"THE DAYSPRING FROM ON HIGH HATH VISITED US": an examination of the missionary endeavours of the Moravians and the Anglican Church Missionary Society among the Inuit in the Arctic regions of Canada and Labrador (1880s - 1920s)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the Inuit missions sponsored by the Church of England Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Baffin Island and the Moravian Church in Labrador during the approximately four decades (1880s-1920s) which preceded a major administrative upheaval in both those missions: the CMS withdrew from Canada in 1920 and the Moravians changed the course of their mission when they ceased to trade with the Inuit after 1926. During this forty-year period several developments in the spiritual, medical and educational spheres occurred at one or both of the missions. An investigation of some of these developments makes it clear that the growth of both missions was hampered by the decision, on the part of each missionary society, for financial and other reasons, to de-emphasize its northern mission in favour of the "teeming masses" in China, Japan and Africa.

RESUME

Le présent mémoire a pour objectif d'étudier les missions inuit financées par la Church of England Church Missionary Society (CMS) dans l'île de Baffin et par la Moravian Church au Labrador pendant les quatre décennies (1880-1920) qui ont précédé un bouleversement administratif d'importance dans ces deux missions: la CMS s'est retirée du Canada en 1920 et les Moraves ont modifié le cours de la mission lorsqu'ils ont cessé leur commerce avec les Inuit après 1926. Au cours de cette période d'une quarantaine d'années, plusieurs développements, tant dans les sphères spirituelle, médicale qu'éducative ont été observés à l'une ou l'autre mission ou aux deux. En étudiant certains de ces développements, il devient évident que la croissance des deux missions a été gravement entravée par la décision, de chacune des sociétés missionnaires, pour des raisons financières et autres, de moins favoriser ses missions du Nord et de se consacrer davantage aux masses des grandes fourmilières humaines, la Chine, le Japon et l'Afrique.

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PREFACE

The title of this dissertation is taken from the text of a sermon preached by Henry Budd, the first member of one of Canada's native peoples to be ordained to Christian ministry by the Church of England in Canada. Budd preached on Christmas Day 1850;[1] the text, Luke 1:78, was well suited to the occasion.

As the title for an investigation of European missionaries among the Inuit, the text seemed a propos. Like the missionary movement itself, the words may be interpreted in several ways. They form part of the Benedictus, the words spoken by Zechariah after the birth of his child, the boy who was to become John the Baptist, and they look forward to the coming of a Saviour. At another level, the text may refer to the coming of the Christian Gospel among the native peoples of Canada. And at yet another level, there may be seen in it an element of irony. Did the missionary movement ever confuse itself with the deity? Did the native peoples of Canada (or any of the non-Christians to whom missionaries preached) see the missionaries as coming "from on high?"

We wish to point out these two opposing elements in the missionary movement merely to set the stage, so to speak, for our investigation. We shall be looking at the missions of the Moravian Church in Labrador and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Canada's Arctic. We do not propose to judge which of the

interpretations of the text from Luke's Gospel is correct for Canada's Inuit at Moravian and CMS missions. As everyone knows who has given the question of Christian missions any thought at all, there are too many factors involved to allow one to arrive at a fair and equitable decision. Good was done--and harm was done.

We do propose, however, to look critically at the missions of these two evangelical organizations during the forty-year period from the 1880s to the 1920s. These were the last decades before major administrative changes altered the direction of the two missions. What these changes were and how they affected the missionaries and the Inuit will be explained throughout the dissertation.

The Moravians' "sphere of influence" (to use the term which they frequently employed to explain the region in which they were permitted by the British government to evangelize) extended along the Labrador coast from Cape Harrison in the south to Cape Chidley in the north. This area of concentration was based on an agreement made between the Church and the British government in 1769 and later. Over the years, they established stations in Nain, Okak, Hopedale, Hebron, Zoar, Ramah, Makkovik and Killinek.[2] And until the late nineteenth century, they confined their activities to the Inuit. The geographical limitations are clear insofar as the Moravians are concerned.

Not so easily defined are the geographic limitations of the CMS vis-a-vis their Inuit missions. As will be shown in some detail in Chapters four and five, the CMS per se was directly responsible only for the mission on Baffin Island. Prior to the establishment of that mission at Cumberland Sound in 1894, CMS missionaries had encountered Inuit at their more northerly missions or on their itinerations, but had made no concerted effort to evangelize them. So long as the Inuit maintained their migratory pattern of life, and the missionaries their settled patterns of life, it was difficult for any type of lasting contact to be made. The other missions to the Inuit, at Herschel Island or at various locations on the coast of Hudson's Bay, were only partially supported by the CMS. For this reason, and in order to keep the length of this survey reasonable, these will be discussed very briefly. The discovery of Inuit at Coppermine, for instance, and their evangelization, is also beyond our scope inasmuch as this was not a CMS endeavour. And, finally, the work of the Rev. S.M. Stewart, of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (a Church of England missionary society), in the Ungava Bay region, is but touched upon; again, because it is beyond our scope.

What may be regarded by some as a regrettable omission should be noted at the outset: we will not be looking so much at the Inuit as at the missionaries and

their work. Hence there will be no attempt to do an anthropological or an ethnographic study of the Inuit and the missions. This has already been covered thoroughly by such people as Kleivan and Richling.[3] By and large during our period, the missionaries themselves seem to have been fully occupied in their work of evangelizing the Inuit; they made little effort, beyond learning the language, to concern themselves with a study of the ancestry of the Inuit, or to make objective observations of their cultural or religious practices. As they were concerned at this time to eradicate as much "heathen" practice as they could, there was almost no toleration on their part of native religious experience. They represented what has been referred to as "confident, intransigent Christianity that equated heathenism with barbarism."[4] H.A. Williamson has written that it is in their suppression of pre-contact Inuit intellectual culture (dances, songs, mythology and festivals) that the Moravians might be most severely criticized. "The Moravian's [sic] repugnance for much of this culture is reflected in the fact that their diaries and Yearly Accounts, which are otherwise magnificent examples of historical documentation, fail to describe a single one of these so-called heathen practices. The only diary remark concerning them is that they are 'too tedious to mention.'"[5]

The CMS were equally reluctant to record the

native religious practices which they encountered. Far more anxious were they to report their "successes." E.W.T. Greenshield, a well-respected missionary (both by the Society and the Baffin Island Inuit) was an exception in that he provided the readers of his journal, published in Extracts from the Annual Letters, in 1902, with some of the details of a native religious revival in Kikkerton.[4] His purpose, undoubtedly, was to show the Christian choice which was made by the majority of the inhabitants of Kikkerton and Blacklead Island, but it is revealing of the religious thought patterns which prevailed among some Baffin Island Inuit during the missionary period.

In preparation for this study, a great many monographs were consulted: the bibliography contains several items which have provided much of the background needed to understand the development of the two missions. Of value were the histories of the two groups: J.T. Hamilton and K.G. Hamilton's History of the Moravian Church: the Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957 (Bethlehem: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967) and Eugene Stock's The History of the Church Missionary Society: its Environment, its Men and its Work (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899-1916). Another valuable source of information is the journal entitled, Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the

Heathen (usually referred to as Periodical Accounts). This is considered to have been the oldest continuously published missionary journal. It began in 1790 and ceased in 1970. It is, in effect, a translation of the German Gemein-Nachrichten, although it was published independently by the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, a British Moravian association. Each issue (quarterly during most of the period under review) contains extracts from missionaries' journals and reports, statistics of mission population, an editorial and general missionary news, and lists of donors. The editor was generally a prominent British Moravian.

Similar information for the CMS was found in more than one publication: Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Extracts from the Annual Letters and its successor, News from the Front, provided some details as did a periodical published by the Diocese of Moosonee (in which diocese Baffin Island and Hudson's Bay were located) entitled The Moosonee Mailbag (and after 1906, The Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag).

The quantity of correspondence between the missionaries and their respective sending societies was voluminous. The mission records of the CMS of most, if not all, of its missions are located in the Special Collections Department of the Library of the University of Birmingham in England. Microfilms of most of the Canadian records are available in Ottawa.[7] As the Church of England in Canada gradually assumed

responsibility for CMS missions in Canada during the last two decades prior to the latter's withdrawal in 1920, a great many letters and reports emanated from Canadian church officials. The records of the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church (MSCC) may be found in the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada in Toronto, and these, too, were consulted. The Moravian records for their missions in Labrador are available as well in microfilm at the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa.[8] The Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania houses all the archival material for that Church in the American Province, North.

Two collections of secondary material of Moravian Labrador interest should be mentioned at this point: The Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland, and the Eskimo collection in the Lande Room, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University, Montreal.

The missions of the Moravian Church in Labrador have occasioned research on the part of several historians, ethnologists and anthropologists. Three theses are of particular importance to the growing body of knowledge surrounding that missionary endeavour: Carol Brice-Bennett, "Two Opinions: Inuit and Moravian Missionaries in Labrador, 1804-1860" (M.A. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981), James K. Hiller, "The Foundation and the Early Years of the Moravian

Mission in Labrador, 1751-1805" (M.A. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967) and Barnett Richling, "Hard Times Them Times; an Interpretative Ethno-history of Inuit and Settlers in the Hopedale District of Northern Labrador, 1751-1977" (Ph.D. McGill University, 1978).

Less attention has been paid to the Inuit missions of the CMS than to that Society's Indian missions. This is understandable as the Indian work represented virtually all of the missionary endeavour of that Society in Canada. Yet, interestingly, the CMS missionaries whose names are remembered for their contribution to the growth of Christianity among Canada's native peoples, William Carpenter Bompas, Joseph Lofthouse, Edmund James Peck, Isaac Stringer and Charles E. Whittaker, each had some degree of involvement with both of Canada's native peoples. Of the change-over period (1902-1920) when the CMS was attempting to educate the Canadian Church in the assumption of its domestic mission responsibilities, little has been written with regard to the Arctic Mission.

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And to family and friends who waited patiently.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Go ye therefore into all the world, baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of Holy Ghost..." (Matt. 28:19)

These are the words of the Great Commission: the words which in the Gospel according to Matthew the risen Christ gave to his disciples. It was the rallying cry of the missionary movement of the late nineteenth century.

The vast missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century[1] is common knowledge. The zeal to spread the Christian message among the heathen[2] seems to have arisen out of what has been called the spiritual renaissance of the eighteenth century. Among the Protestant denominations in Europe and North America, Pietism, the Evangelical Awakening and the so-called Great Awakening created a climate of religious fervour which infused large segments of evangelical Christians in Europe and North America not only with the observance of a personal life of devotion and piety, but also with the compulsion to spread the Gospel message to the ends of the earth. In other words, as the great historian of missions, Kenneth Scott Latourette expressed it, "Protestant Christianity entered the nineteenth century on a rising tide."[3] Among the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox a similar increase in personal spirituality and missionary zeal can be seen.[4] However, as Latourette remarked, "In many respects the nineteenth century was the Protestant

century.[5]

This was not so during the two preceding centuries despite the evidence of some missionary activity on the part of Protestant Europe, such as the efforts of the Royal Danish Mission in India, Greenland and the West Indies which so impressed the Moravians in 1732, or the establishment in 1701 of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which to some extent addressed itself to the conversion of non-Christians.[6] The history of Europe up to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and for some time after may partially explain the absence of missionary activity among Protestants, coupled with the eminently practical problems of transportation. Another factor contributing to the lack of missionary zeal was the notion prevalent among some Protestants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the Great Commission was directed only to the apostles. Those who had rejected the apostles had no need to be offered another opportunity for salvation.[7] William Carey (1761-1834), "the father of modern missions," met opposition of a similar nature: that God would convert the heathen in his own good time without any human intervention. Notions of this nature seem to account for much of the absence of missionary zeal before the start of the nineteenth century. There were, as well, the very human problems of transportation. As Stephen Neill has commented, "The progress of the Gospel is not

tied to the politics or economic fortunes of any one part of the human race; but as long as men live in human and very physical bodies, it will not be possible completely to separate the religious from other aspects of the human situation."[8] It is no wonder, therefore, that the progress of the Gospel depended on the very human limitations placed on it by transportation. As the seafaring European nations expanded, so could, and did, their missionary activity.

A statement such as this implies a tacit acceptance of a link between the expansion of Christianity and the expansion of the western world. That there was a link, no one can deny. What is at stake now, however, is the need to make a distinction between the two. Is it the growth of Christianity which must account for the evils of western imperialism, or is it western imperialism itself? These are questions which cannot be answered; however, one must be aware that they exist to this day as serious and perturbing problems.

For Latourette, looking at the nineteenth century, nationalism (surely a component of western imperialism) was one of several factors contributing to the phenomenon of missionary outreach in that century. He suggested, as well, technological advances, economic and intellectual growth, and a climate of peace and optimism.[9] It seems from his approach that by the nineteenth century the time was right for expansion

geographically and spiritually.

On the spiritual front, early in the century several missionary societies were formed for the sole purpose of evangelizing non-Christians. By mid-century in Europe, Great Britain and somewhat later, in North America, the number of such groups and their supporters had grown considerably. An example of this is the Church of England Church Missionary Society founded in 1799 with a small committee and no missionaries. By 1899 it had 1,096 missionaries in about twenty-four jurisdictions. Others, like the Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792, grew at a less dramatic rate. It has been said of William Carey, the moving force behind the Baptist Missionary Society, that he was greatly influenced by the accounts of the missionaries of the Moravian Church which had been available in England in their journal, Periodical Accounts since 1790. The missionary members of this small German Protestant body had been teaching the Christian Gospel to West Indians and Greenlanders since 1732.

Both these organizations, the Moravian Church and the Church Missionary Society, included British North America in their programme of evangelization. The Moravian Church established a mission in Labrador with the Inuit in 1771, while the CMS began their missionary outreach in 1820 in present-day Manitoba. In 1920, the CMS withdrew from this country; in 1926, the Moravian mission underwent a complete change of direction: the

mission ceased to act as traders and storekeepers to the Inuit at their Missions. It should be explained that for the Moravians in Labrador trade with the Inuit--exporting fur and fish and importing foodstuffs and hunting and fishing equipment--had been integral to the economic existence of the Mission since it began in 1771. The spiritual work of both missionary efforts, however, continued: the Canadian Church of England and other Anglican missionaries replaced the CMS in the Arctic and the Moravians remained as ministers of the Gospel.

During the four decades of our investigation, both missions underwent a number of major administrative and internal changes. In 1903 the CMS began withdrawing financial support from all its Canadian missions, and in 1906 transferred the responsibility of its Arctic mission to the Church of England in Canada. Understandably, this posed problems for the missionaries and for the Mission. In the case of the Moravians' mission, Labrador was becoming less isolated in the late nineteenth century, and the resulting exposure to outside influences raised a host of questions among the missionaries and among the Inuit. In this examination, some attention will be paid to these changes in administration and in the ability of the Moravian mission to cope with the internal changes which were, of necessity, taking place.

One sees a major difference between the CMS

encounters with the Inuit and those of the Moravians. The latter had evangelized almost all the Inuit in Labrador by the middle of the nineteenth century; there were only a few non-Christian communities in the north of the Ungava peninsula to whom the Moravian missionaries travelled during this period. The CMS encounters with the Inuit, on the other hand, were initial encounters. The Inuit on Baffin Island had had no previous contact with Christianity (as practised or preached; they had had contact with so-called Christian traders), and, in fact, had had little contact with Europeans until the nineteenth century. As the noted Arctic authority, Diamond Jenness, wrote in 1964:

> The northern half of Hudson's great inland sea continued to be a mare ignotum; and although the explorations of William Baffin in the bay that bears his name had long drawn Dutch and Scottish whalers to the waters of southwest Greenland, the shores of Baffin Island itself remained uncharted, and the arctic coastline and archipelago beyond it were not yet disturbing men's dreams. Two grim sentinels, Cold and Silence, guarded the retreats of the Eskimos and repelled every European adventurer who tried to storm their gates.[10]

Explorers and whalers breached the walls in the nineteenth century: the demand for whalebone ("baleen") was heavy, and the whaling industry was profitable until the early years of the present century. Trapping foxes or other small animals supplemented the profit. Scottish and American whalers dominated the whaling around Baffin Island. Indeed, it was a Scottish firm from Aberdeen with whom the CMS dealt at Cumberland Sound.

The Americans and the Scottish used sailing ships (frequently unseaworthy according to the missionaries)[11] in the southern Baffin Island and western coast of Hudson's Bay region and employed Inuit at the small whaling stations which they had begun to set up since 1840[12] and as crew when they hunted.

Jehness has noted that contact with Europeans and European culture disrupted the culture and the economy of the Inuit in these areas and caused them to be almost completely dependent on the whaling stations:

> ...Nearly every able-bodied native is employed [at the whaling stations in Cumberland Sound] during the whaling season...[and] there is no doubt that many would perish should the whaling stations be closed without other provision being made for the accustomed supplies.[13]

At about the turn of the century, the whalers began to leave, "having shattered the aboriginal economy."[14] At just about this time CMS missionaries were active in Cumberland Sound at several of the whaling stations.

The relationship between the Mission, once established, and the one to two Europeans at the whaling stations was volatile. Archibald Fleming, who in the 1933 became the first Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic, recorded in his autobiography an incident which took place at Blacklead Island (a Scottish whaling station in Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island where the CMS mission was located):

> [Peck, Greenshield and Bilby, the three CMS missionaries stationed there] had also faced the diabolical opposition of the handful of white men in the settlement. These men willfully and

> deliberately had stirred up the local conjurors against the missionaries. Later with subtlety and malice they raped the first little group of Eskimo women who had been prepared for the Sacrament of Baptism.[15]

Two of the CMS missionaries made themselves unpopular with the Scottish trader/whaler at Blacklead Island: one, J.W. Bilby, because of his outspoken criticism of the firm and its dealings with its Inuit employees, and the other, Charles Gore Sampson, because of his alleged profiting from his own trade with the Inuit. The other men appear to have been generally respected.[16]

At Herschel Island, a harbour in the western Arctic and a whaling station where American whalers wintered, the missionaries encountered similar difficulties. C.E. Whittaker, the local missionary, wrote in 1906: "It may be said that every woman and almost every man is under the influence of the ships' people and I despair of accomplishing anything while that state of things continues, for that influence is directly opposed to ours."[17] According to Jenness, Herschel Island and most of the Mackenzie delta was a "hive of debauchery: drunkenness and immorality prevailed everywhere...."[18] Whittaker's comments then may not have been simply the reaction of a man whose goals were different from those of the people around him.

It was as much to avoid the spoliation of the Inuit as anything else that the Moravians commenced trade and continued to engage in it in Labrador. At

least this was the reason consistently put forth by the Church. Critics might disagree and would suggest that it was a profitable venture which was undertaken and pursued as a business enterprise until 1926. Whether the primary emphasis was on trade or on preaching the Gospel is the debatable point. We suspect that the missionaries of our period made no distinction between the two. The apparent anomaly was perceived by later participants in the Mission and by observers of it. By controlling the prices and the goods which the Inuit could buy, the Moravians believed that they were protecting the Inuit from unscrupulous traders (of which there were many in southern Labrador--not the least of which was the Hudson's Bay Company.)[19] Nevertheless, by engaging in trade, they were insuring their own existence: without trade the Church could not have supported the mission and the Inuit would not have gathered in communities around the stations. It is clear, however, that their engaging in trade is one of the most controversial aspects of their mission in Labrador. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, they seem to have monopolized the trade from Cape Harrison northward though whaling was not profitable (as it was in the Arctic); rather, the profits came from sealing, fishing, hunting and trapping.

