CONFLICTING PERCEPTIONS OF EXCHANGE IN INDIAN-MISSIONARY CONTACT

ABSTRACT

The application of a model of social exchange to a relationship between a missionary and a Cree population in Fort George, Quebec, delineates their conflicting perceptions of the exchange of goods and services between them. The Cree object to unreciprocated requests for money and services by the missionary. The missionary is disappointed in the lack of response to his requests, the objective of which is to turn the mission into a self-supporting, locally run parish. By applying the exchange model, conclusions are reached concerning: (1) the historical development of this relationship, indicating it is a patron-client relationship; (2) the contemporary missionary's loss of much of the influence of the missionary-patron role (this loss is due to a loss of assets and resources, and to his redefinition of the rules of the exchange, making it unrewarding to the Cree); (3) the different boundaries of Cree and missionary spheres of exchange which are deduced from their perceptions of rewarding exchanges.

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Short Title:

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Exchanges of goods and services have two sorts of meanings beyond the definition of the objects of exchange themselves. One meaning is subjective: the meaning of the exchange to each party of the exchange. If one accepts that exchange involves "economizing" (as formalists use the term) then the objects of an exchange are for each party means to an end (an end perhaps beyond the particular exchange itself). The means chosen, and the end sought, are culled from a set of alternatives and values perceived by the individual, or group, involved. The same "object(s) of exchange" may have different meaning to the other party to the exchange, i.e. it may hold a different place in a different scheme of perceived means and ends. This ego-oriented model of how social exchange is entered into avoids the implication that exchanges occur only over objects which have a shared value or meaning. The parties to an exchange may have radically different sets of values and goals which happen to converge on an "object of exchange" which is given or received.

The other meaning of an exchange is the more objective (value free) meaning of the overall structure of the exchange. This more analytic meaning is the relation a particular exchange, or exchange relationship, has with the total set of exchanges within a society (or across cultural bounds). It enables characterization of the structure of this and the total set of exchanges. This distinction of "meanings" or analytical frameworks, will prove useful later on.

Barth (1969) has shown how contact between cultural (or ethnic) groups

can be analyzed in terms of the boundaries maintained between them through social exchanges across the boundary. The subject of the following discussion is the exchange relationship between individuals of two ethnic groups in a northern Canadian settlement: a Protestant missionary and the Cree Indian population to which he ministers. Missionaries to native groups have had a profound influence on the overall structure of relationships between native peoples and Eurocanadians in general. Religious missionaries were often the first extensive contacts with whites that native peoples had in the three centuries of contact, and the sort of exchange relationship they established with native peoples has continued as a model for interaction with Eurocanadians in general.

The situation to be discussed here concerns one contemporary missionary and a contemporary population of Cree. They live in an environment of rapid social and economic change. In the last five to ten years the people have experienced the introduction of new technology, wage labor, money economy, education, and contact with federal, provincial and private agencies more than they have in the century of missionary contact.

By examining certain aspects of the current relationship between a missionary and his congregation, and by tracing the historical development of this relationship, it is possible to clarify the (subjective) meaning of the exchange relationship to each party, and to clarify the overall structure of the exchange (analytic meaning).

The aspect of this relationship between missionary and the Cree which will be the focus here is the perception by each "party" of (1) money and services which do and should pass from congregation to missionary, (2) money and services which do and should pass from missionary to congregation. The data on their perceptions (presented in Chapter 2) will show that (1) both the missionary and Cree have definite ideas about what one should expect from the other in terms of these goods and services, (2) that the two perceptions of ideal exchange differ, (3) that the difference revolves around

each one's perception of the role of the missionary and the "church" in the local settlement. The missionary's perception of the local church institution involves his seeing the congregation as the resources from which the church - its ritual, personnel, sponsored activities, as well as tradition of beliefs - sustains itself. This leads him to encourage the individual congregants to give their money, labor and participation towards this end as a worthwhile goal. The Cree congregation, however, does not seem to share his view. Given the organization of traditional Cree society it will become clear that the "church" conceptualized by the Cree as a body of knowledge, belief, and ritual, is not the same as the social entity perceived by the missionary. Furthermore, for the Cree, the social relationship between congregant and missionary does not involve the role of either in the "church" as the Cree perceive it. This conflict will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

It should not be forgotten that the preceding outline of the analysis is, after all, an analysis of a social situation. The theoretical approach emerged from the implications of the data. The data itself presented the questions: Why are the Cree objecting to the demands and requests made by this particular missionary? Why is the missionary so frustrated in his attempts to fulfill the aims he has for the local church and for its congregation? Given the long history of white missionary contact, why is the contemporary missionary singled out as being different from all the rest (and different from one "legendary" missionary in particular) in an unsatisfactory way?

In the following chapters I will try to answer these questions by applying a model of social exchange to the relationship - past and present - between missionaries and Cree Indians.[1] This material will show how the different perceptions of missionary and church role have led to the non-fulfillment for each of their expectations concerning the role of the other, and the non-fulfillment, or non-completion of exchanges attempted. (In this

context a non-completion of an attempted exchange can be a fruitful illustration.)

The rest of this introductory chapter presents a brief ethnographic sketch to familiarize the reader with this northern setting, and outlines the field research methodology.

Chapter 2 presents data on missionary and Indian perceptions of their relationship. The remaining chapters are the analysis of this data. Chapter 3 presents an historical perspective of the development of missionary-Cree contact. Chapter 4 presents the theoretical model of social exchange to account for the contemporary relationship.

THE SETTING

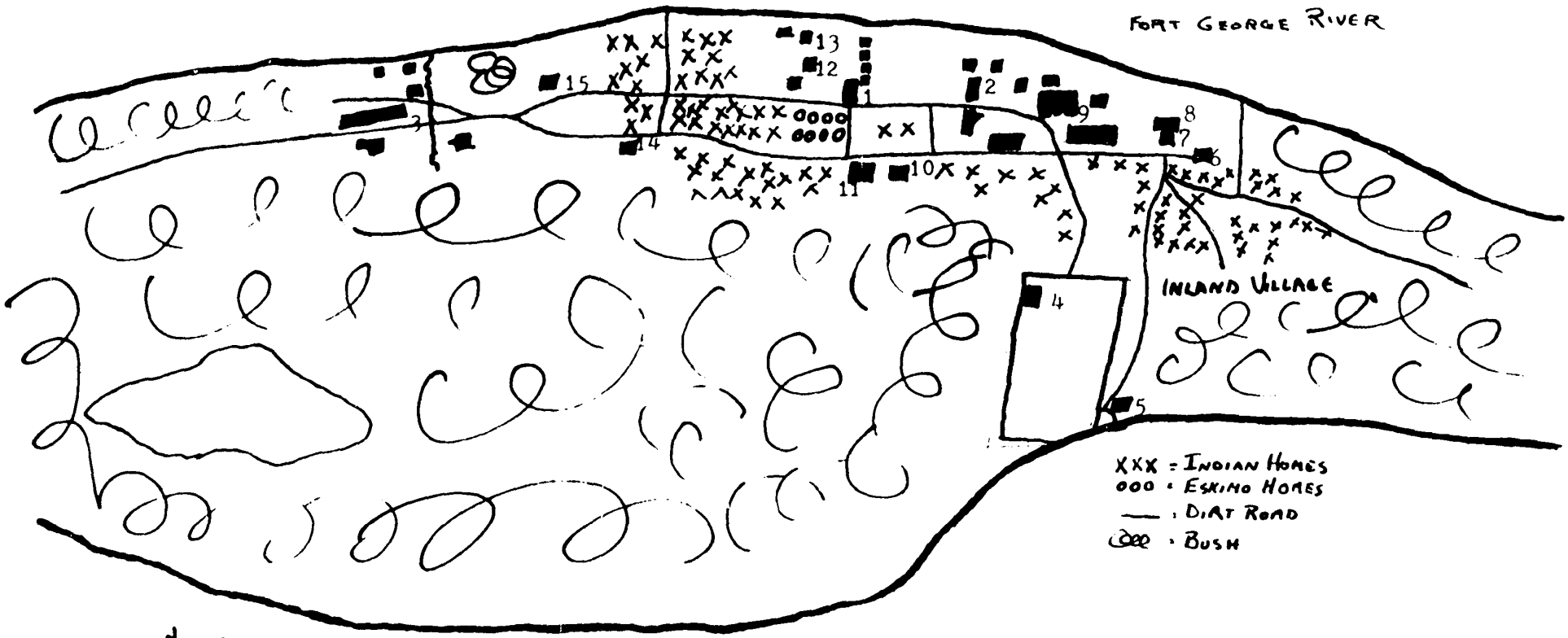
The first white people that most Canadian peoples encountered were either the missionary or the fur trader. Fort George, a settlement on James Bay in Nouveau Québec, is no exception. Like many other settlements it grew around the nucleus of trading post and mission. The Hudson Bay Company trading post was established there by 1805, and the first mission - Anglican - was established with a resident missionary in 1852. It has only been in this century, and mostly in the last 10 years, that there has been considerable contact with whites and an influx of white institutions and residents in Fort George. Up to now, there has been no southern white economic interests in the area existing independently of the native population, however mining concerns are now beginning to interest themselves in this region. Unlike many other settlements where economic interest in natural resources brings whites to an area, Eurocanadian contact has been brought about in Fort George by interest in the native population itself, by governments, churches and businesses.

Fort George is formally an "unorganized" settlement (D.E.S. 1961) under the administration of Nouveau Québec. It is on an island in the mouth of the Fort George River on James Bay. The makeup of the population is diverse.

According to Indian Affairs records (Band List 1968-1969) the majority Indian population numbers about 1400 in summer. These are Cree speakers who form two major residence groups at the settlement. There are also about 15 Eskimo families numbering about 90 persons. At least 3 large families are white status Indians. The resident white population numbers about 100, and there is also a growing transient white population of tourists or government officials. These ethnic groupings are reflected in the residence patterns (see map, next page).

The resident whites work for one or another of the church, private, or government services on the island. The map lists the buildings or locations of the Eurocanadian agencies, so only a few need mention here. (1) The Hudson Bay Company and (2) the Anglican Mission, at the center of the settlement, were for many years the only white agencies at Fort George. The Hudson Bay Company still provides equipment, clothing and food on credit, and employment for five to ten local people. The mission, until recent years, provided a multiplicity of services to the people, including a hospital and school. As we shall see in a later chapter, the mission today offers only some social activities in addition to religious services. Many secular services have been taken over by other institutions in Fort George. The mission provides no paid employment to the population.

This thesis is mainly concerned with the Anglican mission at Fort George. The Indian and Eskimo population are (with a handful of exceptions) all self-proclaimed, baptised Anglicans. But there is another mission in Fort George as well. (3) The Roman Catholic mission was established by the Oblate missionaries in 1922. Following mostly unsuccessful attempts to win converts, this mission has for all intensive purposes ceased seeking to convert these Anglicans. An interesting difference between them, in addition to their success in spiritual conversion on the one hand, and failure on the other, is that while the Anglican mission is the oldest and most influential morally, the Catholic mission has done the most to contribute to the economy of the



FORT GEORGE RIVER

1 Hudson Bay Company, warehouses
2 St. Philip's Anglican Church, parish hall, rectory, old church, old parish hall
3 Ste. Thérèse Roman Catholic Mission, boarding school, hospital, church, etc.
4 Austin Airlines Office, airstrip
5 Fecteau Airlines Office
6 Nursing Station
7 Indian Band Restaurant
8 Webb's Lodge
9 Federal school, residence, teachers' apartments
10 Indian Band Office, Post Office
11 Community Hall
12 Quebec Game and Fish Warden
13 Indian Affairs, freezer
14 Nouveau Quebec Agent
15 Site of new provincial hospital

FORT GEORGE, QUEBEC

settlement. The Anglican mission provides no permanent jobs and has a small number of buildings to maintain with local help. The Catholic mission, on the other hand, has built and maintained a veritable industrial complex, concentrated at one end of the settlement (see map). It includes a school, hospital, school residence, staff and clerical residences, as well as bakery, laundry, freezer, garage, cement and cement block plant, small farm, sawmill - and the church and graveyard. It is a largely self-sufficient complex. It provides in summer at least 90 jobs for local workers, and about half of these are permanent. The school, hospital and administrative staff are white laymen or clergy, and have many skills among them, notably carpentry and construction which involve them in building many Indian homes on the island, and maintaining the settlement through government contracts. The Anglican mission, in contrast, no longer has many of the services it used to offer (even so it was never so complex as the Roman Catholic mission is today), and it is limited in paid personnel to the resident missionary.[2] Erection of a new parish hall, and a new rectory, as well as other small construction or repair jobs have called for local labor, but the major part of construction work is done by white work crews from the south.

