governor General refused to grant any money to the Missionary Society until he had received information from the Colonial Office in London. He claimed there was no money available in the Receiver General's chest.[86]

According to the evidence, union led to increased missionary activity on the part of both groups of Methodists

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[83] Idem.

[84] Methodist Missionary Society, Synod Minutes 1837-1847 (Ottawa: Public Archives).

[85] Idem.

[86] Idem.

but it did not cause them to co-operate in their work. The Wesleyans were deterred by the interest taken by the Canadians in the political situation of Upper Canada. Events which caused matters to come to a head were based on charges made by the government. These charges were based on events and circumstances with which the Methodists had been indirectly or directly involved. They were the 1837 Rebellion and the Clergy Reserves controversy.

The Rebellion led by William Lyon MacKenzie was a protest against the monopoly of the Tory Family Compact in government affairs. During the economic depressions of 1837, trade with England was reduced and crop failures intensified the Canadian depression. Farmers, working men, and merchants were in a state of financial collapse. The situation was ripe for rebellion.

The reform group in Lower Canada was Les Patriotes. Primarily French Canadians, they were opposed to the predominantly English government. The Fils de la Liberté were a splinter group from Les Patriotes. They emulated the American Sons of Liberty during the American revolution.[87] A riot developed after one of their meetings on November 6th, 1837. To escape arrest, Papineau, their leader, along with others, fled from Montreal to the Richelieu Valley. Civil

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[87]Mason Wade, The French Canadians (Toronto: 1955), p. 166.

war broke out on November 16th when a group of Patriotes ambushed a troop of Montreal Volunteer Cavalry between Chambly and Longueuil.

The Patriotes then gathered at Saint-Denis and Saint-Charles on the Richelieu. Sir John Colborne had been summoned to Montreal in February to take charge of military directions. He sent military detachments to Saint-Denis and Saint-Charles where after bitter fighting the Rebellion was quickly suppressed.

After hearing the news from Lower Canada Mackenzie published a broadsheet calling his supporters to action:

> Canadians! The struggle will be of short duration in Lower Canada, for the people are united as one man . . . if we rise with one consent to overthrow despotism, we will make quick work of it. . . It is the design of the friends of liberty to give several hundred acres to every volunteer, to root up the unlawful Canada Company, and give free deeds to all settlers who live on their lands; to give free gifts of the Clergy Reserve lots to good citizens who have settled on them. . . With governors from England, we will have bribery at elections, corruption, villainy, and perpetual discord in every township, but independence would give us the means of enjoying many blessings.[88]

Mackenzie and his group of farmers and mechanics were defeated by a group of volunteers who felt Mackenzie was too extreme.

After the Rebellion, the Family Compact claimed that it had sprung from the opposition of the supporters of equal

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[88]Kenneth McNaught, The Pelican History of Canada (Penguin Books, 1969), p. 88-89.

rights and liberties, that is, the Methodists who were really opposed to the British constitution and government.[89] Ryerson as editor of the Christian Guardian, the Methodist newspaper, had criticized the monopoly which Tory Anglican privilege held in the province but his arguments were by no means extreme.[90]

In fact, Ryerson had caused dismay among reformers in his Impressions made by my late visit to England in which he claimed the radicals in England were opponents of Canadian Methodists:

> The third political set is called Radicals, apparently headed by Messrs. Joseph Hume and Thomas Attwood, the former of whom, though acute, indefatigable, persevering, popular on financial questions, and always to the point, and heard with respect and attention in the House of Commons, has no influence as a religious man, has never been known to promote any religious measure or object as such, and has opposed every measure for the better observance of the Sabbath, and even introduced a motion to defeat the bill for the abolition of colonial slavery; and Mr. Attwood, the head of the celebrated Birmingham political Union, is a conceited, boisterous hollow-headed declaimer.
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> Radicalism in England appeared to me to be but another word for Republicanism, with the name of King instead of President. The notorious infidel character of the majority of the political leaders and periodical publications of their party, deterred the virtuous part of the nation from associating with them, though some

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[89]E. Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 312.

[90]McNaught, op. cit., p. 84-85.

> of the brightest ornaments of the English pulpit and nation have leaned to their leading doctrines in theory. It is not a little remarkable that the very description of the public press, which in England advocates the lowest radicalism, is the foremost in opposing and slandering the Methodists in this Province. Hence the fact that some of these editors have been amongst the lowest of the English radicals previous to their egress from the Mother Country.[91]

William Mackenzie's reaction to this statement indicated his belief that the Methodists had deserted his cause:

> The Christian Guardian under the management of Egerton Ryerson has gone over to the enemy - press, types, and all, - and hoisted the colours of a cruel vindictive, Tory priesthood . . . The contents of the Guardian of to-night tells us in language too plain, too intelligible to be misunderstood, that a deadly blow has been struck in England at the liberties of the people of Upper Canada, but as subtle and ungrateful an adversary, in the guise of an old and familiar friend, as ever crossed the Atlantic.[92]

In spite of Egerton Ryerson's rebuttal of radicalism, many Methodists held and continued to hold reform sympathies. Perhaps Ryerson was attempting to pave the way for a better relationship with the British Wesleyans with whom they were now united.[93] What deterred many Methodists from continuing

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[91]E. Ryerson, The Story of My Life, J. George Hodgins (ed.) (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1883), p. 123-124.

[92]Idem.

[93]Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada The Formative Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), p. 216.

to side with Mackenzie was that he carried his differences with Ryerson to too great extremes.[94]

According to the Constitutional Act of Upper Canada, one seventh of the land in the Province was set aside for the support of a Protestant Clergy. The Governor could erect parsonages and rectories in line with the policy of the Church of England. The British government was trying to establish a state church in Upper Canada but was leaving a means of withdrawal if necessary.[95] Because the income from the land went to the Church of England contention arose over what constituted a Protestant Church. From 1791 until 1819 the Clergy Reserves were managed by the government. Rents from the land did not pay the expense of managing them.[96]

In 1819, Dr. Mountain, the bishop of Quebec, had applied to His Majesty's Government to have the Reserves placed under the direction of the Episcopal Clergy in Canada. Orders were given to incorporate the Clergy in each Province to manage and superintend the Reserves. They could not spend any of the proceeds but could only lease the land. Ryerson maintained that any other body of clergy could have been

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[94] Idem.

[95] Maine, op. cit., p. 58.

[96] E. Ryerson, The Clergy Reserve Question (Guardian Office: J. H. Lawrence, 1859), p. 5.

incorporated to superintend the management of the Clergy Reserves as well as the Episcopal Clergy.[97]

On March 30, 1819, the Presbyterians in Niagara wrote to Sir Peregrine Maitland asking for a grant of £100 per year to be paid from the Clergy Reserves.[98] In a letter from the Earl of Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, to Maitland on May 8, 1820, it was stated that the Protestant Clergy could include the ministers of the Church of Scotland but not dissenting ministers.[99] This excluded the Methodists from any part of the Reserves.

Between 1824 and 1825, there were several petitions to the government in favour of the Reserves being equally divided among all Protestant denominations. Mr. H. C. Thompson, the chairman of the Select Committee appointed to review the petitions, felt that the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves should be shared by all Protestant denominations. Any proceeds from the sale of land should be divided amongst them.[100]

On January 27, 1826, the Legislative Assembly unanimously adopted resolutions and an address that the Clergy

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[97] Ibid., p. 6.

[98] Correspondence, Clergy Reserves, Canada 1819-1840, Part I (London: Parliament House of Commons), p. 1.

[99] Ibid., p. 2.

[100] E. Ryerson, The Clergy Reserve Question, p. 10-11.

Reserves should not be enjoyed by any one denomination:

> not only the present Reserves, but that any funds arising from the sales thereof, should be devoted to the advancement of the Christian Religion generally, and the happiness of all Your Majesty's subjects, of whatever denomination; or if such application or distribution should be deemed inexpedient, that the profits arising from such appropriation should be applied to the purposes of education, and the general improvement of the Province.[101]

Through the Christian Guardian and Egerton Ryerson, the Methodists had maintained that equal religious and civil rights should be established for all denominations. They supported the view that the Reserves should be applied to education. As the support of the Methodist Church was based on voluntary donations, they did not want any state support. When, after the 1837 Rebellion, the Christian Guardian took up this argument, the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur, joined Dr. Strachan, Bishop of York, in accusing the Methodists of disloyalty and trying to deprive "The Church" of its lawful rights.[102]

Sir George Arthur Wrote to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London asking it to interfere in the actions of the Christian Guardian and its supporters. The committee wrote to Messrs. Harvard, Stinson and Richey, Wesleyan missionaries in Canada, directing them to interfere to stop the

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[101] Idem.

[102] E. Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 312-313.

course the Christian Guardian was taking. The accusation was that the Guardian was inclined to express the political views of a particular party.[103]

Ryerson acknowledged that the Guardian was political for a religious newspaper but contended:

> that all the political questions then pending had a direct or indirect bearing on the great question ... that the real object of the Government and the London Missionary Committee was not so much to prevent the introduction of politics into the Guardian as the discussion of the Clergy Reserve question itself, and the equal religious rights of the people altogether, so that the High Church party might be left in peaceable possession of their exclusive privileges, and their unjust and immense monopolies, without molestation or dispute.[104]

In the spring of 1839, Dr. Alder was sent to Canada to investigate the effect the Christian Guardian was having on the Union:

> The peculiar circumstances of Canada were introduced to the notice of the Committee the objects of the union affected between the Canadian Conference and the British Conference being endangered by the political and anti-church character recently assumed by the Christian Guardian the newspaper conducted under the direction of the Conference especially on the subject of the Clergy Reserves and the rectory and other questions. [sic][105]

Dr. Alder attended the Annual Conference in Hamilton in June 1839 where his resolutions concerning the maintenance of

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[103] Ibid., p. 313-314.

[104] Ibid., p. 315.

[105] Missionary Committee Minutes, Vol. 6 (Ottawa: Public Archives).

Union and the role of the Christian Guardian were defeated by a majority of fifty-five to five.[106] Egerton Ryerson was re-elected editor of the Guardian and his resolution was adopted by which the Conference claimed it had no intention "to interfere in secular party politics of the day" but declared its "determination to maintain its sentiments on the question of an ecclesiastical establishment in this Province, and our constitutional and just privileges.[107]

4. Separation of the Canadian and Wesleyan Conferences

The situation between the English and Canadian Conference continued to deteriorate. The Wesleyans had two points of contention: the actions of Egerton Ryerson whom they charged with undermining Wesleyan influence in Upper Canada and the interest taken in political issues by the Guardian. They would only stay in the Union provided the Guardian confined itself to religious issues and Indian missions came under Wesleyan control.[108]

The Canadian response was to repudiate the charges made against Ryerson and to refuse to relinquish their ultimatum. Union could only be maintained subject to the

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[106] E. Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 319.

[107] Ibid., p. 331-332.

[108] Ibid., p. 342-343.

following conditions: the Guardian was to confine itself to religious and literary topics; it was to support Wesleyan Methodist principles; the Wesleyan Missionary Society would continue to receive the government grant.[109]

Egerton and William Ryerson judged these conditions to be unacceptable to the Canadian Conference. The result was the severance of union between the two bodies.[110]

The effect on the Canadian Conference was disastrous. Ten Canadian ministers left to join the English Missionary District Meeting. Six of the nine Indian missions remained under the superintendence of the Canadian Conference while three went to the English Missionary District. As the Canadian Conference had no missionary funds apart from those of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, it was obliged to finance Indian missions alone.[111]

The Wesleyans, on the other hand, suffered less reduction in their funds. They were able to maintain schools and establish a manual labour school at Alderville.[112] This situation was to continue during the period of severance.

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[109]Ibid., p. 424-425.

[110]Ibid., p. 425-426.

[111]Ibid., p. 430.

[112]Methodist Missionary Society, Synod Minutes, Canada 1837-1847.

In spite of this dissension and separation the communications from the missionaries revealed a preoccupation with the situation of the Indians rather than a concern with the divisions in the Church. The Wesleyan reports mentioned the success of the Indians in farming and their conversion to Christianity.[113] Comment was made on the slowness of the Indians in spiritual improvement and their adherence to hunting and fishing.[114] The Canadian Methodists continued their educational efforts with the Indians and showed interest in establishing a manual labour school.[115]

In addition to their missionary work in Upper Canada, both groups of Methodists were by now also involved in spreading their efforts to the Northwest and requests were made to the missionaries to travel there.[116] Division between the two groups might cause financial repercussions on the Canadian Methodists but it did not deter their missionary work. The competition which arose from separation seemed to stimulate rather than retard their missionary efforts.

During the separation, correspondence continued between the leading Wesleyans, Stinson and Marsden and Egerton

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[113]John Sunday to Dr. Alder, April 17-19, 1841, Wesleyan Missionary Correspondence Canada West (Toronto: United Church Archives).

[114]Letter from L. Lanton to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, May 1843, Idem.

[115]Carroll, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 444.

[116]Ibid., p. 276.

Ryerson expressing hope for reunion.[117] In March 1846, a letter from Dr. Dixon to Egerton Ryerson concerning union moved the Canadian Conference to send John Ryerson and Anson Green as a deputation to the English Conference.[118]

The arguments in favour of union were put forward at a meeting between John Ryerson, Anson Green and the Wesleyan Committee for Canadian Affairs. An appeal was made to the missionary spirit of the Committee. The work in Canada was seen to be of a missionary nature encompassing purely missionary work among the Indians and the establishment of circuits among new and destitute settlements. Union would result in greater efficiency and would allow the Wesleyans to enlarge the scope of their work in Upper Canada. Three manual labour schools were planned for the Indians. A government grant of not less than £1500 annually would be paid for mission work in Upper Canada once both Conferences had come to an agreement.[119]

Resolutions were passed giving the Wesleyan Missionary Society financial control of all missions. Its general fund would receive all funds donated to missionary work in Upper Canada. These included the income raised by the Canadian

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[117] E. Ryerson, The Story of My Life, p. 396-397.

[118] Ibid., p. 401.

[119] Methodist Missionary Society, Missionary Committee Minutes, Vol. 6.

Missionary Auxiliary Society, the government grant and the grant from the Wesleyan Committee. Dr. Alder accompanied by Matthew Richey was sent to Upper Canada to preside at the Canadian Conference and bring union into effect.[120]

5. The Union of 1847

The operative title of the Methodist Church became the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada. Under the articles of Union the Discipline remained unchanged. One difference in organization was that district chairmen were to be stationed on circuits and the district meetings would elect the advisory committee which aided them.[121]

The Union reflected more of a spirit of compromise between the two bodies than the 1833 Union, although most of the responsibility was given to the English Conference which appointed the general superintendent. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was in charge of Indian missions. The Canadian Society would be auxiliary to it and would contribute to Wesleyan funds. The Wesleyan Society would allocate funds to be spent in Upper Canada but the money would be distributed by a standing Canadian Committee. All missionaries were to be full members of the Canadian Conference but if they were members of the English Conference they were to keep the

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[120] Idem.

[121] French, op. cit., p. 253.

rights and privileges of that society.[122] The English Conference would grant £1,000 per year to missions and £600 to the Conference Contingent Fund to help establish circuits in new and destitute settlements.[123]

The union made increased Wesleyan influence possible. The president and general superintendent were from the English Conference. The former was assisted by two other ministers, an associate of the president appointed by the English Conference and a co-delegate who might also be Wesleyan. The English society could send more men to increase the influence of the officials and ministers. They could perhaps mold Methodism according to Wesleyan outlook.[124]

However the district chairmen, who were connected with the grass roots of the society, were Canadian. They carried out general supervision of their areas and it was the district which selected the committee which assisted the president in electing chairmen.[125] Missionary districts were abolished.

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[122]"Articles of Union between the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference and the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada," Doctrines and Disciplines of the of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada (Toronto: Anson Green, 1850), p. 114-118.

[123]Missionary Committee Minutes, Vol. 6.

[124]The Articles of Union 1847, p. 114-115.

[125]French, op. cit., p. 253.

The Canadian Conference was now in charge of all missions which became members of the district in which they were situated.[126]

The English Conference could veto the acts of its Canadian counterpart. Financially, the Canadian Conference was more firmly controlled by the English Conference than before since the Wesleyan Committee received and dispatched all funds.[127] The Canadian body also pledged to help the Wesleyans obtain the government grant with arrears from 1840.[128] As it was expected that all grants of this kind would be transferred to the Clergy Reserves Fund, the Canadian Methodists could no longer claim that the money be used for secular purposes. The English had therefore obtained Canadian agreement to the principle of state assistance to religious purposes.

Under the Articles of Union, the English Conference was in an advantageous position to shape Canadian Methodism according to its own outlook. French lists the advantages as: an opportunity to raise its level of religious sophistication; to make its structure of church government less liberal; to keep it out of politics and to guide it into close co-operation with the government.[129]

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[126] E. Ryerson, The Story of My Life, p. 402.

[127] The Articles of Union 1847, p. 116.

[128] Ibid., p. 117.

[129] op. cit., p. 254-255.

However, this did not happen. The Wesleyan Conference experienced problems due to continuous controversy in the English body.[130] The English representatives chosen overcame earlier hostilities and worked with the Canadian preachers. Enoch Wood, the missions superintendent in 1847 and president and missionary superintendent from 1850 to 1858, especially reconciled the needs of the two Conferences.[131]

The Canadian leaders, John Ryerson and Anson Green were determined to make the union work. Their policies and the conditions within the Methodist Church made their work successful. There was no desire to revive past antagonisms.[132]

After the 1847 Conference, the Christian Guardian published favourable remarks from newspapers and good reports from the circuits.[133] In fact the Wesleyans had no alternative but union. They might be successful in obtaining members in the towns but as Enoch Wood commented to Alder:

> to compete with (the Canadians) in the country parts of the Province where their influence is so pervading and established could not be done without an enormous outlay... Their system is one of adaption, often carried with much personal sacrifice and loss.[134]

The Canadian wish to avoid agitation was not merely awareness of the sinfulness of religious dissension, it was

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[130] Ibid., p. 255.

[131] Idem.

[132] Ibid., p. 256.

[133] Idem.

[134] Idem.

a symptom of the growing self-awareness of the Wesleyan Methodist body. It was vital to establish Wesleyan Methodism for its own sake. Wood and Ryerson encouraged an attitude that avoided disputes or crusades which might threaten the main objectives.[135]

Methodism in Upper Canada between 1824 and 1847 presented a dual picture. Each of two groups was trying to establish itself as the dominant branch of Methodism in spite of a Union which lasted seven years. The struggle did not prevent each group from maintaining its missionary and educational function. No doubt the Canadian and Wesleyan missionaries working with the Indians had feelings concerning the rifts, internal political struggles and the negotiations towards union but these concerns would be somewhat remote from them. Certainly, after the separation of 1840, the Canadian Methodists who held the majority of the Indian missions suffered financial loss which must have limited their work. But dissension and separation which could have caused missionary work to stagnate actually stimulated the endeavours of both groups with the Indians.