Fishing fleets from Newfoundland, Canada and the United States began to appear along the Labrador coast after 1857 and the Hudson's Bay Company and other

British or local firms established trading posts to deal with the Indians and with the settlers who were increasing in number in Labrador. As the years passed, trading stations opened and closed. However, the Moravians seemed to have retained much of their monopoly insofar as the Inuit were concerned--to some extent out of convenience, but chiefly as a result of their credit arrangements. These were even more controversial than the trade which the Moravians carried on. The fact that poor relief was integrated into the credit system and administered by the Mission caused the Inuit to be totally dependent on the Mission (as Richling and others have pointed out).[20]

As will be seen in the Chapters two and three, the Labrador Inuit were not entirely "protected" by the missionaries: their "debauchery" perhaps never reached the degree that it did at Herschel Island, but by the 1880s they had learned to dance, to gamble, to make their own alcohol, and to enjoy food not available at the Moravian stores. The conflict between the lifestyle and moral code which the missionaries required, and the wish to live and behave in the manner of their non-Moravian neighbours put considerable pressure on the Inuit living at Moravian stations. Reports from the missions were filled with accounts of the difficulties the Inuit (and the missionaries) experienced in balancing the demands of the Moravian Church and the demands of the outside world. It may be

that the missionaries of the Moravian Church were overly conservative and put undue pressure on the Inuit to conform to their standards. This characteristic has been noted insofar as their Indian missions in North America were concerned.[21] We will attempt to discuss the subject in Chapter three.

The CMS records for the same years in their Arctic mission bear some evidence that similar problems existed. However, the relationship of the CMS missionaries to the Baffin Island Inuit was much shorter-lived than that of the Moravians to the Labrador Inuit. They had comparatively little time in which to establish and maintain any social standards.

As has been said, it is the intention in this dissertation to look closely at the CMS missions to the Inuit (specifically but not exclusively at Baffin Island) and the Moravian missions in Labrador during the four decades which preceded for each a major change in administration. Certain common topics have been identified: (1) the difficulty both organizations experienced in funding their northern missions and the effect this had on the mission and the missionaries; (2) the methods by which both engaged in mission; and (3) the type of missionary who was employed in the Arctic. Certain specific themes have also been noted: (1) the attempts by the CMS to withdraw from Canada and the resulting hiatus with the Canadian church; and (2) the variety of problems encountered by the Moravians as

outside influences penetrated the world of the Inuit living at their missions. In Chapters two and four, we will look briefly at the two organizations, the Moravian Church (as a missionary church) and the CMS--at their history, at the administration of their missions and at their missionary work in Canada.

A phenomenon of the missionary outreach of the nineteenth century was the source of most of its funding: "never before in human history had the spread of any set of ideas, religious or secular, been maintained by the voluntary gifts of so many millions of donors."[22] The CMS, which had never been supported by the Church nor by the British government, early in its history had organized support groups to provide both missionaries and means in each evangelically-minded Parish in England where the aims of the Society would be accepted. Later, as the CMS grew, these organizations expanded in number and in complexity. When in 1886 a group of supporters suggested the formation of a "great Union or League of all, rich and poor, young and old, in town and country, willing to pray regularly for the missionary cause and work for it in any way," the CMS administration refused: "We really are overdone with organization, especially C.M.S. organization; we cannot have any more."[23] Apart from their regular sources of income, the CMS (like many other missionary societies) issued periodic appeals for funds. The Thank-offering Appeal

of 1918/1919 by which the Association was able to make its last gift to its Canadian missions was one of many such appeals.

The Moravians, too, were dependent on individual donations, large and small. They had an advantage over the missionary societies in that they could appeal for missionary funds from their whole denomination. However, as the Church was a small one, this provided only a slight advantage. In fact they received regularly a large proportion of their income for missions from non-Moravians. In 1898, as an example, they received over £4,000 from their own congregations, £12,000 from non-Moravians, £11,000 from legacies and endowments (which may also have included non-Moravian donors) and £850 from mite societies.[24] The British Moravians were assisted greatly by donations from the London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions, a group consisting of mostly Church of England clergy and laity. Much of this money seems to have been directed towards the Labrador and West Indian missions, both of which were based in Great Britain.

During the forty-year period covered by this investigation, both the CMS and the Moravian missions were plagued with deficits, some more serious than others. How the two groups coped with these deficits vis-à-vis their Canadian missions is discussed briefly in the relevant chapters. One cannot help but question why, if missionary enthusiasm had reached its peak in

the last quarter of the century and in the years before the Great War, were donations not greater? The obvious answer, and the answer which the administrators of both groups gave, was that the enthusiasm had generated more missions and more missionaries than the income could absorb. It may be, also, that many of the regular donors were diverting all or some of their donations to the "newer" missions: the China Inland Mission, for example, which was a popular cause after 1865. However, in the case of the CMS, many of the missionaries, especially the women, were self-supporting, or were supported in whole or in part by interested parishes. The contention of this author is that popular interest in Europe was waning or at least was not keeping pace with the level of enthusiasm shown by those volunteering for missionary service. The Editor of the Moravian Periodical Accounts wrote in June 1894:

> The fact that nearly every English Missionary Society has closed its financial year with a deficiency (and the same is true of many American Societies) is not altogether due to the commercial depression of the year. We attribute it rather to the universal forward movement in the great enterprise. The incomes of the societies have fallen little short of those of the previous year. It is the expenditures that have gone ahead with great strides. The personal devotion and obedience of the comparatively few, who go to the front and to the arduous work, has outrun the liberality of the many, who support the cause with their prayers, their sympathy and their gifts.[25]

One sees in statements of this kind an ambivalence which is not easy to explain in relation to the two

Arctic missions. The CMS consistently refused all suggestions put forward by their Arctic missionaries for expansion because of the costs of implementing the ideas (especially the purchase or charter of a ship to provide sure transportation, communication and supplies), and the Moravians continued to engage in trade in order to support their mission despite a good deal of criticism from all sides. In these two missions, the expenditures did not go "ahead with great strides."

It is the contention of this author that inability or unwillingness on the part of the sending societies to finance these two small missions was at the root of the problems which both the Moravians and the CMS missionaries experienced in the forty-year period under investigation. Although both societies were experiencing financial difficulties, their respective administrators were in a position to allocate available funds among their mission fields. Neither the Arctic nor Labrador seems to have been a priority. The remarks of Henry Venn, the "legendary figure in Protestant missions" (to quote Max Warren in his introduction to To apply the Gospel: selections from the writings of Henry Venn),[24] that the Indians of North America "are now only remains of nations," but "living remains," contributed to the idea of withdrawal by the Society from Canada. (When Venn wrote those memorable words, he, like many others at the time,

grouped all Canada's native peoples together.) In the Society's report on its North-West America Mission for 1880-81, its position is very clear: "The Committee have sometimes been tempted to doubt whether, in the face of the overwhelming needs of Africa, India, and China, it is right to devote so many men and so much money to the remnant of the Red Indian tribes."[27] When one observes the Society's actions in Canada over the forty years which follow this statement, one cannot but see that the CMS had chosen its course of action, and that course did not include Canada's native peoples. The "overwhelming needs of Africa, India, and China" took precedence.

It seems clear that the Moravians engaged in a similar reflection about the Inuit in Labrador. At a conference of missionaries in Labrador in 1908, Bishop Martin, the Superintendent of the mission, delivered a paper in which he said, among other things: "We are, therefore, face to face with the sad fact that we are working among a race that is dying out.... This constitutes a special and very peculiar feature of our work. Not only is an extension of our work impossible, but our sphere of influence will diminish, and our work will more and more be comparable to the last service of love rendered to a sick man whose life is ebbing away. It is sad; but at the same time it is a grand and responsible task which we are set to fulfil."[28] It is our argument that this outlook determined the

Moravians' course of action in Labrador for the next several years. We believe that the notion on the part of the Mission Board and the SFG that the Inuit were a "remnant" (Bishop Martin used this term, as had Henry Venn), determined to a large extent the financing of the Mission at least until World War I. (After the war, financial worries compounded the results of the policy.) Ironically, these were years of potential expansion among the settlers,[29] especially in the spheres of education and public medicine.

Like the dilemma which missions pose to many Christian historians, a response to the decisions taken by the CMS and the Moravians vis-a-vis the Inuit is not easy to make. Undoubtedly the two organizations saw the needs of the teeming masses in India, Africa and China as pressing indeed. Money and missionaries were becoming insufficient. The Inuit had received the message of the Gospel; millions had not. However, it is our observation that the Inuit were ill-served as a result of these policies. In Chapters three and five, which deal with the two missions, we will attempt to show how the financial restrictions limited the growth of both missions: the fledgling Anglican Arctic Mission on Baffin Island, and the well-established Moravian Mission in Labrador.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH, A MISSION CHURCH

I. HISTORY

Our mission work a joint undertaking of the entire Brethren's Unity[1]

> When our forefathers sent their pioneer missionaries to the negro slaves of St. Thomas and to the despised Greenlanders in 1732 and 1733 they went by commission and in the name of the congregation. No missionary society within the congregation but the congregation itself undertook this work as an enterprise entrusted to it as a unit for a blessing to the entire membership. Since then our congregation has broadened out into the Brethren's Unity, and the work of Missions entrusted to her has extended over all the world. Yet, still today the work remains and shall remain a work of no single part or of no set of persons within our Church....[2]

This explanation of its understanding of itself as a missionary church was issued by the General Synod of the Moravian Church in 1899.

In 1732 and 1733 brethren belonging to the renewed Unitas Fratrum began their work of "winning souls for the Lamb." It was the first Protestant church organization which actively encouraged and promoted missionary activity among its members.

The Unitas Fratrum (or Moravian Church, to use its current North American name) originated in Czechoslovakia in the middle years of the fifteenth century. John Hus (1371-1415) was associated with the national revival of religion in that part of Europe, and out of this national religious revival came the Moravian Church. Other names by which it is known are: the Unity of the Brethren, and, Moravian Brethren. The members of the church called themselves brethren and sisters. In 1627 membership in all Protestant churches in Bohemia and Moravia, including

that of the Brethren, was proscribed. A few families and a few individuals continued to practise in secret the religious traditions of their forebears.

In the early 1720s, Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), a Lutheran of strong Pietist leanings, offered religious freedom and land on one of his estates in Saxony to several families from Bohemia and Moravia, a few of whom had retained some of the beliefs of the Brethren. Under his guidance and that of one or two of the spiritual leaders of the community, now known as Herrnhut, the renewed Unitas Fratrum came into being on August 13, 1727.

Zinzendorf had been interested in Christian missionary work since boyhood: the accounts of missionaries whom the Danish government supported had been among his childhood reading. His enthusiasm communicated itself among the Herrnhut community even before his memorable meeting with Anthony, a black West Indian servant, in Copenhagen in 1731. However, it was their conversation which stirred his emotions, and it was his subsequent report of that conversation which stirred the emotions of his listeners in Herrnhut:

> On the 23rd of July [1731], the day after the count returned to Herrnhut, he "reported in a meeting then held, what he had heard in Copenhagen with regard to the wretched state of the Negroes. By the grace of God his words produced such an effect upon Leonhard Dober that he then and there resolved to offer himself as a missionary to these poor enslaved races. The same resolution was formed at the same time by another of the Brethren, Tobias Leupold; but though they were intimate friends, they said nothing to each other on the subject.

> ... On the 25th of July Leupold wrote to the count and informed him that he and Dober felt impelled to go and preach to the Negroes. That evening their letter was read in the service of song, without any mention of names."[3]

The community at Herrnhut grew in number as more families emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia. Quite quickly it became the centre of Moravian influence.

> Within twenty years of the commencement of their missionary work the Moravian Brethren had started more missions than Anglicans and Protestants had started during the two preceding centuries. Their marvelous success was largely due to the fact that from the first they recognized that the evangelization of the world was the most pressing of all the obligations that rested upon the Christian Church, and that the carrying out of this obligation was the "common affair" of the community.[4]

By 1832 when the Moravian Church celebrated its centennial of foreign mission work, there were 209 missionaries at 41 mission stations in the West Indies, North, Central and South America, Greenland and Africa. In 1882, this figure had increased to 277 at 99 mission fields.[5] In 1930 it was noted that the total proportion of missionaries to communicant members since 1732 had been one in twelve.[6]

The Moravian Church has always allowed great freedom to its members in matters of doctrine, holding as valid, but not binding on believers, the historic creeds of the church, and the doctrinal standards of the Reformed Churches as set out in the Augsburg Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England and the Westminster Confession. For the Moravian Church, the Bible is the "ultimate source and rule of faith, doctrine

and life." It believes "that the mystery of Christ cannot be comprehended completely by any human statement."[7] This statement is a modern one, but one that is as applicable to Moravian doctrine today as to any day in the past.

Its missionaries preached the doctrine of "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." They expressed their understanding of this and their mission testimony as follows:

> The word of His patience--that is His patient endurance in suffering on our behalf--forms the central truth of our teaching and preaching.... We will determine, everywhere, not to know anything among the heathen but Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and our speech and our preaching shall not be with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that the faith of the people committed to our charge may not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. (1 Cor. ii.,1-5) Neither will we appeal <u>in the first instance</u> to the understandings of the heathen, and endeavour to convince them in this way of the falsity and perverseness of their conceptions of God, and of the trust and correctness of the Christian religion.
>
> Our missionaries...should rather dwell in their preaching at all times and especially on the <u>Lamb of God</u>, who bore the sin of the world. It is by beholding the Son of God, who was delivered and crucified for our offences, that the heathen are able to realise how the living God regards sin. And the missionary should seek to confirm and deepen this awaking consciousness of sin by referring them to the testimony of the conscience and the fear that sways their minds. At the same time, however, he should declare to them the <u>word of reconciliation, the consolations of the gospel of free grace</u>.
>
> ...It is requisite, first of all, emphatically to insist upon the necessity of change of heart (John iii.,3) and then to show that true faith must manifest itself as the power of God in the <u>life</u> by the fruit of the Spirit. (James ii.,17; Gal. v.,22).[8]

II. MISSIONARY SERVICE

The principal preparation for missionary service must take place under the teaching of the Holy Ghost...[9]

Before embarking upon missionary service, Moravian men and women had themselves to experience a true conversion of the soul. For many this took place while they were living in a choir house in a Moravian community. Such a community was an entirely Christian one. Distinctive was its choir system which grouped together certain segments of Moravian society for religious, social and economic support. A description of a late eighteenth century Moravian community sets out the somewhat unusual features which pertained. It also provides insight into the type of community from which many of the missionaries came and which many wished in their mission congregations to emulate. The Moravian villages in Labrador bore striking similarities, except for the choir houses.

> One purpose became increasingly characteristic of the Moravians, the effort to cultivate simple, unfeigned Christian discipleship in the quiet settlements, where religion remained the central factor of all life. A Moravian settlement consisted normally of a village, the inhabitants of which belonged without exception to the Church....
>
> Each settlement had establishments known as the widows', brethren's, and sisters' houses; in them members of these respective choirs followed many trades and crafts for the benefit of the establishment. In return they were assured a home and the necessities of life, under the guidance of a chaplain or Pfleger in spiritual affairs and of a Warden or Vorsteher in secular. Daily services were held in the chapels belonging to these houses. On each week night and on the Lord's day the entire population of the settlement met for worship in the

church. Such occasions were characterized by liturgical forms and usages of rich variety and pleasing simplicity...[10]

Moravian settlements such as that described lasted in Germany into the nineteenth century, but elsewhere Moravian congregations generally lived in a similar fashion to the society around them.

The choir system was defined as follows: "The division of the congregation into choirs, according to difference of age, sex, and station in life, has for its object to hallow to the Lord each of these conditions of life..."[11] Until 1869 the choir houses provided the majority of the missionaries (and ministerial candidates) within the continental European Province. In fact, most Moravian missionaries continued to be from that Province. Great Britain supplied many of the missionaries for their West Indian missions; as much a governmental as a language convenience. The American Province North was responsible for staffing the missions to the Indians of North America and the Inuit of Alaska and provided training in Pennsylvania.

With the notion that the church is a missionary church, missionary preparation began in school and continued in the choir houses:

> The principal preparation for missionary service must take place under the teaching of the Holy Ghost... Human knowledge and external culture would be uninfluential and fruitless, without inward enlightenment and the preparation of the heart. The first requirement of every missionary is therefore, the true conversion of his own soul... This does not, however, exclude the desirableness of intellectual qualifications for the preaching of

> the Gospel, the care of a congregation, the instruction of youth, the learning of a foreign language... or of a certain amount of education and acquirements.
>
> ...In addition to these general requirements, there is one of special importance for a large portion of our missions,--a knowledge of the English language.[12]

By 1869 it became evident that the preparation for missionary service provided by the choir houses was inadequate. In that year a missionary training school in Niesky, Silesia was opened on the grounds that the Mission Department was convinced, "considering the present state of some of our mission-districts, [that] the choir houses [were] no longer sufficient as places of preparation for missionary service.[13] However, this was not mandatory for missionary service. "Brethren who have not been in the institution can be called to the service, as before."[14] Synodal results, which contain a great many mission-oriented decisions, do not indicate the curriculum of the school at Niesky. It was stated, however, that candidates for missionary service were to receive, apart from English language instruction, a course of thorough instruction in Christian doctrine; that they were to memorize passages of Scripture, and to prepare written compositions expounding the theology of certain passages in Scripture; this to increase their understanding and to develop a facility of expression. As much as possible they were to receive, in addition, instruction in elementary and practical branches of knowledge.[15] Until the 1914-1918 War, most British

Moravians learned German in their schools; training for missionary service took place at Niesky or at the British Moravian College in Fairfield, near Manchester, or after 1904, at the Mission College in Bristol. This college offered a three-year course in which preaching, German, divinity, church history, English essays--and importantly--carpentry, were taught.[16] It has been said of the missionaries in Labrador (and there is no reason to believe that this mission was different from any other in this respect) that they were men skilled more in the crafts than in theology. The missionaries were carpenters, blacksmiths, boat builders and fishermen.[17] One wonders how much of an effect this had on the nature of the message which the missionaries preached, and on their listeners. In view of the type of society at the missions, a down-to-earth approach may have had--if anything--a beneficial effect. Nevertheless, the question remains to be answered.