In contrasting the two missions, what is particularly interesting in terms of the research problem is that the Anglican Indians who (more or less vehemently) will have nothing to do with the Roman Catholic religion, deal frequently with the mission personnel and clergy concerning jobs, services, school and social activities they sponsor. There is no necessary connection made between being interested in the Catholic religion and having a social relationship with the mission.

Up until five to ten years ago, the majority of Indian families continued the traditional seasonal pattern of dispersing in small hunting groups in the winter (from before freezeup to after breakup) and congregating in larger groups at the settlement site during the short summer. In more recent years, there has been a definite tendency for families to spend more and more time residing at the settlement. Today, many families reside permanently at

Fort George, or use it as a main base for short hunting trips. In 1968 only 45 families (out of a total population of 1400 Cree) left for the bush in the fall (The Otter 1968). Even for those who continue to hunt and trap for most of the winter, easier access to trapping territory by plane and skidoo cuts down the length of time necessary for travel. Returning mid-winter for supplies or to enjoy Christmas holidays is not unusual. There are many factors involved in this changing residence pattern. Some of them are: less emphasis on the traditional lifestyle, less need or ability to procure traditional sources of food and clothing, greater interest in sedentary wage labor or permanent jobs, loss of skills in hunting and trapping by successive generations of residential school veterans, greater willingness to depend on welfare.

This is a good place to introduce the two Cree residence groups at the settlement, since the distinction rests historically on different hunting and trapping areas frequented. At least since the trading post was established in Fort George two fairly distinct groups of Indians congregated there. The larger group, referred to by the Indians themselves as the "Coasters" number about 1000; the "Inlanders" number about 350. Today, they differ socially and economically beyond the traditional differences of hunting area and technology. The Inlanders hunted and trapped inland (north, south and east of Kanaupscow); the older generation is in general less acculturated than the "Coasters" in terms of English speaking persons, education, participation in wage-earning and accoutrements of white lifestyle. Moreover, until recently there has been little overlap in kinship and friendship networks between the two groups. The Coasters, in population thrice as large as the Inlanders, hunted up and down the coast of James Bay and have a technology more adapted to coastal hunting and seal-hunting.

The Inlanders in general have had less contact with Eurocanadians and more of them leave the settlement for the entire winter than do Coasters (although this is changing now since they, too, are tending to be more seden-

tary). They depend on traditional livlihood more than do the Coasters. By Eurocanadian standards the Coasters seem poorer, and more of them are involved in neither wage-earning nor traditional hunting and trapping. Welfare is a major source of income. The Inlanders rely more heavily on the traditional livlihood and trapping for subsistence. More and more people, in both groups, are entering wage labor and not depending exclusively on traditional sources of livlihood. Both groups receive welfare and child allowance from the government.

Research on Indian perceptions of exchange for this thesis was conducted among the Inlander group only. I lived only with this group, and had little contact from day to day with the Coaster group - just like other Inlanders. Since most of the people over about the age of 30 have lived more of their lives in the bush than in the settlement, and thus had less contact with missionaries and other whites (as well as other Indian and Eskimo groups) the conclusions I reach about them do not necessarily reflect on the Coasters who have had more experience with the Eurocanadian establishment in the settlement.

My husband and I spent the period of fieldwork, the summer of 1969, living with an Indian family, participating in family life as much as possible. That included chores, trips, food and leisure time. We are very grateful to the Tapiatic family for their generosity and help.[3] Neither of us spoke Cree at that time, nor did the adult family members speak English. However, there was usually another family member or neighbor present who helped us by interpreting.

Much information was gathered by observing and participating in daily life. During the third and final month of residence, 26 lengthy unstructured interviews were held with a total of 48 Cree residents of the settlement (some interviews were with more than one person present). These were focussed on their relationship to the mission and the missionary, and their opinions about that relationship. A local interpreter was always present for these even when the informant spoke some English. Previously, information on this

topic had been gathered in a less systematic manner. Complementing this Cree-oriented perspective were several interviews with the missionary and his wife before they left the settlement at the end of the second month, and with other white residents. All but two of the Cree interviewed belonged to the Inlander group. The two exceptions were the chief of the Band Council, and the Band Manager.

Both of these Indian groups are part of the Fort George Band, which is an administrative unit established by the federal government to include all status Indians residing for part or all of the year in Fort George. The Band is administered by an elected Band Council and Chief, and Band Manager. It seems that this political organization is increasing its importance and relevance to the members of the Band. The leaders are intermediaries between government agents and the people, and also implement some of their own policies and projects.

Many researchers have claimed that there has been a persistent lack of developed leadership among the Cree and related groups from pre-contact times to the present. Leadership and political complexity are obviously on the increase in many areas. Increased contact with Eurocanadian political organization, a growing sense of community and a new lifestyle creating different political needs are counterbalancing factors. Also, as the Chief and Council accrue more responsibility and authority over community affairs their relevance will continue to grow (Bernier 1968; Dunning 1960; Honigmann 1964; LaRusic 1968; Lips 1947; MacNeish 1956; Rogers 1965). At the same time there is still no well-developed conception of legitimate, hierarchically arranged formal leadership roles. Historically, there have been leadership roles which might be called peripheral adaptations to their perceptions of leadership. The trading chief, emerging during the fur trade era in the 19th century, and the compliance with the system of election of a chief and council in this century, have been accepted partly because "it was the only way in which the government chose to deal with them" (Dunning 1959:29). In fact, many of the

traditional characteristics of leadership are contradictory to the role of a modern chief within the white infrastructure; he must now be an administrator and self-assertive. The traditional qualities of leadership include a dominant personality (charisma, persuasiveness), the personal qualities of generosity, trustworthiness, and non-aggression and non-intervention. These traits were justified by their relationship to the superiority in the skills which were of vital interest and concern to all; in days of all-bush occupation these included skill in hunting and trapping. A leader is a "first among equals"; formal positions of leadership were weakly developed.

As the discussion of the missionary-Cree relationship progresses, more material on the traditional Cree social organization will be introduced. In addition to the apparent persistence of the traditional conception of leadership attributes (expressed best in the quality of "strength"), the characteristics of individualism and atomistic social relations will prove important.

CHAPTER 2

PERCEPTIONS

The "objects of exchange" dealt with here are in large part the tangible goods and services which are exchanged between Cree Indian and missionary. In this chapter I will be describing the conflicting perceptions of these exchanges discovered during interviews and participant-observation in the settlement. There were four categories, or areas of perception, which became relevant. The first three are the individual's views on the exchange of the following between missionary and Cree: (1) money, (2) voluntary labor, (3) participation or involvement in church activities. The fourth is the conceptualization of the role of the local church and its missionary with regard to the congregation. This fourth category is perhaps the most important, since it is the framework within which attitudes toward the first three make sense. For example, we will see that since the missionary considers the church as a valuable institution (and we shall see that by this term he includes the physical and social locus as well as the ideological base) and that the people whose church it is (the local population) should be responsible for supporting and maintaining it, then, he also feels that he can expect people to give money, or volunteer their labor towards these ends with no material compensation. The maintenance of the church should be reward enough. We will see that a difference in conceptualization of the role of the church and missionary involves a difference in perception of appropriate exchanges of the goods and services (1, 2, 3). The "church" to the Cree, for example, does not include all the social and physical concomitants that it does for the missionary. In fact, a social relationship with the missionary is separated from one's relationship to the "church".

This social relationship falls under Cree rules of reciprocity and social distance, thus creating an expectation of material reciprocation for work done for the man who is missionary. These two examples will suffice as illustration.

PART A

THE MISSIONARY

The Anglican missionary and his wife had been residing in Fort George for four years, living in the rectory on the mission property. He was the fourteenth resident missionary there since the mission was established in 1852. This man had been ordained to the priesthood during his middle-age, and this missionary post was the first of his new career. Before joining the clergy he had owned a small business. It was during the summer field-work period that he and his wife left the settlement, to take over a white parish in southern Canada.

From the comments Rev. Keyes (a pseudonym) made about his objectives for the Fort George parish it would seem that his earlier business career influenced him. He seems to have modeled his conceptualization of the mission after a self-sufficient business operation.

His perceptions of his role and the mission reflect also the same sort of fresh approach to Indian mission churches that recent Anglican spokesmen have voiced. They seek to eliminate the protective paternalism of earlier times, and replace it with a local church as an integral part of an indigenous community. John Melling, a recent spokesman for the Anglican Church on church policy toward native peoples insists that

> "Christian missions (must) be made to relate to the real situations of people, and, most important of all, to their need - however hidden or dormant - to build together a meaningful community life."[1] (Melling 1967:30)

It is necessary to introduce the concept of "social institution" in order to describe both the missionary and the Cree perception of the mission church. They had conflicting perceptions of it as an institutionalized reality, in spite of the fact that all were involved in the very same complex of behavior and interaction concerning worship, organization, clubs, etc. In what way can we say that each had a perception of the "church" as an "institution" and mean different things by "institution" in each case? Also, will the anthropologist's definition of the "church" in Fort George as a "religious institution" differ from both of these views?

There seem to be two fundamental sorts of definitions of "institution". The first, based on the functionalist position, emphasizes the interests or needs upon which a complex of behavior is based. The Malinowskian definition of institution is activity satisfying human needs. "Each human need is said to be incorporated in a specific type of institution..." (Bidney 1967:370). Radcliffe-Brown, and Durkheim, seeing culture as a more integrated system of institutions than did Malinowski, interpret "the functional significance of institutions by reference to the postulated unity and solidarity of the social group." (Bidney 1967:370)

The second sort of definition has a behavioral viewpoint, defining institution as "a distinctive complex of social actions" such as marriage, organized religion, class, the law. (Berger 1963:87) Some feel that an institution is a recognized norm. "Institutions have been defined as 'normative patterns which define what are felt to be ... proper, legitimate, or expected modes of action or of social relationship!" (Parsons, quoted in Chinoy 1962:22) Goodenough (1963:344) writes that the "publicly valued procedures and management to which committment has been made, and all of the things associated with them, make up a community's institutions." Frederik Barth, on the other hand, does not clearly distinguish the analysis of "institution" from social form, and writes that

> "it is unfruitful to explain a social form, a pattern, directly by hypothesizing a purpose for it. Individual actors and individual management units have purposes and make allocations accordingly; but a social form, in the sense of an over-all pattern of statistical behavior, is the aggregate pattern produced by the process of social life through which ecologic and strategic constraints channel, defeat, and reward various activities on the part of the management units.
>
> "(In the functionalist tradition), a social form, or a whole society, is seen as a morphological creature with certain requirements that need to be ascertained ... the better to understand how it is put together. In the other case, a social form is seen as the epiphenomenon of a number of processes, and the analysis concentrates on showing how the form is generated." (Barth 1967:663)

What he leaves unclear is how to reconcile the epiphenomenal nature of institutionalized social forms, on the one hand, and the reality of them as constraints and incentives to the individual decision-maker, on the other hand. For example, one may discover a (statistical) pattern among churchgoers to show certain "institutionalized" deference behavior to the clergyman. The pattern discovered is not real in the sense that the individual's behavior is real, according to Barth. Does this pattern have a different sort of reality than one of which individuals are aware, and take account of in their choices?

A consensus seems to exist in calling an institution an established pattern of behavior, or convention, and even a statistical regularity of behavior. The differences lie in the area of function of the behavior, and actors' awareness of the pattern and/or function. I can't settle this problem here, but for the purpose of the research problem at hand I can say that an "institution" is at least an established complex of behavior of which individuals are aware (no matter what else it may be as well). Therefore, the anthropologist may note a certain complex of behaviors which happen to revolve around a religious organization. A missionary may be aware of a set of customs or patterns which he lumps under the category "church". Cree congregants may be aware of a different set which they lump

under the category "church". Whether all of the anthropologist's set is an "institution" by anybody's definition is not so important as the fact that we can isolate the Cree perception of "church" as institution, and the missionary perception of the "church" as institution.

I have pointed out the distinction between the individual's perception of a social institution and the theoretical status of "institution" so that it is possible to differentiate two different perceptions of the same complex of behavior. Both the missionary and Cree congregants are involved in playing out what each of them sees differently.

For the missionary, it was clear that the "mission" was a concrete entity. For him, it referred not only to the physical locus of the religious structure and missionary's residence, but also to the enduring organization of the church (the administrative vestry committee positions, catechists, clergy), the religious, social, and in some cases economic activities which were under mission sponsorship or direction (women's clubs, canteen, handicrafts business, etc.), and any other activities which, to the missionary, have as their objective the maintenance of the church. It referred to more than just the body of Christian concepts and beliefs offerred by the missionary or to the successful introduction and maintenance of Christian ideology among the population. Furthermore, a "successful" mission would be an enduring institution in the sense that its organization and facilities would be maintained. It would have an enduring membership within the more or less bounded community of which it was a part, and it would have the active involvement of the populace in all of its activities.