Factors contributing to continued missionary effort included: in the case of both groups the missionary committee was separate from the administrative body; there was no basic change in the structure of the organization during the period

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[135] Idem.

1824-1847; even when the Canadian Methodists accepted financial help from the Wesleyans, they continued to function as an independent group; the Canadian missions were well established by the time the Wesleyans returned to Upper Canada in 1833, but the latter had a great deal of missionary experience to guide them; the nature of Methodism was such that it could not diminish its evangelical activities in spite of internal political strife; missionary work was the essence of Methodism - from the beginning its ministers had sought out converts, and having converted they had worked zealously to maintain and increase the number of followers - and so it was vital to maintain it at all times to justify the existence of the Church.

CHAPTER II

METHODIST EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY AMONG THE INDIANS

In spite of dissensions between the two bodies as Methodists worked towards a permanent union, both groups continued their work among the Indians.

1. First intentions of the Methodists in Upper Canada

The close of the revolutionary war led to many loyalists and disbanded soldiers emigrating from America to Canada. The government made available to them the western part of Upper Canada which was an undeveloped wilderness with few inhabitants. There were a few settlers along the St. Lawrence from Cornwall to Brockville, on the Bay of Quinte from Kingston to Bath and some French near Detroit.[1] The remainder of the land was in its natural state inhabited by nomadic tribes of Indians.

In 1783 the land along the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinte was surveyed and divided into townships which were then apportioned into concessions and lots. The Government offered generous gifts of land to encourage emigrants from the United States. The first settlers led a life of bare

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[1]Playter, op. cit., p. 9.

subsistence. The government provided flour, pork, hoes and axes. The settlers had to clear the land and build a house existing on the staples provided.[2]

The Indian reaction to the newcomers was one of friendliness. They taught the settlers to fish without hooks or bait, to prepare skins, to make maple sugar, to snare rabbits and build canoes. They gave them venison and birchbark dishes and told them which nuts and roots were edible and nutritious.[3]

The religious needs of the people were largely neglected unless an itinerant preacher passed by. In 1794, the Reverend Jehosophat Mountain visited Upper Canada where he found one Lutheran chapel, one or two Presbyterian churches between Montreal and Kingston and three or four log huts in the Bay of Quinte district. He also found a few itinerant and mendicant Methodists:

> a set of ignorant enthusiasts whose preaching is calculated only to perplex the understanding, to corrupt the morals, to relax the nerves of industry and dissolve the bands of society.[4]

Methodists were among the itinerant preachers and although they might be uneducated and criticized by ministers of the Church of England, their zeal gained them an

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[2]Duncan Campbell Scott & Pelham Edgar (eds.), The Makers of Canada, Vol. 6 (Toronto: Morang & Co. Limited, 1905), p. 60.

[3]Ibid., p. 62.

[4]Ibid., p. 159.

enthusiastic following:

> The itinerants came and set up their altars wherever a willing human heart could be found . . . They travelled about sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, roughly garbed, their knapsacks filled with a little dried venison and hard bread, sleeping in the woods, often fighting sleep when the snow lay thick on the ground, keeping at a distance a frosty death by hymns and homilies shouted to the Glory of God in the keen air. Their stipends were almost nought, their parish coterminous with the trails of the savages or the slash roads of the settlers, their licence to preach contained in one inspiring sentence in a little leather-covered book, their churches and rectories wherever under the sky might be found human hearts to reach and native hospitality . . . As settlements increased their circuits became smaller, their people reared churches and the harshness of their lives was so softened but their zeal was unquenchable. Fanatics they undoubtedly were, yet they were cast as salt into the society of that day to preserve it on the one hand from ecclesiastical formalism, and upon the other from the corruption of the lawless and ignorant.[5]

William Losee appointed in 1790 to preach in Upper Canada provided an example of an itinerant minister. Playter remarked that a Methodist preacher was a curiosity in those days, and all were anxious to see the phenomenon.[6] Losee was inclined to exhort rather than give sermons. He was a revivalist "labouring, looking, praying for immediate results."[7] The fact that he was a loyalist caused him

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[5] Ibid., p. 162-164.

[6] Op. cit., p. 22.

[7] Idem.

to be well received by the settlers in Upper Canada. In 1791 he became the first minister to form a circuit there.

Usually the ministers were of humble social background. Few had received any extensive education. The manners and circumstances of their congregation were often of the same origin. Some of the English Wesleyan immigrants were shocked by the behaviour of the early preachers. A letter from a British Methodist in the Patriot newspaper described the plight of English Wesleyans in Upper Canada in having to listen to uneducated preachers:

> They submitted patiently for some time to laxity of discipline, and various indignities, together with the rudeness of vulgar and ignorant men who occupied the pulpit.
>
> They had never been accustomed in England to see ragged and dirty preachers with beards "that showed like a stubble at harvest home," nor had they ever been outraged and disgusted . . . and after vociferating nonsense for an hour, sit down in the pulpit and cram his hands into his waistcoat pockets, and bring out of one a plug of tobacco, and a short pipe, and out of the other a Jack knife, and deliberately cut his plug, and fill his pipe, then light it at the pulpit candle and come puffing away to salute his brethren."[8]

It was this lack of education and simple behaviour, however, which enabled the ministers to deal effectively

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[8]Letter signed "A British Methodist," Edith G. Firth, The Town of York 1815 - 1834 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1966), p. 180.

with the people they were trying to reach.[9] By 1811 circuits had been established at Augusta, Bay of Quinte, Smith's Creek, Young Street, Niagara, Ancaster, Long Point and Detroit. There were 2,550 members.[10]

The energies of the first Methodists were fully employed in pioneering for their church in Upper Canada. Their time was occupied in travelling through their circuits and working with the settlers. It was not until the Canadian circuits were established that the Methodists began to seek out the Indians.

2. Methodist work among the Indians

The Indians with whom the Methodists came into contact were members of several tribes. Their settlements are shown on the map in Appendix C. The first tribe which the Methodists tried to convert was the Mohawks, an Iroquois tribe found on the Six Nations Reserve and on the Bay of Quinte. Another group were members of the Ojebwa or Chippewa tribe, the largest in Upper Canada, which was scattered in small groups in an area spreading from the St. Lawrence river to "the Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair and Huron, both

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[9]French, op. cit., p. 42.

[10]Playter, op. cit., p. 109.

sides of Lake Superior and on to Hudson's Bay territory and the head waters of the Mississippi."[11] They were also found on the south shore of Lake Huron near Lake Michigan.[12] Tribes included in the Chippewa nation were the Mississaugas or Messessahgas, the Ottawa and the Potawatomi.[13] A third group were the Wyandotts or Hurons who were to be found on the Huron reserve near Amherstburg. In 1837, the total number of all the Indians in Upper Canada being served by the Methodists was approximately 5,600.[14]

At the Paris session of the Conference of 1821 held in Genesee in the United States, Messrs. Case and Ryan were two of the five members appointed a "Committee on Indian Affairs." It was the beginning of an interest in converting the Indians.[15] For William Case it marked the commencement of a career dedicated to serving the Indians.

He was born in Massachusetts in 1780 and converted to Methodism in 1803. In 1805 he was appointed with Henry Ryan

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[11]Peter Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians (London: A. & W. Bennet, 1861), p. 39.

[12]Idem.

[13]Diamond Jenness, Indians of Canada (Ottawa: Roger Duhamel, 1967), p. 277.

[14]J. B. Clench S.I.A. to Colonel Givins Chief Superintendent May 12th, 1837, Correspondence Respecting the Indians in the British North American Colonies, p. 142.

[15]Carroll, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 349.

as an itinerant to the Bay of Quinte. He was described as "a pious young man, of a fine voice and good singing abilities having more the talent of affectionate exhortation than preaching."[16] He avoided political involvements because he felt it was undesirable to mix religion with political matters.[17] He was a presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada from 1810 to 1827. When the Canadian Conference separated from the American he became General Superintendent of Indian schools and missions in Upper Canada. He had strong sympathies for the Indians and would make his congregation aware of their need for evangelization as they prayed for them.[18]

He was instrumental in sending Torry, a Methodist minister, to the Indians on Grand River and reported in 1823 that "a fine work of religion is progressing" among them. He also sent Egerton Ryerson to Credit River in 1826.[19] Case became the chief organizer of Indian missions.

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[16]Playter, op. cit., p. 84.

[17]French, op. cit., p. 44.

[18]Carroll, op. cit., p. 260.

[19]Ibid., Vol. III, p. 110.

> Mr. Case was in all respects, a general without anything of the pomp and pretension of an inferior mind in office. His heart was set on the elevation of the Indians, and he sought to connect the best minds with the work.[20]

At the time of separation of the British and Canadian Conferences he chose to remain with the Wesleyans but in a letter to the Christian Guardian stated that both conferences could remain friendly to the Indians and seemed resolved to continue their work with them.[21]

Before 1823 there had not been a great deal of interest in the Indians. Torry revealed this in his account:

> . . . I felt an impression that I must visit the Six Nations of Indians whose reservation lay to the west of my circuit. During the whole time I had been in Canada I was accustomed to cross the Grand River within a few miles of the Mohawk tribe, and frequently met with groups of them here and there, and not unfrequently saw them lying drunk around huxter shops kept by white people for the purpose of getting the Indians drunk, and then robbing them of all that was of use to them. But it had never occurred to me that the Gospel of Christ could be the power of God to the salvation of the Indians.[22]

The problem of approaching the Indians was solved by using the white settlers as a stepping stone. Since the

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[20] Idem.

[21] February 3rd, 1841, Christian Guardian.

[22] Carroll, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 358.

missionary was not located in a particular spot with a parsonage and school house and church, he first went among the white settlers who boarded him. He would raise societies among the whites and then would try to enter among the Indians.[23] Torry stated his problem:

> How to commence with the Indians, so as to arrest their attention and draw them from their pagan customs, I had yet to learn. I had received no particular instructions as to the manner of commencing or proceeding with my labor; and I doubt if there was a man in the Genesee Conference, excepting Bro. Case, that believed the Indians, in their pagan state, as we now found them could be Christianized: and I am sure my brethren in Canada did not believe I would succeed in my work.[24]

Torry began by attending the Indian councils. At first the Indians were suspicious of him spending so much time with them as they had formed a very unfavorable opinion of ministers.[25] They believed Torry would harm them. The minister tried to acquaint himself further with the Indians by visiting their houses and singing and praying with them when the occasion presented itself. In his discussions with them he encountered opposition to Methodism which prohibited drinking rum, playing cards, and horse racing.[26]

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[23] Ibid., p. 400.

[24] Ibid., p. 400-401.

[25] Ibid., p. 402.

[26] Ibid., p. 403.

By the 1823 Conference there was not one Indian member for Grand River.[27]

Gradually the missionaries associated more with the Indians. Some lived with them in order to become acquainted with their customs and learn their language.

Edmund Stoney, a local preacher of the Methodist Connexion approached the Indians through prayer meetings at the house of Chief Thomas Davis in an attempt to reduce the dancing, drunkenness, quarrelling and fighting among the Christian and non-Christian Mohawks. He read sections of the scripture and church prayers in Mohawk and sometimes preached. As a result a few Indians were converted.[28]

Seth Crawford came from the Eastern States. After his conversion he determined to devote his life to evangelizing the Indians. He came to the Mohawk Indians in 1823, introducing himself as someone who wanted to learn their language and instruct their children. The Indians agreed that he should live with them.[29] He taught the Indians for two years and left the Mohawk settlement to return home to the United States on April 6th, 1825.

Another means of approaching the Indians was through native teachers, the advantage being that they already know

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[27] Idem.

[28] Playter, op. cit., p. 217.

[29] Ibid., p. 218.

their language and customs. One outstanding native preacher, teacher and missionary was Peter Jones.

He was the son of an Indian mother and Welsh Father. For fourteen years he was brought up among the Indians. In 1816, however, his father sent him to an English school in Saltfleet where he was instructed in the Church of England catechism and the New Testament. There, he learned to read, write and cypher.[30] He then returned to the Grand River where he lived among the Mohawk Indians. Occasionally he attended a Church of England service. In 1820, he was baptized into the Church of England because he wanted the privileges of the white inhabitants and desired to become a Christian. Previously, the conduct of the whites and their treatment of the Indians had prejudiced him against Christianity.[31]

He spent the summer of 1822 bricklaying and in the winter attended the English school at Fairchild's creek where in his autobiography he claimed to have further studied arithmetic and writing.[32] The following summer, he was converted to Methodism at a camp meeting and embarked upon his life's work with the Indians.[33] On seeing Peter Jones,

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[30]Peter Jones, Life and Journals of Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-by (Anson Green, Wesleyan Printing Establishment, King Street East, Toronto, 1860), p. 6.

[31]Ibid., p. 7.

[32]Ibid., p. 8.

[33]Ibid., p. 12-13.

William Case remarked:

> Glory to God, there stands a son of Augustus Jones, of the Grand River among the converts; now is the door opened for the work of conversion among his nation.[34]

Following the tradition of the Methodists to organize, once the minister had visited the Indians, if favorably received, he would form them into a society and arrange to visit them on a regular basis. When Torry preached at Thomas Davis's house, he gave notice that he would visit Davisville or the Mohawk village once a month:[35]

> When I visited and preached to these Indians last June, I found several under awakenings; for they had heard occasionally a sermon from brothers Whitehead Storey and Matthews; and had for some time been in the habit of coming together at the house of T. D. to hear prayers in the Mohawk. Several manifested much concern, and appeared very desirous of the prayers and advice of the pious. These, with two youths who had lately received religious impressions at the Ancaster camp meeting, I formed into a society, giving charge of the society to Brother S. Crawford.[36]

Once a society had been formed, a Sabbath school was begun. In the case of the Indians at Grand River, Torry met with eventual success:

> On my return from Conference I called and preached to the Mohawks, and have it on my plan to continue to attend to them in my regular route. After having explained the rules of society to them, twenty were admitted as members of society. It

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[34] Ibid., p. 14.

[35] Idem.

[36] Playter, op. cit., p. 220.

> was a season of refreshing to us all. On the 28th of September I again preached to them. The crowd was now such that they could not all get into the house...In meeting them in class they appeared to be progressing finely, advancing in the knowledge and love of God. Several who had been under awakening, having now returned from their hunting requested to be received, and were admitted into the society. The society now consists of twenty-nine members, three of whom are white persons. We have also a Sabbath school of Indian children consisting of about twenty who are learning to read. Some young men have kindly offered their services to instruct them.[37]

In 1823, the second Methodist Indian society was formed among the Wyandott Indians, the first having been formed among the Mohawks on the Grand River. Mr. James B. Finlay travelled from Sandusky mission in Ohio to meet the branch of the tribe in Upper Canada in the Canard River Valley near Amherstburg. Accompanied by three converted Indians, he succeeded in forming twelve Indians into a society with an appointed leader.[38] They then obtained preachers who travelled on their circuit so that they were included in their regular work. They felt, however, that they were a branch of the Sandusky mission and would go to the quarterly meetings in the United States once or twice a year.[39]

Another means which the Methodists used to reach large numbers of Indians and whites were camp meetings. These

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[37] Ibid., p. 222.

[38] Ibid., p. 227.

[39] Idem.

were an extension of the field preaching practised by Wesley and his followers. Because congregations were large, churches small and situated at a great distance from each other, meetings were held in the open air. The custom began in Kentucky where large congregations met in the woods in the summer months.[40] People would often bring food for themselves and their animals. They would also sleep outside all night because there was no alternative accommodation. In preparation for the camp meeting, the site would be chosen, the ground prepared, the stand built, tents erected and seats organised.[41]

Playter describes a camp meeting held in Upper Canada in June 1823:

> William Case the Presiding Elder of the district, Isaac B. Smith the preacher on the circuit, George Ferguson, from the Long Point Circuit, and other preachers, with Edmund Stoney, were present. The encampment contained about two acres enclosed by a brush fence. The tents were pitched within this circle having all the underbrush taken away leaving the tall trees standing for a shade. There were three gates leading into the encampment. The people came from around and from distances of ten, twenty, and even fifty miles in wagons.[42]

The early camp meetings offered a confusing scene. Often several preachers would be speaking to different congregations

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[40] Webster, op. cit., p. 99.

[41] Ibid., p. 100.

[42] Playter, op. cit., p. 284.

in the same area. They were enthusiastic gatherings with many experiencing revivals.[43]

The Lieutenant Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, was disturbed by the camp meetings which were also opposed by the Church of England. On August 6, 1826, the Credit Indians were summoned to receive a message from the Lieutenant Governor. They were told that if they continued to attend Methodist camp meetings, the Governor would not help them in establishing their new settlement.[44] The land would not be cultivated nor would a school or houses be built for them.[45] Faced with this dilemma, the Indians agreed not to attend camp meetings in order to receive government aid.

The nomadic life of the Indians made it difficult for the Methodists to meet them on a regular basis. In the hunting season, the Indians would abandon their camp grounds. Others did not settle in one place but continually moved camp as their food supply demanded. The Methodists felt that if the Indians could be organized in settlements, they would have headquarters from which to work with them. Due to the persistence of William Case,[46] the Lieutenant Governor agreed to settling Indians on the River Credit. In

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[43]Webster, op. cit., p. 102.

[44]Playter, op. cit., p. 284.

[45]Idem.

[46]Carroll, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 62.

1826, the government built a village for them consisting of twenty houses and a school house. The Indians then built seven more houses themselves.[47] Gradually, they established a community. From 1826 to 1827 Egerton Ryerson was appointed missionary to the Chippewa Indians on the River Credit. He lived with them and learned their language. He taught them agriculture:

> When I commenced my labours among these poor Credit Indians (about two hundred in number) they had not entered into the cottages which the Government had built for them on the high ground, but still lived in their bark-covered wigwams on the flats beside the bank of the River Credit. One of them made larger than the others was used for a place of worship. In one of these bark-covered and brush enclosed wigwams, I ate and slept for some weeks; my bed consisting of a plank, a mat, and a blanket, and a blanket also for my covering; yet I was never more comfortable and happy. Maintaining my dignity as a minister, I showed the Indians that I could work and live as they worked and lived.
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> ...Between daylight and sunrise, I called out four of the Indians in succession, and showed them how, and worked with them, to clear and fence in, and plow and plant their first wheat and cornfields. In the afternoon I called out the schoolboys to go with me, and cut and pile and burn the underbrush in and around the village. The little fellows worked with great glee, as long as I worked with them, but soon began to play when I left them.[48]

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[47] Report and Evidence on Aborigines, Papers relative to the Aboriginal Tribes in British Possession (London: 1834-1837), p. 42.

[48] E. Ryerson, The Story of My Life, J. George Hodgins (ed.) (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1883), p. 59-60.