By the 1890s there was considerable awareness of the need for medical training among the Moravian missionaries throughout the world. The curricula included the provision of some medical training for the male candidates for missionary service and, in 1899, nursing experience for the women. In 1892 a medical missionary training fund was started in Great Britain, but in 1905 there were only three Moravian missionary doctors, one of whom, S.K. Hutton, was in Labrador.[18]

Throughout the century it seems evident that there

was a wide range of education and skills which a missionary could bring to the mission field. The mission staff in Labrador seem to have been typical in this respect.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century candidates for missionary service (both men and women) were ordinarily called to that service by the Unity Elders' Conference acting under the guidance of the Lot. The Synod of 1889 discontinued all official use of the Lot.[19] The Church had employed the Lot for direction in many areas of its life since the time of Zinzendorf on the principle that the Holy Spirit guides the hearts of men and women who are obedient to its leading. By 1869, the use of the lot in official transactions was restricted to appointments of bishops and the calling to missionary service.[20]

Marriage, as well, had originally been subject to the direction of the Lot; this ceased to be a requirement in the early nineteenth century although the opportunity remained for this type of guidance if desired.[21] Marriage between missionaries was, nevertheless, subject to approval by the Unity Elders Conference (or the Mission Board.) It was required of a brother to "consider, in a spirit of conscientious faithfulness, whether the sister he may desire to marry is really qualified for the work." It was "the sacred duty of the Unity Elders' Conference...to examine in the most careful manner the proposals that may be submitted to them, and

to reject such as may be manifestly inadmissible."[22] Until it was possible for unmarried women to serve as missionaries, a single sister receiving a call to mission service received that call as the proposed wife of a missionary. In the eyes of the Church, upon marriage she was a full missionary. "The Sisters, who enter Mission service, are also called officially by the M.B. [i.e. Mission Board], and the principle is to be maintained that our married sisters in the service, are not merely the wives of missionaries but are themselves Missionaries."[23]

New missionaries were put on probation in the mission field for a few years to learn and to prepare themselves. Generally, ordination and marriage were deferred until these years of preparation had been satisfactorily completed.[24]

Missionaries were to be examples to their flock. Their lives "sanctified by the Spirit of God, should not only be an example to those who have been won for Christianity, but through a personality sanctified by the Spirit of God they should live out before the heathen the truth of the word they preach."[25] This spirituality may be seen in an excerpt from a letter to E.J. Peck, the CMS missionary who was the driving force behind the Arctic Mission, from Br. Peter P. Dam, a missionary at Hopedale. It was written in 1886.

> ...I have been here in Labrador 20 years & others longer but I never shall know this side heaven what has been done through my poor ministry for the souls

> around as the ground was prepared & much precious seed had been sown before I entered the field.... I do not pity myself or others at all for not being able to see so marked results of our feeble service as that in the very beginning of missionary work is possible. I know our Lord will have me here, I know our service is not in vain, so the only thing needed is the willingness & the giving up oneself daily to the Lord & for anything he may want to have one to do. It is easy & blessed for a heart given to & kept by Jesus...[26]

As regards "temporals" (to use an expression familiar to nineteenth century missionaries), missionaries could have found themselves at mission stations where they were supported in one of three ways:

- Food, clothing and housing (frequently common housing and combined housekeeping) provided, with a small monetary gift at Christmas; or

- Food and housing provided, with a personal allowance for clothing, etc.; or

- A fixed salary.[27]

A fixed salary (with annual increments) seems to have been the norm by 1900. Modest pensions were provided on retirement.[28] Unusual expenses, such as those incurred in travelling (infrequent furloughs were permitted), sickness and the education of children in Europe were absorbed by the Church.

In Labrador the first system (common housing and housekeeping) applied until 1906/1907 when individual housekeeping commenced. By 1914 separate housing was the practice.

It was one of the obligations of a missionary to keep a diary and to report to his or her superiors

regularly. "In these, the shadows as well as the lights,--that which is depressing, as well as that which is encouraging, should be alike included with candour and brotherly confidence."[29] Suitably edited by the Mission Board (or the SFG) for public consumption (little of the "shadows" appears), these reports were published in Gemein-Nachrichten, Periodical Accounts or other German, English, French, Dutch or Danish Moravian missionary periodicals. It was intended that they be "a means for widening the circle of prayerful and practical interest in [Moravian] Missions."[30]

III. FINANCES

Evangelizing the heathen a work of faith...[31]

The Church was never rich; in its early years it had expanded rapidly not only into the unevangelized parts of the world, but also into Europe and North America. Moravian communities grew up in England, Ireland, Holland, Germany and Poland, and in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. The cost of establishing such communities was high, although, like Herrnhut, most were productive villages.

The financial position of the missions was insecure from the start. The Church inherited a debt of $773,162 in 1764 on Zinzendorf's death;[32] in 1897 the mission deficit was $62,068. This was wiped out by one of the many generous benefactors who rescued missionary societies from financial difficulties, but in 1899 the expenditure for mission exceeded income by almost $150,000.[33] "So long as the financial situation of the Missions is so unfavourable..." appears in the 1909 Results of the General Synod, with retrenchments proposed.[34] The members of the Synod of 1909 came to the realization, as had their predecessors at the 1899 Synod, that the Church's foreign mission programme was over-extended. Actual withdrawals from mission fields, apart from Greenland in 1900, did not take place, but the policy of retrenchment which was in effect until the 1914 Synod included curtailment in several fields, Labrador being one.

Income for mission work came from four main sources: (1) Donations from Europe, Great Britain and North America; (2) Business enterprises at home and in the missions themselves; (3) Donations from mission congregations; and (4) Income from investments.[35]

The second of these sources, and specifically "business enterprises in the missions themselves," posed several problems for the Church. At mid-century, and even into the twentieth century, trade and/or business was carried on in missions in Labrador, Surinam, St. Thomas, Nicaragua and in Africa. The purpose for maintaining a business or trade was primarily that of economy: "Nothwithstanding all the faithful assistance given by Associations and friends of our Mission cause..., the yearly accounts of the Mission Diacony clearly show that a considerable part of the temporal means for carrying on the work flows from the exertions made at several of our mission stations in the carrying on of trade and various kinds of business." Furthermore, the Synod of 1879 stated, "...secular labour is hallowed when performed in the name of Jesus and for the advancement of His kingdom," and "... it would be an incorrect view if missionaries were ashamed of it, and to consider it beneath their dignity..." referring to Acts 20:33-35.[34]

However, at the turn of the century, several mission businesses had suffered heavy losses; Labrador in particular since the 1870s, where the trade was in fur

and fish, had been hard hit by several poor hunting and fishing seasons and low European prices for these commodities. The broker of the SFG in London, Wm. Mallalieu & Co., had gone bankrupt in 1873 incurring losses to the SFG of some £33,000.[37]

IV. THE SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL

> **"As a trading concern with a purely missionary purpose S.F.G. has long provided the Eskimoes with a market for their furs, fish, oil and other products [and] ... guarded them from traders who would have sold them intoxicants..."[38]**

In Labrador the Mission acted as resident agents (not unlike the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company) for the London-based Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (the SFG), a Moravian association. The SFG was one of the chief agents for the missionary work of the Moravian Church in England and the British colonies. This association of Moravian clergy and laypeople had been founded as early as 1741 to provide assistance to Moravian missionaries serving in British colonies and to coordinate domestic and foreign mission finances. Another British association existed for a similar purpose (comprised chiefly of non-Moravians), the London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions. By 1909 it had underwritten the losses of the Labrador Mission by some $50,000.[39] In North America, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) coordinated the missions to the Indians of North America and the Inuit in Alaska. In Europe, the Missionary Society of Zeist and the Fünfpfenning-Verein (or mite association) served similar ends.

The SFG, insofar as the Labrador Mission was concerned, was responsible for administering the Mission. Until 1906 when the Mission Board directed the Mission

and the SFG the business, the lines of authority seem to have been somewhat ambiguous. Clearly the SFG received its instructions for Labrador from the Mission Board but it seems fairly certain that the Mission Board was guided by the SFG vis-à-vis financial matters pertaining to the Mission. And if Richling and other critics of the Mission are correct, financial considerations were of paramount importance. However, the situation does not appear to be as clear as Richling seems to state. From Synod statements quoted above, the dichotomy between the spiritual and the secular is not as obvious as the critics seem to think. That there was tension between the two is indisputable: it would not have been necessary to incorporate the statement into a Synod document had there not been questions. However, it is the contention of this author that the members of the SFG attempted to administer both aspects of the Mission in as responsible a manner as they could. There is no reason to think that the members of the SFG were any less committed to the ideals of the Moravian Church than the members of the Mission Board.

The SFG owned (or chartered, for a few years) the ship which transported the missionaries, their household supplies and foodstuffs, their building materials, and all the goods which comprised the trade: the food and equipment which the Inuit traded for the furs and the fish which they caught. The ship made the journey each summer leaving London in July and returning usually in

October. The vessel made stops at all the Moravian missions along the Labrador coast loading and unloading cargo; for many years it was the missionaries' only contact with each other and with the outside world. There were several ships during the course of the Labrador mission's history; most were called the Harmony. During the First World War, the Harmony was able to make its annual crossings unmolested. Unlike the CMS who balked at chartering a vessel to transport their Arctic missionaries and to provide communication with them, the SFG had no hesitation in chartering a vessel when the Harmony of the day had to be replaced. (It was a period of high deficits, and the SFG were unable to purchase a ship.) There was, of course, the business to consider.

V. LABRADOR

> "Whereas the Society of the Unitas Fratrum, under the protection of His Majesty have, from a pious zeal for promoting the knowledge of a true God and of the religion of our Beloved Lord the Saviour, Jesus Christ, amongst the Heathens, formed a resolution of establishing a mission of their brothers upon the Coast of Labrador..."[40]

The mission in Labrador began in 1770. Its early history is well known and it is not necessary to recount it here. Suffice it to say that by 1880 the mission was well established with stations at Nain (1771), Okak (1775), Hopedale (1782), Hebron (1830), Zoar (1864 or 6) and Ramah (1871).[41]

At each of the larger mission stations the usual practice was to provide a missionary staff of three married couples and two or three single brethren. In July 1878 there were in Labrador 39 missionaries at six stations ministering to a total congregation of 1220. Nain, Okak and Hebron had three couples, Hopedale, four, Zoar, two and Ramah, one. In addition, there was one single brother at Okak.[42] Until well into the twentieth century, single sisters were not stationed in Labrador. The size of the missionary staff remained fairly stable at between 30 and 40 people until 1912 when the numbers began to decline. The average stay in Labrador of a missionary was between thirty and forty years.

Each mission village consisted of several permanent buildings belonging to the mission: a church, a communal dwelling place, the store (if not part of the church

building), outbuildings for drying and storing sealskin and fish, etc., a garden where the missionaries grew their fresh vegetables, a burial ground, and scattered around the outskirts, the dwellings of the Inuit. These latter were small, wooden buildings, sometimes built into the sides of a sloping bank. Some Inuit families lived in tents, some in sod huts. To a certain extent the nature of the housing depended on the proximity of settler communities and on the general prosperity of the Inuit family.

Few Inuit--chiefly the elderly, widows and the infirm--lived permanently at the villages. Others spent about half the year at their summer hunting and fishing places. Even dwelling permanently for half a year was a complete change in the Inuit lifestyle, and in the early years of the Mission it represented one of the most difficult changes which the missionaries attempted to implement. During the conversion period (until about 1804, the year of an "awakening" at Hopedale), the missionaries maintained that the (Christian) Inuit living at the mission stations were more prosperous than the (non-Christian) Inuit living at their traditional camps, while the latter claimed that they had a better food supply. It was a long-standing debate and one which was integral to the mission-Inuit relationship.[43] After over a century, however, it was no longer a serious issue, although it created problems which may well have never been resolved. It has been said by an anthropologist

that "no aspect of the activity of the Moravian Mission in West Greenland and Labrador has been criticized so often and so strongly as the concentration of the population in villages around the mission stations."[44] (In Greenland, where the mission was established in 1733, the missionaries instituted the traditional Moravian choir houses for widows, young men and young women which seriously disrupted Greenland Inuit society.[45] No such thing was attempted in Labrador.). However, the rapid spread of disease and the high mortality rate of the Inuit which became evident in the middle years of the nineteenth century was to a large extent the result of their crowded and poor living conditions. As will be seen in Chapter three, the missionaries addressed this problem, but perhaps too late.

The Inuit generally stayed in the mission villages for the two main church festivals, Christmas and Easter, and for some weeks before and after. Hence they were at the mission from about the end of September/beginning of October until March/April. Some returned briefly for the feasts of Ascension and Whitsun (Pentecost). Thus from May or June until September, the missionaries were left much to themselves. As soon as the weather was sufficiently warm, the gardens were planted, and all the other outdoor maintenance or building work was done. With the many wooden fences, wooden buildings and boats belonging to the Mission, there was generally a good deal of carpentry required. From the Lebenslauf of George

Kmoch, a missionary in Labrador from 1797 until 1831, one is inclined to believe that his skills as a carpenter were of more value to the Mission than his skills as an evangelist.[44] If there were any staff changes or furloughs, these took effect on the arrival of the SFG ship in the summer.

By the 1880s the nature of the missionary work was more pastoral than evangelical. Except for the settlements of Inuit north of Ramah, there were few Inuit who had not come into contact with the Moravian message of the Gospel. During the six months or so during which the Inuit were at the Mission, the life of the missionaries seems to have been not unlike that of any village clergy of the period. There were Sunday services, mid-week services, Bible study, pastoral visiting, counselling, intervening in disputes, and teaching, augmented by such secular activities as hunting (although it seems that the missionaries purchased much of their meat), wood-gathering and indoor maintenance. The business aspect occupied some brethren more than others.

Of the work which the women did, little information seems to have been recorded. Until 1906/7 the missions practised communal housekeeping, and the wives of the missionaries took turns weekly in food preparation for the whole household. Presumably, like their counterparts elsewhere in the mission field, they instructed the Inuit women in some domestic skills. They may have

participated in the "speakings" with Inuit women and in Bible study. Sr. Dam (Br. Dam's wife, whose two surviving children were being educated in Europe) often accompanied her husband in his pastoral visiting beyond Hopedale.[47] As will be seen in the description of the school in Hopedale, it is likely that they assisted in one capacity or another in the schools which the Moravians established in the mid nineteenth century.

In 1879-80, a total of 469 children attended more or less regularly the various schools which the Moravians had set up. The description set out below of a school started in Hopedale for the settler children may not be entirely typical of a Moravian mission school in Labrador, but it offers a good picture of the efforts of the Moravians and the settlers to provide education, and a brief but illuminating picture of settler life in 1880. The person writing this account was Br. Ritter who had been working among the settlers as well as among the Inuit for several years.

> The school for the children of settlers was conducted here for three weeks before Easter. Eleven children attended, others being, to their great regret, prevented by the appearance of jaundice in several families. They were accommodated in a large house, in charge of two mothers of several of the children present. The settlers have provided a table and benches and other school furniture, also firewood, oil, etc., and some have doubled their contributions. For the school-books sent through the kind offices of Dr. Drury we are most thankful. In good times the settlers cannot afford to pay much, but just now times are peculiarly unpropitious, as the salmon-fishery has proved a failure on account of the drift-ice, which penetrated up the bays.... There is every prospect that this school will be

> continued without any cost to the mission-fund, especially if a few friends interested in this effort occasionally favour us with a donation to assist us in purchasing school-materials.
>
> The children come from distances varying from twenty to fifty miles. School-hours were each day from 8 to 12 A.M. and from 1 to 5 P.M. In addition, my wife gave the girls lessons in knitting, sewing, etc. in three evenings each week, while I took the boys forward in arithmetic. We had, in addition to learning Scripture, hymns, &c., in our school course, reading, writing, cyphering, history, geography, and singing. As I have little music in me, I had to get our Eskimo organist to teach me before I could make my first attempt at teaching the children.... There are 146 settlers in this district, and they have 50 children under thirteen years of age; hence we may expect the institution to grow considerably.[48]

Originally the missionaries had confined their activities to the Inuit, but with the opening of Zoar in 1866, a more southerly spot in an area where settlers as well as Inuit lived, they were able to offer the services of a Christian church to Christians (perhaps not all baptized Christians, for clergy in that part of Labrador at that time were few and far between). "But except at the Moravian settlements, there was neither church nor school, nor priest nor teacher located in the whole length and breadth of Labrador," wrote Gosling of the period before 1845.[49] After that date, Church of England missionaries were placed in southern Labrador where most of the European population was located. "No man cared for their souls, and, although nominally Christians, many led a life which would, in the matter of morality, scarcely compare favourably with that of the heathen Eskimoes." So wrote the Labrador missionaries in 1879.[50]

"It is not a useless work we have commenced here, the seed of the word falls in general into good ground. The English sailors of the fishing-schooners are not neglected, but sought to be won for Christ by personal interviews, the distribution of tracts, Bibles, etc."[81]

Their main work was with the Inuit, however, and it had been fraught with difficulties for much of the time. As many observers of the Mission have commented, whatever their motives, the missionaries dominated not only the spiritual life--which is to be expected--but also the economic life, of the Inuit. By this time selling their fish and furs to the Mission was a vital and essential part of the economy of the Inuit and of the Mission. Whether the Moravian Church was right or wrong in undertaking it in the first place is, by 1880, immaterial. It was as integral to the life of the Inuit as it was to the life of the Mission. In an attempt to separate the spiritual and the commercial aspects of the mission in 1866 a division was made among the mission staff so that those who preached the Word and administered the sacraments were not the same as those who engaged in trade. New brethren called to Labrador by the Mission Board exclusively for trade were still to consider themselves part of the Mission[82] although their work was secular in nature. This change (although one questions if it was as apparent to the Inuit as it was to the mission staff) compounded the existing confusion and unrest over prices and indebtedness. At the same time

there was a change in the credit policy at the stores. It had been the practice to permit a certain amount of indebtedness during years of poor hunting so that starvation might be avoided. But the premise that the debt would be repaid in seasons of plenty was not thoroughly and widely understood.[53] "Our main object," wrote the members of the Mission Department in 1879, "was to enable the [trader] to deal more effectually with the pernicious habit of contracting large debts on the part of the Eskimoes. But the effect was, that that spirit of dissatisfaction increased and culminated in a tumultuous meeting of the men, at Nain in December 1873."[54] The old system, with some modifications, was reinstituted, and the separation between the secular and the spiritual was discontinued.

Insofar as the missionaries were concerned, the situation at the Mission was discouraging:

> ...It seems beyond dispute that spiritual life is retrograding in our congregations, that temporal interests prevail over spiritual wants, that drunkenness is unfortunately on the increase, not to mention other sins. There are, however, still those who wish to serve the Lord, and many prove by their walk the sincerity of their Christian profession. In times of distress and disease, and on the death-bed, the brethren are often cheeringly impressed with the childlike trust of their people in the Lord Jesus as their Saviour.[55]

Distress and disease, as will be seen in the following chapter, were a fact of life for the Inuit and for the missionaries. It would be safe to say that these were the two most serious issues which the Mission had to face in the next four decades. Although these two grave

problems assumed large proportions in the next forty years, they had been developing during the past century. It would be naive on our part to express the wish that the missionaries and/or the SFG had had a little more foresight so that some of the disease and distress problems could have been avoided. Nevertheless, we do wish that they had been less content with accepting the status quo--the sod huts and the yearly epidemics.

CHAPTER THREE

MORAVIAN MISSIONS - LABRADOR

1880-1926

I. CONTROVERSIES AT THE MISSION

> **As in the gardens of the mission-houses, so in these gardens of the Lord, the seed must be sown again and again...**[1]

> About 2 p.m. we arrived at Hopedale--one of the Moravian mission-stations. For many a year I had longed to see this place. The work of the noble Moravian Brethren had become very near to my heart, and Hopedale had become quite a familiar name to me. And now my hopes were fulfilled. Sheltered from the north, and nestled in a small valley where a few trees gave some signs of life and beauty to the otherwise barren scenery, were placed a number of buildings. These consisted of a dwelling house, a church, stores, and a shed for wood.
>
> Going on shore we were most cordially welcomed by the two brethren located at this station....
>
> The fine spacious church, so plain and so clean, was just suited to the needs of the Eskimo. The dwelling-house is built in a strong, substantial manner, and every room is utilized to the best advantage.... My wonder grew deeper still when I went into the garden, where a number of choice vegetables were growing....[2]

There were, and there still are, at least two ways of looking at the Missions on the Labrador coast: through the eyes of a Christian missionary, like E.J. Peck, from whose journal this description of Hopedale was taken, who saw the good that had been done, or through the eyes of another Christian missionary, like Wilfred Grenfell, a man troubled by the conditions of life in Labrador, who saw the harm that had been done. To determine which is the "right" interpretation is the dilemma of all missionary history, not just that of Labrador.