What makes this particular missionary different from many who came to Fort George before him, was that he wished to change the mission (supported and maintained by outside resources) into a self-supporting church parish. This objective necessitates a new role for the missionary, and a new participation in the church for native peoples. At Fort George, Mr. Keyes

envisioned a larger role in the financial and organizational maintenance of the church institution for his congregation.

There is a proliferation of activities in which individuals participate which are sponsored by the church. These were created by missionaries either to fulfill local needs or were modeled directly after activities of white parishes in southern Canada. Quite a few of these activities involve money flowing from congregant to church. The club members pay dues, the canteen is a cash business, donations are collected during services. Even the handicraft business is seen as accruing profits to the church. Other than handicrafts, no secular activities involve money or goods passing gratuitously from mission to Indian. Volunteer labor is also unpaid. This funnelling of resources into the mission organization is part of Mr. Keyes' plan to establish a financially self-supporting parish instead of a mission parish. The latter has been, of necessity, supported by funds from donor parishes and the greater Anglican church organization. The concept of a self-supporting mission extends beyond the purely financial maintenance of the local church and contributions to church-wide relief and administrative funds. To Keyes self-supporting meant local responsibility for the administration and activities of the local parish. He perceived the role of the individual congregants to be to volunteer their services for work (physical, clerical, administrative) to be done at the mission, and for local leadership to emerge for the various activities and administrative positions created by the mission. Originated by white missionaries, many of these positions of formal leadership were held by the missionary or his wife or by interested school personnel. The ideal envisioned by the missionary was a church whose maintenance and growth was the responsibility of the people it served. "The church <u>is</u> the people", he said.

Furthermore, he firmly believed that followers of Christianity are a religious community in the social as well as ideological sense. He had plans for the future to have community suppers and breakfast communions.

His idea was that people should "worship and live together" as a religious community.

According to the missionary, then, this new role for the congregation in the maintenance and growth of the local parish included three types of responsibility, aside from continuing piety, faith and moral behavior. (1) Financial support: he collected donations at all four Sunday services every week and made a point in sermons and elsewhere of stressing the value of giving. Keyes felt that giving money to the church had two objectives. One was to help make the parish self-supporting. The other was that giving was an end in itself. It doesn't matter where the money is going, so much as the idea that one gave, he said. He called this "stewardship", in that one should give in proportion to what he has received spiritually. It seems that through their exchange, money became a measure of spirituality. The canteen was another source of funds, as were dues collected from clubs, proceeds of "rummage sales" (clothing, etc. produced by local women's clubs or donated by southern parishes and sold at low prices), and profits from the handicraft business.

(2) "Leadership" and "followership" were the other two responsibilities of the congregation according to Keyes. Local people were sought to lead and organize activities and offices within the church. People were also entreated to participate in church activities, and volunteer their time and effort for church projects such as construction work. For the latter they were not paid. In fact the missionary felt that no payment - in this life - should be made for service to one's own church.

During interviews, the missionary and his wife made these aims explicit. Observing them performing clerical duties and administering the mission provided evidence of their attempts to put this policy into effect. In particular, financial support was stressed by urging people to donate during worship services. Giving was a freqent theme in sermons. A milestone of success was a recent Lenten appeal which gained almost $1000 in donations.

Announcements of special fund appeals were also made. Calls for participation in activities were made at these times as well. During the summer months, leaders had to be found for the next year's clubs and encouragement for Indian men and women to lead "their own" activities was given. The worship service was the vehicle for appeals for voluntary labor as well (in addition to informal appeals outside). In 1968 local people helped build the pre-fabricated parish hall, and in 1969 appeals from the pulpit were made for volunteer labor to tear down the old rectory and to build a new one. The pulpit announcements also included appeals for passing needs such as a call to help discard pews from the old church or for the annual graveyard cleaning. This medium was not the only one for securing help; the missionary noted that he often asked his catechists or vestry members to ask around for people to help.

The missionary and his wife often spoke of their task as "helping the Indians help themselves", and they viewed their role as being the vehicle for bringing the church to the people - and leaving it there. However, instead of being the source of the Christian religion and church assets as missionaries were in the past, this missionary advocated turning over the institution to the local population (except of course for clergy who must be ordained through the greater Anglican church). In trying to make the local parish self-supporting, he expected the local congregation to cooperate in accepting this new responsibility. There are three important points to be made about what he was trying to do. (1) He conceptualized the mission as an enduring entity which included the community it served. The church was an ongoing system and "you've got to run a church like a business". (2) In order to do this, the people involved must be considered as the resources of this "business" and it must be from them that money and participation must come to maintain the mission. (3) The missionary becomes less the source for mission assets and more a servant of the mission congregation. He is, of course, the link to the greater church ideology and ritual, and

the guiding hand of the mission, but not the source of all assets as he was before.

This has been a summary of the objectives of the missionary. But what success did he have in these objectives? What was the reaction of the local population to his policies from his point of view? The answers to these questions will begin to show how perceptions of the mission differed between these two. I will briefly present a few situations which involve the expectations of the missionary and the Cree with regard to their relationship. In this section I will give the missionary's viewpoint on the situation and in the next section (where I discuss Cree perceptions of the mission) I will give the Cree view of the same events.

In general, both the missionary and his wife were disappointed in the response to their efforts. The Indian congregation did not fulfill the aims set for them.[2] Mr. Keyes would say "it's hard to get people to do these things". He felt people were not interested in "doing things, leading, being involved" in the church activities, nor in taking over the handicraft business or the women's clubs that Mrs. Keyes was running, or volunteering to run the canteen. Mr. Keyes often ended up running it himself. They felt the lack of involvement particularly because (1) the English school and residence were no longer under Anglican control, and there were fewer people from this source who would involve themselves in church activities. Thus the need for local help was greater. And (2) the Keyes' were leaving the settlement at the end of the summer. Without people to organize and run the activities and enterprises the mission had been sponsoring they could not be continued. The gap between jobs to be done and people willing to take the responsibility for them was obviously wide. They could not find people who were willing or who had the time to take over leadership of clubs, nor were they sure that the canteen and handicraft concerns would be maintained.[3]

Some jobs which were supposedly delegated by vestry members or catechists

on behalf of the missionary did not get done. For example, occasionally no one showed up to ring the church bell for services, or to serve as sidesman.[4] These tasks were usually assigned ahead of time. At one Cree worship service when the usual interpreter was out of the settlement, arrangements for a substitute had been made but no one appeared to translate for the minister when the time came. He was quite obviously, and publicly, annoyed and voiced his disappointment (in English) at the lack of interest and responsibility this evidenced to him. Another example of the missionary's disappointment was when he requested help for installation of a P.A. system in the church. This project had been planned for some time, and funds came from the congregation for it. Only one man appeared the next day to help install it. Another time, Keyes asked for help to discard old pews from the old church. It was weeks (and continued requests for help) before they were carted away.

Construction projects calling for unskilled labor were another source of frustration. Although he had gotten some men to help build the new parish hall the year before (the majority of the work was done by a group of white volunteers flown up from a southern parish) the call for labor to construct a new rectory was finally met only by two youths.

From the missionary's point of view, then, the Indian people were disappointing him. They did not involve themselves in the church institution as he felt they should. He didn't feel that he was getting any cooperation from people in order to accomplish the goal of making the church self-supporting. As mentioned before, however, this discussion of community responsibility does not refer to the religious life of tne people but rather to the secular affairs of the church. In fact, the missionary could not in most cases distinguish people on the basis of religious fervor and loyalty since "they all go to church".

Interviews with the missionary and his wife brought out their understanding of the disappointment. It was characterized in general by the

belief that the Indians were "just not ready" for the goals set for them. The ideal of raising the Indian people to a higher level of social and ideological enlightenment was implicit in these aims. Although the missionary and his wife admired and enjoyed many facets of Indian culture, there were some traits which they attributed to Indian people in general which they did not like. They felt that the people couldn't and wouldn't run things for themselves, and Mrs. Keyes felt that her experience was that without white people running affairs "things would fall apart". She felt that these people have "no sense of responsibility" and that "time doesn't mean anything to them". Mr. Keyes also complained of the lack of initiative and responsibility exhibited, and a lack of interest in the church.[5]

One result of their perception of the situation was that they ended up doing a lot of things they wanted local people to do for themselves - including organizing and running activities, and even providing the physical labor needed.

The most important things to remember about the missionary are: (1) The local church, to him, involves an enduring organization, spectrum of activities, physical locus, as well as religious ideology and ritual. (2) If his ideal of a self-supporting church is realized, the congregation (which to him comprises a corporate community) would take on the responsibility (financial and otherwise) of maintaining it. (3) He sees the maintenance of the church as a reward in itself for the resources (time, money, labor) contributed by individuals in the community. (4) According to him his plan has failed because people are unwilling to take the responsibility necessary to maintain the church themselves. They don't give enough money, there is little individual initiative in taking over church sponsored activities, and there is little interest in giving voluntary labor for church needs.

PART B

THE CREE

The preceding discussion of the white Anglican missionary's perception of the role of the church and its congregation can now be contrasted with the Indian perception of their role. The data collected for this section are based on interviews with 46 people who are part of the "Inlander" residence group. This sample is not a representative cross-section of the Inland population. I interviewed as many people in different households as I could, selecting them only on the basis of availability and adulthood. There was such a high degree of conformity in the opinions expressed that the conclusions reached have value in spite of the lack of rigor in sample selection. On most occasions notes were taken in front of the informant, and also on most occasions an interpreter was present. It should be pointed out that the interview situation is an unusual one for most of the people interviewed, and sometimes a discomfiting one. My asking questions about the mission was usually interpreted, at first, as asking questions about religious ideology, a matter not readily discussed with strangers; however most people accepted my interest and cooperated by discussing the subject with me.

In order to contrast the attitudes of the missionary and the Cree, certain events and issues will be discussed again. In particular are the perceptions of financial support of the church, participation in church activities and response to calls for volunteer labor, and the role of the mission in Fort George. The Cree perception of the missionary's efforts was that they were recognized as a change from previous missionary behavior. The frequent contrast of this contemporary missionary with a missionary of 50 years ago emphasizes the ideal missionary perceived by the Cree.

At each of the four Sunday services, a collection is taken by four sidesmen. Passing the bowl up and down each aisle of the crowded church,

individuals drop in small change or the occasional dollar bill or pledge card. Of the entire parish population, many are on welfare, many have no source of income except perhaps for income from fur pelts. Further, more and more other outlets for family cash have been created, such as canteens, a restaurant, movie shows, and increased consumer goods. The most striking, and most unanimous remarks about the mission were that the people were pressured too much and too often to give the little money they had. "People are always told to give", "Keyes asks for money too much". One man felt the church was "draining the people" financially. And more frustrating to some was that the missionary's attitude was that "people never give enough" to satisfy the demand for donations. Although they gave "as often as they could" a few claimed that they didn't like to go to church anymore, or didn't, because they knew that money would always be demanded.

It was also apparent that this was thought to be a fault of the missionary himself, for things had not always been like that. Other missionaries had not "forced" people to give so much. The use of the word "forced" came up several times, through interpreters and also by English speakers. It's necessary to understand a bit of Cree social ritual to see the importance of the use of this word. To the Cree congregation, I believe the missionary's direct exhortation for more donations was interpreted as harsh force, whereas a white Eurocanadian might merely say he tried to persuade them to give. Indirection in Cree social interaction precludes asking direct questions of an individual, for no one should deny a direct request out of politeness; and it is impolite to put someone in that position. So if the missionary entreats an individual, or the congregation to contribute more money, it is difficult to say no. Anonymity amidst a large congregation may enable one to forego the obligation, but the obligation to comply is perceived.

No one interviewed knew exactly how the money was used, or in fact much of anything about how the mission operates financially. There was

little if any knowledge of where money came from for the Fort George parish, now or in the past. The missionary has, in the past, asked for donations for specific causes - such as Biafran relief, the parish hall construction - and this is reflected in the knowledge by most that the money goes to poor people elsewhere, people "poorer than us", or for the local church. The former was a strong justification for giving. It is well-documented for the Cree and other Indian groups that generosity to those who are poorer is a virtue, and that whoever has more of anything - through skill or luck - was morally obligated to share with those who had less or none at all. In the past, when southern parishes sent up clothing or food for the people, the Indians themselves (usually the catechists) would distribute the goods since they knew best what families were poorer than the rest. Very often the chief's "family" received a great deal more than others, but only because he had many more people to support.