Ryerson also raised subscriptions to build a church and was successful in converting the Indians to Christianity. He found, however, that his influence was limited. He commented that although Christian in some ways they were still Indians.[49] They had difficulty in adapting to the white man's way which was the way of life the missionaries sought to teach them.

The Reports of the State of the Indians on the River Credit in March 1828 and January 1829 showed the extent of the settlement:

> They have two yoke of oxen in common, and seven yoke private property, 12 cows, six horses, four ploughs, four sleighs and one wagon. Last year they cultivated 35 acres; they have about 2,000 acres around the village...
>
> January 10th 1829
>
> They are very anxious that a blacksmith should be settled in the village, as they could then get some of their youth instructed, and save a heavy expense which they now incur by sending their farming implements to distant forges. He again expressed the earnest wish of the Indians to receive the amount of their presents in money. Those trinkets and gaudy-colored clothes which they formerly admired so much are now held in light estimation, and they would prefer receiving twine ropes and lead sufficient to make a couple of long nets, which would supply them with herrings and white fish, which abound in Lake Ontario.[50]

Once the Credit River Indians were settled, William Case turned his attention to the Indians of Belleville. To group the Indians in one place he planned to lease two

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[49] Ibid., p. 58-59

[50] Report and Evidence on Aborigines, p. 42-43.

islands in the Bay of Quinte for the use of the Indians. The lease described the objects and conditions:

> Whereas we the said parties of the first part, have been convinced of the great injury which we sustain, and have sustained, from our wandering habits, and the consequent want of education, and religious instruction for ourselves and our children: and whereas the said parties of the second part have been moved by our forlorn situation, to endeavour to enlighten our minds in the knowledge of truth; but finding that all their labours must be in vain, unless we acquire some permanent settlement and habitation, where we may be provided with a place of worship and schools for the use of ourselves and families: Now this Indenture witnesseth, that in consideration thereof and also in consideration of the sum of five shillings by the said parties of the second part, to us in hand paid, at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof we hereby acknowledge, have demised, leased, let, and to farm letten,-and by these presents do demise, lease, let, and to farm let,- all that certain tract of land, situate in the township of Ameliasburgh, in the said district, being composed of a certain island in the Bay of Quinte, near the mouth of March creek, heretofore generally called and known by the name of Logrim's Island, containing by estimation fifty acres of land, be the same more or less: To have and to hold all and singular the said premises with the appurtenances, for and during and until the full end and term of nine hundred and ninety nine years, unto the said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, upon such trusts, and for such intents and uses, as are hereinafter expressed, i.e. That they the said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, shall suffer and permit us the said parties of the first part, and our heirs to occupy, possess and enjoy, all and singular the premises aforesaid, free and clear from any rent and incumbrance; that they themselves shall not, neither shall suffer or permit any other person or persons to cut down or destroy the trees or underwood of the said island, except so much as may be required to be cleared away for the purposes of cultivating

> the soil, or which may reasonably be required for building for ourselves, or for fencing our clearings.
> For the consideration, and upon the same terms and conditions expressed, we have leased, and do by these presents lease, unto the said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, a certain other island adjoining the island within described, and which is commonly called and known by the name of Grape Island, containing about eleven acres.[51]

The Indians of the Chippeway tribe in the Bay of Quinte began to move to Grape Island and a new Indian settlement was begun. It was hoped to persuade the Indians to abandon their nomadic way of life and take up agricultural and mechanical occupations. However, Grape Island proved to be too small to allow improvement in agricultural pursuits and the government would not allow the Indians to occupy the larger island.[52] Consequently, those who had congregated on Grape Island were moved to Alderville.[53] There the Indians were given lots of land on which they pitched their tents. Then they began to clear, fence and plant the land:

> These farms have been laid out in lots of fifty acres each forming a street about two miles long running East and West. In the course of the present season the new village will be completed. The Houses are to be of Framework situated on each side of the street, about 30 rods distant from each other; each to have a small garden in front and an orchard in the rear. In the centre of the village is the lot on which the Mission

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[51] Playter, op. cit., p. 292-293.

[52] Webster, op. cit., p. 199.

[53] Synod Minutes, op. cit.

> Premises are being built which are to consist of a Mission House, School House and Chapel - and will stand on an eminence commanding a pleasing view of the entire settlement.[54]

3. The aim of the Methodists in their contact with the Indians

There was argument among missionaries concerning the approach to be taken with aboriginal people. Torry quotes the Canadian theory as "First civilize, then Christianize."[55] However, there was question whether it was possible to civilize the Indians before Christianizing them. Contact with the Indians was conditioned by their previous experience with white people. White settlement caused a decrease in the game on which they existed.[56] Drunkenness and disease introduced by Europeans led to a reduction in the Indian population.[57] The moral restrictions introduced by Christianity helped to preserve them.[58] By introducing temperance and religion into their daily lives, the missionaries reduced drunkenness among the Indians and gave them a more orderly way of life.

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[54] Idem.

[55] Carroll, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 402.

[56] D. Coates Esq., Rev. John Beecham and Rev. William Ellis, Christianity the Means of Civilization (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, L. and G. Seeley and T. Mason, 1837), p. 37-38.

[57] Idem.

[58] Idem.

In the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines in 1837, the reasons were given for the Chippeway rejection of civilization in Upper Canada. The Lieutenant Governor tried to persuade the Indians to renounce their nomadic life but they resisted because in their opinion civilization held no advantages for them. They preferred their own way of life to that of the Europeans. They refused to be influenced by the Governor's urging to follow civilized occupations. Although they agreed to have houses built, they did not occupy them but used their own huts.[59] Peter Jones is quoted: "I have heard of no instance in this part of the country where the plan of first civilizing the heathen Indians ever succeeded."[60]

The example of the Mohawks was quoted as an instance of the adverse effect of civilizing the Indians when the intention was to Christianize. Egerton Ryerson wrote:

> A striking proof of the inefficacy of merely educational instruction to civilize barbarous tribes, and of the power of the gospel to civilize as well as to Christianize the most vicious of the human race, is furnished by the Mohawk nation of Indians in Upper Canada. The Mohawks are one of the six nations of Indians to whom, at an early period, His Majesty granted a large tract of land situated on the banks of the Grand River, the most fertile tract of land in Upper Canada, lying in the heart of the province, and surrounded by a white population. Schools have been

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[59] Ibid., p. 127-128.

[60] Ibid., p. 134.

> established among the Mohawk nation upwards of forty years. Most of them have been baptized by a clergyman of the Church of England . . . . The greater part of them were taught to read and write; they were exhorted to till the soil and cultivate the arts of civilized life; yet this nation was more drunken, ferocious and vicious than any one of the five other heathen nations on the Indian reservation.[61]

The beneficial effect of converting the Chippeway Indians was then cited. Once converted, they were ready to be civilized and requested the aid from the Governor which they had previously refused. Peter Jones's written testimoney was presented to the Committee.

> Question.-Whether the Chippeways on embracing the gospel, did not immediately begin to apply themselves to civilized pursuits?
> Answer.-This has uniformly been the case with all the tribes which have embraced the gospel. Immediately on their conversion they have applied to the governor and missionaries for assistance to enable them to settle down in villages, and attend to things that make for their present happiness, as well as their spiritual welfare. Their language is, 'give us missionaries, to tell us all about the words of the Great Spirit; give us schools, that our children may be taught to read the Bible; give us oxen to work with and men to show us how to work our farms.'[62]

The progress in attempts to civilize the Christian Indians was then noted. The improvement was shown in their personal appearance, their domestic and social condition.

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[61] Idem.

[62] Ibid., p. 135-136.

From being nomadic, they settled and took up agricultural occupation.[63]

The missionaries testifying before the Committee felt that it was neither an advantage nor a necessity for civilization to precede Christianity but that whenever Christianity was introduced civilization invariably followed. According to Ellis the civilizing aims of Christianity could be summarized as:

> In the motives it implants and the precepts it inculcates, Christianity furnishes a complete moral machinery for carrying forward all the great processes which lie at the root of civilization. It teaches the practice of humanity, purity of heart and life, honesty, truth, industry and justice, the promotion of peace on earth, and good will among men.[64]

In fact once the missionaries had started to convert the Indians they usually introduced methods of agriculture to them. This industrial education was at first of a very elementary nature. Peter Jones speaks of showing the Indians how to clear the land and hold the plough. These activities were awkward for the Indians but they were willing to learn.[65]

In their efforts to convert the Indians, the Methodists met with rivalry from both Anglican and Roman Catholic denominations. The Anglicans tended to move into the settlement and entice the Methodist Indians to join the Church of

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[63] Idem.

[64] Ibid., p. 175.

[65] Life and Journals of Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-by, p. 22.

England. When Ryerson learned that an Anglican Church was to be built at River Credit once the houses for the Indians were completed, he hastily organized a subscription fund for a Methodist Church.[66] Often the Church of England was supported by government officials who tried to persuade the Indians to join "the Established Church" and put their children in its schools. Inducements offered were not only education but the prospect of ordination as preachers.[67] At St. Clair the Anglican minister also tried to alienate Indians from the Wesleyan Society.[68] Thomas Hurburt at Fort William found that once the Roman Catholic priest realised there was a Methodist minister there, he prohibited any members of his church from attending Methodist instruction. He even sent an Indian to Fort William to make the tribe promise not to listen to the Methodist missionary any more.[69]

Such handicaps did not prevent the Methodists from continuing with their work. Christianization was usually followed by education, often at the Indians' request.[70] One of the imperatives of Protestant religious theory was

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[66]E. Ryerson, The Story of My Life, p. 59.

[67]Carroll, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 242.

[68]Synod Minutes, op. cit.

[69]Carroll, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 231.

[70]Playter, op. cit., p. 230.

that learning to read was an essential to enlarge one's knowledge of the Bible. The Methodists were no exception in applying education to their converts. Having established a church, they generally organized a school soon afterwards.

4. Schools established by the Methodists

In 1824, the first school was established for the Mohawks on Grand River when they requested a school so that their children could be educated. Augustus Jones, J. Jones and J. Parker were appointed trustees. Seth Crawford was the teacher. Regulations stipulated that school should begin and end with singing and prayer. School was to enforce decency of manners, cleanliness and to prohibit improper language and conduct.[71]

This school was followed by one in Munceytown where John Carey taught eight children. By 1825 eighteen children were attending his lessons.[72] In 1828 a school was established at Grape Island and a girls' school was planned for Rice Lake. Here twenty-give girls were taught reading, braiding of straw and domestic economy.[73] By 1828 there were ninety pupils in school at Schroogog Lake with a woman

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[71] Idem.

[72] Ibid., p. 256.

[73] Ibid., p. 357.

teacher to instruct the girls in domestic economy, sewing and knitting.[74]

The curriculum was parallel to that taught to white children of the time, with the additional problem that the Indians had to be taught sounds and the alphabet before they could be taught to read. Teaching was very rudimentary and progress was slow as was illustrated by Peter Jones's account of a visit to Holland Landing, August 12th, 1828.

> In the forenoon I collected the scholars together to hear them repeat their lessons; sixty-six were present - eight in two syllables, twenty-two in monosyllables, nineteen in two letters and seventeen in the alphabet. . . It appears that the schools have been doing very well, considering the number there are to attend to.[75]

That the pupils progressed from such a primitive basis was a credit to the zeal and persistence of the Methodists. Teachers were appointed and like the ministers received little or no salary. They provided free education to the Indians. The report on the Credit River Indians in March 1828 gave details of the school there and showed progress could be made:

> Thirty five boys attend school; Mr. John Jones, master with a salary from the Methodist Missionary Society. At first he had but 30¢ per annum, but this year it has been increased to 50¢. He,

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[74] Ibid., p. 360.

[75] Life and Journals of Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-by, p. 161.

> receives no remuneration from his pupils or any other quarter. About 36 girls in the female school; Miss Sillick, mistress without any fixed salary as such. The children in both schools are instructed in writing, reading and arithmetic, the Bible and church catechism; the girls taught sewing and knitting; they wish much to get wheels. The school mistress has told me that his Excellency the Governor has ordered them a supply of Bibles and Testaments . . . That they (the children) have talents their proficiency in reading writing and arithmetic since May 1826, when the school was established, sufficiently proves.[76]

By 1829 the list of members and schools showed the Methodists had established schools wherever they had established an Indian society as the table on the following page shows. Although it is not indicated, presumably the number of members included children.

In addition to the regular schools provided, the Methodists were interested in establishing manual labour schools to give more practical training than was available in the standard curriculum. These were forerunners of the boarding schools later established for Indians.

The manual labour school at Alderville had twelve Indian children enrolled in 1841, nine girls and three boys. They were boarded and clothed by the Mission Society and lived under the control of the mission family. The pupils could never be absent without permission and had to be accompanied by the teacher or monitor. Boys were instructed

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[76]Report and Evidence on Aborigines, p. 42.

TABLE 1

SOCIETIES AND SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED BY THE METHODISTS BY 1829[a]

	Members	Schools	Scholars
Salt Springs	150	2	48
Upper Mohawks	25	1	15
River Credit	140	2	55
Grape Island	120	2	56
Rice and Schoogog Lakes	175	2	75
Lake Simcoe and Matchedash	350	3	100
Bay Quinte Mohawks	40	1	17
Munceytown Chippeways and Munceys	35	1	15
Amherstburg	23	1	20
Total	1038	15	401

[a]Peter Jones, Life and Journals, p. 254.

in farming as well as receiving instruction in basic subjects; girls were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, housekeeping, cooking, dairy business, spinning, knitting and needlework.[77] By 1846 there were twenty-two students enrolled.[78] They were being prepared to live in an agricultural economy and the boys were also being prepared

[77]Synod Minutes, op. cit.

[78]Idem.

as labourers for the North.[79] It was felt that this was the most efficient method of raising Indians from their subsistence life.

Another school introduced by the Methodists was a form of boarding school which was to become a prominent feature of Indian education. Initially the Indian children boarded with the missionary at the parents' request while they were hunting. This meant the children did not miss school and led to improvement in their academic performance. This made the missionaries speculate about the benefits of such a system:

> Could some plan be devised by which the children could be provided for during the absence of their friends or taken under the care of the society great good would doubtless result to the schools and a more powerful influence be exerted among the surrounding Pagans.[80]

The Methodists therefore responded to the problem of approaching the Indians through observation, association, native teachers and settlements. Their first hurdle was to be accepted by them. They found they met with more success when they began by converting the Indians. This prepared the way to introducing a more civilised form of life which was based on the agricultural economy pursued by the whites and an education similar to that of white children. However,

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[79] Idem.

[80] Idem.

they did try to relate their religion to the Indians by translating prayers, hymns and the Bible into their native language.

The missionaries' approach was conditioned by their concept of the good life. Dancing, drinking, gambling and idleness were considered sinful. It was one's duty in life to be industrious. The missionaries' success with the Indians was partly based on the fact that the moral restrictions of their religion influenced the Indians to accept the prevailing standards of white civilization. Another reason for their success was that the Methodists were accustomed to the itinerant life which enabled them to keep a constant watch over their converts. Certainly the Indians would revert to their hunting economy if left alone but with a resident schoolmaster and a visiting missionary it was easier to ensure they conformed to white civilization.

CHAPTER III

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN EDUCATING THE INDIANS AND A TENTATIVE SOLUTION TO THEM

The Methodists had encountered the problems of language in educating the Indians. Other problems which they encountered sprang from several sources. The first of these was the religious beliefs and customs of the Indians.

1. Indian religion and customs

Missionaries and observers have expressed doubt as to whether or not the Indians possessed a religion. The Jesuits found that, although pagan, the Indians did have some idea of God or a Creator of all things whom they invoked without being aware of it.[1] They would call upon the sun and sky to judge their sincerity.[2] They invoked the Sky God:

> asking him for health, long life, happy success in their wars, in the hunt, in their fishing and in all their trading and offer to those ends the food which they ate at the feast.[3]

In spite of these invocations and offerings, however, the Jesuits claimed that the Indians did not know who their

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[1] Relation des Jésuites en Canada (Québec: P. Barthelemy Vimont), p. 77.

[2] Idem.

[3] Idem.

God was. They were not afraid of his justice nor did they love his goodness. It was a custom which did not involve the soul and which they had received from their ancestors without it leaving any spiritual impression.[4]

Writing in 1750, Cadwallader Colden commented:

> As to what religious Notions they have it is difficult to judge of them; because the Indians, that speak any English and live near us, have learned many Things of us; and it is not easy to distinguish the Notions they had originally among themselves from those they have learned of the Christians. It is certain they have no kind of publick [sic] Worship, and I am told they have no radical Word to express God, but use a compound word signifying the Preserver, Sustainer, or Master of the Universe: neither could I learn what sentiments they have of a future Existence. Their funeral rites seem to be formed upon a Notion of some kind of Existence after Death . . . They always dress the corpse in all its Finery, and put Wampum and other Things into the Grave with it; and the Relations suffer not Grass or any Weed to grow on the Grave, and frequently visit it with Lamentations. But whether these things be done only as Marks of Respect to the Deceased, or from a Notion of some kind of Existence after Death, must be left to the Judgement of the Reader.[5]

Religion is defined as "human recognition of a superhuman controlling power and especially of a personal God entitled to obedience which affects the conduct and mental attitude."[6] According to the first part of the definition the Indians

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[4] Idem.

[5] The History of the Five Nations of Canada (London: 1750), p. 15.

[6] The Concise Oxford Dictionary (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 1029.

had a religion. They recognized gods to whom they made sacrifices and festivals in the hope of receiving their favour in their lives. They did recognize One Supreme Being whom they named the Great Spirit or the Master of Life but they also acknowledged many subsidiary gods who might be good or bad.[7] They conceded that everything in nature or animal life had a spirit which varied in rank and influence. They believed in guardian deities who would not protect man unless he did something in their favour.[8] In order to acquire a guardian spirit a child would have his face blackened and would fast for several days. The child's dream during this time of fasting would reveal the spirit who would guard him and whom he had to consult.[9] Each Indian had one or more guardian spirits who would help him and make him prosperous.[10] The guardian spirit discovered in this way was unique to its owner. There was no way in which it could be given to another or inherited by a future generation.[11]

Their acknowledgement that animals possessed spirits sprang from their belief that animals were made before man

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[7]Samuel Farmer Jarvis, A discourse on the religion of the Indian Tribes of North America (New York: C. Wiley & Co., 1820), p. 20-21.

[8]Ibid., p. 22.

[9]Idem.

[10]Ibid., p. 25.