Although Peck saw Hopedale as an ideal situation, and for him a desirable goal, under the surface the

Moravian missions seem to have been far from ideal. There were strained relations on both sides. The missionaries looked on the Inuit as "morally weak" people on whom "little dependence" could be placed[3] while the Inuit were unable to distinguish the missionary from the trader, and distrusted both.[4] The mortality rate was alarming, and the profits from the Labrador trade were erratic.

The problems which were to plague the Mission until well into the twentieth century--the controversies over trade, the high mortality rate and the influence of outsiders on the Inuit--had been in existence to some degree for several decades. We hope in this investigation to look at some of the problems which troubled the Mission during the forty-year period prior to the cessation of trade with the Inuit. It is, as we have said in chapter one, our belief that the financing of the Mission was largely responsible for some of the problems, and was the cause of several inadequacies in areas of needed expansion.

Despite what seem to be pejorative remarks about the Inuit, that they were "morally weak" or "lazy," the missionaries appear to have been concerned about the spiritual, physical and economic condition of their congregations. Regularly in the station diaries and annual reports published in the Periodical Accounts, reference is made to these three facets of life. Wisely, the missionaries acknowledged that the

physical, economic and spiritual well-being of the Inuit were largely interdependent. Occasionally the missionaries were sufficiently perceptive to admit that it was on the economic well-being that the other two hinged.[5] This is normal in most societies, but the situation in Labrador was more pronounced than may be realized. The more astute among the missionaries may have also been aware that it was on the economic well-being of the Mission that their own existence depended. As will become apparent later in this investigation of the Mission, too little in the way of social service was done for the Inuit, and then, too late. And as we commented in Chapter two, it would have been beneficial for the Mission had the missionaries not accepted the status quo of poverty, poor housing and the annual decimation of the population by death. Obedience was enjoined upon missionaries. "The Missionary must...render due obedience to all the directions of those set over him....Should an instruction seem to him impracticable, there remains to him the right of appeal."[6] Was this why they seem not to have questioned the existence of these problems? Certainly it may have contributed in large measure to any absence of initiative along these lines.

The bookkeeping of the SFG until 1895 did not separate the cost of the upkeep of the Labrador mission (i.e. salaries, food, clothing and transportation) from

the general figures of the entire Labrador enterprise. It is impossible, therefore, to reconstruct a clear picture of the financial interrelatedness of the two. However, it is possible to see that despite a relatively steady realization on cargo, the entire Labrador enterprise suffered several serious deficits. Richling has listed detailed figures to this effect in his dissertation.[7] Based on the figures for 1890-1895, he concluded that the Mission alone was the greatest drain on the capital resources generated by the trade.[8] This is easily borne out by the high costs anticipated and incurred by the CMS in their Arctic Mission. If Richling is correct, what this means is that the Inuit were supporting the Mission, the very goal of the Moravian Church for its missions. This, however, does not seem to have been recognized at the time by the Mission Board or by the SFG. It was, to some degree, recognized by the Inuit who saw, however, the missionaries as profiting from their poverty.[9]

The trade side of the Mission was indeed problematic. Between 1876 and 1906 the traditional pattern for Labrador was resumed: the storekeepers were full members of the mission staff. However, a trade inspector, with equal authority to the Superintendent of the Mission and himself a missionary, was added to the staff. In 1906 a thorough separation between trade and mission took place when the SFG assumed responsibility for the Labrador trade only and

the Mission Board for the Mission.

It was not so much the trade per se which caused the problems: by the end of the century the Inuit were selling their catches to other commercial enterprises as well as to the Mission. Rather, it seems to have been the whole cycle of dependence on the Mission that frustrated the Inuit. They sold and bought at the Mission stores on a debit/credit basis, and as years of plenty became fewer and fewer at the end of the century, they fell deeper and deeper into debt. Unavoidable as this may have been, it was not looked upon tolerantly by the missionaries who attempted to inculcate the virtues of providence and thriftiness among these "improvident" people. While there does not seem to be any statement to this effect, it is unlikely that anyone aspiring to the rank of chapel servant (native assistant, and the highest rank an Inuk could reach within the Church) would have been allowed to keep his position after incurring a serious debt unless there were unusual circumstances. Hence there was considerable pressure on the Inuit to procure enough to sell and enough to eat during the winter. At the same time, however, the Mission remitted many debts over the years and provided poor relief, either through the distribution of food, or through the provision of paid labour in and around the Mission buildings. As has been pointed out, it was a total relationship: the Mission controlled the social, political, religious and

commercial life of the communities around the stations.[10] It is for this reason that one would expect more of the Mission than one would expect of, say, the Hudson's Bay Company, to whom many settlers in Labrador were equally indebted. The HBC made no attempts to be anything other than a business, while the Moravians did.

II. INTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS

Light and shade...

The Inuit chafed especially under the code of behaviour which the missionaries expected of them. As we will see, alcohol consumption, smoking, dancing and card-playing were some of the practices which the missionaries disallowed. Of all the behaviour problems, however, immorality was the most serious. It is worth noting that a late twentieth century contributor to an anthropological journal has commented that this is a perennial concern: "...the Eskimos' sexual attitudes and behavior remain a moral problem for Christian missionaries and civil authorities."[11] To the extent that they chafed, so the missionaries despaired. One reads frequently in their published accounts of times of "light and shade." The diaries from Labrador which were printed in the December 1900 issue of Periodical Accounts contained good examples of the problems both sides encountered in adhering to the standards of the Moravian Church. At Hebron, the missionaries and the chapel servants met after the New Year to discuss matters concerning the congregation. Dancing and smoking were two practices which were considered improper, and it was agreed to forbid the former althogether, and strongly to discourage the latter. "When some days afterwards they [the chapel servants] returned to the missionaries, the helpers

reported that the people declined to give up dancing, for they wished to be merry, nor were they willing to be deprived of their tobacco, for it was good for the eyes, they said'"[12]

There was discontent at Hebron as the following excerpt from Periodical Accounts clearly indicates. (A "speaking" was in the nature of a public confession, but made among the members of small groups. It was usually held some time before the services of Holy Communion.)

> At a "speaking" held soon afterwards [New Year] for communicants who were under church discipline, and for such as were not yet communicants, many and grievous sins were revealed. However, most of the delinquents were indifferent, and showed but few signs of remorse. Others, again, grew insolent when reproved, and retorted that the Saviour died for sinners, not for the righteous! Only a few expressed a desire to begin a new life with the help of God.
>
> On April 4th the day school was examined. As the time devoted to school work annually is not long, much cannot be expected of the children. In former years it had been customary to give every child that attended the school a present; however, the last year or two a change was deemed advisable, and now only the two best scholars in each class received a prize. The chief reason for this change was than the children had begun to show dissatisfaction with the small gifts given them, and some had even had the audacity to return them...[13]

Immoderate drinking had always been a problem, but the most serious complaint on the part of the missionaries was that of immorality. The Inuit custom of exchanging spouses was a tradition they seem to have found difficult to change. In addition, with increased outside contacts, venereal disease was becoming

prevalent among the Inuit. Immorality was one of the chief faults for which a person could be put under church discipline.

Brice-Bennett in her thesis has made the comment that for Moravians Christianity involved not only a set of beliefs and rituals, but also a social code applied and lived out in a community environment.[14] Each facet of life was integrated into the whole. To clarify Brice-Bennett's statement, however, one could say that the "set of beliefs" encompassed the social code lived out in community. It applied to the missionaries and it applied to the people living within the Mission, be they the Inuit in Labrador or the people of any other mission field. One must remember that the choir-houses were still providing many of the missionaries, for whom living in community was a desirable interpretation of the Christian lifestyle.

To protect the community and to correct the individual, the Church used discipline to maintain proper social and moral behaviour. Discipline has been explained as having a two-fold purpose. First, "the Christian character of an entire congregation is to be strictly maintained" and second, "individual members are to be guarded from giving offence and falling into sin; to be kept in the way of righteousness, sober and holy living, and to be restored in the spirit of meekness, when any have departed from this way."[15]

For several years from 1896 until at least 1915

statistics were kept of the numbers of people under church discipline, along with all the other general statistics (numbers of stations, of missionaries, of baptized converts, of communicants, etc.), and were published in Periodical Accounts. We have set out the figures for two years, 1896 and 1898, showing the figures for Labrador and for Greenland (the mission which was the most similar to Labrador in size, economic conditions and type of people) and for the worldwide Moravian mission.

1896

	Labrador	Greenland
Congregation	1,255	1,741
Communicants	473	870
Baptized adults	315	239
Under church discipline	131	56

	Total mission
Congregation	91,442
Communicants	33,301
Baptized adults	19,615
Under church discipline	1,265

1898

	Labrador	Greenland
Congregation	1,281	1,623
Communicants	484	870
Baptized adults	335	169
Under church discipline	88	41

	Total mission
Congregation	92,371
Communicants	33,764
Baptized adults	19,655
Under church discipline	1,171[16]

It would be useful to our deepening understanding

of the whole Labrador mission (i.e. missionaries and Inuit) to determine why church discipline was required or so frequently resorted to. We would suggest, having considered some of the factors involved, that the missionaries were deeply concerned over the amount of outside influence that was penetrating the Inuit-Moravian lifestyle.

An American historian, Robert Berkhofer, compared the efforts of Protestant missionary activity among the Indians of North America in the United States in the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries. Among other things, he observed that the Moravian requirements for admission of new members by baptism and then to Holy Communion were the most strict of any of the Protestant groups evangelizing the Indians.[17] While his investigations do not have any direct relevance to ours, nevertheless, we believe that an analogy may be drawn: Moravian missionaries attempted to ensure that membership in their church was restricted to those men and women who demonstrated a willingness to believe and to conform to the Moravian teaching of the Gospel.

Chapel servants contributed in maintaining the desired social, moral and religious behaviour of the congregation. Although the Moravians did not succeed in raising any of the Inuit to the level of native minister, they depended heavily on native helpers. In 1891, after the death of a chapel servant at Nain, one

of the missionaries described the type of person for whom he was looking.

> [He] must not only have a record of good conduct, but must also be a skilful hunter and fisherman, and a faithful and thrifty householder, as an example to his countrymen. In a word, he must be a true Christian, not only concerned for the salvation of his own soul, but for the good of the whole congregation.[18]

Chapel servants were expected to represent the missionaries among the congregation, particularly during those times of the year when the Inuit were away from the Mission. Some of them were permitted to take worship services so that daily services were possible at the larger summer communities. For this reason, as well as for the need that a chapel servant be a good example, it was necessary that male native assistants be skilled hunters and fishers.

The position of chapel servant was not limited to men alone. There were many women chapel servants throughout the Moravian mission system. The information about their duties is scanty; their work in Labrador was usually of a domestic nature in and around the mission buildings. However, the same expectations as regards moral and religious outlook was expected of them as of the men. It is not clear from the documentation available whether female chapel servants assisted in the "speakings" among the other women. It is likely to have been the case, however.

In 1899 there were seventeen men who were able to hold services, seventeen other native helpers and

seventeen female native helpers: 51 out of a total congregation of 1,308. The totals for the entire Moravian mission system for that year are:

Native brethren (ordained)	18	
Their wives	16	
Native missionary assistants	28	
Brethren who hold meetings	262	
Native helpers (male)	806	
Native helpers (female))	735	
Total		1,865
Total congregation		95,424[19]

The mission staff in Labrador remained fairly constant during the last years of the century. In 1899 (July 1898-July 1899, the 'ship-year'), there were three couples at Nain and one single brother; at Hopedale, three couples; at Okak, three couples and a single brother; at Hebron, three couples; at Ramah one couple and one single brother, and at Makkovik, one couple.[20] The staff turn-over was not great; one noticeable change, however, was the number of British Moravians. There were three couples from the British Moravian Church in 1899. This was an increase from past years due, on the one hand, to the opening of Makkovik and ministry to English-speaking settlers, and growing communication with Newfoundland, and, on the other hand, to the high profile which northern missions (Moravian and Anglican) had in Great Britain.

III. EXPANSION OF THE MISSION

" ...But they need a more thorough spiritual care than can be given them under present circumstances..."

The opening of Makkovik in 1896 was among the most noteworthy events of the Mission during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It was noteworthy not so much because it was a new station, but rather because it was an explicit acknowledgment of the responsibility of the Moravians towards the spiritual welfare of non-Inuit people on the Labrador coast. Hitherto the missionaries had confined most of their spiritual activities to the Inuit, leaving the Europeans, the settlers and the summer fishermen, to the clergy of their respective denominations. That such clergy were few and far between was not the concern of the Moravians.

According to the missionaries, by 1893 settlers made up one-fifth of the population of the coast north of Cape Harrison, nearly all dwelling in a hundred mile radius of Hopedale. "Almost all are glad of the spiritual help and strength our missionaries can minister to them. They are glad to come to our nearby station and welcome the visits of a missionary from thence. But they need a more thorough spiritual care than can be given them under present circumstances."[21] For this reason, the missionaries, the Mission Board and the SFG agreed to open a new mission.[22] An unusually large deficit of nearly £6,000 in 1894/1895 delayed the opening of the new station,[23]but with the help of an anonymous donor in

England, Makkovik was established in 1896. The church and dwelling-house (communal housekeeping was still practised) were prefabricated in Niesky and shipped from Hamburg during the summer of 1896. On December 6, 1896 services were held in the chapel of the mission house. The church itself was not opened until December 24, 1898. It seems that the missionary, Br. Jannasch, and his nephew, were the sole builders although they may have had some local help.[24] Br. and Sr. Perrett, a British couple, were put in charge of Makkovik in 1898.

Contacts with the outside world were growing apace. Hopedale had a post office in the 1890s and was a regular port-of-call for Newfoundland fishermen during the summer. Worship services on Sunday afternoons were conducted in English and had an attendance of as many as two hundred strangers.[25]

As mentioned in Chapter two, during the closing years of the nineteenth century, Moravian missions suffered deficits almost annually. Many aspects of their missionary outreach were affected by these financial crises: the missions in Labrador were no exception. At a time when expansion north and south was desirable, the funds were limited. Extensive repairs were needed to many of the existing buildings, and these constituted a prior claim on the available moneys.[26] A special appeal was launched in 1896, the "Labrador Ship and Emergency Fund": neither the Church nor the SFG could meet the extra demands of a new ship and expansion. The fund

grew, but slowly. It was not until 1901 that a new vessel could be purchased, although the SFG, unlike the CMS, did not hesitate to charter one for the annual journey. This, of course, was a business enterprise as well; not solely a mission.

The British Moravian Church, with the SFG, appears to have assumed most of the responsibility for meeting the financial demands of the Labrador Mission. In addition, the London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions was a generous supporter.

Apart from the opening of Makkovik in the south, expansion northwards was limited to one or two exploratory visits north of Ramah where several communities of Inuit were located who were still practising their native religion. On the Ungava peninsula were found several Inuit who had been visited by E.J. Peck, the CMS missionary, in 1884. Nothing permanent came of these journeys for a number of reasons until the opening of Killinek, a new station on Cape Chidley in 1904/5.

IV. SOCIAL MEASURES

" ...But while the shadow over the past year is a heavy one, we can speak of many cases where sickness led to an awakening of spiritual life..."[27]

Since the 1860s the missionaries had begun to show their concern for the increasing amount of illness and the number of deaths among their Inuit.[28] By the turn of the century, according to mission statistics, the Inuit population was decreasing more quickly than it was increasing. By 1908, as we have seen, the Superintendent of the Labrador Mission told his missionaries that they had to face the fact that they were ministering to a race that was dying out.[29] In almost every year one reads in the station diaries and annual reports of epidemics of one disease or another, be it influenza or typhus. The illnesses were confined largely to the Inuit population although the infant children of the missionaries were not entirely spared.

As in other areas, the Moravians have been criticized for their tardiness in combatting the poor health conditions of the Inuit which prevailed in their missions.[30] One critic, David Scheffel, went so far as to suggest that the apparent negligence of public health was a deliberate policy on the part of the missionaries in order to develop in the Inuit a deeper awareness of their spiritual life.[31] According to Scheffel, it was only when the Inuit were ill and dying (and death commonly followed most of these illnesses) that they

displayed the desirable Moravian spirituality.[32]

While it cannot be denied that the Moravians were slow in recognizing their responsibility towards the physical conditions of the Inuit at their stations, the criticism seems to be somewhat harsh and ill-founded. Scheffel cites as an illustration of his notion the refusal of the missionaries to allow Inuit children to be vaccinated against smallpox in 1821. As it was, Moravian records of this period indicate that there was a fear that inoculation would spread, not contain, the disease.[33]

The quotation at the head of this section is taken from the second annual report of the Okak hospital written by the Moravian doctor, Samuel king Hutton. Surely the worst that can be said of the Moravians at this time was that they believed the fear of sickness and death on the part of the Inuit would encourage them (the Inuit) to repent and to live (or to die) as behoved a member of the Moravian Church. It is easy to misinterpret Dr. Hutton's statement and others of this nature as critics have done. In contrast one may read from the 60th Letter to the Mission Conference in Labrador from B. LaTrobe. About sickness, he wrote:

> We trust God has mercifully kept you and your people from a repetition of any such experience as that at Nain during the previous year. Its fatality emphasizes the urgency of improvements in sanitary matters. It was thought that earth closets might be desirable for the mission houses. What are your wishes?
>
> That lesson should be impressed upon the Eskimoes by

> every means in our power, & we are glad Dr. Grenfell has done something in that direction. His medical authority & your influence should go hand in hand to promote sanitary improvements in their dwellings and mode of life....but they must do their best to provide for healthy conditions when the thaw comes in Spring. They have no right to risk your life & health as well as their own by unsanitary conditions of their native villages. A Christian should be clean in every way.[34]

Living conditions in Labrador in the late nineteenth century were extremely harsh as Wilfred Grenfell discovered when he made his first journey up and down the coast in 1894. The Europeans in southern Labrador, the Liveyeres, maintained a marginal existence as did the settlers and the Inuit in northern Labrador. It seems to have required the public attention which Grenfell drew to life in Labrador before anything was done.

Awareness of public Hygiene and housing seems to have begun at the Mission after Grenfell's visit as evidenced in the Conference Letter quoted above. For the next twenty or so years the Mission and the SFG were encouraged (and embarrassed) by Grenfell into educating and assisting the Inuit in these two areas, and in the provision of qualified medical assistance.