The other reason for giving money was to help the local church itself. It was thought to pay for maintaining and repairing the church, to buy religious articles and communion wine, and to pay the minister a salary. Some people had given in recent years specifically towards construction of the parish hall.

The second area of importance, and agreement, concerns the returns the people realize from the mission. Here, I am not referring to spiritual returns, but rather the tangible returns from association with the mission. In many regards, the Cree were critical of the missionary's lack of reciprocation for services rendered voluntarily or by "force". The biggest complaint was that the missionary did not pay people in any way for work done for the church (usually this was construction work). There were two projects in particular - building the parish hall and the new rectory - for which no helpers were paid. Some were bitter about this, especially because white workers from down south were paid to "come and do" the work ... "Fort George people could do the work and get paid for it". People disapproved strongly

that the missionary "never paid people for helping build the parish hall", that as a rule "Indians never get paid for work". As mentioned above, from the missionary's point of view, people's reluctance to help out on work projects was obvious by their absence. During the summer, when the missionary asked for help to move old pews out of the church in order to discard them, no one showed up to assist. Opinion given on this at the time was that no one wants to help, since people had to pay for those pews which were bought down south (and could have been made in Fort George) and now they were being thrown out. It was an insult to throw them out.

Some participated in activities which no doubt were designed to be purely social and recreational, or were designed to "help" people. Even so, they were disappointing since people "didn't get anything out of it" except a good time. "The W.A. (Women's Auxilliary Club) is fun although I don't get paid." Rummage sales are held to sell used clothing cheaply, and though some women appreciated the good bargains, many resented having to pay for something from the church. There were certainly varied feelings about specific instances of non-reciprocation; one man even felt that sidesmen should be paid for help during the service. Others appreciated what they did get from the church, especially when it represented the money they had donated (such as the parish hall). Only one person, however, felt it wasn't necessary to get paid for work done for the church, since "we get our reward in the next life."

The specific grievances were about not getting paid for work, and a more general grievance was that the Anglican Church just did not provide much material help at all. They expect more from the church, and are certainly not getting their money's worth. As noted above, almost everyone felt that work should be compensated for. They feel the Anglican Church "doesn't help much", gives "no food as it should". One man was quite bitter that he had never gotten "one shirt, not one blanket". Most people were conscious of the growing importance of money to gain what they need.

"We have to pay for things now" and "there's no money or jobs". Now that people are on welfare, and need money more, they feel they get less help from the minister than they used to.

Money donated is understood to be used both outside Fort George (and a great deal of this is totally unaccounted for) and in Fort George for such projects as building the parish hall, and maintaining the local church. But Cree comments about the parish hall and services indicate that even here, where the return is visible, the return to many is not worth much at all. The parish hall was built for community social gatherings, for recreational activities, for dances, etc. Mostly, young people less than 15 years old use it for games and getting together. However, a great many of the adults interviewed who have children in this age group or who are older, claimed they knew nothing about the parish hall and had never been inside it. Some disliked it because they could never find their children at night because they hang out there. Some young adults complained that although the parish hall was built for the people, they couldn't use it when they wanted to. It was "not for the people" after all, since there were only certain hours it was open, and the missionary had not given his approval for its use for teenage dances.

From Cree remarks about the purpose or function of the church itself, it is apparent that the role of the religious teachings was distinct from the role of the individual minister. The church is important, and necessary, to "help people spiritually"; it "teaches the right way to live", "prepares (one) for the next life", it teaches about the Bible and Jesus". It helps people cope with sickness and death, and enables people to marry. This is how the <u>church</u> helps people. This understanding of what the church is, is much narrower than the missionary's view.

The individual missionaries were religious specialists who enabled the ritual of Christian faith - including the sacramental social acts of marriage, baptism and confirmation - to be brought to the people; and they

were the ones who taught and enforced the faith for each generation. As individual personalities they were evaluated separately, and each could perform his duties, and be personally, better or worse than the others. Thus, the faith, the teachings and the ritual were the established church. It was in the personal relationships, and the social exchanges carried out by each individual missionary where differences were found by the Cree. It seems that what we would call patronage was a personal virtue for a missionary, and the absence of this "trait" is noted and criticized. Given Cree evaluation of generosity, it is logical that a man who has many resources, such as the missionary, should provide for those who have less.

A frequent remark was that the missionaries were "not so good anymore". Earlier missionaries, in particular the Rev. Walton (resident missionary 1892-1924), were contrasted with later missionaries, in particular with Keyes. Walton was the third resident missionary at Fort George, and spent more time there by far than any other missionary. "Walton and Keyes were different" was the consensus. "Walton never made people pay", rather he "only asked for money once a month". He is remembered as very generous, and that he "used to give clothes away" (in contrast to Keyes who sells clothes). Also, Walton used to visit people more than subsequent missionaries, including Keyes, and had more of a personal rapport with Indian people than did Keyes. He was "strong" (sabio) and "maybe he had no boss" (someone who could influence him and tell him what to do). Keyes suffered by comparison. Keyes was not as "strong" as Walton, and he is more obviously a middleman for the larger church organization than earlier missionaries seemed to be. As we shall see later on, men like Walton seemed to be the apical source of mission resources.

Much comparison between Keyes and Walton was made, but it is not clear whether Keyes was radically different from all other missionaries, or just the most convenient example of the change from Walton's time. Although Keyes is considered a "good man" and runs the religious side of the

church to everyone's satisfaction, i.e. teaches the Bible, holds services, etc., in the area of secular administration of the church he was criticized. His major fault seems to be that he "made the church a business", and the church "shouldn't be a business", it should "only be spiritual". As we saw earlier, modeling the church after a business corporation was, in fact, Keyes' aim.

PART C

SUMMARY

In summary, the data indicates a difference between missionary and Cree perceptions with respect to the role of the individual congregant in the church, and with respect to the church's role in Fort George. The present missionary envisions the mission as an institution integrated within what he sees as a settlement community. He tried to effect this integration (changing the mission into a self-supporting parish) by urging people to accept responsibility for financial support and administration of secular activities. The Cree resented his encouragement of financial support, and did not wish to volunteer their labor and time without pay or other material compensation. The Cree also did not share the views of the local mission's role. They interacted with the missionary on an individual, dyadic level. They did not seem to think of the mission as an enduring social entity, but rather as the spiritual teachings kept alive by individual missionaries. The paradigm of early misssonaries was contrasted to the contemporary example.

Following is an outline of the conflicting perceptions discussed above:

(1) Financial support

Missionary: People should be encouraged to give as much as possible to support the local church, and to give as an end in itself.

Cree: Money demanded beyond politeness and reason. They would give for specific local projects and to the poor.

(2) Participation in activities, becoming leaders

Missionary: Local responsibility for continuation of activities can only be through Cree "leadership" and "followership"; fosters community aspects of Christian life.

Cree: Dyadic participation; evaluate worth of participation in terms of return to the individual.

(3) Voluntary labor

Missionary: Local responsibility for repair and maintenance of church property; money should not be expected for this sort of donation.

Cree: Dyadic nature of labor contract; expectation of balanced reciprocity with work exchanged for money or goods.

(4) Role of church

Missionary: Community institution of religious and secular activities; self-supporting.

Cree: Keeps the faith alive, should deal with religion only.

(5) Role of missionary

Missionary: Vehicle or broker for church teachings; in missionary situation helping people learn to run the church themselves.

Cree: Individual with resources who runs religious activities of the church, acts as benefactor, sponsors various social activities.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Up to this point I have been concerned with the relationship between Mr. Keyes and the contemporary Cree population. In order to better understand the basis for the Cree reaction to this man, one must understand the history of missionary-Indian relationships in Fort George. Although each settlement in northern Canada has its peculiar history, there is a similarity evident in the relationships established between missionaries and native peoples. In Fort George and elsewhere, missionaries established their role as one of multiple functions and influence. And, in recent times, the influence of this role has diminished as has its multiplicity. When one can see how the relationship was established and maintained over generations of contact, one can understand better how a missionary, like Mr. Keyes, who tries to upset some of the basic assumptions and relationships of the model, is perceived by the Cree. A more detailed analysis of the relationship established in the missionary situation will follow in Chapter 4.

PART A

HISTORY OF ST. PHILIP'S ANGLICAN MISSION, FORT GEORGE[1]

It would be difficult to call the century old Anglican missionary effort at Fort George anything but successful. Almost every Indian and Eskimo on the island is a baptised Anglican. From the mission's establishment in 1852 (establishment means installation of a resident missionary) to the present, a total of fifteen ordained priests have served the population. In the early years of the mission, Fort George was one of several settlements administered by one missionary. Several months of the year were taken up by arduous journeys to Little Whale River, Great Whale River, and points

south. Today the missionary resident at Fort George has responsibilities in Paint Hills, a twenty minute plane ride to the south, and he visits there throughout the year.

Even before the 1852 founding date, whites had made contact with the people who gathered at Fort George. Hudson Bay fur traders had established a post by 1805. Knowledge of Christianity is known to have existed before the mission was established, from the influence and efforts of the Hudson Bay Company factor and his wife. By virtue of his trading power with the Indians of the area the factor was able to enforce many social controls and be a source of information for his clients. It is recorded that in addition to teaching the "heathen" of Christianity, he also enforced certain aspects of Christian morality. He recorded for all men the name of the woman with whom they were presently living, i.e. the "wife" as far as the trader was concerned. The necessary condition, though not sufficient, of the trading relationship was the permanence of this union. "Christian" marriage was thus established in fact if not in principle in opposition to the traditional custom of easy divorce and polygyny recorded for the Indian population of northern Quebec during this early period. By the time the first missionary, Rev. Watkins, arrived, the efforts and teachings of the factor and his wife had "prepared" quite a few Indians to be baptised and married. From these beginnings, the missionary efforts continued to be successful, and the missionaries became important to the future of the settlement population.

Most of the missionaries to Fort George stayed for less than ten years. Only E.J. Peck (1878-1892) and W.G. Walton (1892-1924) exceeded ten years' residence. The median residence was five years. (See the next page for a chronology of missionaries to Fort George)

Through the years, the missionaries gradually expanded the mission facilities and services. Material aid (food, clothing), healing, religious and secular instruction, became part of each missionary's repertoire. The tent once used for worship services was replaced by a church building. This

MISSIONARIES TO ST. PHILIP'S ANGLICAN MISSION

1852-1857	St. Philip's Anglican Mission established by Rev. E.A. Watkins and his wife as part of Ruperts Land Diocese.
1857-1878	No resident missionary assigned to Fort George. Visits by Revs. T.H. Fleming (1859), J. Horden (1862), T. Vincent (1867), Bishop Machray of Ruperts Land (1868), for preaching, baptism and confirmation rites.
1872	Bishop Machray divided Ruperts Land Diocese. Fort George became part of Diocese of Moosonee, whose first Bishop was Rev. J. Horden.
1878-1892	Rev. E.J. Peck became missionary of Eastmain District. Settled in Fort George in 1885 (in Little Whale River and Great Whale River from 1878-1885).
1892-1924	Rev. W.G. Walton replaced Peck.
1924-1925	No resident missionary.
1925-1926	Fred Mark, an ordained native catechist, became "missionary-in-charge" assisted by lay preachers.
1926-1927	Rev. G. Morrow was resident missionary.
1927-1933	Rev. Canon J. Griffin and wife established residence, assisted by T. Jones.
1932	Rev. T. Jones ordained to priesthood.
1933-1937	Rev. Jones became "missionary-in-charge". Fort George became part of newly established Diocese of the Arctic.
1937-1942	Rev. B.S. Greene replaced Rev. Jones.
1942-1946	Rev. H.B. Hamilton became missionary-in-charge, assisted by Samuel Iserhoff, Diocesan lay reader ordained in 1944.
1946-1947	No resident missionary. Services led by lay catechists.
1947-1952	Rev. H.S. Shepherd established residence, assisted by lay catechists.
1952-1960	Rev. J.C. Martinson was missionary-in-charge.
1960-1964	Deacon D.C. Ruggles, ordained in 1961, became resident missionary. In 1960 the first full time lay principal was appointed to the boarding school.
1964-1965	Rev. L. Neilson took services.
1965-1969	Rev. C. Locke became missionary-in-charge, assisted in 1968-1969 by Deacon Thomas de Hoop who was ordained in 1969.
1969-1970	Rev. T. de Hoop became missionary-in-charge.
1970-	Rev. de Hoop replaced by Rev. Merry.

was enlarged and eventually replaced by another church. A parish hall (1940) has been replaced by a larger one (1968). Although each missionary had held a part time mission school, it was only in the early 1930's that a full curriculum was introduced, and in 1933 the first Anglican residential school in the Eastern Arctic was built. Until 1960 each missionary was also the principal of the boarding school. In the early 40's, a hospital was run by the mission but it was shortlived.