[11]Jenness, op. cit., p. 177.

and were the first to rule the earth. Through magic, some animals were changed into men who then began to hunt the animals. Because they believed that the animals would take human form again in some future world, the Indians killed them feeling them to be a threat to human existence.[12]

The Chippewa also believed in an after life:

> They believe, at least to some extent, in a duality of souls, one of which is fleshly, or corporeal, the other is incorporeal or mental. The fleshly soul goes immediately, at death, to the land of spirits, or future bliss. The mental soul abides with the body, and hovers around the place of sepulture. A future state is regarded by them, as a state of rewards, and not of punishments. They expect to inhabit a paradise, filled with pleasures for the eye, and the ear and the taste. A strong and universal belief in divine mercies absorbs every other attribute of the Great Spirit except his power and ubiquity; and they believe so far as we can gather it, that this mercy will be shown to all. There is not in general a very discriminating sense of moral distinctions and responsibilities, and the faint outshadowings which we sometimes hear among them, of a deep and sombre stream to be crossed by the adventurous soul, in its way to the land of bliss, does not exercise such a practical influence over their lives as to interfere with the belief of universal acceptance after death.[13]

When the Methodists contacted the Indians there was therefore a basis for analogy with the Christian religion. Usually the Christian God was equated with the Supreme Being or Great Spirit.[14] However, the Indians still regarded the

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[12]Henry R. Schoolcraft, Oneóta (New York & London: Wiley & Putnam, 1845), p. 342-343.

[13]Idem.

[14]Jenness, op. cit., p. 183.

Great Spirit as peculiar to them, who although permitting them to submit to the white man would one day make it possible for the Indians to possess the land again.[15] As the Indians made their Supreme Being into the Christian God, they transferred their other gods into his characteristics. The thunder god became his voice, the wind his breath.[16] The Iroquois also maintained their belief in sorcery even if they became Christian.[17] There was a secret society of witches and wizards which met at night to "consult over mischief." Witches or wizards were endowed with the power to turn themselves into foxes or wolves, being able to run very swiftly giving out flashes of light. If pursued they could transform themselves into a stone or rotten log.[18]

A problem must have arisen from the fact that the Indians had no sense of sin. They might make sacrifices to their gods to gain their favour but they did not construe their own actions as good or bad. Evil was something that was done to them, not a condition that was innate. The

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[15] Idem.

[16] Erminnie A. Smith, Myths of the Iroquois, Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, J. W. Powell Director (Washington Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 53.

[17] Ibid., p. 68.

[18] Henry R. Schoolcraft, Notes on the Iroquois (Albany: Erastus M. Rease & Co., 1847), p. 140.

Indians had therefore to grasp a concept that was entirely alien to them and involved a change in their concept of God:

> The supernatural spirits of the Indians, like the mysterious forces which they personified, might be either helpful or harmful, but they were not ethical forces in any sense. Indian thinkers hardly attacked the problem of evil in the world.[19]

Activities which the Methodists regarded as sinful were either part of Indian custom or existed because of ignorance or white influence. Comments on the Mohawks stated that the "Christian Indians were no better but rather worse than the heathen tribes for dancing, drunkenness, quarrelling and fighting."[20] Dancing, however, while viewed as a sin by the Methodists was a religious activity with the Indians or was performed to celebrate victory in war or success in hunting.[21] Each tribe had its own type of dance.[22]

Gambling was another "sin" to which the Indians were addicted. It was one of their favorite activities in which they might stake all they possessed. Father Gabriel Sagard commented:

> I have seen some of them going back to their villages quite naked and singing after having

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[19]Jenness, op. cit., p. 171.

[20]Playter, op. cit., p. 216.

[21]Jenness, op. cit., p. 159.

[22]Ibid., p. 160.

> left everything in the hands of one of our people.[23]

Drunkenness was a condition introduced by the white men. In their original state the only beverage known to the Indians was water. No intoxicating drink was known to them. It was through the white men that they began to drink the liquors which:

> became the bane of the race, and were one of the chief instruments by which they were first degraded, and then swept from the earth. Spirits are now introduced among the western tribes by the unscrupulous traders. When they are once under the influence of liquor they lose all self-command and have more the appearance of demons than men. Even the chiefs give themselves up to the intoxicating spell, and during its influence appear to be totally bereft of their reason.[24]

An address to the Chippewa County Temperance Society at Sault Sainte Marie, May 8, 1832, listed the three nationalities which introduced liquor to the Indians. The French supplied them with brandy, the English with Jamaica rum and the Americans with whisky.[25]

> These constitute the fire, the gall and the poison ages of Indian history. Under this triple curse they (the Indians) have maintained an existence in the face of a white population. But it has been an existence

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[23]The Long Jouney to the Country of the Hurons (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), p. 96.

[24]Samuel S. Goodrich, The Manners, Customs and Antiquities of the Indians of North and South America (Boston: Rand and Mann, 1849), p. 235.

[25]H. R. Schoolcraft, Oneóta, p. 417.

> merely. Other nations are said to have had a golden age. But there has been no golden age for them. If there ever was a state of prosperity among them, which may be likened to it, it was when their camps were crowned with temporal abundance - when the races of animals furred and unfurred placed food and clothing within the reach of all - and when they knew no intoxicating drink.[26]

The fur trade introduced the Indian to a vicious circle. With the increased value of furs the Indians hunted more but in exchange for their catch they were given liquor rather than money. The dual result was that game and animals became scarce while the constitution of the Indians was undermined by alcohol.[27] The Indian hunt made the white man wealthy but reduced the Indian to a life of misery through the effects of intemperance.[28]

> Stupefying his mind and enervating his body, it leaves him neither the vigor to provide for his temporary wants, nor the disposition to inquire into those which regard eternity. His natural affections are blunted, and all the sterner and nobler qualities of the Indian mind prostrated. His family are neglected. They first become objects of pity to our citizens, and then of disgust. The want of wholesome food and comfortable clothing produce disease. He falls at last himself the victim of disease superinduced from drinking.[29]

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[26] Idem.

[27] Idem.

[28] Ibid., p. 423.

[29] Ibid., p. 424.

The Indians themselves became aware of the degenerating effect of liquor upon their race. In January 1835, a petition from the Mississauga Indians requested that selling liquor to any of their people be forbidden:

> Since the white men have visited our shores, while they have been rapidly increasing and filling our land, we have been decreasing and have dwindled to but a handful; and we look forward to no distant period when the red men shall become extinct and our name erased from among the living, unless some measure is taken to prevent it.
>
> Our decrease poverty and wretchedness we trace to the use of fire-water, introduced among us by the white men. We are too weak to use strong drink without using it to excess, by which our health is ruined while wicked white men cheat us out of our furs and presents, and leave us naked to starve in wretchedness. We, therefore, beg leave to request that you will take our condition into consideration and pass an Act rendering it a crime for any man, woman or child, in the Province, to sell barter or give to any Indian man woman or child in the Province, any kind of intoxicating liquor.[30]

The only solution to the problem of drunkenness was total abstinence. This was effected through the insistence that Indians who joined the Methodist societies pledged not to drink alcoholic beverages. It was by keeping the Indians sober that the Methodists had a measure of success in teaching and civilizing them. They had to make the Indians self-reliant in their sobriety and able to refuse any temptation

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[30] Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 57, p. 59038-59039.

put in their way.[31] This was one instance when the Indian Department supported the Methodists in believing that Christianity was the only means of reaching the Indians because it provided a discipline and a cure for their drunkenness.[32] Often relations between the two groups were far from cordial as the members of the Indian Department resented the Methodists' interference in Indian affairs.[33]

Another custom practised by the Indians was polygamy. The practice was partly due to the Indian estimation of woman as inferior to man and delegated to do menial work.[34] A chief could also become more affluent if he had a number of wives slaving for him enabling him to acquire a more luxurious household. The Indian wars also could have reduced the number of men to the extent that they were outnumbered and polygamy provided a convenient solution to the situation.[35] Also according to Indian custom a man could marry as many wives as he could support.[36] Often a man would marry sisters because he felt they could live more

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[31]Playter, op. cit., p. 306.

[32]J. B. French to Col. Givins, Feb. 7, 1831, Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 49.

[33]Ibid., Vol. 50, p. 56178

[34]George Catlin, North American Indians (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1926), Vol I, p. 133.

[35]Ibid., p. 134.

[36]P. Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 81.

peacefully together. Nevertheless during the husband's absence there might be fights between the wives.[37] Sometimes it happened that the man would not continue to support a wife but turned her out to make way for the new wife he preferred.[38]

The Methodists attacked this problem by pointing out that a Christian could have only one wife. They advised Indians wishing to become Christians to accept only the woman they first married since she was the legal wife.[39] Peter Jones cited one instance:

> This regulation has invariably been enforced, and it is a matter of gratitude to Almighty God that in almost every instance, painful as it was, the Indians have submitted cheerfully. I knew one instance where a chief had a most powerful struggle between his own inclination and his desire to do his duty to his Creator. This man had two wives, the younger of whom was a beautiful woman. The chief loved her very much, and, when told that before he could receive the ordinance of baptism he must put away his young wife, and live only with the old one, whom he had first married, the trial commenced in his mind . . . he told the missionary he must have a little time to consider the subject. He then retired alone into the woods, and was there three days, fasting, praying, and meditating on this important step. At the end of this time he came back and informed the missionary that he had prayed and considered the matter, and that he was now convinced that it would be wrong in him to retain his young wife, and therefore he would

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[37] Idem.

[38] Letter from a missionary at River St. Clair, Upper Canada, March 29, 1836.

[39] P. Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 82.

put her away; but that he would help to support her.[40]

In their methods of education the Indians also differed from the Methodists. Until they were Christianized, their aim in raising their children was to train good hunters who would provide for their families.[41] It was a training for a cooperative form of life. Boys were trained to be guides, watchmen and thinkers in accomplishing their purpose. Girls were taught to be industrious, wise, silent and helpful so they would care for their families.[42] The ideal was to foster loyalty to the group. In their lives, the Indians would pursue activities related to the protection, preservation, and happiness of the members of the tribe.[43]

Indian children usually received this training from their elders either a parent or some other member of the tribe. The qualities of character most highly regarded by the tribe would be emphasized, thus instilling moral sentiments.[44] Children were always exposed to public opinion and elders usually settled any disputes.[45] There was no formal

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[40]Idem.

[41]Ibid., p. 63.

[42]Claude Andrew Nichols, Moral Education among the North American Indians (New York City Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930), p. 96.

[43]Idem.

[44]Idem.

[45]D. Jenness, op. cit., p. 151.

discipline in the Indian family. No one insisted that they should practise what they had been taught and punishment was often limited to angry looks.[46]

The methods used to educate them were imitation, exhortation and story telling. Emphasis was placed on training through emulation and practice rather than repetitive verbal drill. The achievement of actions was considered more important than the exercise or practice of them.[47]

As tradition was preserved by word of mouth, it involved memory, but memorising as a method was only used by the priests or one in charge of public ceremonies.[48] Ethical ideas were transmitted at times when they would make favorable impressions such as tribal meetings and feasts. There, virtues were praised as belonging to the conduct of the group.[49]

The Indian child, therefore, was never conscious of being formally taught. His education was part of daily life or tribal activities. When the Indians requested the missionaries to teach their children they had to adjust to an entirely different approach to teaching. The child had to transfer from a passive form of education to one in which

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[46]P. Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 67.

[47]C. Nichols, op. cit., p. 98.

[48]Idem.

[49]Idem.

he was to be actively involved through repetition, drill and memorizing. Among the tribe it did not matter if he accompanied his parents when they went hunting and fishing. Once enrolled in school, his education became sadly neglected if he did not attend during the hunting or fishing season. This was a problem which faced teachers and missionaries as the teacher Henry Hagg wrote to Colonel Jarvis, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs;

> You are no doubt aware that the office of an Indian school Teacher is one of much difficulty and discouragement from the wandering habits of the people it is next to impossible to command anything like regularity in attendance, and as the parents exercise no control over the children, it is equally difficult to preserve order & discipline among them when assembled. . . During the winter months attendance is very uncertain, many of the families leaving their houses for weeks together & in the sugar season the school is nearly deserted.[50] [sic]

2. White settlements

Another problem encountered by the missionaries was the unsettled state of the Indians due to the number of white settlers who encroached on their lands.

The nineteenth century marked a time of increasing emigration from Great Britain to North America. The main reason was the conditions of overcrowding which occurred in

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[50] Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, April 16, 1841, p. 68982-68983.

Ireland, Scotland and England due to the rapid increase in population. Between 1801 and 1851 the population increase was approximately twelve million.[51] A select committee in 1826 and 1827 found that there were many areas where there were too many available workers for existing employment opportunities. Emigration offered a desirable remedy.[52]

In England overcrowding also arose as a result of the Poor Law by which until 1832 parish authorities were supposed to supplement the wages of labourers with money obtained from the rates. To avoid paying this, the overlords tried to clear their estates of all tenants who might seek relief, by evicting them from their homes which they then had demolished. Overcrowding then occurred in neighboring villages where the homeless gradually congregated. The people who suffered most from this procedure were small farmers who found they had to pay more rates to cover the influx of underpaid labourers. Emigration offered them a solution.[53] Another cause of farmers being evicted from their lands was the increase in corn farming which was most profitable on large farms.[54]

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[51]Stanley C. Johnson, A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America 1763-1912 (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1913), p. 38.

[52]Ibid., p. 39.

[53]Ibid., p. 41.

[54]Ibid., p. 44.

The problem in Scotland arose from the practice of crofters dividing their land when their children married. This rapidly led to the crofts being too small to support a family.[55]

The consolidation of farms in Ireland contributed to overcrowded conditions in the villages where evicted farmers gathered. Some of the landed gentry compensated their farmers either by a financial payment or by an offer to finance their emigration to Canada.[56]

In Scotland and in England too, the conversion from arable to pasture land meant many farm labourers were out of work.[57]

These factors contributed to the increased emigration from Great Britain to North America. In a speech made October 31, 1832, Colborne, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada commented:

> The continued Emigration which is forcing the Province rapidly forward will render this session of peculiar importance; the population has increased one-fourth during the past year. No subject is more closely connected with the prosperity of the Colony, or requires earlier consideration than the anticipated increase in the flow of emigration.[58]

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[55] Ibid., p. 42.

[56] Ibid., p. 43.

[57] Ibid., p. 44.

[58] Upper Canada House of Assembly, General Index to Journals, Alfred Todd Clerk of Committees (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1848), p. 254.

Tables II and III show the number of emigrants landing in Quebec between 1829 and 1840 and the proportionate increase in population in Upper Canada in relation to emigration. According to Table II the peak years for emigration were 1831 when 50,254 emigrated and 1833 when 51,746 emigrants arrived in Quebec. Table III shows that between 1832 and 1837 the average increase in population in Upper Canada was 26,800 per annum. Between 1838 and 1842 there was a drop but the average increase was 18,000 per year. There was another increase in immigrant arrivals in Upper Canada between 1843 and 1848 when the population was augmented by 40,000.

The emigrants were no doubt influenced by the favorable propaganda concerning the advantages of emigrating to Upper Canada. The climate was milder than in Lower Canada while the fertile land was good for farming. Communication with Quebec was possible along the waterways.[59]

Another attraction was the grants of 50 acres of land made available to emigrants who could not find employment on landing.[60] Lord John Russell, the colonial secretary, felt that the land grants were too generous and that five

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[59]Martin Doyle, Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada (London: Hurst Chance & Co., 1831), p. 15-19.

[60]Despatch from Lord Sydenham to Lord John Russell, Oct. 27, 1840, Correspondence Relative to Emigration to Canada, p. 62.

TABLE II

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS ARRIVED AT QUEBEC SINCE THE YEAR 1829, INCLUSIVE[a]

Places of departure	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834
England and Wales	3,565	6,799	10,343	17,481	5,198	6,799
Ireland	9,614	18,300	34,133	28,204	12,013	19,206
Scotland	2,443	2,450	5,354	5,500	4,196	4,591
Hamburg and Gibraltar	-	-	-	15	-	-
Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, West Indies, etc.	123	451	424	546	345	339
Havre de Grace	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15,945[b]	28,000	50,254	51,746	21,752	30,935[b]

[a]Correspondence relative to emigration to Canada (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1841), p. 83.

TABLE II--Continued

Places of departure	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840
England and Wales	3,067	12,188	5,580	990	1,586	4,567
Ireland	7,108	12,590	14,538	1,456	5,113	16,291
Scotland	2,127	2,224	1,509	547	485	1,144
Hamburg and Gibraltar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nova Scotia, Newfoundland West Indies, etc.	225	235	274	273	255	232
Havre de Grace	-	485	-	-	-	-
Total	12,527	27,722	21,901[b]	3,266	7,439	22,234
Grand Total	293,721					

[b]Totals as shown in original publication.

TABLE III

IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS THROUGH QUEBEC AND MONTREAL AND INCREASE IN POPULATION OF UPPER CANADA COMPARED, 1832-71[a]

Year	Immigration	Year	Increase in population
1831	52[b]	1831-32	27[b]
1833	22	1832-33	32
1834	31	1833-34	26
1835	13	1834-35	26
1836	28	1835-36	27
1837	22	1836-37	23
1838	3	1837-38	2
1839	7	1838-39	10
1840	22	1839-40	23
1841	28	1840-41	24
1842	44	1841-42	31
	Average yearly		
1843-48	34	1843-48	40
1849-51	37	1849-51	75
1852-61	20	1852-61	44
1862-71	30	1862-71	22

[a]International Migrations, Vol. II, Interpretations, Walter F. Willcox (ed.) (National Bureau of Economic Research Inc., 1931), p. 124.

[b]in thousands.

acres would be sufficient.[61] However, as Lord Sydenham, the Lieutenant Governor, pointed out, the aim of granting five acres of land to an emigrant was to enable him to settle in the country as a hired labourer. Five acres was not enough to support a man or tempt him to build a house. This plan could only be put into practice where there was a demand for labour.[62]

The larger grants of land were made where it was desirable to establish settlers on waste land. The Crown possessed large areas of land which the government wanted to open. It was important to give immigrants enough land to support them as permanent settlers and to encourage them to build houses and maintain themselves for the first few months until the land was productive.[63]

Sir George Arthur had maintained the same argument when he was Lieutenant Governor. Five-acre lots were usually near towns or villages where the government built huts and gave other assistance. The aim was that the settlers should respond to a constant demand for labour while clearing their land in their spare time.[64] It was not a practical scheme for settling a large body of immigrants planning to farm.

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[61] Idem.

[62] Ibid., p. 63.

[63] Idem.

[64] Idem.

The country where the 50-acre lots would be granted was on land ceded by the Sangiac Indians. The reasons for ceding the 500,000 acres was that the value of the remaining land would be raised. It was also important to have a fixed British resident population who were in greater number than the French. Finally it was a matter of security that Canada should have a population large enough to protect her if the need arose.[65] The fifty acres offered was not considered enough by experienced settlers. Colonel Talbot, who had established a community at Port Talbot, considered an emigrant family should have at least 100 acres.[66]

Lord Sydenham, however, expressed concern over the optimistic ideas concerning emigration.