One can only speculate that the employment of a doctor and a nurse, and the building of a hospital in Okak, was the result of Grenfell's public outcry against conditions in Labrador--not solely at the Moravian missions. The hospital was a small one--five to six beds--not unlike some of Grenfell's in Labrador and Newfoundland. It was the outpatient department which was

an important feature. The doctor spent a considerable part of each year travelling to other mission stations; the other stations were served as well from time to time by the medical staff of the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen which had set up three hospitals in the Newfoundland-Labrador area. Br. Hettasch, one of the missionaries stationed at Hopedale, was a graduate of the medical course given to missionaries at Livingstone College, London--this accomplishment was frequently referred to in the Periodical Accounts. During one of Dr. Hutton's absences from Okak due to illness, Br. Hettasch was in charge of the hospital. One of Dr. Hutton's replacements, in 1908/1909 was a Dr. Nixon who was recommended by Dr. Grenfell, and hired through the American Province of the Moravian Church. Both Nixon and his wife, a nurse, were Americans, recruited through the Student Volunteer Movement. Their stay was brief and unsatisfactory from the Moravians' point of view. The cause of Br. LaTrobe's writing to Br. Hettasch, "...it deeply grieves me especially that Nixons [sic] should ever have set foot in Labrador under our auspices"[35] is not known; it is conceivable, however, that Dr. Nixon's connection with Dr. Grenfell was the reason. It has been admitted, as well, by Grenfell's biographer, J. Lenox Kerr, that he occasionally lacked judgment in selecting his staff.[34] Although to the public the relationship between the Moravians and Dr. Grenfell and the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen was good, there continued to be for

some years a distrust on both sides of the motives of the other.

In Grenfell's view, conditions at the Missions were improving too slowly. In 1909 it seems that he could contain his patience no longer, and there began a flurry of letters, portions of some of which are set out below. Grenfell wrote to the missionaries:

> Are you aware that the death rate if [sic] your children is 1-3 before they are one year old, and that nothing whatever is done to help to teach and enforce hygiene. The Eskimo houses round the Moravian missions are a disgrace to humanity in their filth and without considerable help your doctor can do little or nothing...
>
> There are a great many changes needed in your methods of working in Labrador in the minds of those who visit your work--& I am hoping to arrange to meet the London Committee & speak about them on my return...[37]

Benjamin LaTrobe, of the SFG in London, wrote to Charles Klesel, the Foreign Mission Secretary:

> We have long been aware of the very serious mortality among the Eskimo children, and we are thankful that our Labrador missionaries have repeatedly been considering the causes and the means of prevention. There is ample witness of this among the rest in the Minutes of the 1908 G.M.C. [General Missionary Conference] and in the papers presented to that Conference on "The future of the Eskimo."
>
> Houses <u>are</u> dirty, but some are clean.[38]

The SFG seems to have offered to provide garbage cans to contain the refuse. This was a well-intentioned offer, no doubt, but the two replies show how far removed London was from Labrador. Br. Townley, writing for the Makkovik Conference, commented:

> The unsanitary condition of an Eskimo village has

> always been an eyesore to the missionary and <u>much</u> [his underlining] has been said to the Eskimos, but by the Eskimos <u>little</u> has been done. The dogs are the chief offenders. Dust or refuse-bins would no doubt be useful, if used & attended to, as in towns in England.[39]

The letter from the Nain Conference was even more explicit:

> We thank you very much for the offer of dust-bins to place outside [the] Eskimo houses to collect refuse which is otherwise thrown in a heap outside the door of the house. We quite appreciate your views and your desire to do what is possible for the welfare of the Eskimo community, but we fear the idea is hardly practicable in Labrador. They would be constant bones of contention for the Eskimo dogs which would not rest till they had removed the covers, and examined the contents, and would probably not be any improvement on the already existing aromas that arise when the heaps thaw out in the spring. And the objectionable obstacles underfoot would still remain, until we discover a cleanly substitute for the Eskimo dog.[40]

Apparently the SFG (and/or, but probably and) the Mission were held responsible also for the housing conditions of the Inuit villages around the Missions. At about this same time, in 1911, the SFG decided to sell building materials to the Inuit and the settlers at 25 per cent above cost. The reply from Nain is revealing:

> It will go a long way in removing from both the Eskimo and settlers the complaint that their houses are so bad because it is so difficult to obtain boards, etc. And not only so, it will be a sign to outsiders, <u>Dr. Grenfell included</u>, [the writer's underlining] that the SFG does not exist for the mere purpose of sucking the people of Labrador, but that they are really interested in their external as well as their spiritual welfare. We must however honestly confess we cannot see why material for the repair of boats should be supplied at a higher rate, for good boats are about as essential as good houses. Some two or three years ago we mentioned offering prizes for the best kept house. We shall be interested to know what other brethren write on the subject.[41]

Presumably the reason why the lumber for boat repairs was not available for sale at the reduced price was because the emphasis was being placed on housing. Charles Klesel, the Foreign Mission Secretary, wrote to Martin, the Superintendent of the Labrador Mission, urging the improvement in housing.

> ...We...are anxious that, as soon as possible, "the stranger in your gates" shall cease to "blaspheme," and the people themselves shall be the better able to resist the attacks of disease when it makes its appearance in their midst.

He continued, "We have decided not to entertain the idea any longer of building & letting houses ourselves." He suggested row housing or at least building in a street pattern to make outside sanitation easier to maintain. He added that providing the building material at 25 per cent above cost would reduce or remove the SFG's Labrador profit.[42]

It may not have reduced their profit: in the Periodical Accounts for December 1912, there is a report about the re-building project which was made possible by the reduced price for lumber and the high prices paid for silver fox skins. High prices obtained by the Labrador trappers meant a good and profitable market for the SFG.

Grenfell was an outspoken critic of the truck system which pertained in Labrador at this time. Fish or furs caught by a man were sold to a trader who credited his account and debited it with the purchase of food or hunting/fishing equipment--or timber for housing. No

cash changed hands. Families could live indebted to a trader for years on end. The Moravian system worked in the same fashion, and this may account for a good deal of Grenfell's criticism of the Mission. In one of his letters to the Mission he wrote: "The conservatism in still maintaining a truck system of trade is disastrous to any intelligent community & as soon as your Eskimo learn English they will find that out and rebel...."[43]

Another of the controversial topics between Grenfell and the missionaries was the provision of poor relief for the inhabitants of Labrador, particularly the Inuit. It may have been for this reason that the Mission terminated Dr. Nixon's contract early as he and Grenfell apparently proposed that the Mission be responsible for poor relief. The missionaries considered that they were, indeed, responsible to help the sick and the needy, but were extremely unwilling to have this fact acknowledged and hence made obligatory.[44] As the government in Newfoundland began to assume its obligations towards the people of Labrador, it began also to become aware of the influence of the Mission and to scrutinize its actions. The SFG had never had to pay duty on its goods, a condition which benefitted the company, the Mission and the people of Labrador who bought at the Mission. They were concerned lest the government remove this exemption should they not assume the provision of poor relief.[45] The issue went into abeyance during the First World War, but surfaced again in the early 1920s. In the meantime,

the Mission administered a poor fund which it consistently maintained was adequate. It did not intend to encourage idleness.[46] Between the years 1908 and 1912, Br. H.O. Essex, of the SFG reckoned that the Mission had paid a total of $456.44 in poor relief.[47] The hospital supplemented the diets of young children, and the SFG had remitted many of the debts in 1901.

Financial difficulties were undoubtedly one of the chief causes of the concern for which the Moravians faced outside criticism of their Labrador mission. The schools and hospitals which Grenfell and others deemed necessary[48] were beyond the financial resources of the Mission Board. Boarding schools at Makkovik, Nain and Hopedale had been set up, but the fees had to be within the limited resources of the Inuit and the settlers--in the neighbourhood of 25 cents per week.[49] The children frequently came insufficiently clothed, and the Mission lacked enough text books. Br. Perrett appealed to the readers of Periodical Accounts for donations in 1909 for the Nain school.[50] By the 1920s the boarding school at Makkovik was in full operation with a staff of two or three. In 1923, 21 children attended as boarders (both Inuit and settlers) and 7 as day students.[51] From the attention which is given to the school in Periodical Accounts, one wonders if the Moravians perhaps subconsciously saw the school as the last missionary effort they could make. They could not afford to provide any other new or vitalizing service to their people on

the coast.[52]

Retrenchment was in part the cause; in part, the separation of trade from the Mission in July 1907. This put the Labrador mission more directly than heretofore under the administration of the Mission Board. By this arrangement the SFG agreed to make a contribution to the Mission Board out of its profits; the Mission Board being responsible for the Mission and the missionaries.[53] This had come about because the SFG considered that it was unable to continue to support the Mission. Profits from the Labrador trade were insufficient to pay the entire cost of the enterprise and there had been several deficits. "It was plain that, if the Church desired the continuance of the Labrador Mission, she must permit the Mission Board to take over at least the purely missionary side of this enterprise and relieve the S.F.G. of its cost.... A clear separation between the trade department and the spiritual work of this Mission has long been desired."[54]

It was unfortunate for the Labrador Mission that the deficits experienced by the SFG came at the same time as the whole Church's deficits mounted: this left the Labrador Mission in tightened circumstances for years to come. To give some idea of the financial limitations under which the Mission worked, we might point out that the doctor was not replaced, nor for some time was the hospital at Okak rebuilt. Other appeals for text books were made in Periodical Accounts apart from Br. Perrett's

referred to above. After the war, when costs in Labrador rose sharply, the missionaries found their stipends inadequate.[55] As a result, education, public health, poor relief and public housing--areas which should have been expanded--were inadequately funded.

This situation continued throughout the remainder of the period under review. Not until the Synod of 1914 held from May 14 to June 13 was the policy of retrenchment discontinued. However, the outbreak of World War I not too many months later severely curtailed opportunities to effect any changes.

The British Province of the Moravian Church assumed administrative and financial responsibility for all Moravian missions within British jurisdiction after war was declared. Though the Labrador Mission was relatively unaffected during the war years by the turmoil in Europe, conditions worsened after the war. A poor economy in Great Britain--which caused the CMS hardship as well--together with a poor market for the sale of fish and fur, and several years of poor catches in Labrador, combined to raise serious doubts about the existence of the Mission.

> ...A very large sum of money is being spent annually in Labrador in connection with a Mission to a people whose numbers are steadily declining--indeed, the amount of money absorbed by the Labrador Mission is higher in proportion to the number of people connected therewith than in any other of our Missionfields. It behoves us therefore in fairness to the other Fields to see whether the expenses of the Mission in Labrador cannot somehow or other be reduced.[56]

This must have been somewhat alarming to read in a Conference Letter, although the missionaries in Labrador must have been well aware of the situation.

They continued to pursue their customary pastoral and missionary duties: visiting the settlers whom they could reach by dog team and komatic, conducting worship services, attending to minor medical problems (there had been no doctor attached to the Mission since about 1916), and running the schools. The storekeepers generally limited their activities to the stores.

At the same time, the Inuit were becoming increasingly restless with the Moravian trade arrangements. Economic conditions in Labrador were poor. People were deeply in debt to the Moravian stores and/or to the other traders who operated in the area. In the 1921-1922 letter from Hopedale, the missionaries wrote: "The enormous amount of debt our people have accumulated in the store scarcely permits anyone to call a cent his own."[57] The missionaries were advised in the next annual Conference Letter (of 1922) that "faith, patience, kindness and explanation have to be exercised instead of drastic measures as a remedy. The Eskimos are grown-up children, weak, and by strangers with whom they come into contact, are easily led into wrong thinking and acting.[58]

In spite of this advice, drastic measures were introduced in 1925 with the abolition of credit at the stores. It is interesting to see the "about-face" on the part of the missionaries vis-a-vis trade.

> This year we have had to lend many a helping hand to our people, for we are trying to teach them the beauty of independence. Hitherto they have not had to depend on themselves to provide their daily bread, as, according to the custom of the country, they could go to the Store and get their outfit of food, clothing, etc., etc., on credit. It makes them careless, unthrifty, and dishonest. We have long seen the evils of the system and sought ways out, but they have not succeeded. Debts have grown to enormous amounts; some of the people got so indifferent that they did not care whether they met their liabilities or not.... So we felt that drastic measures would have to be used. Accordingly the order was made last autumn that no more credit was to be given in the Stores, but our people were assured that the Mission would see that no one starved: help would be given where needed. We look upon this as a step in the education of our people....It is ours to teach as much as it is theirs to learn, and wisdom is required on both sides.[59]

In the summer of 1926, another drastic measure was taken: an agreement was made between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Moravian Mission Agency (the business successor to the SFG) to take effect October 31, 1926 whereby the entire trade side of the mission was sold to the HBC. The price was £22,000 plus certain other amounts. As the editor of Periodical Accounts, commented, "Thus closes an important chapter in the history of the Mission of our Church in that bleak, inhospitable land."[60]

Clearly there are several ways of looking at this Mission in Labrador. As many Labrador authorities like Jenness[61] and Gosling have noted, the fate which befell the Beothuk in Newfoundland or the Inuit in southern Labrador did not befall the Inuit in northern Labrador because of the Mission. They were educated in their own

language and, eventually, in the English language. They learned European ways through men and women who were practising Christians.

We would not dispute any of this for a moment. But, we believe that, having made a commitment to the Inuit, the Moravians (the Mission Board, the SFG and the British Moravian Church) should have responded to the needs of the Inuit on their own initiative more quickly and more generously. We believe that they failed to do so because of their poor financial position and because of their notion that the Labrador Mission compared unfavourably to other mission fields. It was expensive to operate and lacked the potential to grow.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

I. CMS POLICIES IN CANADA TO 1880

> "No C.M.S. Missions have excited deeper interest than those in the Far West and Far North of Canada... No speakers have been more welcomed at C.M.S. meetings than those who could tell of life in the snow and ice. It used to be said that North-West America raised the funds which the C.M.S. spent in Asia and Africa. And even now, what missionaries are more eagerly listened to than Bishops Stringer and Lofthouse or Mr. Peck and Mr. Greenshield?"[1]

This statement was written by Eugene Stock, the Society's Editorial Secretary and historian, in the fourth (or supplementary) volume of his History of the Church Missionary Society. It was published in 1916. In its enthusiasm it disguises what in fact appears to have been the ambivalence with which the CMS faced its North-West Canada Mission[2] as early as 1882 but especially after 1902 when the Society determined to withdraw. The Society continued to extol its missions in Canada: it continued to appeal for funds for North-West Canada, it continued to publish in CMS journals exciting accounts of its missionaries' experiences in Canada, and it continued to refer in those publications to "our" mission, when in fact the CMS was only indirectly supporting its North-West Canada Mission.

Nowhere is the ambivalence more apparent than in its missions to the Inuit. The Society had been attempting to withdraw from Canada since the 1880s because in theory its work in that country was done. Supposedly, there were no more heathen to evangelize. The vast majority of

Indians had been exposed to the Christian message--even if not in its Anglican interpretation. Unlike the other Anglican missionary societies operating in Canada, the purpose of the CMS was primarily to spread the Gospel among the heathen. Its missionaries had no especial interest in what they called "white work"--work among the Europeans in Canada. The realization toward the end of the century that there were several thousand unevangelized Inuit in the western and eastern Arctic, and the opportunities to reach them, came at the wrong time for the CMS. By 1902 they had advised the Canadian Church that they would celebrate their one hundredth anniversary in Canada in 1920 by complete withdrawal.

The CMS had been in British North America since 1822.[3] It worked in close co-operation with the Hudson's Bay Company on whom it depended in numerous ways. As the Company extended its operations and opened trading posts in such places as York Factory, the Society established missions. One or two missionaries would be sent to minister to the Europeans at the station, but their primary task was to evangelize the Indians who came to trade and who encamped around the station for varying lengths of time.

By 1880 the Society had been at work in Canada for almost sixty years. The country had changed, as had the Church. Both were developing into the organizational patterns which pertain today. The North-West America Mission was located in an area which five years earlier

had been divided ecclesiastically into four Church of England dioceses: Rupert's Land, Moosonee, Saskatchewan and Athabaska. There were sixteen European CMS missionaries and twelve others of Canadian birth.[4] In 1920 when the Society withdrew, the four dioceses had been further subdivided so that the North-West Canada Mission was located in nine dioceses.[5] There were twelve missionaries on the CMS payroll as of December 31, 1920.[6]

Since the early 1880s, the bishops of these dioceses had been assisted by the CMS by an annual grant called a block grant, by the income from the Finlayson Bequest (a special bequest given to the Society), and by the payment of stipends and allowances to (in 1902) four of the bishops and twelve other missionaries.[7] In addition, the CMS assisted in other ways: for example, through the Society the Canadian bishops and missionaries could appeal for funds from private supporters in England--an important source of income at that time--and the CMS supported St. John's College in Winnipeg. The day-to-day administration of a CMS-assisted diocese in Canada was left to the bishop of that diocese as was the administration of its missions and mission schools, but the bishop was able to turn to the CMS for support and advice.

In the 1880s the word "withdrawal" was premature; "transfer," however, was certainly in the air. In its annual report for 1882-83, the Society stated: "The Society is enabled to contemplate the ultimate <u>transfer</u>

[our underlining] of its work among these races [the Maori and the Red Indian], as it becomes more and more settled and pastoral in character, to the Colonial Dioceses in which it is carried on."[7]

In 1882 the Society reorganized the New Zealand Mission because it believed that in a country such as New Zealand, the Maori population was always going to be the minority and could never constitute a native church on its own: that it must be absorbed into the colonial church. In turn, the colonial church, consisting of the white population, should assume responsibility for the Maori Christians. Christopher Cyprian Fenn, one of the Society's Group Secretaries, drew up a plan whereby the Maori Mission would be administered by a board of three bishops, three CMS missionaries, three laymen and a secretary. CMS grants, to be reduced gradually over a twenty-year period, would be given to the board on an annual basis. From this income and other sources, including the colonial church, the board was to pay for the maintenance of the mission.

This was the principle on which the North-West America adaptation was based. The native peoples of Canada were too small in number to constitute a church of their own. Like the Maoris, they had to be absorbed into the church of the white population. But a vast difference lay between New Zealand and Canada in the 1880s, and the scheme was considerably modified. For one thing, North-West America was more dependent on the

Society than was New Zealand, and the Society recognized that little could be expected from the Church in Canada. Also unlike New Zealand, there were still "thousands of unevangelized heathen."[8] Hence for a few years, there was both retrenchment and extension in North-West America. The block grants given to some dioceses were reduced; to other dioceses or for extension purposes, larger grants were given.

In 1902 when the CMS announced its intention to withdraw completely from North-West Canada after 1920, the Secretary, Baring Baring-Gould, proposed the setting up of a board to administer the North-West Canada Mission somewhat along the lines of the New Zealand scheme. It met with such disapproval on the part not only of bishops and missionaries, but also the Canadian Church that it was revised.[9]

In order to understand the CMS, its men and its means, we propose to look briefly at the Society and its organization during the period prior to its withdrawal from Canada.

II. HISTORY

One hundred years

In 1899 the Society celebrated its centenary. It was founded in 1799 by several Church of England clergymen and laymen who adhered to the "evangelical" tenets of the Church. At that time and for several years to come, evangelicals were not widely accepted within Anglicanism. As a result, the founders of the Society were unable to influence either the leaders of the Church or the policies of the existing Anglican missionary societies in the directions they deemed necessary. Yet they wished to remain within the Church of England. Several factors were involved in the founding of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (as the CMS was originally called). Rising concern among many religious and philanthropic individuals and groups over the slave trade in which Great Britain was deeply involved in the eighteenth century, together with the gradual awakening of interest in missionary activity, played a dominant part in the establishment of the Society. Associated with both in the minds of the Society's founders was awareness of the spiritual condition of the black African. Eugene Stock's history of the Society presents a detailed, if somewhat one-sided explanation of the social and religious issues which the Society's founders wished to address.