These buildings just mentioned meant an increased involvement by the missionary in Indian and Eskimo affairs, and an increase in job opportunities. The school and hospital needed full time workers, and construction demanded local workers as well. Also, clubs and activities - often modeled after the organizations of southern parishes, were introduced.

From the beginning, catechists were selected from the native population to assist in religious services and to help the missionaries as influential intermediaries between him and the population.

We can see that the missionaries developed many ties with the Fort George population through the years. Their influence in economic and social affairs grew as did the multiplicity of economic and social services they offerred. It is also quite possible that election of a chief according to the dictates of white authority was influenced by the preferences of the missionary. Especially if being a good Anglican became a virtue, the missionary's support would have this consequence.

There is one missionary in the history of the mission who needs special mention. The Rev. W.G. Walton, who devoted 32 years of his life to this parish has achieved such a place of honor among the Indian and Eskimo people that even today he is respectfully referred to by old and young alike - many of whom could only have known of him through the stories of their parents and grandparents. I shall dwell at length on Mr. Walton not only because he had a dramatic influence on the spiritual and material life of his "congregation" and was a fascinating character in any case, but more importantly because to the Cree descendants of his original "flock" he is an

important figure in their past. He is pointed out as everything a missionary should be (but few are these days) and his teachings and example are used as partial justification for their attitudes about present missionaries, attitudes about other religions and lifestyles, and their attitudes about whites. In fact, his teachings help many to explain the presently confusing world they find themselves in.

Walton has become something of a legend to the population who knew him. It is difficult to separate Walton the legend from Walton the man, but perhaps it is not really necessary here. It seems that he had a forceful personality, with an evangelical flair. He gave a great deal of material aid to the people, including pay for work as well as aid to the needy. The help he gave during the great starvation of that period no doubt created much of the reverence with which he is still held.[2] Also, he spent a much longer time at Fort George than any other missionary before or since; this time and his fluent knowledge of Cree enabled him to know many individuals well. It is said even now that he would visit people all the time, and he is contrasted to more recent missionaries in this regard. He was consulted about many public and private matters, and often became involved in resolving conflicts. Indians today also speak of how strict he was regarding the faith. He would stand outside where the service was being held and wait until every last individual was out of his tent and inside for the service. He is remembered as a "hell-fire and brimstone" preacher. His influence as a source of white Christian values in all aspects of life must have been most dramatic.[3] The present Bishop of the Arctic, Rt. Rev. D.B. Marsh, notes that even during the difficult time of starvation "the work went on. Mr. Walton believed in practical Christianity. A comb and a cake of soap in one hand, he would visit his flock and see that they were used by all before he moved on to the next dwelling" (Marsh 1964:431).

In giving reasons for the persistent adherence of the people to the

Anglican faith - even with a large Roman Catholic mission on the island for almost 50 years - many Cree referred again to Walton's influence. They spoke of how he had foretold the future to the people, and it had all come true. He said that in the future many white men would come to Fort George,[4] that life would change, and there would be many temptations for the people to leave the faith. But if people would do what he told them, and follow the Bible, they would neither lose their faith nor their salvation. It is this crisis which many of the older people fear is at hand now. Many quoted Revelations to me as proof of what Walton had taught them. Some even felt the end of the world was near.

He was indeed a "strong" man (sabio), in the traditional sense in which an Indian leader is strong. One informant, in describing Walton as a "strong" man, conjectured that he had no "boss", whereas more recent missionaries have a "boss". If indeed the traditional boss-follower relationship was perceived by the Cree with regard to Mr. Walton, his influential position among them is doubtless. The attribute of "strength" was explained to me through a contrast of Walton and Keyes, as the quality of not being "fooled" or "pulled by the wrong people". The Fort George people are "strong" since they are "still Anglican" (and not Roman Catholic). Walton was strong, and had no boss, but Keyes is not as strong and he has a boss, i.e. is told what to do by his superiors in the church. The difference between them is that Walton could, for example, "make people go to Church, but now they go when they feel like it." But "making" people do something in the sense of forcing is not what sabio is. "You can't force people to go to church, to live right". Walton was strong enough to get people to want to do these things. Keyes can't make people do these things in this way. To "force" people to give money is not being a strong person.

PART B

MISSIONS IN THE NORTH

In Chapter 2, Cree perceptions of the contemporary Mr. Keyes were founded in part on the contrast he offerred to the legendary Mr. Walton. Each had relationships with the native population which were similar to others of their times - in the way they created a relationship with native peoples, and in the consequences of these relationships. Early contacts show one or a few whites having a great deal of influence and power over Indian and Eskimo groups. Contemporary situations often show a diminution in the influence of previously powerful roles.

In the following pages I will summarize briefly some of the similarities in missionary contact relationships from literature on northern settlements. Material on the Eskimos of Labrador (Williamson 1964, on the Moravians); the Indians of Southwest Alaska (Oswalt 1963, on the Russian Orthodox and Moravian missions); the Snowdrift Chipewyan of the Great Slave Lake region (VanStone 1963, on the Roman Catholic mission); the Eskimos of northern Alaska (VanStone 1962, 1964, on the Episcopal and Presbyterian missionaries); the Cree of Moose Factory and Mistassini (Ellis 1964, Rogers 1965); provide examples.

The missionaries' self-perceived task has always been to help physically and spiritually deprived peoples. From another perspective, missionary work is essentially directed change, where, in the contact of members of two groups or cultural systems members of the one group have an interest in changing the sanctions, rules and customs of the other. The missionaries of various sects (and temperaments) differed in how much of the way of life of the native peoples they were interested in changing. Nevertheless, to achieve their goals they had to establish a relationship with the people they wished to change. This means that there had to be a desire to interact with the missionaries by at least part of the native group (the alternative

would be submission from force). The religious message of the missionary was one attraction, but often his other activities and services made interaction desirable.

Where missions endured, these individuals became involved in economic, social and political activities, as well as religious. Most missionaries played more than the role of spiritual leader. They often provided "education", medical services, economic assistance and training, as well as supplies and tools. They had a multiplicity of roles among a population: they were religious specialists, benevolent providers, teachers, medical specialists, economic advisors, and sources of social sanction. Given their dissemination of a new code of conduct and ethics, they were ready to act as a social force as well. Since the missionary often had a multiplicity of roles his position in the community was influential; it commanded respect because of the things he could control or influence.[5]

Other social consequences followed from this multiple role relationship. Missionaries often reinforced the extant system of informal leadership by incorporating individual leaders into the institutionalized church organization. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Cree (as well as other Indian and Eskimo groups) had no complex, formalized leadership structure although there were informal leaders emerging who exhibited personal force and practical skills. Where mission policy provided for lay assistants and catechists, these men were often selected for the posts. These individuals often became intermediaries between the people and the missionary. Their influence was reinforced by the position. In fact, the religious significance of their leadership role was reinforced by the position. (It is only recently that the influence of these formalized Indian leaders and missionaries have been undermined by competition from other agents. We will return to this point later).

Although native leaders incorporated into the church hierarchy were not undermined, the missionary's role as religious specialist did undermine

the traditional religious specialists, the shamans. The missionary was his rival in religious power, in healing (he often administered medicine) and in interceding between the individual and the spirit world. The missionary laid claim to knowing, understanding and dealing with a spiritual world, as well as the unknown white world, and he gave of his knowledge and healing powers to the people. As the native peoples lost control of their environment to the white infrastructure, the only effective authority outside the family was white authority. The missionary's intimate, protective attitude toward the people, and apparent knowledge (control) of the white world enabled him to be an accepted mediary.

Because the missionary emphasis was so often a concern for the total man in his multiple aspects (social, economic, ideological, etc.) the missionary approach was a community approach. By this I mean that the people who participated in the church's activities comprised - to the missionary - a Christian community, isolated in thought if not in deed, from the rest of the population.[6] To this group in particular the missionary became a leader.

The personal force and persuasive power of missionaries accounts for much of the success or failure they have met in winning native peoples to their cause. Not only was a strong personality important in convincing people of the relevance of their message, but also in maintaining positions as spiritual leader, healer, and a social and economic influence. Since many of the peoples affected had informal and unstructured leadership, a strong personality was crucial in influencing others.

PART C

RECENT TRENDS IN MISSIONARY ROLES

The missionary influence helped effect many of the changes wrought by white contact during the contact period. Interest in missions contributed to sedentarization, and to a growing sense of social and political community (based on a church group). The influence held by misssionaries increased the

social and economic dependency on white authority and resources, and reinforced the subordinate position of native peoples within the white-imposed authority structure. It was not only a missionary who could contribute to these changes; it was, in fact, all the whites who established the same sort of relationship with a native population, be he trader or government agent or missionary.

In this chapter I have avoided the use of the term "patron" or "broker" in describing the missionary, since these terms are yet to be rigorously defined (in Chapter 4). However, in order to make a few points about the changes in missionary role in recent years it will suffice to talk of the missionary, the trader, the government agent, the hunting camp manager, or whoever, as the "Marginal Man" (Dunning 1959) in these northern settlements who created access to resources and information not otherwise available to the Eskimo or Indian population, and who distributed these resources as he saw fit. For the time being we can call him a patron to the people, or an intermediary between them and those in control of desired resources.

The major point I wish to make here is that the missionary, as a role type, is losing the influence he had in the past. This influence seems to have been created by the control he wielded over a wide range of resources, and by the fact that he was theonly one, or one of a very few whites, who could offer these desired goods and services. When contact with whites increases, and native peoples have many alternative accesses to the resources they desire, the dependency on each particular "patron" may diminish, also his influence over them (analysis of this point in Chapter 4). Likewise, if a missionary no longer controls all the economic resources, or is no longer the main source of social sanction, people will turn elsewhere for these things. LaRusic's research among the Waswanipi Cree (LaRusic 1968) shows the potential for change from what he calls a "general" patron to a "specialized" patron who is without a great multiplicity of roles. At Ruperts House, Preston (1968) describes how the elected chief was able to overturn a

decision made by the missionary, since his support was greater.

PART D

CHANGES IN FORT GEORGE

The situation in Fort George is another example of this trend, just as it was an example of the pattern of early missionary contacts. Recent missionaries (and the church institution as a whole) have lost the multiplicity of functions they had in earlier years; they are involved in fewer of the settlement's affairs than before. They have also lost the social and political influence in the settlement they once seem to have enjoyed.

The role the Anglican church has in the settlement, politically and economically, is now small. Now that it no longer has control over the residential school,[7] it has no formal authority over any other institution at Fort George. Contacts between the Hudson Bay Company manager and the missionary carry only the influence of friendship. Contacts with the Roman Catholic mission are kept to a minimum; Keyes did not see any benefit from socializing with the clergy there. He did provide Anglican worship for the children in the Roman Catholic residential school, and he visited hospital patients on a regular basis.

The organization of the church and the Indian Band Council are formally distinct, but it should be noted that this emerging political system is based upon leaders who must be legitimized, and perceived as leaders by the population. Through the many years of Anglican missionary effort, the quality of being a religious, knowledgeable, faithful Anglican became a respected virtue. It became part of the set of attributes of the ideal man: being a good hunter, a good provider, a generous, fair and wise man, had its religious concomitant as it always did. The "old chief", a highly respected man who in every way fitted the ideal, is a pious man as well, and all his speeches and advice are clothed in religious language and reference. Thus,

I would surmise that until recently the missionary had influence over the activities of the Band Council through the social sanctions he could enforce. The new chief, and the younger local leaders, are another example of the loss of influence of the church in settlement affairs. The chief does not fulfill the traditional image of leadership. He is young (35 years), outspoken, has had much contact with whites through schooling and work in the south. He does not frown upon drinking in moderation, and he is not a pious Anglican as were his predecessors such as the "old chief". In fact, there was some strain in his relationship with the missionary who expressed his displeasure at the chief's lack of interest in the church.[8]

No longer having control over these affairs, or control over the distribution of resources formally under his control, the contemporary missionary no longer has the multiplicity of roles he once would have had. Even when he offers certain goods and services (aside from the spiritual which remains his monopoly) other agencies in Fort George offer competing access to similar resources. As the official source of authority, the Band Council and government agencies have been taking over many of the services previously offerred by the missions. In day to day administration, the Anglican missionary had little part in decisions made by the Band chief or manager, although they would announce various projects and plans to each other when appropriate. The transferral of the beadwork business to the Band Council was the only instance of any sort of transaction I witnessed.[9] The chief, critical of the lack of community development fostered by the Anglican mission, felt that even though the missionary was trying to initiate a few projects (the parish hall, the canteen, etc.) these were in effect a hindrance since they competed with the Band Council projects for peoples' money and interest.