> Very erroneous ideas appear to prevail in England on the subject of (emigration). It seems to be supposed that every individual in the station of a day-labourer who can succeed in reaching the shores of North America, is at once amply provided for, and that every person, who with a few hundred pounds comes out and purchases land, whether he have any previous knowledge of agriculture or not, becomes at once a wealthy farmer.
> . . . Emigration to America holds out none of these brilliant prospects of rapid affluence; but at the same time it is secure, under proper management from the risk of equally rapid failure.
> . . . It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that no industrious

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[65] Idem.

[66] Idem.

> well-behaved man ever failed on this continent to make an easy livelihood by his labour.[67]

The effect of such an influx of immigration was that the conditions in the ships were often unsanitary. Often there was much disease which not only caused deaths on board ship but spread into the country. In 1832 a quarantine hospital was established at Grosse Isle where all vessels arriving with contagious diseases on board were detained. Dr. Skey, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals commented:

> I am almost at a loss for words to describe the state in which the emigrants frequently arrived; with a few exceptions the state of the ships was quite abominable: so much so, that the harbour master's boatman had no difficulty, at the distance of gunshot, either when the wind was favourable or in a dead calm, in distinguishing by the odor alone a crowded emigrant ship. I have known as many as from thirty to forty deaths to have taken place in the course of a voyage, from typhus fever on board of a ship containing from 500 to 600 passengers.[68]

Fever and smallpox were among the diseases which were brought into Upper Canada. Before the quarantine hospital was established at Grosse Isle the diseases spread into the settlements where the immigrants went. The Indians suffered from contact with them. Often there would be no medical aid. A letter from the Indian village at the Narrows reported that doctor Darling offered his services during an outbreak

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[67] Despatch to Lord John Russell, Jan. 26, 1841, Ibid., p. 71.

[68] Johnson, op. cit., p. 107-108.

of cholera:

> The arrival of a medical man at this moment is most opportune as cholera in its most virulent shape is ranging in the village, both among the Indians and the Emigrants. Dr. Darling is busy rendering all the assistance he can, but unfortunately the utter want of medicines must greatly paralyze every effort of his, however, he has volunteered to remain and do what he can for them until his Excellency's pleasure is known.[69]

The lack of medical aid to the Indians led to many premature deaths. Sir Alfred Digby, surgeon of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, wrote to Sir George Arthur in 1838 offering his services as a doctor to the Six Nations Indians on Grand River on the grounds that they needed medical aid. Due to the lack of a permanent doctor there were many deaths. Sir Alfred had attended the Indians under Sir John Colborne's administration and had been promised a permanent appointment as soon as funds permitted.[70] There is no record of whether or not his services were accepted.

Apart from the sickness they brought, the effect of white settlers near the Indians was often detrimental to them. The Reverend Walter Givins, missionary to the Mohawks wrote to his namesake the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Colonel Givins:

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[69]August 2, 1832, Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 51, p. 56590.

[70]Ibid., Vol. 69, p. 64881-64882.

> There is nothing retards the improvement of the Mohawks so much as the unprincipled & irreligious white people who are permitted to reside among them. These persons have obtained leases from worthless individuals of the nation of large & valuable parcels of land upon very unfair terms:- they plunder the land of timber - seduce the Indians with liquor, for many of them either keep disorderly taverns or sell liquor without licence;- defraud them of their property;- set them bad examples & endeavour to poison their minds against everything that is good and commendable.[71]

Many white settlers took advantage of the Indians. When the Mohawks decided to move to Grand River from the Bay of Quinte, the whites bought wheat and grain from them at a fraction of the cost of sowing them. The Indians sold their cattle at half the price they paid for them. They were prey for any unscrupulous dealers who might persuade them to give leases at an unfavorable rate.[72]

Although the increasing number of white settlers offered new fields for Methodist missionary endeavours, it did not alleviate their work with the Indians. As in the problems raised by the land title question and the removal plan, the Methodists sympathized with the native people. The Synod Report from Upper Canada in 1837 complained that at Grand River its work was made difficult due to white exploitation of the Indians.[73] On May 1st 1837, in a

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[71] Ibid., Vol. 56, p. 58916.

[72] William Jones A.S.I. to Col. Givins Sept. 7, 1833, Ibid., p. 57803.

[73] Synod Minutes Canada 1837-1847.

petition to Colonel Givins, (the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs) Peter Jones, writing on behalf of the Credit River Indians, complained of the bad example set by whites who exposed the Indians to drinking liquor and other offences.[74]

In their missionary work as a whole the Methodists felt that the whites took advantage of the Indians.[75] Although they might try to convert the Indians to the white man's economy, they found it desirable to keep them separate from white settlements.[76]

Another effect of white settlement was to reduce the Indian hunting grounds so that they had to rely on their own industry or suffer. It enforced the white man's way upon them.[77]

On another occasion the Indians sent a memorial to Lord Glenelg stating that a tract of land ceded by the Ottawas and the Chippewas was occupied by nomadic tribes of Indians but where there was also a Wesleyan Missionary Settlement of 200 converted and civilized Indians with a

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[74]Chief Superintendent's Correspondence Upper Canada, Vol. 66.

[75]Letter from R. Alder to Lord Glenelg August 22, 1838, Correspondence Respecting the Indians iu British North America, p. 91.

[76]Credit River Indians to Col. Givins, May 1st 1837, Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 66.

[77]William Jones to Col. Givins Sept. 7, 1833, Ibid., Vol. 56, p. 57803.

school of 60 children. The aim of Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant Governor, might be to help the poor in England "by obtaining for them a tract of fertile land to which they may be induced to emigrate with advantage"[78] but the Indians requested protection so that those Chippewas who had settled the land might be allowed to retain a portion adequate to the necessities of settlement. They wanted advantages equal to those offered to the poor from England. The Chief Augustus d'Este commented:

> It is notorious that it has been extremely difficult to introduce civilization amongst the North American Indians. Again and again, after unwearied exertion has caused it to take root among them, it has been suppressed by removals to make way for white settlers.[79]

A further description of the settlement tells of the success the Indians had had:

> The Mission is beautifully situated. Fine Flats containing from Two to Three hundred Acres extend along the River where the Indians cut sufficient Hay for their Oxen and Cows, and grow excellent Corn. There are some good Log Houses and several comfortable Bark Shanties. On the Hill in the Rear of the Flats are several fine Fields of Corn and Potatoes, and a good Kitchen Garden belonging to the Mission House. The Indians at this Station have been remarkable for their steadfastness since they embraced Christianity; they appear to be a happy People, much attached to their Missionaries, teachable and give several solid Proofs that they are progressing in Civilization . . . but surely, should they not make all that Improvement which some

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[78] Ibid., Vol. 65, p. 63144.

[79] Ibid., p. 63145.

> might expect, it should never be forgotten that to their frequent Removals, and the uncertain Tenure by which they hold their Lands, may chiefly be attributed their Neglect of agricultural Pursuits. They say, and not without some Provocation, "If we clear Fields, build Houses, and make Orchards, the White Man will soon want them, and he must have them."[80]

Another problem confronting the Indians was the number of squatters who settled on their lands. The Indians who held a Council in Mohawk Village on September 15, 1838, claimed that General Darling had advised them that surrendering land to the Crown would result in the squatters leaving. In compliance with this the Indians had surrendered land above the bridge at Brantford but found that the squatters still occupied Indian land below the bridge. Their complaint against the squatters was that their presence greatly inconvenienced the Indians. The chiefs were insulted by them and the ministers were interrupted by them in their work with the Indians.[81] The Lieutenant Governor's response to these complaints was that they would always be subject to encroachments. His solution was that each Indian family should take a certain amount of land for cultivation while the remainder should be sold or leased, the proceeds being invested for the general benefit of the Six Nations.[82]

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[80] Correspondence Respecting the Indians in the British North American Provinces, p. 100.

[81] Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol 69, p. 64823-64825.

[82] Ibid., p. 64835.

Eventually, in December 1839, an act was passed for the protection of Crown Lands in Upper Canada from trespass and injury:

> That it shall and may be lawful for the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, from time to time, as he shall deem necessary to appoint two or more Commissioners under the Great seal of this Province to receive information and to enquire into any Complaint that may be made to them or any one of them against any person illegally possessing himself of any of the aforesaid lands (Indian) for the Cession of which to Her Majesty no agreement hath been made with the Tribes occupying the same and who May Claim title thereto, and also to enquire into any complaint that may be made to them, or any one of them against any person for having unlawfully cut down or removed any timber, trees, stone, or soil, or such lands or for having done any other wilful and unlawful injury thereon.[83]

Any person violating the act would be required to move from the land at thirty days notice. If he did not comply with the notice a warrant would be issued forcing the person to move. If he returned and a complaint was made he could be gaoled for not more than thirty days. Anyone cutting down timber unlawfully was liable to a fine of no more than £30. Any timber that was cut down would be seized and sold, with the money from the sales and fines going to the Receiver General.[84] February 1840 witnessed many summons to trespassers on Indian lands.[85]

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[83] Ibid., Vol. 71.

[84] Idem.

[85] Idem.

Nevertheless, with more land being ceded to the Crown for white settlement and the consequent diminution of their hunting grounds, the Indians felt insecure concerning the lands on which they were already established. They sought to have a title or deed to the land they possessed in the hope that it would guarantee the land to them.

3. The land title question

According to the proclamation issued by the British government in October 1763, Indians were not to be "molested or disturbed in such Parts of our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them or any of them as their Hunting Grounds."[86] Royal governors were forbidden to make grants of land beyond the boundaries of their jurisdiction. All private land purchases from the Indians were forbidden.[87]

The proclamation laid down three principles. While the Indians possessed rights of first occupancy to the land, they did not possess sovereignty of it. No land surrenders were legal unless made specifically to the Crown. The Crown could expel anyone unlawfully occupying Indian lands. It was the British government's first attempt to deal with the Indian

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[86]George F. Stanley, "The Indian background of Canadian History," Canadian Historical Association Annual Report of 1952, p. 18.

[87]Idem.

problem. By making it compulsory to make all legal land surrenders to the Crown, the foundation was laid for the treaty system which was to be the basis of British and Canadian Indian policy. Between 1781 and 1836 twenty-three land surrenders or treaties were arranged with the Chippewa, Mississauga, Ottawa, Mohawk and other Indians in southern Ontario.[88] In exchange the Indians were given an annual payment in goods or money.[89]

In 1764 the Indians had ceded a tract of land on the east side of the Niagara River to facilitate the transport of goods around the falls. However, the land was reserved for the use of the Crown and no grants or improvements were to be made without Indian permission.[90] In 1778 Lieutenant Governor Hamilton suggested to Colonel Bolton, commandant at Niagara that as much land as possible near Niagara and Detroit be farmed to accommodate the refugees from the American Revolution and the homeless Indians. Bolton, however, did not agree with the order as he felt they had to be cautious in infringing on the lands of the Six Nations Indians. He later suggested granting land on the west side of the Niagara river where the problem would not arise.[91]

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[88] Idem.

[89] Idem.

[90] Lillian F. Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada (University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 11.

[91] Idem.

When the Six Nations were granted the land, Joseph Brant, one of their chiefs thought his people had been given title to it.[92] However, as the land was suited to agriculture, white settlers soon began to invade the area. Brant saw that the encroachment of the whites would reduce his people's hunting grounds forcing them from a hunting to an agricultural economy. The land was too small for the former but much too large for the latter. He decided therefore to sell grants of land to create a fund for the Six Nations and to lease other tracts of land so there would be a perpetual revenue.[93] However, the government objected to his actions. As the Indians did not have a complete title to the land they could not sell any as it only belonged to them as long as they possessed it.[94]

Councils and conferences were held. At one point, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe intended to curtail the grant of land to the Indians by running a line west from the head of Lake Ontario which would have taken half of the Mohawks' possessions from them. In his view the Indians were forbidden to sell any land. The only use they could make of it was to cultivate it themselves. By this time, the Indian

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[92]William L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant Thayendanegea (New York: George Dearborn & Co., 1838), Vol. II, p. 397.

[93]Idem.

[94]Idem.

land had been reduced to a narrow strip twelve miles wide which restricted their hunting.[95]

Finally in 1795 a council was held with Simcoe with the aim of discovering the wishes and conditions of the Indians. It transpired that the government thought that the land was a long way from Niagara and would be free from white settlers for a long time. Brant would not accept this explanation. He claimed that when the grant was made, the commander-in-chief knew the location, value and advantages of the land.[96] The council concluded with Simcoe promising to forward Brant's speech to Lord Dorchester, the Colonial Secretary in England. Before Simcoe left the province, however, he confirmed the sales which the Indians had already made.

Upon his departure, Peter Russell, President of the Executive Council of the Province, was in charge of the administration of Indian affairs. Through Peter Russell, Brant came to an arrangement regarding Indian title to their lands. Any lands sold or intended to be sold were surrendered to the government which would issue grants to the purchasers through its agent. Brant held that position. The agent had to appoint three trustees who would receive the payments in trust for the Indians. In case of default, they would foreclose the mortgage and the land would be returned to the Indians.

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[95] Ibid., p. 398.

[96] Ibid., p. 398-399.

The arrangement, although satisfactory to the Indians did not succeed. Brant kept his part of the agreement but the government did not fulfil its part:

> Some of the purchasers had paid their interest for several years, but could not obtain their titles; others died, and the heirs were in the like predicament, and the whole business became involved more than ever in difficulty. Added to all of which, as the Indians themselves improved in their agricultural labours, the system of possessing all things in common operated unequally, and interposed great embarrassments to individual industry. But so long as the government refused to the Indians the privilege of disposing of the fee of the soil, the nation could not convey any portion of its own domain to its own people.[97]

The Mohawks were a proud nation and did not relish being subjected to a form of guardianship. In its treatment of them the British government was imitating the United States by keeping them in a state of pupilage merely occupying the lands to which the Crown claimed title.[98] This was a factor which was present in all future dealings between the Indians and the government concerning the title to the land.

The Methodist missionaries helped the Indians in their quest for a title to their lands. In August 1837, the Reverend Alder wrote to Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, requesting a title deed for the land near Rice Lake for the Indians who were located there:

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[97] Ibid., p. 401.

[98] Idem.

> On account of the uncertain and precarious Tenure by which the Indians have hitherto held their Lands, and the Manner in which they have sometimes been deprived of their Possessions, Fears are entertained by John Sunday and his People that the before-mentioned tract allotted to them by the Government may at some future Period be taken from them, and thus their children be deprived of the Fruit of their Industry; which Fears tend to check a Desire for Improvement which the Gospel has produced in their Minds . . . it is the earnest Desire and Prayer of John Sunday that your Lordship would direct the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada to cause without Delay a Grant of these Lands to be executed for them, under the Seal of the Province, upon such terms and accompanied by such Provisions as shall confirm these Lands to them in perpetuity, and render them unattachable by Creditors, and inalienable either by the Tribe or by any Occupant, without the joint Concurrence of the Lieutenant Governor for the Time being, the principal Chief of the Settlement, and the resident Missionary or Missionaries.[99]

Lord Glenelg's reply to Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was that the Indians should be assured that the government would protect their interest and their rights to the land on which they were settled.[100] However, they should be told that it was not advisable to give them the title deeds to their property. Rather, they should be "drawn up in Writing, and recorded in the office of the Commissioners of Crown Lands, of the Fact of which Record any Person or Persons deputed on their Behalf may convince

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[99]Correspondence Respecting the Indians in British North American Colonies, p. 78-79.

[100]Ibid., p. 82.

themselves by Inspection."[101] The government would consider the title deeds as binding as any other similar documents.

Lord Glenelg reflected the paternalism of the government towards the Indian in trying to prevent them from becoming independent:

> It appears to me, that if a Measure of this Nature were adopted any reasonable Apprehension in the Minds of the Indians would be allayed, while the Danger of their becoming Victims of Deception would be avoided. It would also tend to draw closer the Connexion which unites them with the Executive Government, and to cherish those Feelings of Affection with which they regard the Sovereign of the British Dominions.[102]

Lord Glenelg's paternalism was less extreme than that of Sir Francis Bond Head. He felt there should be no written documents or definite rule for dealing with the Indians:

> The Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, styled by the Indians "their Father," has under the Direction of the Colonial Minister, hitherto treated them as his Children, but if any new Regulations whetever were to be created to deprive him of parentally governing these People according to their simple Habits, and according to transient Circumstances, they would be Losers by the arrangement; . . . in short, I feel quite confident that the more Indians are left to the Mercy of the Colonial Minister the better it will be for them; and I think it highly politic that we should retain the Advantage as well as the Disadvantage of possessing no written Documents or no fixed Rule of governing the Indians beyond the Will and Pleasure of their Great Father the King.[103]

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[101] Ibid., p. 82.

[102] Idem.

[103] Despatch to Lord Glenelg, April 4, 1837, Ibid., p. 137.

In spite of the government's intransigent attitude, however, the missionaries persisted. In March 1838, Peter Jones added his voice to that of the Reverend Alder in requesting for his tribe a title deed or written assurance granting the Indians and their posterity their lands forever.

> So long as they hold no written Document from the British Government, to show that the land is theirs, they fear that the White Man may at some future Day take their Lands away from them; and this apprehension is constantly cherished by observing the Policy pursued by the United States Government towards the Indians in that Country, in forcing them to leave their Territories and the Bones of their Fathers; and I regret to say that this Fear acts as a powerful Drawback upon the Industry and Improvement of our Indian Tribes in Upper Canada.[104]

Another matter which Peter Jones raised was the reduction in payments to the Indians without their knowledge or consent. In 1818, the River Credit Indians had ceded land to the Crown for an annual payment of £522.10s. For the first two years after the agreement, they received the full amount but in subsequent years the payment was reduced to £472.10s. This left a payment of £850 plus interest due for the last seventeen years. Peter Jones was authorised to claim the payment and hoped "as a Matter of Justice to the said Indians, the British government, who have always shown a kind and paternal Feeling towards them, will be induced

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[104] Despatch from Lord Glenelg to Sir George Arthur, Ibid., p. 83.

to receive and sanction their Claims."[105]

In 1839 the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs also petitioned the Lieutenant Governor several times on behalf of the Saugeeng Indians asking for an annuity for the lands they had ceded to Sir Francis Bond Head three and a half years ago. It had been the policy of the government before taking possession of the lands claimed by the Indians to extinguish their title by entering into a treaty of voluntary surrender of them. In return the Indians were given an equivalent in money:[106]

> But in the present instance a most valuable tract of the richest land in the province of Upper Canada has been surrendered into the hands of the Government in consideration of a pledge which up to this day has not been redeemed.[107]

He requested that more land should be set apart for their use and an annuity settled for them.[108]

The Methodist ministers also took it upon themselves to present memorials to the government concerning the Indian title to land. Mr. Harvard, President of the Wesleyan Church in Canada, and Egerton Ryerson presented a memorial to Sir Francis Bond Head expressing the dissatisfaction of the Indians with regard to the British government. They gave

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[105] Ibid., p. 84.