From one of the many anniversary booklets which the

Society published to commemorate its hundred years of service to the Church of England and to the evangelization of the heathen, one may see how the society had grown in one century. The CMS had become one of the largest Protestant missionary societies. In 1899 there were twenty-four missions on every continent except South America with a missionary staff of 1,096 (clergy, laymen, wives and single women).[10] The Society's financial picture (which, as we contend throughout this investigation, was at the root of the problems experienced by the Canadian missions) was reasonably good at the time of the centenary. The deficit was £30,000 which, in view of an expenditure of £325,233, was not considered excessive.[11] Deficits, far larger than this in proportion to income, had vexed the society for several years. As mentioned earlier, the CMS was wholly dependent on donations; it received no income from the Church of England.

Frequently public appeals were issued when the deficit was troublesome. Generally, the results were good. Stock refers to one such appeal in 1897 where the deficit was £9,000 (after internal bookkeeping had reduced the original figure of £23,000). By June 30 of that year, the deadline set in the appeal, all but £3,000 had been received. On July 16 a donation arrived in exactly the amount needed (with £6 over). This donor was unknown to the Society and had had no information regarding the amount then outstanding. Stock commented

at the conclusion of his account, "Is it a thing incredible, that God should answer prayer?"[12]

Although the President (always a prominent evangelical layman of the Church of England) was important to the Society, it was in fact the Secretary who directed the movements of the CMS and guided the deliberations of its General Committee. He was considered primus inter pares of the General Committee. Henry Venn (1796-1873), the son of one of the founders of the Society, was the third and perhaps best known of the Clerical Secretaries. His involvement with the Society began in 1822 and he assumed the position of Secretary in 1841, retiring in 1872. Venn's "native church" policy governed the direction of the Society's overseas missions from 1851 onwards. The statement of policy reads as follows:

> Regarding the ultimate object of a Mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical result, to be the settlement of a Native Church under Native Pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a Mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of Native Pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, the "euthanasia of a Mission" takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained Native congregations under Native Pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the Mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to the "regions beyond."[13]

Venn was succeeded by Henry Wright (Secretary 1871-1880), Frederick Edward Wigram (Secretary 1880-1895), Henry Elliott Fox (Secretary 1895-1910) and Cyril Charles

Bowman Bardsley (Secretary 1910-1922). Subsequent secretaries fall outside our period of investigation.

As the Society's work inside and outside Great Britain grew, the number and size of its committees and sub-committees increased correspondingly. By the 1880s the CMS had become a complex organization with local associations in Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere in the British empire, wherever there were evangelical Anglican congregations.

Understandably, lay support was vital to the Society's operations. In its infancy, when the CMS had no recognition beyond the evangelical wing of the Church, help from influential individuals, peers and Members of Parliament, was essential to the Society's survival. Later, although this continued to be important, the Society looked to its supporters, large and small, to provide the funds and the candidates to keep its missions operating. Apart from meetings throughout the country at which CMS officials and missionaries on furlough spoke and collections were taken, the Society issued several journals over the years which were intended to arouse the interest of their readers in missionary work. Accounts of missionaries' travels and adventures, as well as extracts from their journals and annual reports, kept men and women interested in missions aware of what the CMS was doing and where their money or "their" missionary was going. The Missionary Register, The Church Missionary Outlook, The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The Church

Missionary Record, The Church Missionary Gleaner, The Church Missionary Review, were among the longer-lived CMS periodicals. Annually from 1801 onwards the Society published its annual report. These Proceedings contain lists of missions and missionaries, the annual sermon, annual reports from the mission fields, together with the financial statements for the year. Also issued annually for several years was a publication called Extracts from the Annual Reports (later changed to Letters from the Front) which contain, as the title suggests, portions of the missionaries' annual reports. Although those selected for publication were edited to some extent by the Society's Editorial Department, nevertheless they provide significant information on missionary successes and failures.

III. THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

"The chief business of a missionary society is to send out missionaries"

Apart from the donations which many of these publications were intended to elicit, recruitment of men and (after 1887) women was vital to the Society. As Stock observed, "The chief business of a missionary society is to send out missionaries."[14]

John Venn (one of the Society's founders) had advised the newly-formed Society to begin on a small scale.[15] Although they had sent out 2,000 missionaries by 1899, they had indeed begun on a small scale and had sent out an average of eight missionaries per year until 1848. Beginning with the era of the "Policy of faith" (to which we will refer later in this chapter) 1887 to ca. 1919, seventy missionaries per year were sent out. The figure increased to an average of eighty per year from 1899 to 1906 and then declined due to serious deficits and because of the effects of World War I.[16]

Women missionaries (excluding the wives of missionaries) do not figure largely in the North-West Canada Mission, but they were responsible in part for the increased number of missionaries after 1887. Prior to that date, single women despatched were the widows, sisters or daughters of missionaries. Of the 485 women sent out by 1899, the majority went after 1887. Many missionaries were self-supporting; this was particularly the case of single women. Otherwise it is doubtful that

the Society would have been able to undertake the cost of maintaining so many missionaries within so short a period of time.[17]

IV. MISSIONARY PREPARATION

"A missionary should have heaven in his heart and tread the world under his feet."[18]

Until the CMS College at Islington (in London) was opened in 1823, potential missionaries received their theological training with selected clergy in a parish setting and at CMS headquarters in London. While this method of preparation was acceptable for the first few decades, it soon became apparent that an "institution" (as the College was first called) and teaching staff were needed to co-ordinate and to carry through the missionary training. The earlier method appears to have been somewhat haphazard.

The College prepared candidates for ordination during a three-year training period. Missionary candidates took the same examinations as did candidates for home ministries. This was called the "Long Course." After 1890, the "Short Course" (of about four terms' duration) was given at the Preparatory Institution in Blackheath for "young men of promise but not of superior education."[19] Lawrence Nemer in his comparison of the CMS and the Mill Hill Missionary Society, a British Roman Catholic organization, draws attention to the social background of CMS recruits.[20] Most of the missionaries sent to Canada in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth for work among the Inuit fell into the latter category of promising

young men. They were not ordained before departure. It seems that the CMS saw the need for two kinds of missionary: "Men of intellectual power and culture combined with a loving spirit of self-abnegation, content that the natives should 'increase' while they 'decreased'" and "men of vigorous physique and ready resourcefulness and simple faith [to] go forward as pioneers into the interior of Africa, China and over the Indian frontier."[21] The missionaries sent to North-West Canada to the Inuit had had previous practical experience. Edmund James Peck had been a seaman, Charles Gore Sampson, a draper, Julian William Bilby, a cabinet maker and Edgar William Tyler Greenshield, a cabinet maker and upholsterer. Some medical training was incorporated into both the Long and the Short Course, but at least insofar as the languages used in the North-West Canada Mission were concerned, foreign language training was not included. Women and university graduates received training at a number of different institutions depending on their educational background. "The underlying principle of these arrangements is that God does not commit His work in the world to one social class only. He can use persons of all classes. The thing is to find those whom He chooses."[22] Perhaps the words of John Venn in 1799 make this strategy clearer: "A Missionary should have heaven in his heart, and tread the world under his feet."[23]

One can recognize some resemblance in this

philosophy on the part of the CMS to that of the Moravians. "Spiritual agents alone are suitable for spiritual work."[24] In other ways as well, certain similarities also seem to be apparent. Life at a CMS institution was not unlike life in a choir-house (and probably at Niesky). "Constant study of God's word, opportunities afforded for private, social and family prayer, and active duties in various departments of home missionary labours"[25] and domestic arrangements "to promote that hardness of mind, that alertness and vigilance, that patience of labour, that spirit of humility, that mutual kindness, that subjugation of self-conceit and self-will, that superiority to bodily ease and mortification, that simplicity of character and plainness of manner, which are indispensable qualifications of a true missionary."[26]

The Society realized that the wives of missionaries were important not only to the well-being of their husbands but also to the well-being of the mission. Accordingly they insisted upon approving the physical and spiritual health of the fiancee of a missionary. After 1889 when the rules regarding the marriage of missionaries were revised, it was decreed that a missionary (male) could not enter into matrimony until he had completed three years' residence in the mission field and had demonstrated a satisfactory knowledge of the language. After three years in the field, his health, as well as that of his future wife vis-à-vis the field to

which he was assigned, was taken into consideration before the marriage could be sanctioned.[27] E.W.T. Greenshield, who was a missionary in the Arctic Mission of North-West Canada at the turn of the century, was engaged to a woman whose health was assessed by the Medical Board to be perfectly sound except for the rigours of the North. The marriage did not take place.[28]

In the Arctic Mission which will be discussed in some detail in the next chapter, marriage was a serious and perplexing issue. Nothing about the Arctic Mission at that time was considered suitable for a woman: the physical conditions, the diet, the absence of qualified medical help, the transportation, and so forth. And yet, the isolation and the great amount of time spent on lengthy domestic chores gave the missionaries reason to wish for the companionship and help of a wife. We are indebted to J.W. Bilby, a CMS missionary in 1905, for putting the situation in perspective.

> I think that considering the pressure continually brought to bear upon missionaries in this place both from the traders and from the natives, that to do good and lasting work, two years at a time for single men is quite long enough....
>
> ...A man cannot leave the Island [Blacklead Island on Baffin Island where the Mission was situated] from year's end to year's end. Our lives are spent in working from house to Church, from Church to school or to the tents of the people and round again. Added to this we are continually surrounded by the people either seeing & being called upon to help them in their misery... Added to this when I say that all our household work excepting clothes washing & floor scrubbing [they hired a boy or woman to do these chores] had to be done by ourselves, it will readily be seen I think that men cannot stand many years at a time without a

> period of rest...but married men can stay longer because half the work, especially the unmanly work of housekeeping & cooking would be taken from them...[29]

Bilby married in 1914, incidentally, and his wife apparently was keen to accompany him to the Arctic Mission.[30] They were prevented from doing so by the difficulty of finding a ship to cross the Atlantic during the War.

V. FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

"The Policy of faith"

From 1887 to about 1910 the "policy of faith" was the guiding principle by which the CMS operated. By this was meant that the Society would refuse no candidate and would keep back no missionary ready to sail, purely for financial reasons.[31] It worked well in those "wonderful last ten years of the nineteenth century"[32] but a recent historian of the Society, Gordon Hewitt, claims that the financial difficulties which burdened the CMS up to the early 1940s were due in large measure to the rapid expansion of missions and missionaries after 1887 and to the inability or unreadiness of the Society's supporters to donate at a level that would meet the increased expenditures.[33] The growing scepticism in Great Britain about religion and the church may have affected some of the Society's marginal donors in the early part of the century. However, after World War I the wealth of the upper middle class, the source of the Society's larger donations, was disappearing with taxation and post-war inflation. The "policy of faith," as Hewitt has pointed out, also tended to encourage the continuation of missionary dominance and to put the missionary's inner call ahead of the long-term needs and opportunities of the developing indigenous church.[34]

In 1913 the accumulating deficits of several years caused the Society to consider its future in the mission field at a conference in Swanwick to which some three

hundred leading supporters of the Society were invited. At this conference those supporters of the Society determined "that God [was] calling the Society to a strong move forward." It is interesting to note a similar change of course on the part of the Moravian Church when its 1914 Synod determined to abandon retrenchment and to adopt its version of a "policy of faith." Financially, the Swanwick Conference has been called the "miracle of Swanwick"[35]--not only was the accumulated deficit wiped out but there was a surplus also which provided a cushion during the war years. This generosity on the part of CMS donors was not repeated in the next large appeal, the Thank-offering Appeal of 1918-1919.

From a Canadian point of view, it was fortunate that the "miracle of Swanwick" had occurred, since this put the Society in 1914 in a position to revise the 1903 decision to decrease grants to North-West Canada. As part of its withdrawal scheme, the CMS had determined in 1903, effective January 1, 1904, to decrease by one-twelfth annually the yearly grants to the Canadian dioceses it supported. This diminution of funds had a particularly adverse effect on CMS missions in those dioceses. We will discuss this difficulty in much greater detail later in the paper; suffice it to say for the moment that if the plan had gone through unchanged, the block grants by which the Society supported the dioceses in which its missions were located would have ceased entirely on January 1, 1916. Missions to Canada's

native peoples would undoubtedly have been the chief victims (as they had been since 1904), since most of the available revenue within the Church of England in Canada was being directed towards the large numbers of British immigrants settling in the country. The Canadian Church had not been able to supplement adequately the decreasing grants of the Society contrary to the hope and intention of the CMS in 1903.

As we will explain in the next chapter, the intention of the CMS to withdraw from Canada and the way it went about effecting that withdrawal created a number of problems for the Church of England in Canada. For almost twenty years CMS missions to the native peoples of Canada experienced reduced funding and inadequate supervision. The Canadian Church, but primarily the MSCC, which represented the whole church, did not provide sufficient funds or supervision to replace the "presence" of the CMS. Missions to the Inuit, especially that of E.J. Peck on Baffin Island, were seriously hampered by the unwillingness of both the CMS and the MSCC to provide oversight and support.

Withdrawal from Canada was necessary--for the CMS and for the Church of England in Canada. How that withdrawal was effected, on the other hand, is a sad conclusion to the Society's century of "heroic devotion"[34] to Canada.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY: ARCTIC MISSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

"No one had succeeded in doing much"

The first two permanent missions to the Inuit were set up in the 1890s: Herschel Island, in the western Arctic in 1897 and Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island, in the eastern Arctic in 1894. Prior to that, while there was great interest on both sides of the Atlantic in the idea of evangelizing the Inuit, "...the Eskimo still remained unevangelized...no one had succeeded in doing much."[1] (This comment from the Society's historian refers to the twenty-year period between 1856 (when two missionaries, E.A. Watkins and T.H. Fleming, had attempted at Fort George and Little Whale River to spread the Gospel to the Inuit there), and 1876 (when the Society responded to Bishop Horden's request for a missionary by sending Edmund James Peck.)

The problems which the CMS missionaries in the Arctic encountered up to 1920 were quite different from those of the Moravians. The CMS missionaries, while assisted by traders (for transportation, European human contact--not always friendship--and accommodation), did not participate in trade. Initially the Inuit confused them with the traders--because the missionaries, too, were Europeans; however, they were soon able to make the distinction. Rather the most serious concern seems to have been the uncertainty of the continuance of the Mission, exacerbated by neglect on the part of the Canadian Church for several years during the changeover

period. Extant correspondence from the CMS and from the Canadian Church suggests a lack of funds to have largely been the reason for this uncertainty and neglect. It seems clear that, as in the case of the Labrador Inuit, the Baffin Island Inuit were poorly served by the CMS and by the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church (MSCC), the body mainly responsible for the administration of domestic and foreign missions. One cannot fault the missionaries who worked on the whole devotedly under generally adverse conditions. One cannot fault the bishops who attempted to administer their dioceses and their missions with less financial support and an unclear missionary policy on the part of the Canadian Church. One can, however, fault the sending societies, the CMS and the MSCC, for their reluctance to contribute to the needs of the growing mission to the Inuit.

The Arctic Mission (or Cumberland Sound Mission, as the Society referred to it) was the only permanent Inuit mission of the CMS. The other permanent mission in Canada, at Herschel Island, was indirectly funded by the Society as were all the other missions to the Inuit along the coast of Hudson Bay or in the Mackenzie River area. These latter were not permanent. They had been, as Jervois Newnham, the Bishop of Moosonee, pointed out, virtually chance encounters with Inuit trading at HBC stations.

Gradually, as travel became easier, missions to the Inuit along the western coast of Hudson's Bay began to

evolve (e.g. Chesterfield Inlet ca. 1913/14) as did missions in the western Arctic. These, too, were not CMS missions although some of the CMS grants may have been applied towards them. To quote the Bishop of Keewatin:

> I took a young clergyman north with me last summer to begin our new work at Chesterfield Inlet. How the expenses are going to be met I do not know, unless the M.S.C.C. will do still more for us than they have ever yet done, but I felt bound to take up this work, for I hold very strongly this should be the first work of the Canadian Church to look after her own children.[2]

II. HERSCHEL ISLAND

The CMS mission at Herschel Island, an American whaling station some 200-300 kilometers west of the mouth of the Mackenzie River, existed as a permanent mission with a resident missionary for just under ten years. From 1897 until 1906, Isaac O. Stringer and C.E. Whittaker were associated with the Mission, although Stringer left Herschel Island in 1905 to become Bishop of Selkirk. These two missionaries were sponsored by Wycliffe College in Toronto. Both were Canadian. Their stipends were paid out of diocesan funds; in the case of Whittaker, out of the funds of the neighbouring diocese of Selkirk.[3] At least one outside donation helped toward the establishment of the permanent mission: the captains of the American whaling vessels which wintered at the Island subscribed $600.00.[4] Otherwise the mission was administered by the Mackenzie River diocese whose funds included a CMS grant. (Strictly speaking, Herschel Island lay within the boundaries of the Diocese of Selkirk but at that time access was easier via the Mackenzie River and the Peel River, so it was agreed between Bishops Bompas (of Selkirk) and Reeve (of Mackenzie River) to include Herschel Island within the Mackenzie River Diocese.)[5]

The place was described by a contemporary as "the most northerly inhabited spot in the British dominions, and perhaps the most inaccessible, a bleak, desolate,

treeless island, ice-bound for nine months in the year, and surrounded by floating masses of it during the short summer."[6]

Stringer visited the American whaling station at Herschel Island in 1892 and paid one or two further visits in the next three or four years. Whittaker spent one winter there before the mission was established.

Despite these initial visits among the Inuit who lived on and around the Island and the brief exposure to Christian teaching which Stringer and Whittaker gave them, both missionaries reported that their initial progress was slow. In his annual report to the CMS for 1899, Bishop Reeve wrote: "The Eskimo work continues to give encouragement, and about forty scholars attend school, but there have been no baptisms yet. The language is the difficulty. Both the interpreters have died recently, and now there is no one who speaks English who can give Mr. Stringer any assistance."[7]

Nevertheless, writing in 1909 after an episcopal visit to some of the Inuit communities in and around Herschel Island, Stringer observed: "For many years, this my former field of work was discouraging, but I believe steady though slow progress was being made each year."[8] As we noted in Chapter one, Whittaker put much of the blame for the slow progress of the effect of the teaching of the Gospel on the influence of the crews of the whaling ships.

His annual letter dated May 23, 1906 contains a

description of the missionary's work there. (He and his family had been living at Herschel Island for five years. The letter seems to cover the period from the summer of 1904 to the date of writing. They left Herschel Island that same year.)

> The sea closed up about the middle of September, and two ships with crews of about forty each wintered near us. Many of the sailors were frequent visitors at our house, and we were able to have an English service every Sunday evening. The sailors are of many nationalities, but all understand some English.
>
> The greater part of my time and effort was, however, occupied in the native work. There is a stationary native population of about one hundred, beside a large number going and coming. The Sunday morning service, all in Eskimo, averaged about seventy for the year, and occasionally reached 110. We have no church building, and our dwelling-house was at such times packed like a sardine box. The attention was uniformly good, but with few exceptions the interest was not more enduring than the service.
>
> ...We had occasional weeknight services, but the attendance was never good. I began a night class, to teach the young men to read and write the Eskimo language. There was also the day-school for the children, held when weather and other circumstances permitted, but on account of much sickness in the home this was irregular.
>
> ...The Eskimo and English work continued throughout this last winter was neither more nor less encouraging than the previous year. Many seem interested, but nothing definite is accomplished in the hearts and lives of the people.[9]

After 1906 and for several more years, Whittaker included Herschel Island in his regular itineration. He was stationed at Fort McPherson (the centre of the Tukudh Mission), some distance away. In 1909 Bishop Stringer, temporarily in charge of the Mackenzie River Diocese, accompanied Whittaker on one of these itinerations.