The following table indicates the range of goods and services offerred by four white agencies and the Indian Band Council. Although there are some resources solely controlled or operated by the Anglican mission, many things

GOODS AND SERVICES OFFERRED BY FORT GEORGE AGENCIES

	Anglican Mission	Roman Catholic Mission	Hudson Bay Co.	Indian Affairs, Nouveau Québec	Indian Band Council
Religious services	+	+	-	-	-
Social gathering place	+ (parish hall)	-	-	-	+ (community hall)
Social events	+ (weddings, dances, special programmes)	+ (school programmes, movies)	-	-	+ (feasts, dances, movies)
Food for sale	+ (canteen)	+ (canteen, on request)	+	-	+ (restaurant)
Merchandise for sale	-	+ (canteen, sawmill, on request)	+	-	+ (gas, canoes, etc., on request)
Credit	-	+	+	-	+
Provides income	+ (handicrafts)	+ (jobs)	+ (jobs, furs)	+ (jobs, child allowance)	+ (jobs, distributes welfare)
Medical help	-	+ (hospital)	-	+ (nursing station)	-
Education	-	+ (grammar school, job training)	-	+ (grammar school, technical courses)	-
Source of housing	-	+	-	+	+

+ = agency offers the good or service
- = agency does not offer the good or service

are duplicated by other agencies or are not present at all in the Anglican repertoire. (The lists are not exhaustive).

Keyes seems to have lost some of the social influence held by missionaries like Walton. Besides the evidence that there is a great range of moral standards held by the population, which he is unable to control, there seem to be relatively few occasions when individuals come to him for advice or to resolve conflicts. There were a few times that families would seek his help in settling problems about unwed mothers, or about petty theivery. However, so many other instances of these are settled without his help among the families concerned, that his importance as a social force seems small.

Although there is much contact between the Roman Catholic mission personnel and the population of Fort George, they are still isolated socially because of the religious and language differences. There is opposition as well to any encroachment of the French milieu in Fort George represented by the Quebec government. The chief has explicitly disapproved of the French language for Fort George, since it took so long to get English established as a second language. There are, of course, many political factors involved here, but the history of religious differences in the settlement is also a factor. Catholicism and the French language go together as much as English and Anglicanism.

In other settlements where populations are ethnically diverse the missions often reinforce ethnic isolation rather than promote integration. Where ethnic groups have different religious affiliations, social activities, schools and organizations are also segregated along these lines. Ethnic isolation at Inuvik (Mailhot 1966), at Great Whale River (Honigmann 1952), and Northwest River-Goose Bay Airport settlements (McGee 1961) are examples. Ethnic isolation does not mean however, that a missionary will be any less influential among his particular congregation. On the contrary, the missionary can become the principal intermediary between his ethnic group and others, as has happened at the Northwest River settlement (McGee 1961).

In this chapter I have tried to present the sort of relationship missionaries in the north have had with Indian and Eskimo populations, and to show that the history of the Fort George mission is part of these patterns. This was in preparation for the next chapter in which a more rigorous analysis of the relationship will serve to prove the hypotheses presented in the Introduction.

CHAPTER 4

INDIAN-MISSIONARY EXCHANGE

The objective of this thesis is to account for and clarify a relationship between a particular missionary and a group of Cree congregants. The method is to depict certain aspects of the relationship in terms of social exchange. When the sort of exchanges which are attempted and completed are made clear, then one can relate how people are behaving to their perception of the relationship. In this chapter I will show how the generalized missionary-Indian contact relationship is a special case of social exchange, namely patron-client exchange. Therefore, conclusions about the relationship can be based on the exchange model. Since the Cree perceived a difference in the relationship between themselves and Walton, and themselves and Keyes, I will depict this contrast in terms of the exchange model, and show why the contemporary missionary can no longer direct the exchange as missionaries have before. We will see that the exchange model between Keyes and the Cree is different because of a different perception of the role of the church than previous missionaries, and, because he has lost some of his influence in the relationship. In order to accomplish these objectives, I will first discuss the theoretical model of social exchange, and the patron-client model, and then turn to the Fort George situation to use the model presented.

PART A

THE MODEL OF SOCIAL EXCHANGE

First, it is necessary to discuss the concept of social exchange, and the assumptions on which it rests. The major assumption on which exchange theory rests is that individuals are goal-oriented, they seek to act in ways which are rewarding. They follow a decision-making strategy model. This is not to say that all behavior is a social exchange, as Blau has pointed out. "The concept of exchange refers to voluntary social actions that are contingent on rewarding reactions from others and that cease when these expected actions are not forthcoming." (Blau 1968:454) Completely altruistic acts, for example, cannot be considered exchanges. Thus, social exchanges (or transactions as Barth calls them) must be systematically governed by reciprocity; not all interactions are transactions by this definition. These exchanges involve games of strategy involving value loss and gain, and constraints on behavior. I follow Barth in understanding this sort of exchange as social interactions involving a "flow and counterflow of prestations, of appropriate and valued goods and services" (Barth 1966:3) and the demands of reciprocity which this generates. Furthermore, "transactional behavior takes place with reference to a set of values which serve as generalized incentives and constraints on choice" (Barth 1966:5). In other words, individuals make what is valued the "object of transactions between themselves and others" (Barth 1966:5).

The argument presented by exchange theorists is that in any exchange an individual will seek or maintain a rewarding relationship; thus the giving of prestations and the presentation of behavior are contingent on the expectation of return. The risk taken is that the return will be less rewarding than expected or desired. It is either theinfluence of the giver, or the initiative of the receiver that prompts the receiver to make a return and complete the exchange.

There can be said to be three aspects of exchange behavior. These are

not to be construed as mutually exclusive dimensions of exchange, but rather different analytic frameworks, or perspectives, for viewing the same social phenomena. The FIRST is the "individual" aspect, and concerns the decision-making process of economizing. This is ego-oriented; an individual has a set of rules or priorities which are often called values. These are more or less compelling goals which he can satisfy to a greater or lesser degree in social transactions. Since he has limited means available to satisfy all his ends, he must make decisions and choose to satisfy some and not others in any transaction. Since economizing in this context is a social process, there could be more than one individual involved in a decision. Looking at both sides of an exchange, rather than just the one, gives other perspectives (or frameworks) for analysis, i.e. the second and third aspects.

The SECOND is a model of reciprocity. This can be called the "normative" aspect, since it involves the rights and obligations expected between persons or groups exchanging prestations. From this second aspect is considered the variables of give and not give in describing the logical possibilities of exchange types. In exchanges between A and B:

> -A may give to B (or vice versa) but there is no return (negative reciprocity);
>
> -A givesto B and B gives to A and the prestations are reciprocated within a short time (balanced reciprocity). Such a transaction neutralizes the exchange; there remains no obligation outstanding.
>
> -A gives to B (or vice versa) but there is no immediate reciprocity, although it is expected over a long period (generalized reciprocity). Neutralization of the exchange is either accomplished over a long period of transactions, or is never completely cancelled out.
>
> (Sahlins 1968)

In the simplist state, A and B begin the transactions with no outstanding obligations due; in most ongoing relationships, however, prestations usually continue or reverse the balance. Social distance between giver and taker is a determinant of the type of reciprocity expected (Mauss 1954, Blau 1964, Janzen 1970). Close kin usually exhibit generalized reciprocity; trust is great enough to prolong expectation of return. More distant relationships usually call for balanced reciprocity, or negative reciprocity. In addition

to a distance between social positions, the affective relationship between individuals is a determinant as well.

The THIRD aspect is the "comparative" and concerns the evaluation of the content of the exchange. The possibilities here are rather complex, since each party to the exchange has his own perception and evaluation of the extent of the reward to himself and to the other, the type of reciprocity expected between him and the other, whether the prestations exchanged are equivalent or not (i.e. whether the exchange has been a fair one, advantageous to him more than to the other, or more advantageous to the other than to him). An individual's evaluation of the exchange will influence future exchanges in the relationship.

It should be apparent from the way these aspects have been defined that it is impossible to discuss one of them without involving the others. The "normative" and "comparative" aspects are based on individual economizing. The "individual" aspect involves expected rights and obligations, and an assessment of the other party's evaluation of exchange. If one gives an operational definition of values, which are the determinants of choice "derived from observation of exchange situations...as the amount of commodity, X, that is given in exchange for a commodity, Y," (Salisbury 1962:184) it is impossible to consider this first aspect without the third. Barth describes this three-dimensional scheme as economizing and its social constraints:

> "Transactional behavior takes place with reference to a set of values which serve as generalized incentives and constraints on choice; it also takes place with reference to a pre-established matrix of statuses." (Barth 1966:5)

This interdependency of aspects does not preclude focussing on one aspect in particular (many anthropologists do just that). Rather it is a matter of emphasis. In this thesis I am emphasizing the third, or "comparative" aspect of social exchange. This third aspect is particularly important to this research problem because it emphasizes the fact that social exchange is not a zero-sum game in which one individual's economizing precludes the economizing of the other party to an exchange. On the contrary, a transaction can be

mutually rewarding to two parties.

> "Either they have different views which lead to differing evaluations of the prestations, so that both can profit... one party may hold faulty information, or otherwise be disappointed in his expectations, i.e. he may be cheated by the other..(or,) and in institutionalized transactions most characteristically, the parties may differ with respect to their particular circumstances, i.e. the two have situationally or temporally specific and differing "needs". (Barth 1966:13)

In this third dimension, where the exchange relationship is examined, the concept of spheres of value becomes relevant. Many exchanges exist in bounded spheres of activity. Within a value sphere, "valueds" (goods and services, etc.) are liquid in the sense that they are easily convertible into something else.

> "In the study of primitive economics one is familiar with sectors or spheres of exchange, separated by boundaries which inhibit exchange transactions in various ways. The goods and services within a sphere may be freely exchanged for each other, but the conversion of valuables in one sphere into those of another are made infrequent, difficult, or impossible through various restrictions on such transactions. This failure of transactions to take place across boundaries should correlate with a low degree of comparability of goods between spheres; value integration should prove to be greater within than between spheres." (Barth 1966:17)

A good example is the Trobriand Kula ring system in which the highly prized vaygu'a ornaments have limited liquidity, and are in a different sphere of exchange than, say, yams. In New Guinea, when Salisbury (1962) assessed the demand for various items he was distributing, he found several categories of goods. Within each category, the items could be substituted for one another, but an item from another category was not an acceptable substitute. "In Siane there is not even an implicit unitary standard, for no situations occur in which a Siane man can express in any exchange a preference for, say, shells against houses or against nuts." (Salisbury 1962:186)

When new channels are created between spheres of exchange equivalencies have to be established. They must be worked out by both parties, or defined by one. It is possible that a giver and receiver have different evaluations of equivalency in a newly established exchange.

Barth (1967a:157) points out that the limits or content of an exchange

sphere cannot be judged just by exchanges. They must relate "to all forms of circulation and transformation of value, whether by exchange, production, inheritance, or other means." "The concept of spheres, then, serves to summarize the major structural features of a flow pattern." (Barth 1967a:164)

It is quite important to note here that in this thesis I am notattempting to analyze an economic system, for the Cree or the white community. Rather, I am looking at one situation or relationship in which the boundaries of Cree and missionary spheres of exchange become evident. For the Cree in particular boundaries between spheres are shown.

The model of social exchange just presented is a description of the process and structure of social behavior. Its content may be filled in in many ways to give various configurations or types of behavior. Barth, in his publications, seems to be making a systematic attempt to analyze many different types of social behavior using this model. In addition to discussing the model and how the process described serves to integrate cultural values, he has examined the configurations of exchange across ethnic boundaries, social change, and entrepreneurship in terms of exchange. To him, as mentioned above, the three aspects I have delineated become individual decision-making and the constraints and incentives within which the decisions are made. Paine et al. have, following Barth, used the model to define patronage and brokerage. It is this last application by Paine which I am following to clarify the relationship between Keyes and the Cree.

Patron-Client Exchange

Material on patronage has usually dealt with institutionalized social orders such as in Sicily (Boissevain 1966) and Mexico (Foster 1961) where the integrative principle in society is reciprocity and the social model is the dyadic contract (Foster 1961). The model of patronage and brokerage which has prompted this study has been developed for "frontier situations" such as those encountered in the Canadian north. This model depicts such

relationships in terms of values and exchange, and, as I will show, it is applicable to relationships beyond those in which individuals have established expectations of rights and obligations, and in which the relationship can be initiated or terminated by either party which seem to be the limitations of the earlier studies. This "frontier" model of patronage has been developed by Paine et al. (n.d. and seminar) and follows the model of social transactions developed by Barth.