[106] Letter from A. P. Jarvis to the Lieutenant Governor, Sept. 24, 1839, Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 75, p. 68455.

[107] Ibid., p. 68456.

[108] Idem.

four reasons for Indian dissatisfaction.

1 The Indians at some of the Stations cannot be induced to persevere in the Cultivation of those Reserves and Grants on which they reside, in consequence of possessing no Documents whereby said Reserves and Grants can be secured to them and their Children; our Efforts to promote Habits of Civilization among them are therefore in a great Degree paralyzed.

2 The Saugeeng Indians have been induced to surrender certain Lands to the Crown which, in the Opinion of the Indians generally, were not at the Disposal of the persons who surrendered them, not only from the Fact that they were not the Proprietors, but likewise that a Declaration of the Indians in Council had been forwarded to the late Lieutenant Governor, containing the deliberate and unanimous Decision of the Chiefs assembled from different Tribes, that no Person should have Authority to cede or surrender the Saugeeng tract without the Sanction of a General Council and the Concurrence of the hereditary and acknowledged Chief; and the late Surrender having in their Opinion been made without such Sanction and Concurrence, they consider it void, and maintain that the Chief of the said Territory is the rightful Proprietor thereof.

3 That the Lands which have been granted to certain Bodies of Indians by His Majesty's late representative in this Province, and on which Improvements have been made, have since been granted to other Persons; and the Indians have been called upon to relinquish their Claim to those Lands, notwithstanding the said Improvements had been made under the Belief that the Lands were or would be secured to them and their Children. The Indians have thereby been led to retire into the Wilderness; have been deprived of the Fruits of their Industry; their Children have lost the Benefit of the Schools; and in some Places the System of religious, moral and civil Instruction in operation among them has been seriously interrupted.

4 That certain Islands which have ever been considered as Possessions of the Indians, and leased by them under the Sanction of successive administrations in this Province have, as the Indians

> are led to believe, lately been declared the Property of the Crown, by which the Indians are deprived of the Rents which may hereafter become due from their Lessees, as well as all future interest in the Islands.[109]

Harvard and Ryerson claimed that if the above differences could be settled the Indians would have a much better attitude towards the British government. They also suggested that representatives of the Wesleyan Missionary Society should be made trustees for all deeds of land granted in trust for those Indians where the missionaries were employed.[110]

In his reply, Sir Francis Bond Head pounced on their request that Wesleyan ministers be made trustees for the Indians. He felt that the king would never consent to an intermediary between himself and the Indians, nor would he consider entrusting their civil affairs to any Christian denomination. He warned them that the Indians might well turn against the Methodists just as they had turned against the king.[111]

> "The strong Feeling of Dissatisfaction" which you assure me exists among the Indians should warn you of the Danger of the Arrangement you propose; for if such a feeling can be insidiously planted in the Minds of this virtuous Race against the Acts of the Representative of a Sovereign whose disinterested Generosity to the Indians cannot be unknown to you, how

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[109]Sir F. B. Head to Lord Glenelg, Aug. 15, 1837, Ibid., p. 152-153.

[110]Idem.

[111]Idem.

> severely might it be made to fall upon any Band of Christian Ministers, who, unmindful of the Admonitions of History, and regardless of the strong Feeling against Ecclesiastical Domination which exists in this noble Province, should be found connecting the temporal with the spiritual Management of their Flock?[112]

Head had his own opinion of the protagonists for the Indians and resented the attempts to obtain possession of Indian lands on their behalf. He felt the missionaries had only their own material interests at heart. This was not surprising since the accusations made concerned his actions towards the Indians.

> These Requests are never made openly and avowedly for the Benefit of the Applicants, but they invariably pretend to be for the welfare of the Souls or Bodies of the poor Indians; and it is generally argued with plausible Sophistry, that the Red Men of the Forest would be materially benefited if they could but receive Title Deeds for their Lands.
>
> No objection is ever made by me to a Tribe of Indians dividing their Lands amongst themselves in any way they may think proper, either for the purpose of Hunting or Cultivation; but this does not suit Mr. Jones and others who desire that they should receive transferable Deeds; and I have no Hesitation in saying, that if these Deeds were once to be granted to the Indians their whole Territory would in a very short Time become the property of
>
> "Ces gens qui, par une ame à l'interet soumise Font de devotion metier et marchandise; Ces gens dis-je, qu'on voit d'une ardeur non commune Par le chemin du ciel courir à leur fortune." [sic][113]

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[112] Idem.

[113] Idem.

In writing to Lord Glenelg, Head considered that if the Indians really were dissatisfied, the other missionaries, Protestant and Roman Catholic, would have reported it. Since the complaint only existed where there were Methodists, they must have created it. He based this on the fact that the possession of title deeds was the first complaint. This matter had been brought before Sir John Colborne who had also dismissed it because it was felt that once the Indians obtained deeds to their land they would dispose of it "to designing People for the merest Trifle that might be offered them."[114] Head contemptuously dismissed the third claim that the Indians felt insecure on the land because they had no document securing it to them and their children. He asked who ever heard of an Indian concerning himself about the future or wanting to leave land to his children. He was convinced that these were white men's claims not those of the Indian.[115]

The second claim by the Saungeeng Indians was also not valid, since Head had explained the surrender to the Chiefs at the Great Council on Manitoulin Island. He listed the witnesses to the surrender. During a tour in 1836, he tried to persuade Indians to sell their hunting grounds where they were surrounded by white settlers and as a result suffered a

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[114] Ibid., p. 149.

[115] Idem.

reduction in the area available for hunting. After discussing the matter with the Superintendents the chiefs eventually agreed to the suggestion.[116] This occurred at Coldwater and the Narrows where T. G. Anderson, one of the Indian Superintendents, favored moving the Indians to Manitoulin Island. Being of such an opinion he would hardly act against the Lieutenant Governor's wishes.[117]

Although Head was eloquent in his defence, the claims of Ryerson and Harvard could not be denied. During his tour of Upper Canada Head had persuaded the Indians to cede to him some of the finest farming land in the province. The Saungeeng Indians ceded one and a half million acres, the Hurons two-thirds of their land and the Moravians six square miles of territory.[118] At the time he stated:

> I need hardly observe that I have thus obtained for His Majesty's Government, from the Indians, an immense Portion of most valuable Land, which will undoubtedly produce, at no remote Period, more than sufficient to defray the whole Expenses of the Indians and the Indian Department in this Province.[119]

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[116] Ibid., p. 150-151.

[117] Sir John Colborne to Lord Glenelg, Jan. 23, 1836, Ibid., p. 126.

[118] Sir F. B. Head to Lord Glenelg, Nov. 20, 1836, Ibid., p. 126.

[119] Idem.

Head was convinced that farming land was of no use to the Indians:

> . . . it must always be kept in Mind, that however useful rich Land may be to us, yet its only Value to an Indian consists in the Game it contains: he is in fact Lord of the Manor, but it is against his Nature to cultivate the Soil. He has neither Right nor Power to sell it. As soon therefore as his Game is frightened away, or its Influx or Immigration cut off by the surrounding Settlements of the Whites, his Land however rich it may be, becomes a "rudis indigestaque moles" of little Value or Importance, and in this State much of the Indian Property in Upper Canada at present exists.[120]

In their attempts to obtain a deed to their land whether on their own initiative or through their missionaries, the Indians always met with opposition. The government resented the part taken by the missionaries. The Governor put forward the government point of view in a letter to John Macauley, Civil Secretary, Toronto:

> The Project of obtaining alienable titles to the large Reservation made for the exclusive benefit of the Indians and their Posterity, by the British Government, if it did not originate with the Methodist Missionaries in Upper Canada has for some years past been pressed upon Government by them with a degree of steady perseverance not easy to account for.
>
> It is a claim which the Indians themselves never thought of making until persuaded and urged to do so by the Missionaries.[121]

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[120] Idem.

[121] Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 69, p. 64862-64863.

The Indians wanted a title drawn up and deposited with the Commissioner for Crown Land.[122] The official view was that it was never intended that the Indians should have the power of alienating the land without the government's permission. If the lands were purchased for use by the Indians, the title was made out to a trustee. The reason for avoiding granting a land title to the Indian was that if they possessed a patent, the land would be subject to taxes, rates and assessments which would have to be paid regularly. In case of taxes not being paid, the land would be liable to possession and sale.[123] The Indians felt they were being treated unjustly by the protective attitude of the British government, but the latter still maintained that there should be no deed made out to the Indians. The land should remain in possession of the Crown with the following stipulation. There should be a diagram together with a correct description of each Indian reservation which should be prepared by the Surveyor General and deposited in the office of the Secretary and Registrar of the province.[124]

In the case of the Wyandots on the Huron tract, there was disagreement among the tribe concerning the prospective sale of the land to the government. The half breeds wanted

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[122] Ibid., p. 64864.

[123] Ibid., p. 64865-65867.

[124] Ibid., p. 64869.

to sell but the remainder wanted to keep the land. They requested that the Governor intervene to prevent their land being taken from them. Sir Francis Bond Head's reply was that the Crown had never exercised its right as owner of the land except at the Indians' request. They had been left to govern themselves according to their own laws and their land had not been subject to taxes. As they were excluded from taxes and assessments so were they excluded from the political privileges of most individuals. Any missionaries or teachers amongst them were appointed and paid by the king and the Indians came under the jurisdiction of the Crown. Head was ready to listen to their complaints but thought it "highly impolitic (especially for the object of redressing a trifling grievance) to sanction the adoption of a new course for their internal government."[125]

In February 1836 the matter was brought before the attorney general of the province. The question was whether or not the government had the right to intervene. It was considered that the manner of dealing with the Indians was more a matter of policy than of law.[126] Dating from their agreement with Sir William Johnson, the British general, in 1764, the Huron Indians had been considered allies of the British.[127]

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[125] Ibid., Vol. 60, p. 60715.

[126] Idem.

[127] Ibid., Vol. 62, p. 61430.

The territories they occupied were Crown lands which were devoted to their use as the king's allies. As the king had never exercised any right over their lands except at the Indians' request, the attorney general decided the question should be examined by the Crown not by the government.[128]

In their attempts to settle the land title question the Indians were shunted from the government to the Crown and were entirely unable to resolve the question satisfactorily. Whether they acted on their own behalf or through their missionaries, the answer was always the same. The Indians might consider themselves to be the true owners of the land and on an equal standing with the Crown as allies of the British, but in practice, the Crown considered that it owned the land and the Indians were merely allowed to use it until such time as it might be found desirable to have them cede land to the Crown for another use.

4. The removal plan

In 1831 a settlement was begun for three tribes of Indians at Coldwater and the Narrows of Lake Simcoe. The tribe of Chief John Aisance and the Potaganasus under Chief Ashawgashel were to be at Coldwater, the tribe under Chief Yellowhead at the Narrows.[129]

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[128] Ibid., Vol. 60, p. 60715.

[129] Sir John Colborne to Lord Glenelg, Jan. 22, 1836, Correspondence Respecting the Indians in British North America, p. 118-119.

In contrast to the Methodists, who worked with the Indians and encouraged them to do some work for themselves, the Indian Affairs Department tended to employ white labourers for the work of building and carpentering. The weekly report of the progress of works at Coldwater and the Narrows from September 12th to 17th, 1831, indicated that sixteen men were employed in the construction of the buildings.[130] A school, a sawmill and log houses were being constructed. In January 1832 it was suggested that a gristmill should be erected.[131]

Initially the settlement seems to have been a success. In January 1831, several Indian youths requested to train to become carpenters, blacksmiths and shoemakers. Mr. Anderson, the Indian Superintendent, suggested that workshops be built so that they could begin without delay.[132]

The government's desire to convert the Indians to a white man's economy was shown in the Lieutenant Governor's desire that the Indians should farm extensively and should be given fifty-acre lots at the Narrows.[133] Mr. Anderson also wanted the Indians to carry on the transport business provided it was contracted in the Indians' name.[134]

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[130] Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, Vol. 49, Sept. 17, 1831.

[131] Ibid., Vol. 50, p. 55699.

[132] Letter to Col. Givins, Jan. 22, 1831, Idem.

[133] Letter from Mr. Anderson to Col. Givins, Jan. 24, 1831, Idem.

[134] Idem.

However, in spite of a successful beginning, Anderson found he had problems getting the Indians to work around the settlement:

> tho the Indians work pretty well about their individual houses in clearing Land from some course which I cannot correctly ascertain they do not attend to the affairs of the general Establishment either in attending to the Cattle or getting sawlogs for the Mill which in consequence has been idle since the first of the Month - the cattle I am very frequently obliged to find myself.[135]

He came to the conclusion that they needed some person to instruct the Indians in their labour as one person could not attend to everything.[136]

Another problem encountered was that the Indians withdrew their children from school when they went hunting or fishing. Anderson accompanied the Methodist minister to discover the reason:

> they declare an objection to the teacher as the main cause, alledging, that their children were not properly attended to out of school consequently they were affraid *[sic]* to leave them when hunger called them to the fishing lest the larger Boys should injure the Younger Ones.[137]

This problem was a constant one. At one point Anderson thought it a good idea to hire an elderly couple as teachers who would teach the children to work as well as read:

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[135]Letter to Col. Givins, Jan. 22, 1833, Ibid., Vol. 53, p. 57297.

[136]Letter to Col. Givins, Feb. 1, 1833, Idem.

[137]Letter to Col. Givins, June 27, 1833, Ibid., p. 57634.

> Removing the teachers by this means will be satisfactory to the Indians at least until the novelty wears off when they may again request a change.[138]

The children were also kept out of school during the sugar season and also partly due to the influence of a religious bigot, Tangaiwainina, who is mentioned as one who kept the Indians from their work.[139] Anderson relied on the efforts of the chief Methodist John Jones to bring the children into school and to influence the tribe of John Aisance to attend to the cultivation of their farms.[140]

The outlook for the settlement does not seem to have been entirely bleak although school attendance was low. In October 1834, Anderson could report:

> During this quarter a Barn (Frame) 60 x 35 has been built a sufficiency of wheat Peas and Potatoes have been stored for the supply of the School and Hay and Oats for the cattle, the Saw Mill has undergone a thorough Repair, the Expence of which is to be paid out of a part of the Rent as it will become due from Mr. George Stitcher. The Grist Mill is in good Order and is grinding more or less every day. The Indians being all gone, with most of their Children to the Fishing. The School has not been well attended.[141]

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[138]Letter to Col. Givins, July 15, 1833, Ibid., Vol. 54, p. 57710.

[139]Letter from Mr. Anderson to Col. Givins, April 21, 1834, Ibid., Vol. 55, p. 58284.

[140]Ibid., p. 58285.

[141]Letter from Mr. Anderson to Col. Givins, Feb. 3, 1836, Ibid., Vol. 60.

By 1836 the Indians again wanted the schoolmaster relieved of his duties as few children were attending school. They were clinging to their customs of hunting, fishing and sugar making at the appropriate season which meant that they neglected their agricultural pursuits and took their children out of school. The actual situation was not as optimistic as that described by Sir John Colborne:

> By studious attention to their Habits and Prejudices, they were at length gradually brought to assist, and the general Result has been that each Indian with a Family has now a little Farm under Cultivation in which he raises not only Potatoes and Indian Corn, but also Wheat, Oats, Pease etc; his Wigwam is exchanged for the Log House; hunting has in many cases been altogether abandoned, and in none appears, as formerly to be resorted to as the only Means of Subsistence. Habitual intoxication is unknown, the Sabbath is carefully observed, their Religious Duties carefully attended to, and Reading and Writing, with a moderate Knowledge of Arithmetic, is almost universal among the young People.[142]

Perhaps it was Mr. Anderson's unfortunate experience which made him suggest settling Indians on Manitoulin Island to avoid complete extinction of the tribes on the northern shores of Lake Huron. Sir John Colborne sanctioned this plan, as a result of which all Indian tribes in Canada would be in villages where they would have schools and be under the care of people interested in their welfare.[143]

Sir Francis Bond Head took the plan a step further.

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[142] Correspondence Respecting the Indians in the British North American Colonies, p. 119.

[143] Ibid., p. 122.

With the increasing immigration into Upper Canada, he viewed the Indians as an impediment to white settlement:

> Although I did not approve of the Responsibility as well as the Expence of attracting, as had been proposed, the wild Indians from the Country North of Lake Huron to Manitoulin; yet it was evident to me that we should reap a very great Benefit, if we could persuade those Indians, who are now impeding the Progress of Civilization in Upper Canada, to resort to a Place possessing the double Advantage of being admirably adapted to them (inasmuch as it affords Fishing, Hunting, Birdshooting, and Fruit) and yet in no Way adapted to the White population. Many Indians have long been in the habit of living in their Canoes among these Islands, and from them, from every Inquiry I could make, and from my own Observation, I felt convinced that a vast Benefit would be conferred both upon the Indians and the Province by prevailing upon them to migrate to this Place.[144]

Before he could put his plan into practice, Head had to persuade the Ottawas and Chippewas who possessed the Manitoulin islands to cede them to the Crown so they could then be made available to all Indians wishing to go there. At the same time he persuaded the Saugeen Indians to relinquish one and a half million acres of farming land.[145] The argument he presented to the Indians was that their land was in great demand and it was necessary to find new measures to protect them from the encroachment of white settlers:

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[144] Ibid., p. 118.

[145] Ibid., p. 122.

> In all parts of the World Farmers seek for uncultivated Land as eagerly as you my Red children hunt in your great Forest for Game. If you would cultivate your Land it would then be considered your own Property in the same way as your Dogs are considered among yourselves to belong to those who have reared them; but uncultivated Land is like wild Animals, and your Great Father, who has hitherto protected you, has now great Difficulty in securing it for you from the Whites, who are hunting to cultivate it.[146]

He represented the Manitoulin Islands as being a good place for those Indians who wished to be civilized as well as completely separated from the whites.[147] In his plan Head showed a certain empathy with the way of life of the Indians. He saw that those who lived by hunting and fishing would be better in an area exclusively devoted to their use. He felt that as contacts with the whites was injurious to them, the Indians would be better if removed from contact with them. He ignored completely, however, that some of the tribes noticeably the Ottawas practiced an agricultural economy and were successful.[148] Instead of consulting with the Indians concerning what they wished to do, he confronted them with a decided policy. He reflected the paternal attitude of the government towards the Indians who were not to be given any

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[146] Ibid., p. 123.

[147] Idem.

[148] T. Anderson to Secretary Anderson, Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Upper Canada, p. 65957.

responsibility or any voice in decisions concerning their welfare.