Whittaker wrote: "...We visited three places where there are settlements, spending nineteen days among the people, selling books, teaching and conversing with them. During the whole trip, we had the joy of baptising nine adults, the first fruits among this branch of the race. Five Christian marriages were also performed, being the first, with one exception, among the Eskimo of the region. There were several other applications for baptism, but fearing a 'vogue' rather than a work of the Holy Spirit, we discouraged them for the present."[10]

By 1912 Whittaker was openly pleased with the success of his and Bishop Stringer's earlier labours. He wrote in his general report for that year: "...The Word of God was preached and lived among them [the Inuit], and though for so many weary years our eye could see no turning to God, yet the leaven was working steadily, and when at last some fruit of our labour appeared, we found that the whole lump was indeed leavened.... In almost every aspect the life of the converts has undergone a marked change. Still much remains to be done. Only the rudiments of Christianity--faith in God, separation from the old life and habits, gratitude for God's mercies--have yet been instilled in them. I am hoping to have the picture Scripture book for them soon, that they may read, mark, learn and inwardly digest it, to their profit. About eighty persons were baptised this year, including, for the first time, children to the number of fifty."[11]

A similar view was held by John Firth, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who said in 1913 of the Inuit living in the western Arctic: "They are as different as light from darkness compared with a few years ago."[12]

One comes across fewer and fewer references to Herschel Island or indeed to the western Arctic in CMS publications or internal documents during the next seven years, the years which preceded the final withdrawal of the CMS. In the proposals for an Arctic mission or Arctic diocese which E.J. Peck and others put forward, Herschel Island and the western Arctic were included. But it seems that for the CMS, the western Arctic was more and more the responsibility of the Canadian Church.

As this mission was not a fully supported mission of the CMS, it does not appear in the withdrawal scheme nor does it figure largely in the negotiations between the MSCC and the CMS up to 1920. We have included a brief survey of the mission in its early years primarily because it was the only other permanent Inuit mission in Canada during this period. Moreover, there was a slight CMS connection. Even in this abbreviated account of the mission, one can observe that more might have been done for the Inuit--a longer stay on the part of the missionaries, and the setting-up of some medical facility so that the sickness which kept the children from school (and undoubtedly seriously affected the whole community) might have been alleviated.

III. BAFFIN ISLAND

Edmund James Peck (1850-1924) had come to Canada in 1876 and was stationed in the Diocese of Moosonee at Little Whale River (1878-1885) and Fort George (1885-1893)) before going to Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island. He learned Inuktitut quickly and was able to train young Inuit as catechists. This was a deliberate plan on his part, and his contemporaries considered it a success.[13]

The story of the Arctic Mission of the CMS is an account, to all intents and purposes, of the life and work of Peck and of the several other missionaries who were deeply involved with the Arctic Mission and whose names have become famous in the history of Anglican Inuit missions. The CMS sent Charles Gore Sampson, Joseph Caldecott Parker, Julian William Bilby and Edgar William Tyler Greenshield to its Arctic Mission between 1894 and 1913. The CMS contribution to the Arctic Mission covers the years 1894 to 1907 when the MSCC, in effect, shared the responsibility for the CMS missionaries and the administration of the Inuit missions. After 1920, of course, the MSCC assumed full and complete responsibility for CMS work in Canada.

Peck since the 1880s had been anxious to reach the unevangelized Inuit living north and east of Hudson's Bay. In 1884 he had managed to reach Fort Chimo in a canoe and preached the Gospel to the Inuit whom he found there. Despite his short three-week stay, his efforts

were not in vain as Moravian missionaries on the Labrador coast found evidence of his teaching among the Inuit with whom they came into contact on their journeys north.[14] Attempts to open a mission on the Ungava peninsula came to nothing for the time being; later, in about 1901, the Colonial and Continental Church Society established a mission there.

Between 1891 and 1893 Peck shared with the Society his hopes about opening a mission either in Ungava or elsewhere. The evidence of these years seems to indicate that at this time the CMS supported Peck in his overall scheme to spread the Gospel to the unevangelized Inuit. In March 1894 he was permitted to enter into an agreement with Crawford Noble of Aberdeen, Scotland, who had recently purchased the whaling stations at Blacklead Island and Kilkerton in Cumberland Sound. The arrangement with Noble was the beginning of what was to be a good working relationship between Noble's firm and the CMS for several years. Noble agreed to take Peck and another missionary (the CMS had insisted that two men go, not one)[15] together with provisions and fuel for two years, and to provide a house rent free.[16]

The man who accompanied Peck on this first missionary journey to the Arctic was J.C. Parker, a student of the CMS's institution at Clapham. He had also received some medical training. They arrived at Blacklead Island on August 21, 1894 where they found a native population of 171. For Peck, communication was

not difficult as the language was very close to that of Fort George and Whale River. Church services began in a small tent made of skins on Sunday, October 7, 1894. On a daily basis the two missionaries worked on language study and translation in the mornings and held school for the Inuit children in the afternoon.[17] From time to time, when there were men and dog teams available, Peck or Parker visited Kiklerton, Noble's other station, and other small Inuit encampments. Parker learned the language quickly and became very popular in the community, particularly because of his medical training. It was a severe blow to the Mission and to the Inuit when Parker and seven of his companions drowned in August 1896 when their boat capsized.

When the Parent Committee had sanctioned the mission in 1894, they agreed to provide another missionary so that Peck could return to England in 1896 to see his translations of the Gospels through the press. This is evidence again that the Society was at best promoting the Mission, not hindering it, as occurred later. The missionary whom they sent arrived shortly after Parker's death in August. His name was Charles Gore Sampson, another layman who had been trained at the Islington training centre of the CMS. Peck left on Noble's ship but returned the following summer.

Upon his return to Blacklead Island, he reported enthusiastically to the Parent Committee that one hundred people were present at the opening of the new church

building--a prefabricated house which he had brought from England with him on Noble's ship.[18] The evident "expansion" of the work allowed him to urge the Parent Committee to find an additional missionary whose stipend in part, he was sure, would be paid by friends in England. His expectations were soon realized. Julian William Bilby, another layman, joined the Mission in August 1898. He was fully paid by the CMS, though Peck's "friends in England" undoubtedly exerted some influence.

Meanwhile, Sampson returned home on furlough and later resigned from the CMS; he had experienced some difficulties with the trader, Crawford Noble, or his agent on Blacklead Island, and was accused of trading with the Inuit for his own profit.[19] This accusation, which may have been untrue,[20] soured the hitherto good relationship between Noble and the CMS, which was unfortunate for the missionaries as they depended on Noble's ship to communicate with Great Britain. The tensions seemed to have been resolved, however, for subject to a promise on the part of the next missionary, E.W.T. Greenshield, not to engage in trade, Noble was prepared to give him free passage.

Shortly before Greenshield's arrival at Blacklead Island in the summer of 1901, the first baptisms at the Mission took place. It seems that interest or understanding among the adult Inuit population at the Mission of the Christian Gospel began to show in December 1900. Encouraged by the change, Peck spoke about baptism

in January, and two men and twenty-four women came forward as candidates. After special instruction three people were baptized on Whitsunday, May 26, 1901. Oddly, there is no mention in CMS extant documents of the incident to which Fleming referred. Yet from Fleming's account, it must have taken place at this time. Peck wrote to the Society in September of that year referring to these first baptisms; he also expressed the hope that the Mission would not be abandoned. Why he would have harboured such a notion at this particular time is not known. Could it have been occasioned by Sampson's resignation or was it the result of the animosity that seems to have been building up between the trader or his agent and the Mission? The answer is not forthcoming from the sources. However, it is noteworthy that the Society had resolved in 1894 that the Mission to Blacklead Island could continue "provided that C. Noble Esq. upon whose kindness the Society entirely depends, not only for the sending out of missionaries, but also for the conveyance of supplies, will continue his help."[21]

It may well have been, of course, that Peck realized that all CMS missions in North-West Canada were in a precarious position. In his visits to the Society's headquarters in London, the subject of withdrawal may have been raised in conversation ahead of the written proposals in 1902. He added in his letter that the Mission was not dependent on Noble's ship, that the

Society could charter a vessel or obtain help from Dr. Grenfell and the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen.[22]

On the surface, at least, life continued much as it had for the Mission despite Peck's fears. Greenshield, the new missionary, spent a good deal of time learning the language, so that by the time he wrote his first annual letter on September 25, 1902, he was able to report:

> By this means, and with the help of an Eskimo, I soon had a fairly all-round, workable knowledge of the language, and so was able to go round amongst the natives, conversing with them, and picking up a great deal more from them as regards idiom, pronunciation,&c. This latter I found most useful practice, and several of the kindly-disposed natives, seeing me desirous of learning, did their best to help me. I am thankful to say that I am now able to take addresses in the church, though, of course, not as yet without writing them down.[23]

He describes a little of the daily life at the Mission in this letter. The missionaries did most of their own household chores, taking turns each week for the responsibility of cooking and cleaning. Greenshield, like Parker, Sampson and Bilby before him, had some medical training provided by the CMS, so he spent a good deal of his time attending to people's illnesses and accidents. It seems that medical attention was not one of the services which the traders performed. The school which the missionaries had been running was well attended. Greenshield does not mention the number of pupils, but records that there were four classes. (In 1900, 70 children attended.)[24] Most of the children were "able to read and write well in the syllabic characters."

He wrote that the older scholars had been transcribing some of the books of the Old Testament and some of the Epistles from the Moravian editions in roman characters to the syllabic characters so that not only were they learning themselves but were making the Scriptures available to others.

Four men and ten women were baptized in Greenshield's first year, and four marriages solemnized. "We had the honour of providing the first wedding breakfast in Blacklead Island. This was held in our house the day following the weddings, which took place on the Sunday."[25] Greenshield took this turn of events, Christian marriage, as a matter of course. For a Christian missionary, this was a natural outcome of the Gospel which the missions proclaimed. Monogamy, a requirement of Christian marriage, was not part of the Inuit lifestyle. The Moravians, who were able to keep a close watch over the Inuit at their missions, experienced difficulties in enforcing monogamous relationships. CMS records do not indicate whether this problem existed among the Inuit at Cumberland Sound.

From letters of other years, we learn that church services were held twice on Sundays and every evening when weather and the hunting season permitted. Bilby had entertained the Inuit on several occasions with lantern slides depicting Biblical narratives or of a general educational nature, and it is safe to assume that this type of entertainment continued.

Each year, if it was possible, the missionaries went to Kikkerton and did some itinerating in the area as circumstances permitted. The 1902 visit to Kikkerton was a memorable one for the missionaries. An Inuk at Kikkerton experienced a revelation of a sort, Greenshield reported, from the goddess Sedna. The teaching that accompanied the revelation appears to have been a mixture of Christian teaching and Inuit customs. This caused considerable upheaval among the Kikkerton Inuit, some of whom wanted to adopt what Greenshield called this "new theory."

The debate moved to Blacklead Island with some of the Kikkerton people, and caused more confusion. This is Greenshield's account of what transpired:

> The Blacklead Island people held a great meeting as to what should be done, and they came to the donclusion that some of it, as regards severance from old heathen customs, was good, but that some of it, according to the books they possessed and the teaching they had received, was very bad, and therefore they decided to follow more closely the Christian teaching, and to have done with all old heathen customs and observances.
>
> When Mr. Peck again reached Blacklead and went to church for the Sunday morning service, he was much surprised to find the place filled to overflowing, and to hear of all that the people on their own account, utterly uninfluenced by us (we being away at the time), decided to do.

Greenshield was not entirely taken in by all this.

> We do not for a moment suppose that all those who have come over during this new movement are true Christians from a spiritual point of view; we have plenty of evidence to show that such a supposition would be untrue. Some have come over, perhaps because others led the way; others for the simple reason that they are glad to be free of many of the old heathen customs imposed on them;

> but others have come over with a true spirit of earnestness and desire to know the truth, and we can but see in this the mighty power of God, and the answer to the many prayers offered up on behalf of these poor people by those who love them, both here and in the homeland.

He concludes his account of what could be called a "spiritual awakening" with a subtle plea (which the Editorial Board could have deleted before publishing had the Society intended to discontinue the Arctic Mission):

> And what God has done here, is He not able to do also amongst other Eskimo? I hope that I may not be deemed presumptuous for so speaking, with only one year's service in the field, but does it not seem that God is calling us to go forward amongst the Eskimo, in His Name, and proclaim to those who as yet have never heard the message of salvation?[26]

As well as being a "spiritual awakening," this episode could well fall into the category of "revitalization movements."[27] As John Webster Grant has pointed out, revitalization movements or "crisis cults"[28] (as they may also be called) were not unusual in the Canadian northwest, and may have been a manifestation of the malaise which the native peoples were experiencing at the hands of Europeans.[29] Grant's description of several of the Canadian revitalization movements suggest more organized and developed religious outbursts than that recorded by Greenshield at Blacklead Island and Kikkerton. Nevertheless, the attempt to merge old and new religious ideas seems to indicate that this may well have been a revitalization movement as well as a spiritual awakening.[30]

The year 1903 was an unfortunate one for CMS

missions in North-West Canada. It was, as we have seen, in 1903 that the CMS proposed to reduce its grants to the dioceses in Canada which it had been supporting, and to alter the administration of the mission work. The Cumberland Sound Mission was excepted from the proposed arrangement and was to "continue as heretofore."[31] But continuing "as heretofore" was not quite what Peck had in mind for his Arctic mission, and he endeavoured while in England in the winter of 1902/1903 to convince the CMS of the need for expansion of the Mission. Ahead of the Canadian Church by some thirty years, he thought a separate Arctic mission (or even diocese) was necessary to reach the 10,000 Inuit located along the Arctic coastline.[32] He met with the Group Committee and wrote several letters. His plans included the ordination of one of the missionaries (at this time both Bilby and Greenshield were laymen, although both were later ordained); that he, Peck, would itinerate on whaling vessels in the summer and return home to England in the winter and work on his translations of the Scriptures; that someone from the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen would visit the Mission occasionally, especially when one of the two missionaries was on furlough and the other alone. He further suggested that he be permitted to raise funds towards the Mission, and that the Mission be publicized. The Committee decided otherwise:

> That while the Committee fully sympathize with the Rev. E.J. Peck in his laudable desire to reach the scattered Eskimo through an Arctic Mission, bearing

> in mind the comparative paucity of Missionaries joining their Staff and the teeming masses of populations in areas in which the Society is at work still unevangelized, they do not see their way to further augment the staff of the Cumberland Sound Mission, but they recommend:-
>
> ...
>
> (b) That until the brethren now in Cumberland Sound have both had their next furlough, the Committee defer the final consideration of the scheme proposed by Mr. Peck for freeing him for itineration in regions beyond.[33]

The decision which the Group Committee had reached on April 7, 1903 was a disappointment to Peck. He wrote back to the Secretary on May 9, 1903 expressing his dismay at the prospect of returning to his work with scarcely a hope that even one of the projects which he had brought before the Committee regarding the evangelization of the Eskimo could be carried out.[34] He wrote again in June asking for sanction to appeal for funds for a vessel, at a cost of between £600 and £900, and was turned down.[35] Clearly the Society had determined within the last year or two to reduce the emphasis of this particular mission. We assume that this policy was primarily for financial reasons. There seems to be no other obvious motive. The £600 to £900 raised for a ship was £600 to £900 that might have gone into the Society's general operating funds.

As it was, the CMS was forced to charter a vessel in 1905 to bring provisions to the Mission as Noble's firm was unable to send a ship to its stations in Cumberland Sound. (Their ship, the Heimdal had been wrecked the

year before.) This expenditure (of an amount not to exceed £300 to charter the vessel) was such that the Committee warned the missionaries that the Mission might have to close: "...owing to the difficulty and uncertainty, and probable great expense, of maintaining communications with Cumberland Sound, the Committee entertain grave doubts as to the expediency of continuing the Mission there, and that instructions for withdrawal may possibly be forwarded to them next summer...." The Secretaries were instructed to communicate with the United Brethren (the Moravians) and with the Danish Mission either to assist the Society in maintaining communications, or to take over the Mission.[34]

IV. GROWTH IN THE ARCTIC MISSION

"We have been greatly cheered by the great change which has taken place..."[37]

The decision to de-emphasize the Arctic Mission may have been a difficult one to reach for the members of the Committee in charge of North-West Canada; it certainly proved discouraging to Peck, Bilby and Greenshield. By this time the mission at Blacklead Island was showing signs of progress, the missionaries reported. The signs were equally encouraging at Kikkerton and Signia, and at the other spots (such as Frobisher Bay) to which the missionaries itinerated where the Inuit had had briefer contact with the Christian Gospel and Christian teachers. The annual letters of Bilby and Greenshield for 1903 show the enthusiasm which both men tried to communicate to their readers. Bilby's letter, though brief, is informative:

> I have had good times with both men and women; the men especially are beginning to show keen interest in our work, and while at the floe-edge in the boats they frequently wrote to assure us of their continued faith and to tell us that as often as opportunity offered itself they held meetings amongst themselves. There is also a very real and hearty ring about them now which convinces one that God's Spirit has changed them, and that your prayers have been and are being abundantly answered.
>
> The baptized Christians have, on the whole, been sticking to their colours. Many temptations have been brought to bear upon them, and their faith has been at times severely tried, but they are proving that their faith is a reality to them. Your prayers are needed that their faith may increase daily.[38]

A paragraph from Greenshield's letter is revealing

of the attitude which must have prevailed among the Inuit towards the missionaries:

> We have been greatly cheered by the great change which has taken place amongst the men with regard to Christianity. At one time they seemed to regard it as of no concern of theirs--in fact, as rather beneath their notice, and they despised the teachers of the new religion who were not able to go forth and hunt and to do great things in the way that they were. This spirit seems to have altogether passed away now, and they attend church, visit our house, are glad to see us in their own, and show much interest in all they are taught.[39]

Greenshield's letter informs us that church services every second evening and twice on Sunday were well attended. "...There was, generally speaking, excellent attention shown, and much reverence during the services. This is a marked difference when one takes into consideration what these services used to be when people came either to interrupt or merely to hear the singing, of which they are very fond, and gave but scant attention to addresses and sermons." (He remarks that the Inuit Christians conducted services on their own when both Bilby and Greenshield were away itinerating.) In addition to the "usual subjects of Scripture and religious teaching, reading and writing," the children in school were being taught arithmetic and elementary geography, and were doing quite well. Greenshield had just finished building a "small wooden hospital, into which we shall be able to receive the worst cases of our sick and suffering Eskimo, and treat them with far greater advantage than we can in their snow-houses or sealskin tents." Moreover, the Mission operated a soup

kitchen in times of severe weather when hunting was impossible.[40]

Over the next few years, among other things, of course, obtaining a ship seems to have been one of Peck's higher priorities. He was in communication with a number of people including Dr. Grenfell, his Bishop (the Bishop of Moosonee), the Canadian government and the Parent Committee. His highest priority, however, was to prevent the closure of the Mission.