The benefit of this model of patronage is that it provides for the genesis of the relationship, not just its maintenance. Foster's model, for example, cannot account for the creation of a new exchange relationship, only more of the same type. The creation of the patron-client exchange relationship is particularly important in the northern situation which is, as Paine has described it, a "frontier" situation. The frontier situation is a special social situation, in that social relationships are unstructured, even embryonic. It is a situation where individuals come into contact with a new environment, both social and physical, and create a relationship to it. In the Canadian north this often means culture contact. Individuals who enter this environment and take the initiative in creating relationships, and by so doing manipulate resources and social relationships towards some end, are often the individuals who act as patrons and brokers. This is entrepreneurial activity and it is often an aspect of these frontier situations. I interpret entrepreneurship to be (after Barth 1963) essentially the initiation of such a relationship involving the creation of a new channel of conversion between two spheres of exchange. What distinguishes patronage from other sorts of entrepreneurial activity is how this new exchange is created and maintained. In a patron-client relationship a channel is created to convert the patron's resources and assets (which the client has come to value) for those of the client which the patron values. The patron establishes such a relationship by exhibiting generalized reciprocity towards the client(s) and, through the influence he has created from his assets in this way, gets them to reciprocate in ways

he values for the favors he can return. The patron purveys his values to the client, and influences (directs) the client to reciprocate in ways the patron demands. The patron has the advantage in such a relationship; he has the influence of his assets and sets the rules for the exchange. The crucial characteristic of this type of exchange is that the patron is able to set the rules for exchanges; he is able to direct the reciprocation obligated by his generalized giving. It is not a "mutual" exchange, i.e. it is not on the initiative of the receiver to complete the exchange.[2] This "power exchange" (Blau 1968) does not give that type of freedom to the recipient. In this relationship, it is the more powerful who determines what and when a return will be made. Emerson (1962) has discussed the power exchange relationship. He shows how a man with resources can attain power over others in four ways: (1) if the others don't have the resources the benefactor needs (if they do, a direct, mutual exchange would occur); (2) there can be no alternate source for the benefactor's assets (else they would be independent of him); (3) they must be unable or unwilling to take the assets by force; (4) they must not undergo a change in values enabling them to do without the assets. However, the relationship would not persist if each party did not need the assets or return of the other. Furthermore, the patron and client have different aims for participating in the exchange (else the exchange could not be rewarding to both).

As in a case presented by Henrikson (n.d.) a missionary may have as his major goal to make "good Christians" of a group of Indians by any means he can. The Indians may be interested in all the assets he has to offer. Henrikson describes how the missionary at Davis Inlet has turned his resources into influence over the Naskapi Indians there. He distinguishes "power" from the wider category of influence, i.e. "the ability of A to make B take decisions in A's interests, and his ability to restrict B's choice". (Henrikson n.d.:27) He describes how the Catholic missionary at Davis Inlet uses his resources in a strategic manner in order to gain influence, and be able to initiate trans-

actions on his own terms. For example, he discourages drinking and supports non-drinkers. The missionary is in a position to lend money to people so they can purchase necessary equipment for earning a living in enterprises which the missionary was instrumental in creating. However, he will only lend it to those he supports, i.e. non-drinkers. In this way he exercises influence over drinkers to stop drinking in order to receive his favors. In general, Henrikson found that the missionary created a need for the variety of goods and services he can supply by giving them away with no expectation of immediate return. In this way he created a general dependency and a general obligation to him. He can "make a variety of demands in return for his general stock of prestations" (Henrikson n.d.:27). What Henrikson describes in terms of reciprocity configurations is the same sort of behavior that is being described in this section in terms of channels of conversion between spheres of exchange and called patronage. Hiller (n.d.) has similarly shown how Moravian missionaries in Labrador established influence among the Eskimos.

Another feature of the patron-client relationship is that the patron is perceived as an apical figure, in the sense that he is the source for the assets and values he purveys. This is in spite of the fact that the patron may function as a broker between his clients and the larger macro-system.

In summary, then, the patron-client relationship is based on exchange which is rewarding to both patron and client, even though it is the patron who defines the relationship by directing the reciprocation due him according to his values. In the following section (Part B), the research problem will be analyzed in terms of the patron-client model. The historical development of the relationship of missionary and Cree in Fort George will show that the contemporary missionary (1) has tried to change the rules established by previous missionaries for the exchange, and thus thwarts the expectations of his clients; and (2) has lost the influence by which he might direct the reciprocation. The section following (Part C) will further reduce the problem to a conflict in the spheres of value perceived by the missionary and the Cree, and

thus a conflict in their perception of what a rewarding exchange between them would be.

PART B

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP, FORT GEORGE

In Chapters 2 and 3 the Cree attitude toward the contemporary missionary, and toward the idealized missionary paradigm were contrasted, and Keyes was less satisfactory in several ways according to the Cree. Also discussed was how the mission institution grew over the years since its founding, but has recently reduced the multiplicity of its roles. There seems to be a lessening of its influence over the social and political order of the settlement population. Based on the historical information available and comparative studies in northern Canada, it seems that missionaries in Fort George (Walton the prime example) established just the sort of patron-client relationship I have been discussing.

(1) The nature of the missionary situation necessitates initiating some sort of exchange relationship with the native people. I speculate that it was of the nature of generalized reciprocity.

(2) The early missionaries at Fort George must have begun to turn their "resources" into "influence". At that time the Hudson Bay Company was the only other white contact agent in the area. Given the Hudson Bay Company manager's religious and moral convictions, it would not be surprising had he and the missionary used their combined resources to influence the population to assimilate Christian faith and morals.

(3) The missionary developed a multiplicity of roles as spiritual leader, source of social sanction, head of the school (and later the school residence), benevolent provider, et al. These increased resources, plus the jobs opened up as a result, were a channel of access for the population to goods and services they came to desire.

What I know of Walton fits the patronage model:

(1) Walton is remembered as being very generous. He never made people pay money, he gave clothes away, etc. He visited people often,and he spoke their language fluently. We can say that he seems to have exhibited generalized reciprocity. (He is also known for paying or rewarding individuals for specific tasks.)

(2) It seems that Walton directed the reciprocation obligation; he insisted on adherence to moral codes he set down, loyalty to the church he represented, participation in church worship that he led. According to memory of Indians and whites he was extremely strict when it came to people doing what he wished. This influence penetrated social and personal lives as well as the religious.

(3) Exactly what his resources were during those years is unclear, but the tie he had with the Hudson Bay Company, the fact that he had assets to help people during a period of starvation, and the fact that he had a strong personality were certainly factors. That he was able to wield influence is particularly evident concerning the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission. He had enough social control of the people to effect social ostracism of those who so much as said hello to the Roman Catholic priests.

(4) Walton was apparently seen as an apical patron by the people. He seemed to be the source of the resources people desired from him. Given the lack of extensive knowledge of the church macro-system presently, there was probably little if any knowledge communicated to people then about the outside world and culture. Particularly significant are the comments that Walton was a "strong" man and probably "had no boss". Furthermore the well-known predictions he made had an aura of power to them. As they came true his "strength" must have been enhanced.

To summarize, the early missionaries and Walton in particular seem to have exhibited the characteristics of establishing a patron-client relationship with the Cree population. They accrued influence through their multiplicity of roles and made demands on their clients who received the mission-

aries' assets in return.

Eventually (as discussed in Chapter 3) the missionary role began to lose influence to other white agents and to a growing native political structure. At Fort George not only were some of the missionary's resources eliminated - the school and residence are now under federal control, the Anglican mission no longer has a hospital, etc. - other agencies began to duplicate or parallel resources the missionary still held. Expertise in dealing with the macro-system is not his exclusively any longer; government agents, Catholic mission personnel, political leaders, etc. are equally qualified. In effect the process of economic development, the increased information input, and the growth of other white-oriented institutions at Fort George have played a part in reducing the advantage held by the missionary in the "power exchange" (Emerson 1962). The multiplication of new white agencies has a double effect. It enables the Cree to establish contacts with more whites to gain access to desired resources (some of these contacts were created according to the patron-client model); it increases knowledge of the white macro-system; the new contacts become brokers between micro- and macro-systems - all this in addition to lessening the influence of each individual patron or broker. Not all individuals take advantage of diffuse relationships, but a diversity of patrons is common (LaRusic 1968).

Furthermore, in the opinion of the informants, the contemporary missionary no longer was considered an apical patron. He "has a boss" but Walton had "no boss". Keyes is more of a broker (spiritual and social) since what resources he does distribute do not come from him personally. There is more knowledge (though grossly incomplete) of the local church's role in the larger church hierarchy. Furthermore, Keyes' views on his role and the church's role turn upside down the apical patron role. Now, he emphasizes, it is the people who are seen to hold the resources to keep the church going.

The concept of "influence" in this context needs examination. I have pointed out that the present missionary has suffered a loss of influence in

comparison with the missionary paradigm. By "influence" I have used Henrikson's definition, i.e. "the ability of B to make A take decision's in B's interest, and B's ability to restrict A's choices". This concept is in the framework of exchange theory since B's ability to gain influence stems from the strategic use of his assets toward that end. The missionary's loss of influence has been illustrated by the lack of compliance with his appeals for labor, for money, for participation and interest in the church organization. This loss is, I think, due to two factors. One is that he no longer has all the assets and resources the missionary once had to manipulate to gain influence. One of his remaining assets is the ability to invoke social sanctions based on religious codes of ethics. The public censure of the chief is an example of this, but although it reinforced public opinion, the chief did not seem to respond to the sanction, i.e. the missionary had no influence over him - even indirectly through the sanctions of other people. Also, few conflicts were brought to him for arbitration which indicates his lack of authority in social conflict. Keyes does not seem to have been very successful in strategically using his resources to maintain or gain influence.

The second factor is the Cree response to this loss of assets and resources. The notion of influence concerns a social exchange, since both parties to influence (the influencer and the influenced) must in the long or short run find the exchange rewarding. From the perception by Indian informants of the "attempted influence" of the missionary, this exchange would <u>not</u> be rewarding, and it is not completed. Donating money seems unrewarding as little return in kind or other goods and services is made or is expected to be made. Working without pay is unrewarding. And there is a lack of interest in participating in activities without material return.

PART C

CONFLICTING PERCEPTIONS OF SPHERES OF EXCHANGE

An hypothesis of this thesis is that the Indian perception of what would be a rewarding exchange is built on two factors. One is the model of missionary-Indian exchange previously established by the missionary paradigm. The other is a separation by the Cree of the secular and religious spheres.

The perceptions by the Fort George missionary and the Cree of the worth of the exchanges called for by the missionary are conflicting because they have different perceptions of the spheres of exchange involved in the transactions. The missionary seems to place the following values within the same sphere, that is, he feels they are exchangeable for each other: a) money donations and voluntary labor, b) maintenance of a self-supporting church "institution" (in his sense of the term), c) other-worldly reward. He feels that giving money could be converted into the value of being part of a self-supporting parish. Also, voluntary labor is convertible to the benefits of maintaining the institution. These, he feels, are fair and worthwhile exchanges for the Indian people. The Cree obviously do not agree.

In spite of the benefits that do accrue to the Indians from the mission (at least from the missionary's point of view) the Cree feel that there is no reciprocation for their services. This dissatisfaction is according to their evaluation of what is a fair exchange for these services. Many wanted immediate, material compensation for their efforts in the formof money, or in clothing or food as in the old days. The spiritual or intangible rewards of which the missionary assures them do not seem satisfactory. Thus, we can say that money, food and clothing (secular commodities) are meaningfully exchangeable for secular commodities. Rewards in other-worldly terms or rewards which the Cree do not perceive as such are not within the same exchange sphere.

What I am trying to show here for the Cree is a boundary between two spheres of exchange which is evident from the way in which the Cree perceive how rewarding certain exchanges with the missionary are. The missionary,

on the other hand, seems to categorize items from the two Cree spheres within the same sphere. The Cree seem to be operating with one sphere containing secular goods and services, and the other the "church" as they perceive it, i.e. the body of belief and ritual, and other-worldly rewards. Thus, an exchange with the missionary of goods and services for goods and services is perceived as rewarding, but when an individual donates money, or contributes voluntary labor and gets nothing in return which is rewarding, the exchange is unsatisfactory. The missionary in this situation feels that he has, in fact, made a mutually rewarding exchange since he, as representative of the "church institution" (as he perceives it) offers the somewhat intangible returns of membership in a self-supporting church, and other-worldly reward.