Having put his plan into action, Head then had to defend his steps to the Colonial Secretary to whom he declared that the previous policy of settling the Indians was a failure. Contact with the white civilization had reduced them to drunkenness or resulted in them succumbing to consumption:

> Whenever and wherever the Two Races come into contact with each other it is sure to prove fatal to the Red Man. However bravely for a short Time he may resist our Bayonets and Fire-arms, sooner or later he is called upon by Death to submit to his Decree; if we stretch forth the Hand of Friendship, the liquid Fire it offers him to drink proves still more destructive than our Wrath; and lastly, if we attempt to christianize the Indians, and for that sacred Object congregate them in Villages of substantial Log-houses, lovely and beautiful as such a Theory appears, it is an undeniable Fact, to which unhesitatingly I add my humble Testimony, that as soon as the Hunting Season commences, the Men (from warm Clothes and warm housing having lost their Hardihood) perish, or rather rot, in Numbers, by Consumption; while as regards their Women, it is impossible for any accurate Observer to refrain from remarking, that Civilization, in spite of the pure, honest, and unremitting Zeal of our Missionaries by some accursed Process has blanched their Babies Faces. In short, our Philanthropy, like our Friendship has failed in its Professions; producing Deaths by Consumption, it has more than decimated its Followers; and under the Pretence of eradicating from the Female Heart the Errors of a Pagan's Creed it has implanted in their Stead the Germs of Christian Guilt.
>
> What is the Reason of all this? Why the simple Virtues of the Red Aborigines of America should under all Circumstances fade before the Vices and Cruelty of the Old World is a Problem which no one among us is competent to solve;

> the Dispensation is as mysterious as its Object is inscrutable. I have merely mentioned the Facts, because I feel that before the Subject of the Indians in Upper Canada can be fairly considered it is necessary to refute the Idea which so generally exists in England about the Success which has attended the christianizing and civilizing of the Indians; whereas I firmly believe every Person of sound Mind in this Country who is disinterested in their Conversion, and who is acquainted with the Indian Character, will agree,-
>
> 1. That an Attempt to make Farmers of the Red Men has been, generally speaking, a complete Failure;
>
> 2. That congregating them for the Purpose of Civilization has implanted many more Vices than it has eradicated; and, consequently,
>
> 3. That the greatest Kindness we can perform towards these intelligent, simple-minded People, is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from all Communication with the Whites.
>
> . . . It is impossible to teach the Indian to beware of the White Man; for it seems to be the Instinct of his untutored Nature to look upon him as his Friend. In short, his Simplicity is his Ruin; and though he can entrap and conquer every wild Beast in his Forest, yet invariably he becomes himself the Prey of his White Brother!
>
> For the foregoing Reasons, I am decidedly of opinion that His Majesty's Government should continue to advise the few remaining Indians who are lingering in Upper Canada to retire upon the Manitoulin and other Islands in Lake Huron, or elsewhere towards the North-west.[149]

Lord Glenelg was not so positive about the advantages of the scheme suggested by Head. He had hoped that the government scheme of converting the Indians to Christianity

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[149] Ibid., p. 125-126.

so that they would eventually become assimilated into white civilization would be successful. However, he found himself obliged to rely on Head's information and to accept the view that the effort to civilize the Indians had failed:

> I fear that it is impossible to question the Accuracy of the View which you have taken on the Consequences resulting to the Indians from Intercourse with the White Men; nor can it be disputed that we are bound by the strongest Obligations to adopt the most effectual Means of repairing the Wrongs which we have inflicted on them, and of promoting their future Welfare. I should most reluctantly yield to the Conviction that in the Prosecution of this Object we must abandon the Hope of imparting to the Indians the Blessings of Christianity, on the Ground that those Blessings were necessarily more than counterbalanced by the evils with which they have hitherto been unhappily associated. I should rather be disposed to attribute those Evils to the counteracting Tendency which, under unfavorable Circumstances, ordinary Intercourse with White Men has had on the Instruction and Example of Christian Teachers, than to any Inherent inaptitude in the Indians for the Reception of a Religion in itself peculiarly qualified to elevate the Character and raise the Standard of Morality. One Great Advantage which, among others, I should venture to anticipate from the Adoption of your Suggestion of interposing a considerable Space between the Country occupied by White Men and the Indian Settlements is the Facility which such an Arrangement might offer to the Inculcation by properly qualified Teachers of the Doctrines and Precepts of Christianity, without Interference with the ordinary Habits of Life hitherto pursued by the Indians, and apart from the deteriorating Influence of a general Intercourse with another Race of Men.[150]

Head apparently ignored or discounted the evidence given by the missionaires of the remarkable success with which their

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[150] Ibid., p. 73.

efforts had been met. Peter Jones, in speaking of the Chippeways listed their advancement in civilization:

> About ten years ago this people had no houses, no fields nor homes, no cattle, no pigs and no poultry. Each person could carry all he possessed on his back without being much burthened. They are now occupying about 40 comfortable houses, most of which are built of hewn logs, and a few of frame. They are generally one and a half story high, and about 24 feet long, and 18 feet wide, with stone or brick chimneys. Two or three rooms in each house.
>
> . . . They have about 200 acres of lands under cultivation on which they grow wheat, Indian corn or maize, oats, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, and squashes. In their gardens they raise beans, melons, cabbages, onions etc. A few have planted fruit-trees in their gardens. . . They have a number of oxen, cows, horses, pigs, poultry, dogs, and cats; a few barns and stables; a few waggons and sleighs; also all sorts of farming implements.[151]

Even on Manitoulin Island, the Indians could not escape the influence of unscrupulous whites who for their own ends gave them wrong advice, while many of the traders gave them whisky.[152]

The effect of the removal plan on the remainder of the Indians in Upper Canada was extremely unsettling to those who had grouped in communities and adjusted to an agriculture economy. As has already been seen, the Methodists tried to obtain some security for the Indians by attempting to

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[151]Letter from Peter Jones to the Rev. John Beecham, Feb. 16, 1836.

[152]Chief Superintendent's Correspondence, Vol. 71, p. 65957.

secure deeds to their lands. As long as the Indians felt they were likely to be relieved of their land, they could not settle down to an agricultural existence. Fortunately the removal plan did not succeed in moving all Indians in Upper Canada to Manitoulin Island. The existing settlements still remained although more land was ceded to allow for further white habitation.

5. A tentative solution

It was made evident to Lord Glenelg that settling the Indians on Manitoulin Island was creating more problems than it solved. There were petitions made to him concerning the manner in which the plan was carried out. Indians had been compromised. Some who had settled in communities were moved without their consent resulting in an interruption in their progress in civilization and Christianity.[153] Their confidence in the government had been shaken. Lord Glenelg considered that the result of the plan might be disastrous to all Indians and suggested that an investigation be made into the matter.[154]

In his recommendations, he cited the solution proffered by R. Alder, Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in a letter written December 4, 1837. Alder based his recommendations on conversations held with Sir John Colborne and

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[153]Lord Glenelg to Sir G. Arthur, Aug. 22, 1838, Correspondence respecting the Indians in British North America, p. 88.

[154]Idem.

others who had worked with the Indians. He had seen the detrimental influence of the whites upon the Indians.

> White Men have availed themselves of the influence which their superior Intelligence and Position have given them over their Red Brethren to fleece them of their Property, and, in imitation of the great Author of Evil they have employed the vilest Methods to develop and strengthen the latent Evils in the Hearts of these untutored Children of Nature. Thus, while they presented to such Passions as the Indians had long indulged new Objects and Incentives, they roused those that had before slumbered in his Bosom to a state of fearful Activity in order that they might profit by the Degradation of their Victims.[155]

Alder presented two groups of Indians who needed assistance. The first group comprised those who had become Christians and were settled in villages. The second group was those who had not yet been converted.

Citing the advantages of Christianizing the Indians, Alder pointed out that the Indians were being defrauded of their rights because the whites had neglected their duty towards them:

> We have taken possession of a great Part of their Inheritance; we are prepared to pounce upon the Remainder; the lawful Owners are to be thrust into a Corner to perish. An impassable Gulf is to be placed between them and all Means of Improvement, because they are incapable of learning aught but the Vices of Civilization, as if God, who made the Red Man as well as the White cannot save the one as well as the other.[156]

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[155] Ibid., p. 91.

[156] Ibid., p. 92-94.

Alder made six recommendations concerning the Indians. The first was that the reservations should be granted to them "under the Great Seal of the Province" so that no claims could be made on them by creditors. Nor would the Indians be able to alienate them except through the agreement of the Lieutenant Governor, the principal chief and the resident missionaries. Until such a title deed was granted to them, the Indians felt that their lands might be taken from them.[157] Alder compared the situation to that of the soldiers who received grants of land for services rendered to Great Britain during the war with the United States. It was not unreasonable for the Indians who also supported the British in their war to receive the land which was reserved for their use.[158]

The second measure proposed by Alder was to allow Indians who were literate and of good moral conduct to vote at Town meetings to hold municipal offices and to serve as jurors. He felt that Indians should be given the rights of British subjects and be made equal to them. The result would be that "a Spirit of energetic Enterprise would be Cherished among them which would be productive of the most beneficial Consequences."[159]

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[157] Idem.

[158] Idem.

[159] Ibid., p. 95.

The third step he proposed was to establish central boarding schools where promising young people could be boarded, clothed and educated for five or six years. Removed from the influence of their parents, they would be supervised by missionaries and teachers. In addition to the regular curriculum, he recommended teaching "mechanical arts" to the boys and domestic science to the girls.[160]

The fourth proposal was that there should be a resident farmer in each village:

> to initiate the Indians into a Knowledge of the best Methods of clearing the Land, ploughing, sowing, reaping, and of pursuing other Branches of Field Labour; suitable Implements should be furnished for their use; Rewards should be conferred on such as excel in any particular Branch, as well as on those who clear and cultivate the largest Portion of Land within a certain given Time, or who raise the greatest Quantities of Wheat, Indian Corn, and other Grain, or of Potatoes, Turnips and other Vegetables.[161]

Financial provision would have to be made for the Indians until they were self-supporting.

The fifth point was that the statute forbidding the sale of liquor to the Indians should be put into effect by the magistrates.[162]

The sixth step included several measures. The first required that the Indian agents should cooperate with the

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[160] Idem.

[161] Idem.

[162] Ibid., p. 96.

missionaries and encourage the Indians "to attend to the Duties of Religion and Morality."[163]

Alder then considered the second class of Indians to which he had referred. Christianity was the means to improve their lot. This would be done by sending Christian teachers among them who would bring them to a civilized state:

> They will then look for a fixed Residence, where they can be taught more perfectly, and where their Children may attend a School and learn to read the "good Book," and, to use their own Expression, "to put their Thoughts on Paper." A Chapel and Schoolhouse will soon be built, around which they will erect Dwellings. Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts will follow in the train of Christianity, and in Process of Time Industry will place them in Circumstances of comparative comfort and Abundance.[164]

He suggested that a place be chosen for the annual present giving where Christian and pagan Indians could meet so that the former could explain the benefits of civilized life.[165]

Alder also recommended that someone be appointed to act as an ombudsman for the Indians to be an intermediary between the Indians and the government:

> to present their Requests to the proper Authorities, to watch over their Interests, to maintain their Rights, to seek Redress for them when they have been injured, and to give them suitable advice and council on all Occasions with regard to the Management of their temporal Affairs.[166]

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[163] Idem.

[164] Ibid., p. 97.

[165] Idem.

[166] Idem.

These suggestions were made to help remedy the condition of the Indians. It is true that they envisaged the Indians adapting to a white civilization and economy. In no way, however, did they envisage the Indian as subservient. Alder wanted them to become responsible citizens perhaps, eventually, autonomous, living in security on their reservations. He suggested the measures as one solution to the deplorable conditions into which the Indians had been allowed to sink:

> The Remnant of that noble Race which still survives presents a melancholy Spectacle to the Contemplation of the Christian and the Philanthropist. Their Dwellings are desolate; their Lands Strangers occupy in their Presence; they are regarded as Aliens and Outcasts in those regions over which their Fathers bore undisputed Sway, and are not unfrequently taunted on account of their degraded State by those very Persons who have contributed to impoverish and demoralize them.[167] [sic]

Lord Glenelg saw the advantage of these proposals and reiterated the government's original policy concerning the Indians. The first measure was to persuade the Indians to adopt a settled life rather than a wandering existence. To make this sucessful, they had to have a sense of permanence in the regions where they were located. In an almost direct quote from Alder, he stated the Indians should have a deed to the land "unattachable by Creditors, and inalienable either by the Tribe or any Occupant, without the joint

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[167] Ibid., p. 97-98.

Concurrence of the Lieutenant Governor for the Time being, the principal Chief of the Settlement, and the resident Missionary or Missionaries."[168]

He referred to the establishment of schools which would teach the rudiments of agriculture and mechanical arts as well as an elementary education. He was quite ready to hand the work over to the missionaries among whom he felt the necessary teachers could be found.[169]

Alder's recommendations included most of the measures which the missionaries had already employed in dealing with the Indians. As they had met with a measure of success, he was no doubt ready to recommend their widespread adoption. Such measures also met with the approval of the Colonial Office as they echoed some of their recommendations for dealing with the Indians. Relying on the missionaries to provide teachers also solved the problem of finding staff.

The problems confronting the Methodists in their attempts to educate the Indians were complex. In their contact with the Indians there was a cultural gap which was solved by the Indians adapting their culture to that of the white man. Their primitive beliefs could not withstand the impact of European civilization when the two cultures came into contact. The trappers and traders ignored the taboos

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[168] Ibid., p. 88.

[169] Idem.

which the Indians had observed for centuries. Their visions and dreams were considered foolish or evil by the whites.[170]

The coming of the white man had brought a radical change in their economic and social conditions. The whites possessed the things the Indians wanted - firearms, ammunition, steel knives, hatchets, glass beads and woollen cloth. The Indians who tried to ignore white civilization became handicapped in their competition with their fellow tribesmen. It became evident that if they were to survive, they had to change. For this reason they accepted Christianity and adjusted their religion to that of the whites.[171]

It was also evident that however much the Indians wanted education for their children, due to the different concepts of education, regression was inevitable during the traditional seasons for hunting, fishing, and sugar making.

In addition to the conflict within the Indian culture there were the external problems to be dealt with. Large scale white immigration led to a reduction of Indian hunting grounds. Subject to the whims of successive Lieutenant Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs, the Indians had no security to the lands they held. The Methodists might slowly achieve success in adapting the Indians to a white

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[170] D. Jenness, op. cit., p. 182.

[171] Ibid., p. 183.

economy but progress came to a standstill when the Indians were faced with the loss of their lands and removal to the Manitoulin Islands.

In response to these problems the solution suggested by Dr. Alder solved the problem of both the Methodists and the government. Unfortunately it meant that the government looked to the missionaries to relieve them of the problem of any definite policy concerning the Indians, the majority of whom were left on the reservations to be forgotten as part of the Canadian scene.

CONCLUSION

Methodism was but one of the several denominations trying to establish itself among the people of Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century but it was the one which attracted the greatest number of adherents. The success with which Methodism met was due to several factors. At the grass roots level the zeal and organization of its ministers and its simple doctrines appealed to pioneers struggling to eke out an existence in the young and undeveloped province. Within the structure of Methodism, the establishment of a Missionary Committee separate from the administrative body permitted missionary work to continue in spite of internal political problems. Once a mission was established a routine could be organized with regular supervision and visitation. Finally, the evangelical nature of Methodism required that missionary work be maintained to justify the continuation of the Church.

The same reasons were responsible for the success of Methodist missionary work among the Indians. Whatever conflicts might occur within the administration of the Church, the machinery and motivation existed for continuing missionary endeavour. The Episcopal Methodists and the British Wesleyans were both impelled by the same evangelizing spirit and both were eager to convert and educate the Indian.

The path of Methodism as it strove to establish itself in Upper Canada was far from smooth. Due to their American origin, the Episcopal Methodists were distrusted by the government and accused of introducing republican ideas into a province which was ruled by Great Britain and looked to the monarchy as head of the realm. The involvement of the Methodists in the issues of the Clergy Reserves and State financial support of religion made them unpopular with a government which viewed the Anglican Church as the rightful ecclesiastical establishment and regarded other denominations as usurpers. The return of the British Wesleyans encouraged by the government was accepted resentfully by the Canadian Methodists who were already established among the people of Upper Canada.

Such issues, however, did not deter the organization of Methodism. In 1824 the Canadian Missionary Society was created parallel to the Canadian Conference. This gave impetus to Indian education and ensured its continuity in spite of dissensions within the Church.

By the time the Wesleyans began to arrive in Upper Canada in the early 1830's, the Canadian Methodists had already established Indian missions and schools. They were resentful of the intrusion of the latter and refused to relinquish their missions to them. Although, according to the Union of 1833, Canadian missions came under the jurisdiction of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, there was no fusion of

the two groups. Each functioned separately with the Canadian missions receiving financial aid from the Wesleyan Committee.

The separation of 1840 caused the Canadian Methodists to lose financial support for their missions but did not prevent them from continuing missionary work. The interest shown by both groups in extending their activities to the Northwest indicated that competition arising from separation stimulated rather than retarded missionary efforts.

It was not until a working union was effected in 1847 that the two Conferences joined efforts in their missionary work.

During the period of this study, there were two groups of Methodists working with the Indians with the same aims in view. The missions and schools established before 1832 were entirely due to the efforts of the Canadian Methodists who were financed by voluntary contributions. In 1832, the Wesleyans began to arrive in Upper Canada and establish missions among the Indians. Financially, their position was more advantageous as they had more money at their disposal for the organization of missions and day schools. In 1833, this situation was remedied, however, when more money was made available to Canadian missions which then came under Wesleyan control. After the separation of 1840, the Wesleyans suffered no financial loss but Canadian Methodists once

again were forced to rely upon donations to support their schools.

Since, at both times of Union, the Wesleyans took control, they had more influence than the Canadians in the area of finance and administration. From the point of view of Indian education, however, the Canadian Methodists had greater influence because they had established schools in Upper Canada before the arrival of the Wesleyans. Nor was their influence diminished since they continued to maintain schools after 1833.

In their work with the Indians in Upper Canada, the Methodists established schools and churches and laid the foundations for the future structure of Indian education. The missionary and residential schools were to become a familiar feature in the education of native people.

The problem of converting and educating the Indian was not, however, limited to making them literate Christians. It encompassed converting the Indian to the white man's economy, often from an existence based on hunting and fishing to one based on agriculture and industrial pursuits. To this end, they tried different ways of approaching them. The camp meeting and the use of native teachers were two methods employed.

Their success was greatest, however, when the Indians were grouped in settlements or villages which provided a permanent base for the establishment of a church, school and

workshop. Such settlements were perhaps initially more for the benefit of the Methodist missionaries than for the Indians as they provided them with a familiar environment in which to inculcate the Indians in the white man's way of life. In the villages the Indians were taught to build houses, to till the land, to produce crops and work at the sawmill and other industrial pursuits. Encouraged by the progress made in the villages, the Methodists made them their pattern for working with the Indians. First they would establish a church and a society followed by a school. At the same time the missionaries would begin teaching the Indians the first steps in farming.