There are two factors which further complicate this conflict. One is, as just mentioned, that the Cree and the missionary have different conceptions of what the "church" is. The other is that the Cree do not consider the missionary's actions as representative of the "church" as they perceive it (except of course when he is performing religious ritual or tending to "religious" matters); rather, they consider him as an individual to be interacted with on his own personal merits. The social relationships between missionary and Indian are individual relationships. It was the behavior of the missionary, as a distinct individual personality, rather than the effect of the church institution, which was relevant. The general attitude was that the missionary was not reciprocating contributions of the congregation. They wished a more balanced reciprocity between themselves and the missionary. They were unwilling to freely give in good faith when, in general, there was little return. If the Walton era is compared with the contemporary situation, it seems different. Then, there seemed to be a more generalized reciprocity between Cree and missionary, prompted by greater faith and trust, rather than the neutralized obligations of balanced reciprocity. One reason for this difference could be the difference in social and affective distance between these missionaries and the Cree. Cree rules of reciprocity indicate (cf.

Janzen 1970) that the degree of social distance correlates with the type of reciprocity expected. Examples of Cree reciprocity within their own networks, and across cultural boundaries, confirm this.

In August, when large numbers of fish are caught (occasionally 1000 fish in a day per fishing party) the fish are distributed completely within the same day. A distinction is made between those from whom no immediate compensation is expected and those from whom it is. Members of the fishing party get a free share, as do close relatives. There are usually other people who want fish and who reciprocate with a dollar for a varying number of fish. As explained to me, it is the burden of the receiver to reciprocate with money or to decide not to. If he does not, and the giver expected him to, he may not get any fish the next time. Or, the receiver may delay his return and give the first giver some fish at a later date. It was clearly stated that close relatives are given fish with no immediate reciprocation expected (except that there is the expectation that a return would be made in the future in some way).

The second example concerns my husband, who wanted to borrow a canoe from a man we knew in the village. We arranged to use the canoe whenever we wanted, and decided to give the man a gift at the end of the summer in reciprocation and appreciation. After a week or so, his son let us know that something was expected - immediately. As strangers we were not close enough to him to let the obligation to repay wait for any length of time.

What is significant in these examples is (1) the giver has a perception of the social distance between himself and the receiver; (2) the giver has expectations about the reciprocation for the prestation (dependent on social distance, intentions to create or disburse obligations, etc.); (3) the receiver takes the initiative in completing or continuing the exchange. (4) Assuming that both know the rules and have the same evaluation of the exchange, one will be aware of the reaction to his action. The giver will be subsequently affected in future situations of potential gifting, by the receiver's actions.

(5) Most exchanges are part of an on-going exchange relationship, i.e. either two people have exchanged by balanced reciprocity, or there is an obligation left over from previous exchanges. When a new relationship is initiated, the giver takes the risk that his giving may not be rewarding to him. If the receiver reciprocates in the expected, or in a rewarding, way, his risk is well taken.

So, the further removed socially and/or affectively an individual feels from his exchange partner, the more likely he will expect balanced (or perhaps negative) reciprocity from him. It is doubtful that most missionaries overcame the barriers of social distance between them and the Cree people. Most of them stayed about five years and few spoke Cree. Keyes is no exception. Walton, on the other hand, spent 32 years in what was then a small settlement. He spoke Cree fluently, he lived much as the people did then with few Euro-canadian necessities or luxuries. He visited people in their homes a great deal, which is a very important sign of closeness and friendliness. In contrast, Keyes is quite isolated from the Indian people, and is criticized for it. According to the reciprocity rules discussed above, then, it makes sense that the Cree expect balanced reciprocity from someone like Keyes, but more generalized reciprocity from someone like Walton. In fact this was the case as discussed in Part B. (It is a moot point whether Walton's generalized reciprocity caused the closeness, or whether the closeness prompted the generalized reciprocity. Both occurred.)

Therefore, if the Cree always expect balanced reciprocity from the missionary for their services, the current situation is unrewarding. To them, he is not reciprocating at all. The result is that prestations are not made as readily, if at all. When Keyes "forces" the Cree to give there is no choice but to comply, albeit grudgingly and disapprovingly. As a result, the missionary accrues obligations to repay.

PART D

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has dealt with the exchange of goods and services between a contemporary missionary and Cree population in Fort George. There is a differing evaluation of that flow of prestations on the part of each. The Cree have the expectation that secular goods and services should be reciprocated with the same, and are disappointed. The missionary has the expectation that his goals of a self-supporting parish maintained by the congregation will be valued enough to prompt such contributions. He, too, is disappointed in his expectations.

To understand why these two have different ideas about the exchange of these goods and services, and why the perceptions are conflicting, the situation has been analyzed in terms of social exchange. The relationship of the concepts used in this analytical model clarifies the situation. Integral to the analysis is the contrast Keyes, the contemporary missionary, presents to Walton, the idealized missionary whose exchange relationship with the Cree is remembered as satisfactory. The following conclusions can be made by using the model of social exchange:

(1) The historical development of the relationship between missionary and Cree at Fort George has the configuration of the patron-client relationship. This patron-client relationship is a special case of social exchange.

(2) The patron-client relationship describes how influence is accrued by the missionary and how he strategically uses it to demand reciprocation on his terms for assets and resources he distributes. Both parties are satisfied with the long term rewards of this sort of exchange, even though structurally it is the patron who defines the rules for the exchange. Walton's relationship with the Cree seems to fit this model.

(3) A change has occurred in the relationship. Although Keyes has the same sort of expectations for how the exchange relationship should work i.e. he defines the reciprocation of the assets and resources he distributes,

the exchange is either not being completed, or is considered unsatisfactory by one or both parties. The Cree expect reciprocation for the goods and services they contribute, and they expect it in material goods. Anything else is either not perceived as a return or is not a rewarding return. The missionary makes "demands" for material contributions for the church which he expects to return by the church's being an independent institution, or by insuring the giver of intangible virtue accumulated in his name. But the Cree do not meet his demands according to his satisfaction.

(4) Again referring to the model of social exchange and its various aspects, more of the situation becomes clear.

(a) The assets and resources which previous missionaries had, and with which they strategically accrued influence which enabled their demands to be met, is diminished for Keyes. The loss of influence is due both to sociological factors from increased white contact, and to the Cree dissatisfaction with his redefinition of the rules of exchange.

(b) This redefinition has accentuated the difference in Cree and missionary spheres of exchange defined by their perceptions of the exchanges. (The exchange model involves the concept of spheres of exchange, which are operationally deduced from exchanges. I have likewise deduced them from the data I have on Cree-missionary exchange.) Whereas the missionary seems to consider material goods and services in the same sphere as the intangible compensation he offers (he thinks this should be a satisfactory exchange) the Cree do not. There is a boundary between the two so that only exchanges within each sphere are considered rewarding. (This is not to say that a new channel of conversion between spheres cannot be created, only that Keyes has not done so.)

(c) The Cree are further dissatisfied with the relationship since they expect balanced reciprocity from this missionary, who is more socially distant from them than, for example, Walton was.

Many of these conclusions are confirmed by contrasting the relationship

the Cree have with the Anglican clergy to the relationship they have with the Roman Catholic clergy and personnel at the Catholic mission. For fifty years the Cree have had nothing to do with the Catholic religion, and wish to continue their isolation. Walton had taught them that each should "mind his own business" when it comes to religion. The Anglican clergy have regarded the Roman Catholic mission with mixed feelings. They have felt positively about the economic assistance and development the mission offers, but rather negatively about the religious rivalry they provide. The Cree themselves seem better able to separate the secular benefits from the spiritual "threat" the Catholic mission affords them. The Cree seem perfectly able to deal with the mission over myriad matters from hospital care to housebuilding, without feeling that such dealings have any reflection on the state of their souls. One area in particular shows the separation of the two spheres for the Cree. The Catholic mission operates a grammar school for children from Fort George and from neighboring settlements. Most of the children in the school are from Fort George and, of course, are Anglican. Although they receive Anglican instruction and communion weekly from the Anglican missionary, and most are day students so they attend Anglican services with their families, they are still subject to the curriculum in the French language and with a Catholic orientation. What is most interesting is that most of the people who have enrolled a child in the Catholic school hold a job at the mission. Described as "bribery" by Anglican missionaries, most Cree interviewed felt that it was only sensible that the employees should reciprocate for the help and jobs given them. It is true that a few who felt the children would be inculcated in the Catholic faith were against the arrangement, but those who felt the federal and Catholic schools were "pretty much the same" were not.

If the Cree did not separate the secular exchange of goods and services from the religious sphere, they probably could not go along with such an arrangement; it would mean that every child sent to the Catholic school, or every job taken

from the mission, involved an Anglican in furthering the aims of the Catholic religion. This they do not believe to be the case. The missionary, on the other hand (and many before him) resents the increasing influence of the secular mission because of what it means to him as a religious threat.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1 It could be argued that this sort of social situation could be described and accounted for by models other than exchange theory, e.g. political analysis of power relationship, status and role, especially given the intangible variables which have to be dealt with. However, this method is justified because (1) the situation is in large part perceived by the individuals concerned in terms of exchange (and thus the material begs for this sort of analysis), (2) it has proved useful in investigating social exchanges (Barth 1963, Eidheim 1963) especially when change is involved, and (3) it is a good way to discover the extent to which exchange theory can be applied.

2 In 1968-69 there was also an assistant deacon who was not present during most of the fieldwork period.

3 I am also grateful for financial support from the Committee on Northern Research, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and for a Steinberg Summer Fellowship from McGill University.

CHAPTER 2

1 Contrast this to a 1925 objective of the Anglican Missionary Society "to carry the Gospel to the native races, foreigners, and white settlers in Canada, also to the non-Christian world." (Beach, Fahs 1925:17)

2 Although they felt a self-supporting locally run church was a step away from paternalism, the fact that aims for a new organization were still set <u>for</u> the Indian people by whites makes the step not very large.

3 They eventually turned the latter over to the Indian Band Council to run for its own profit.

4 These are four men at each Sunday worship service who collect the money offerings and bring them to the altar.

5 What they did not seem to realize was that if people didn't share their view of the importance of these activities they probably wouldn't share their interest in them.

6 Mr. Keyes once commented that a missionary in the north needs "a Bible in one hand and a saw in the other".

CHAPTER 3

1
Unless stated otherwise, material on the history of Fort George's Anglican mission was taken from church records.

2
During Walton's "occupancy...the great starvation began. Forest fires south of the area swept through the country and the thousands of caribou, which migrated each spring from south to north...were driven inland and failed to appear" (Marsh 1964:430). Hundreds of people starved. Walton unsuccessfully petitioned the government to put reindeer on the east coast of Hudson Bay to provide food.

3
However, there is no evidence that he made any effort to change the economic basis of Cree life.

4
In fact, he even said white people would come and live among them. This anthropologist, the first white to visit many of the homes, was living proof for some that he was right.

5
More on this point in Chapter 4.

6
(Cf. Melling 1967) For many Indian groups (the Cree for one) the Christian community the missionaries felt they were creating was not so much a group defined by corporate identity with common goals and sentiments, its bounds defined by conversion and participation in the church; rather it was a group defined by interaction with the missionary and church activities, having no group solidarity or corporateness (Boissevain 1968).

7
The school was transferred to federal control in 1952, the residence was transferred in 1967. Although both are federally operated, they are still within the Fort George Anglican parish; the mission ministers to the religious needs of the Anglican children there.

8
Cf. Robbins (1967) for an election in Great Whale River which showed the same contrast of old and new leadership patterns.

9
Band Council transactions with the Roman Catholic mission were more frequent and concerned building materials, government contracts, skilled labor, etc. (See Chapter 4 for a further contrast of Anglican and Roman Catholic missions.)

CHAPTER 4

1
Granted this argument can lead to the reductio ad absurdum that any behavior can be explained as rewarding, ex post facto (cf. Chomsky 1959), this type of behaviorism, nevertheless, is helpful in describing many types of social behavior.

2

Mutual exchanges include those between peers and kin which can create bonds of solidarity and equality. However, these exchanges can also create status differences (Blau 1968). The classic example of this type of exchange is the potlatch syndrome, in which individuals try to give so much to another that the other is put under a crushing obligation to reciprocate. Inability to reciprocate acknowledges the social superiority of the giver, and the inferiority of the receiver. The receiver has the alternatives of matching the Gift, and thus re-equalizing the statuses, or returning an even greater gift, thus not only denying the superiority of the other, but claiming his own superiority as well. This potlatch syndrome is a "mutual" exchange, since it is the recipient of a prestation who is able to take the intitiative in deciding what reciprocation, if any, will be made.

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