The advantage of the Indian villages was that they were separate from the white communities which meant that the Indians could be protected to a certain extent from undesirable white influences. They allowed the Methodists the constant supervision which they found necessary for success. To a certain extent they also gave the Indians autonomy in that they were responsible for working the land themselves.

Due to their success with the Indians in such a setting, the Methodists were encouraged to believe that settling the Indians in villages was the solution which would guarantee their progress in education and white civilization. Their recommendations were supported by a government which saw such a step as a satisfactory solution to the Indian problem. Grouping Indians in villages endorsed the

government's idea of dealing with aboriginal people. Having the missionaries establish schools and provide teachers rid it of the responsibility of providing them.

Among the problems encountered by the Methodists were the cultural differences of the Indians, and the issues raised by Indian land tenure, the immigrant situation in Upper Canada and the government policy towards the Indians.

Apart from being preachers and teachers, they found themselves working for the legal rights of the Indians to the lands where they were established. In this area, they met with opposition from the government which viewed the tracts of land held by the Indians as an obstacle to the white settlement it was trying to promote. On the one hand, the Methodists were fighting to obtain deeds to the land on behalf of the Indians. On the other hand, the government argued that this was not part of Indian policy and it would expose the Indians to unscrupulous treatment from white settlers. At the same time, however, government protagonists were persuading the Indians to cede tracts of land which might then be made available to white immigrants.

What the Colonial Office might propose was also subject to the interpretations of the Lieutenant Governor resident in Upper Canada. Lord Glenelg might recommend gathering the Indians in villages but Head countered with the argument that it was useless to attempt to civilize the Indians, the most appropriate measure being to relocate them on the

Manitoulin Islands where, without any say in the matter, they might be left to pursue the form of life to which they were accustomed.

In such a situation, it was easy for the government to accuse the Methodists of working to benefit their own ends rather than those of the Indians. Perhaps the reason Alder's suggested solution met with the approval of the Colonial Office was that he was a prominent British Wesleyan whose proposals might receive a more favorable hearing than those of a Canadian Methodist.

In the long term, the suggestions of Alder prevailed over those of Head. The government reverted to its policy of grouping Indians in villages where through conversion to Christianity and education they would learn to work according to the precepts of the white man.

Government concurrence with Methodist work with the Indians led to a reliance upon missionaries to carry out their education. The settlements begun by the missionaries became part of the system of reservations where Indians were left in their care. The effect on the Indians was to deprive them of any cultural identity. Although their own culture had been routed by that of the whites, the Indians could not integrate with that of the latter. In this way they were left on their reservations neglected by the mainstream of Canadian life.

APPENDIX A

Articles of Union
1833

"Between the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference and the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America

"The English Wesleyan Conference, concurring in the communication of the Canadian Conference, and deprecating the evils which might arise from collision, and believing that the cause of religion generally, and the interests of Methodism in particular would, under the blessing of God, be greatly promoted by the united exertions of the two connections; considering also, that the two bodies concur in holding the doctrines of Methodism, as contained in the Notes of Mr. Wesley on the New Testament, and in his four volumes of Sermons, do agree in the adoption of the following resolutions:

"I. That such a union between the English Wesleyan and Canadian Connexion as shall preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the Canadian preachers and societies, on the one hand, and on the other, shall secure the funds of the English Conference against any claims on the part of the Canadian preachers, is highly important and desirable.

"II. That (as proposed in the second and third resolutions of the Canadian Conference) in order to affect this object the Discipline, economy, and form of Church government in general of the Wesleyan Methodists in England be introduced into the societies in Upper Canada, and that in particular an annual presidency be adopted.

"III. That the usages of the English Conference in reference to the probation, examination, and admission of candidates into the itinerant ministry be adopted.

"IV. That preachers who have travelled the usual term of probation, and are accepted by the Canadian Conference, shall be ordained by imposition of the hands of the President and of three or more of the senior preachers, according to the form contained in Mr. Wesley's 'Sunday Morning Service

of the Methodists,' by which the Wesleyan missionaries in England are ordained, and which is the same as the form of ordaining Elders in the Discipline of the Canadian Conference.

"V. That the English Conference shall have authority to send, from year to year, one of its own body to preside over the Canadian Conference, but the same shall not be appointed oftener than once in four years, unless at the request of the Canadian. When the English Conference does not send a President from England, the Canadian Conference shall, on its assembling, choose one of its own members.

"The proposal of the Canadian Conference is understood to include, as a matter of course, that the President of the Conference shall exercise the same functions generally as the present General Superintendent now actually exercises; he shall not, however, have authority to appoint any preacher to any circuit or station contrary to the counsel or advice of a majority of the Chairmen of Districts, or Presiding Elders, associated with him as a Stationing Committee.

"VI. That the missions among the Indian tribes and destitute settlers, which are now, or may be hereafter established in Upper Canada shall be regarded as missions of the English Missionary Society, under the following regulations:-

"1. The Parent Committee in London shall determine the amount to be applied annually to the support and extension of the missions; and this sum shall be distributed by a committee consisting of the President, the General Superintendent of Missions, the Chairmen of Districts, and seven other persons, appointed by the Canadian Conference. A standing board or committee, consisting of an equal number of preachers and laymen, shall moreover be appointed, as heretofore, at every Conference, which during the year, shall have authority, in concurrence with the General Superintendent of Missions, to apply any moneys granted by the Parent Committee, and not distributed by the Conference, in establishing new missions among the heathen, and otherwise promoting the missionary work.

"2. The Methodist Missionary Society in Upper Canada shall be auxiliary to the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the moneys raised by it shall be paid into the funds of the Parent Society.

"3. The missionaries shall be stationed at the Canada Conference, in the same way as the other preachers, with this proviso, however, that the General Superintendent of Missions shall be associated with the President and Chairmen of Districts in their appointment.

"4. All the preachers who may be sent from this country into the work in Upper Canada, shall be members of the

Canadian Conference, and shall be placed under the same discipline, and be entitled to the same rights and privileges as the native preachers.

"5. Instead of having the annual stations of the missionaries sent home to the English Missionary Committee and Conference for their 'sanction,' as is the case with our missionaries generally, and as the Canadian Conference have proposed, the English Conference shall appoint, and the Parent Committee shall meet the expense of supporting a General Superintendent of Missions, who, as agent of the Committee, shall have the same superintendence of the mission stations as the Chairmen of Districts, or Presiding Elders exercise over the circuits in their respective Districts, and shall pay the missionaries their allowance as determined by the Conference missionary Committee, on the same scale as the Canadian Book of Discipline lays down for the preachers on the regular circuits; but who being at the same time recognized as a member of the Canadian Conference, shall be accountable to it in regard of his religious and moral conduct. This General Superintendent of Missions representing the Parent Committee in the Canadian Conference, and in the Stationing and Missionary Committees, the appointments at the Conference shall be final.

"VII. That the Canadian Conference, in legislating for its own members, or the Connexion at large, shall not, at any time, make any rule, or introduce any regulation, which shall infringe these articles of agreement between the two Conferences.

"Signed by order, and on behalf of the Conference,

Richard Treffry, President
Edmund Grindrod, Secretary

Manchester, August 7, 1833."

Synod minutes, Canada 1821-1854, Methodist Missionary Society (Ottawa: Public Archives).

APPENDIX B

The Union of 1847

Articles of Union

Between The

British Wesleyan Methodist Conference

And The

Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church

In Canada

I. That the Conference and Connexion of Western Canada, be placed in union with the British Conference, as nearly as local and other circumstances will allow, as that which the Conference and Connexion in Ireland now sustain to the latter Body:

The Chapel and other property, now held in trust, for the Wesleyan Church in Canada, remain, exclusively, under the control of the Conference known in law, as the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.

II. That the British Conference shall annually appoint one of their number as President of the Canadian Conference, and a second Minister, as an Associate of the President, so appointed, and his Co-Delegate from the said British Conference, who may be either a British or a Canadian Minister, in full connexion with either Conference, as may from time to time be judged most convenient. If the appointed President cannot remain in Canada, during the whole year of his Presidency, his Associate and Co-Delegate, shall for the remainder of that year, take his place in Canada, in order to superintend generally, in connexion with the regular authorities of the Re-Union now contemplated. In the event of the English Conference not appointing a President, or the President appointed not arriving in Canada, the Canada Conference shall appoint a President, who shall appoint his own Co-Delegate.

III. That in accordance with the preceding Resolution, by which it is provided that the future relation of the Canada Conference to the British Conference, shall be, as nearly as may be, similar to that which is now sustained with the British Conference by the Conference and Connexion in Ireland, all and every, the acts, admissions, expulsions and appointments, whatsoever of the Canadian Conference, the same being put into writing, and signed by the President, or by the Minister appointed as his Associate and Co-Delegate, shall be annually laid before the ensuing British Conference, and when confirmed by their vote, shall be deemed, taken, and be, to all intents and purposes, valid and obligatory, from the respective times when the same shall have been ordered or done, by the said Canadian Conference.

Provided always, that all appointments to Chapels in Canada, the Trusts of which require that the appointment of Ministers and Preachers, shall be made by the Canadian Conference, shall be of absolute authority, from the time of such appointment by that Conference.

IV. That for the present the existing Book of Discipline of the Canadian Conference, shall remain in force, with the exception of such articles as may be affected by any of these proposals for accomplishing the desired Re-Union; subject however, to any improvements or amendments which may hereafter, from time to time, be mutually agreed upon; and with the impression, that in order, that the future Union may be complete, cordial, and practically efficient, the Discipline, Economy and Form of Church Government of the British Connexion, shall, as far as possible, (in conformity with the terms of Article II of the former agreement in 1833,) be introduced into the Societies in Upper Canada.

General Superintendent.

V. That the British Conference shall appoint a General Superintendent of the Missions, and Mission Schools, in Western Canada, (to act under the direction of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee,) who shall be ex officio, a member of the Stationing Committee of the Canada Conference, as well as of the Conference.

VI. That the Missions among the Indian Tribes, and new settlers, which are now, or may be hereafter established in Canada West, shall be regarded as Missions of the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, under the following Regulations, viz:-1. That the Parent Committee in London shall determine the amount to be annually applied to the support and extension of the Missions; and the sum granted shall be distributed

by a Committee, consisting of the President of the Canada Conference and his Co-Delegate, the General Superintendent of the Missions, the Chairmen of Districts, and seven other persons, to be appointed by the Canada Conference. A Standing Board or Committee, consisting of an equal number of Ministers and Laymen, shall also be appointed at every Conference, as heretofore, which, during the year shall have authority, in concurrence, with the General Superintendent of Missions, to apply any sums granted by the Parent Committee, and not distributed by the Conference, in the establishment of new Missions amongst the heathen, and otherwise promoting the Missionary work.

2. That the Methodist Missionary Society in western Canada, under the sanction of the Conference there, shall be auxiliary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London; and that all sums which may be contributed to its Funds, shall be paid over to the Treasurers of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

3. That all Missionaries of the Parent Wesleyan Missionary Society, now in Canada, shall be stationed by the Canada Conference in the same way as other Preachers of that Conference; but in the appointment of the Missionaries, the General Superintendent of Missions, as well as the Co-Delegate of the President (referred to in a preceding Resolution) shall be associated with the President of the Conference, and the Chairmen of Districts in their appointment.

4. That the Missionaries who may be in full connexion with the British Conference, or any other Missionaries hereafter to be sent, who may be in full connexion with that Conference, shall, notwithstanding the Union between the Canada and the British Conference, so far retain their connexion with the latter, as not to lose any claims, privileges, or pecuniary advantages, which may belong to them by virtue of their relation to the British Conference.

5. That the Trial of all Missionaries sent to Canada in full connexion with the British Conference, who may at any time be accused of misconduct, or of any deviation from the Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Connexion, shall be left with the District Meetings to which such Missionaries may respectively belong, and subsequently to the Canada Conference; but such Missionaries, in full connexion with the British Conference, shall have a right of appeal to that Conference.

6. That a joint application be made on behalf of the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Representatives of the Canadian Conference, to the Imperial and Colonial authorities, that the sum heretofore allowed as a Government Grant, in support of Wesleyan Missions in Western Canada, may be paid to the Treasurers of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, to assist that Society in the support and extension of Missions in Canada.

7. That as these arrangements will involve the financial interests of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, this Committee recommend the Wesleyan Missionary Committee to make such allowances, as far as they be able, to meet the peculiarities of the case, and to assist the Canadian Conference in extending its operations, not only on the present Missionary Stations, but in new and destitute settlements, which may be more nearly connected with the regular work; and this Committee indulge the hope, that the Missionary Committee will carry out this recommendation in a liberal and generous spirit.

This Comittee now appoint a Sub-Committee, to prepare a statement of probable Income and Expenditure, as the same may be affected by the Re-Union, and of the probable amount which may be desirable that the Missionary Committee may be requested to grant; to be laid before the earliest meeting of that Committee.

This Sub-Committee to consist of Messrs. Marsden, Alder, Lord, Richey, and Stinson, who are requested to confer with Messrs. Ryerson and Green on this subject.

VII. That this Committee, in unison with the sentiments expressed by Messrs. Ryerson and Green, entertain a strong conviction that the proposed Re-Union would be greatly facilitated by the early visit of the Rev. Dr. Alder to the Societies and Congregations in Canada, and to attend and preside at the next annual meeting of the Conference; and therefore present their earnest and most respectful request to their esteemed Brother Dr. Alder, that he will kindly undertake this most important mission, in which he will be associated with the prayers and best wishes of the Committee, for his prosperous voyage, continued health, successful exertions, and safe return to this country.

VIII. That the Committee recommend, that for the purpose of effectually carrying out the object contemplated in the above Resolutions, a Special District Meeting of the Missionaries of Western Canada shall be summoned, as early as may be convenient, and that Dr. Alder and the Rev. Matthew

Richey be respectfully requested to attend the meeting of that District: and the Committee recommend that Dr. Alder should go out on his visit to Canada, as early as may be consistent with his personal comfort, and official engagements.

IX. That the President of the Conference be requested to send a respectful and affectionate letter to the Conference in Canada, acknowledging the receipt of the Address sent to the Conference in Bristol, stating the appointment, the satisfaction which the Committee have felt in meeting the Deputation of the Canada Conference, the earnest hope of the Committee, that the measures which they have recommended may tend to promote a permanent and happy Union.

X. That the cordial and respectful thanks of the Committee are due to the Venerated President of the Conference, for the kind and able manner in which he has presided over his deliverations.

(Signed) William Atherton,
President of the Conference, and
Chairman of the Committee.

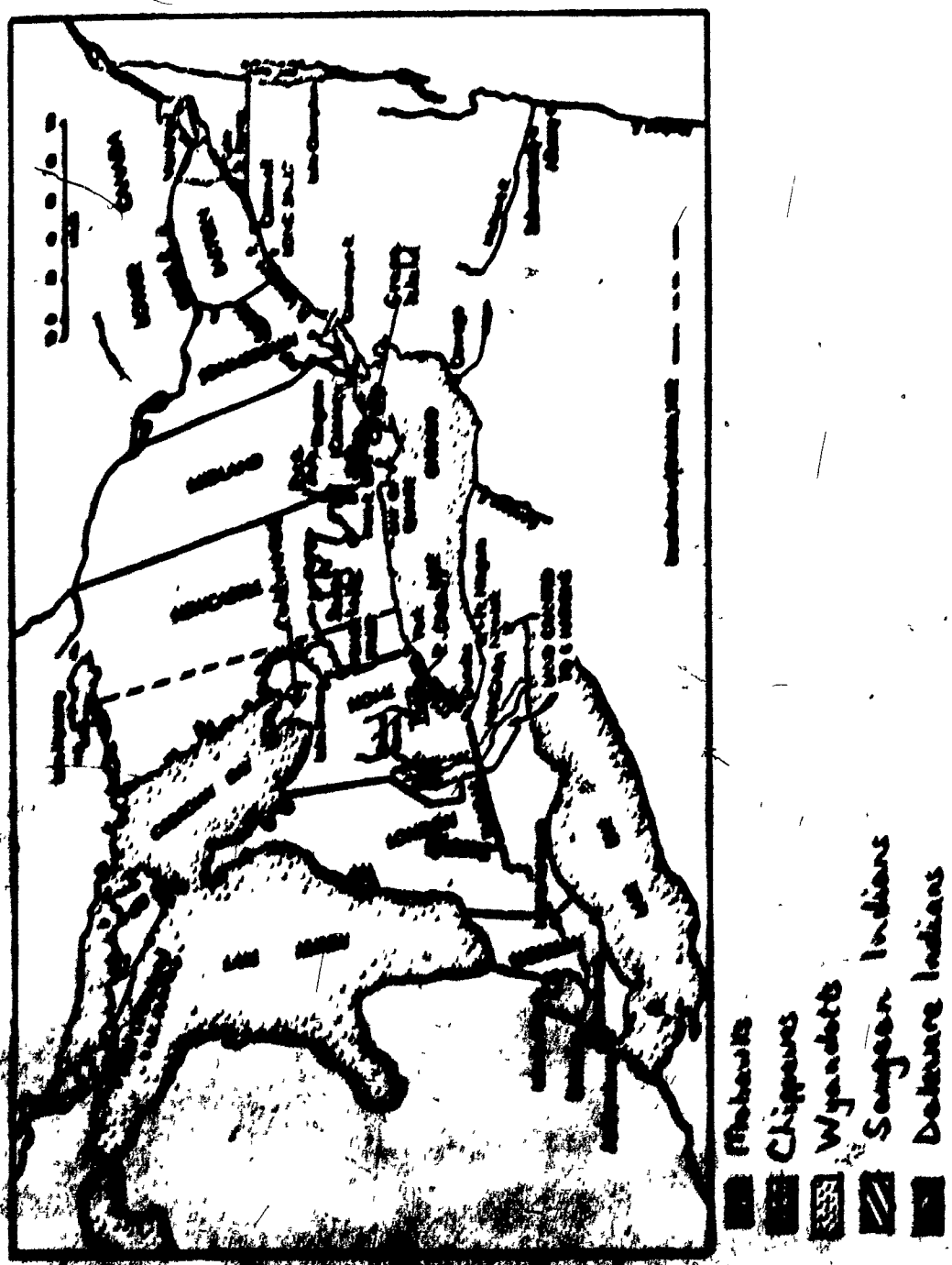
[The above articles were submitted to the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, held in Toronto, on Wednesday, the second day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and fully concurred in.]

Signed, W. Ryerson, President

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada (Toronto: Anson Green, 1850), p. 114-118.

APPENDIX C

Upper Canada[1]
Indian Settlements Established by the Methodists



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