The difficulty of the situation was compounded by the fact of Bilby's resignation from the CMS in 1906, together with Greenshield's desire to return to his aging parents in England, and Peck's own advancing years and family commitments. In a complete about-face, the CMS was not prepared to replace either Bilby or Greenshield. As a result, the Mission closed temporarily in 1906.

In March of that year in one of Peck's letters, there was a brief allusion to the Canadian Church's taking over the Inuit missions,[41] and it seems to have been the subject of discussion among some of the leading clergy and laity of the Church of England in Canada and the CMS. There was a proposal for an Arctic diocese which did not meet with a great deal of approval. Presumably, no one was willing to undertake the expense of such an undertaking. Indeed, it was not until 1933 that a Diocese of the Arctic was formed.

In 1907 the Bishop of Moosonee wrote to the Parent Committee that he was strongly of the opinion that the

Arctic Mission should be worked from Canada. He also commented that if Mr. Peck could do deputational work for the MSCC, he was convinced that this would rouse the Canadian Church on behalf of the Eskimo, the work amongst Christianized Indians having lost its charm.[42] On this advice (and only on this advice, it seems), the Parent Committee prepared a resolution moving "the base of the new CMS Arctic mission" from England to Canada, and putting the two missionaries, Peck and Greenshield, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Moosonee. The preamble to the Resolution is somewhat ambiguous:

> That inasmuch as work among the Eskimo has ever evoked a large amount of prayerful sympathy and support from the Society's friends in England, and that a sum of money is at the disposal of the P.C. for opening up new work in the neighbourhood of Hudson Bay, the Committee are anxious that steps be taken to continue an Arctic Mission under the Society's auspices; and inasmuch as the Society has on its staff a veteran Missionary, the Rev E.J.. Peck, and a Missionary, the Rev F.W.I. Greenshield, of six years standing, both of whom are familiar with the language and devoted to work among the Eskimo; and inasmuch as it is believed that the work amongst these people will especially appeal to the sympathy of the Church of Christ in Canada; the Committee after careful consideration of the whole question recommend, subject to the concurrence of the trustees of the Finlayson Bequest... [43]

(The Finlayson Bequest was the "sum of money" at the disposal of the P.C.)

It is unclear why the Bishop of Moosonee (and the MSCC) wanted to take the Mission over unless they thought that they could more effectively administer it and the funds for it. Another, and perhaps better, reason was access to transportation. From Canada it was easier to

negotiate with the Canadian government for a place on a government ship going north, to use the railway (which had just been extended as far north as Fort Churchill) and connect with a ship, or to get passage on a ship from St. John's, Newfoundland. Peck, as we have seen, was very concerned to obtain safe and sure transportation to and from the Mission.

A year later, on March 10, 1908, after "much correspondence" as the minute says, the General Committee enacted the following:

> Inasmuch as this Committee on March 12th, 1907, definitely expressed their anxiety that steps be taken to continue an Arctic Mission under the auspices of the Society: since two qualified men are waiting to be employed in such service, though no further recruits for the Mission are to be sent out by this Committee: since the funds for the ordinary upkeep of the Mission are specially provided for a term of years under the terms of the Finlayson Bequest: and since after much correspondence, Ashe Inlet has been selected as a suitable centre of work, as yet being accessible to a considerable body of Eskimo, and yet situated in the direct line of all shipping passing through Hudson Straits: it was
> Resolved
> That the Society's funds being not responsible for this Arctic Mission beyond the grants already authorised, it be administered as a Canadian enterprise by the Bishop of Moosonee; and that the Committee concur in the Rev. E.J. Peck visiting England in order that he may use his personal influence among his friends to raise a Diocesan Fund of £2,000, for this special object, but without public appeal.[44]

In the meantime, while these negotiations were going on, Bilby, now in the employ of the Bishop of Moosonee or on his own, and Greenshield, still in the employ of the CMS, made visits to Blackhead Island and the outlying missions.

The opening of a mission at Ashe Inlet was delayed until 1909 for several reasons, not the least of which was the cost. Peck had been given permission to raise £2,000 in Great Britain and Canada; by the summer of 1908 when the arrangements for travel, etc. should have been underway, he had succeeded in raising only £1,000.[45] In the summer of 1909, however, all the arrangements were completed. The missionaries in England were to proceed to Newfoundland where Peck would meet them and would sail to Ashe Inlet. As the mission at Blacklead Island was also to be re-opened and as it could only then be reached by Noble's ship, Greenshield went directly from Scotland to Blacklead Island. J.W. Bilby and A.L. Fleming (the latter recruited by Bishop Holmes of Moosonee in Great Britain in 1908), met Peck at St. John's, Newfoundland and all three travelled north to Ashe Inlet on one of Grenfell's ships, the "Lorna Doone." Lake Harbour, they were informed when they arrived there, was where most Inuit in the area lived, and not Ashe Inlet.

Peck's journal for the period July 22, 1909 to Oct. 1, 1909 records the journey and their arrival at Lake Harbour. "A loud cry soon arose, and as we walked up we were soon surrounded by a crowd of expectant people. Heartily were our hands grasped... 'We wanted ministers and now they are come.'"[46] The three men, aided, no doubt by local helpers, unloaded their two years provisions of food and fuel and put together the prefabricated house in which they were to live and

worship. When all the necessary preparations were completed to his satisfaction, Peck left Bilby and Fleming and returned to St. John's on the "Lorna Doone." Peck was unwilling to be separated from his wife for almost a year as her health was not good.

Greenshield, travelling on a Dutch ship the "Jantina Agatha" from Scotland to the Arctic in 1909, was shipwrecked near Blacklead Island. Knowing the area, he was able to guide the life boat to safety on Blacklead Island, and the Inuit there kept him and the nine Dutch sailors fed and clothed.[47] The mission stores for one year were soon consumed. Of importance to him as a missionary, he was able to report to the CMS on his return that he found the church in Cumberland Sound with its spiritual life vigorous. The two Inuit catechists whom he had left there when the Mission closed had maintained the spiritual life of the Church; and all were Christian in Blacklead Island and Kikkerton. When he returned home in the autumn of 1910 he left seven men and four women as authorized teachers.[48] He wrote to the CMS and commented that the "help rendered by the Eskimo during the past trying year has demonstrated the influence of the mission, & this [has been] recognized by traders and crews of whalers visiting Cumberland Sound."[49] In 1912 he made much the same comment. Writing for the Church Missionary Review, he reported that the crew and captain of a Canadian government ship, all Roman Catholics, were impressed with the effect

reading the Bible was having on the people of the Arctic, and "that no one could ever estimate the expansiveness or influence of Mr. Peck's work amongst the Eskimo in giving them the Gospels and teaching them to read."[50]

For the peace of mind of the missionaries, it is fortunate that the Inuit community at Blacklead Island was self-sufficient in its spirituality as neither Greenshield nor any other missionary was able to go again until between 1911 and 1913. After that, circumstances were such that it was impossible for Greenshield to cross the Atlantic.

Peck continued to work for the Arctic Mission in a number of ways: he translated several books of the Bible and did a considerable amount of promotional work for the Arctic. He also made trips for many summers to the Arctic. He reported to the CMS in 1918, for instance, that there were 228 baptized Christians at Lake Harbour (of whom 53 were communicants). He had baptized 82 adults and 46 children that year on his visit. The effectiveness of his promotional work within Canada is questionable in view of its results. However, the inability of the MSCC to administer the Mission is more likely to have been the reason for the virtual abandonment of the Mission than anything Peck might have left unsaid.

Three years after the withdrawal of the CMS from Canada, on September 10, 1924, E.J. Peck died. He had resigned and retired on June 18 about one month after the

resignation of Greenshield had finally been received by the CMS. Peck's extant papers and CMS records show no indication that the two men kept in contact. If they did, or if in some other way Peck learned that Greenshield had resigned from the CMS (he had been on unpaid furlough since 1913), was this the final blow to his Arctic dreams? In any case, it was the end of any CMS involvement in the Arctic.

Peck was certainly responsible for the Arctic Mission. He initiated it and worked hard to convince the CMS that the Mission was worth pursuing. When they hesitated, he urged. In its early years, he guided and taught the new and young missionaries whom the CMS sent. Bilby and Greenshield were proof of his training methods. Both were outstanding missionaries. In the Mission's later years--still before 1920--Peck seems to have been the one consistent presence. He stayed only for the summer, but that he did almost every summer.

He was responsible, directly or indirectly, for bringing the southern part of Baffin Island to Christianity.

No one is perfect: Peck's methods of organization and his business sense were questioned by S.H. Blake, the Convenor of the MSCC's Special Eskimo Committee. However, as Blake, a lawyer, was attempting to explain his Committee's delays in starting up, his criticisms of Peck lack a certain credibility.[51]

More to the point were Bilby's difficulties with

Peck. What they were, we do not know, nor do we know whether the problems were of Bilby's own making. (Bilby had hoped to marry one of the residents of Baffin Island contrary to the recommendations of the Society, and as a consequence, found it necessary to resign from the CMS.)[52] Peck's treatment of him at this point may not have been as understanding as Bilby would have liked. In any case, in 1916 writing to Fleming, Bilby referred to Peck as "slippery," and added that he could not keep his promises. He admitted, however, that Peck's insecurity about the continuance of the Mission had some bearing on his actions. Bilby was openly bitter about the recent handling of the Mission.[53]

In the total picture of Edmund James Peck, these are petty criticisms. Under severe odds, he kept the Arctic Mission alive. His disappointments, particularly with the CMS, must have sorely tried him. He was a good linguist, an excellent correspondent with style and a flair for detail--his letters and journals make good reading--and presumably an equally enthusiastic speaker. He was in demand to speak and preach about Inuit missions throughout Great Britain and eastern Canada.

V. WITHDRAWAL FROM CANADA

> It has long been felt by many of the Society's friends, including some leading members of the Committee, that in view of the urgency of the calls for extension of the Missions in the densely-populated portions of the heathen world, and of the great difficulty of providing men and means for such extension, and even for the natural expansion of existing work, it was becoming a duty to reduce the expenditure upon the Red Indian Missions in the Dominion of Canada. These Missions have for some years cost the Society from £16,000 to £20,000 a year...[54]

The withdrawal scheme which was adopted by the CMS on April 14, 1903 and put into effect January 1, 1904 was based on the impression that the Church of England in Canada would gradually assume the responsibility for the spiritual welfare of its own native peoples. The Society's annual report for 1882-83 (when withdrawal was first publicly considered) expressed it in this way: "In North America and New Zealand it can look forward to leaving its Indian and Maori children to the care of the English Bishops, with the happy consciousness that by God's good blessing its will will then be done. This is a well understood and long-recognized principle..."[55]

The most far-reaching provision was the reduction of the block grants (based on the 1903 figures) by one-twelfth per year from January 1, 1904 until December 31, 1915. After January 1, 1921, no grants of any sort were to be forthcoming. The ten missionaries in the North-West Canada Mission as of April 14, 1903 would continue to be paid their salaries and allowances so long as they remained in Canada as missionaries of the

Society. (It should be noted that there were several other missionaries at CMS missions, but these men were not, to use a CMS term, "in full connexion." In other words, their stipends and allowances were paid by some body other than the CMS.) The Society retained unaltered its responsibility relative to the financial provision for the bishops it supported (Athabaska, Mackenzie River, Selkirk (Yukon), Moosonee, and of Keewatin, a subsidy). The Finlayson Bequest grants (of £650 in 1904) were not to be reduced, but they, too, were to cease after January 1, 1921. The Society would continue, with the Bishops, to administer the Mission. And, as the original version of the scheme proposed, the Cumberland Sound Mission to the Eskimo was excluded from the withdrawal.

The amounts of money involved as set out in the document entitled "Resolutions regarding the Administration of the North-West Canada Missions" were as follows:

CMS missionaries (salaries, travelling and other allowances)	£ 4,727: 0:0
Block grants for 1904 (with 1/12th deducted from the 1903 figure)	4,646:10:0
Finlayson Bequest grants	650: 0:0
Totals	£10,023:10:0 [54]

(In converting to Canadian dollars, the rate of exchange used at the time was $5.00 to £1:0:0.)

The Church of England in Canada, having been in existence as a corporate entity only since 1893, had no

organization to assume its domestic mission responsiblities. Hence the objections to the original scheme of 1902. On September 5, 1902, however, the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church (usually referred to as the MSCC) was constituted, replacing the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. This body, despite its name, had practically no domestic mission responsibility. The MSCC was set up to represent the whole of the Church of England in Canada for missionary outreach inside and outside the country. For income it depended on diocesan apportionments[57] and on donations from both Canadian and British sources. In December 1902 its budget included a total apportionment of $75,000. Annually, apart from the apportionments, it issued two appeals for funds, one for domestic missions and one for foreign. Significantly, it did not operate on the basis of deficit financing.

At the beginning the MSCC did not even attempt to assume full financial or administrative responsibility for the CMS-assisted dioceses: the idea was that the MSCC, and the Canadian Church, would have twelve years in which to accustom themselves to responsibility, particularly financial, for the Indian and Eskimo missions.

What was not foreseen was the almost complete lack of attention which the MSCC was to pay to its Eskimo missions. For several years, either because of internal disorganization, lack of funds, or the controversies

which erupted over the management of Indian mission schools, the MSCC appears to have neglected the missions to the Inuit in Canada.

VI. EFFECTS OF WITHDRAWAL IN THE ARCTIC

"The whole business is a vast Chinese puzzle..."[58]

The Cumberland Sound Mission had been excluded from these arrangements. Nevertheless, the Society consistently maintained in its correspondence regarding the Mission the real possibility that the Mission might have to close. Their dependence on the one trader's annual ship, the problems for the missionaries with communication, of isolation, even of starvation, gave the Society grave doubts. Cost, without a doubt, was a factor. So long as the trader at Blacklead Island, Crawford Noble, was prepared to transport the missionaries and their supplies free of charge, the Society seems to have been prepared to continue the Mission. However, when they had to charter a vessel to bring supplies to the missionaries in 1905, the end was clearly in view. Not only was there an unexpected expense, but the lives of the missionaries were in jeopardy.

The mission at Blacklead Island closed temporarily in 1906. Bilby had resigned, Peck and Greenshield were on furlough. The Society sent no one to replace them. Peck was cautiously optimistic: "This will enable the native Christians to be tested as to their ability to stand alone."[59]

In 1907 the Arctic Mission was transferred to Canada. The Society was prepared to assist in the financing of the mission, as we have seen, out of the

Finlayson Bequest. The stipends of Peck and Greenshield were paid out of this fund as was an initial grant of £200 and an annual block grant of £250.[40] It seems clear from the wording of the resolution of February 22, 1907 that the CMS intended to remain involved to some extent in the Arctic Mission. The resolution reads as follows:

> (a) That the base of the new C.M.S. Arctic Mission be transferred from England to Canada
>
> (b) That Messrs. Peck and Greenshield - while still on the Society's staff of Missionaries - be invited to place themselves at the disposal of the Bishop of Moosonee for work among the Eskimo on the shores of Hudson Bay, at a spot to be subsequently selected by the Bishop in conference with these brethren and the P.C., the P.C. continuing to be responsible for all the usual personal and furlough allowances to these two missionaries.
>
> ...
>
> (d) That any future Missionaries joining this Arctic Mission be drawn from Canada.[41]

That the MSCC also became involved may well have had some bearing on "the vast Chinese puzzle"[42] that developed vis-à-vis the Arctic Mission. These were the words which Bilby used in a letter to Fleming some years later when reviewing the mission. The Bishop of Moosonee acted to some extent as though he was responsible. It was he, for instance, who had recruited Archibald Fleming in 1908. Yet he admitted as early as August 1907 that the whole question of the Arctic Mission would have to be discussed at the Provincial Synod and at a MSCC Board meeting[43]--a meeting which he later described as "tempestuous."[44] He also commented in a letter to the CMS after that meeting, "the Canadian missionary dioceses

are becoming an unbearable burden.... It was clearly seen that the MSCC do not intend to take up work from which the Society is withdrawing."[43]

The MSCC seems to have been hesitant to become financially involved in the Inuit mission beyond its agreed commitment, so was the Society.[44] This left the Diocese of Moosonee having to bear the financial burden, something which it could do only with great difficulty. An Arctic Mission Fund was set up, but from the contributions which were recorded in the Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag, one can see that financial donations were small. Although the Cumberland Sound Mission was the best known, there was work needed to establish or to strengthen Inuit missions in other locations within the Diocese.

The MSCC appointed a Special Eskimo Committee in 1910 to work with the Bishop of Moosonee, another piece being added to Bilby's "Chinese puzzle." This Committee had $2,500 to spend on the Arctic Mission, but hesitated to disburse any of it. S.H. Blake, the Convenor of the Committee (and a prominent evangelical layman in Toronto), wrote to Bishop Anderson of Moosonee as follows:

> It will be seen, therefore, that this special committee was required to take up the question of the needs of the whole of the above field [Eskimo territory in the Diocese of Moosonee] and to deal with the funds as they deem best in conjunction with the other moneys raised by Mr Peck for the work. The committee has been endeavouring to obtain information as to these funds, their amount, who is the treasurer, where are the

> accounts, what money is on hand, where deposited and how invested, the sources of income which can be relied upon, the names of the persons dependent upon the fund, what are the strategic points to be dealt with, what buildings are in existence and what are needed, what programme is there for work in the locality considered to be the strategic points, what if anything, has been done on the lines of encouraging industries in exchange for Eskimo work,&c. These enquiries were followed by suggestions as to the method of carrying on the work. Then there followed enquiries as to the articles needed, reserve stock, &c. There were some conferences, but no distinct statement was made giving the information, without which it was impossible for the committee to carry out the duty cast upon it. It became, therefore, impossible for the committee to advise the disbursement of any portion of the $2500.00. This, of course, was to be regretted, as the Board of Management and the committee have been most anxious to endeavour to get the work fully organized and in such a shape as that the best that can be done would be carried out for the 2100 Eskimo that would be touched by this scheme.[67]

According to the Bishop of Keewatin (whose diocese was formed out of that of Moosonee and, like Moosonee, bordered the shores of Hudson's Bay), the MSCC was too heavily involved in white work in Canada and in foreign missions in China and Japan to put much emphasis on their domestic missions. He wrote to the CMS to this effect, adding:

> It is the bounden duty of the church in Canada to look after her own Missions first...and it should have been done from the very formation of the MSCC. If these missions have to be abandoned or handed over to the Church of Rome, then let the whole church in Canada face the responsibility, and not try to put the blame on any one else.

He doubted that there were insufficient funds but if, in fact, that were the case, "then let them [the MSCC] curtail their white work in Canada and their foreign work in China and Japan, until they have done their duty to

their own household... I know I stand pretty well alone on this matter...."[48]

In Canada controversies were developing, as well, over the management of Indian schools in CMS-assisted dioceses. The MSCC, it seems, could neither replace the funds of the decreasing CMS grants nor could they supply the needed oversight of several scattered missions in nine dioceses.

Whether it was the result of letters such as that of the Bishop of Keewatin, intuition or pure chance, the CMS learned in 1913 what was happening--and not happening--in their Canadian missions. Early in 1914 they re-opened with the MSCC the subject of their grant reductions and that Society's responsibility for domestic missions. Time was short: the block grants from the CMS were to cease on January 1, 1916.

The Minute of the Parent Committee which met on January 16, 1914 sets out the facts as the CMS saw them. (The Minute is quoted in full in Appendix A.) In brief, in this minute the CMS admitted that they "may have paid, albeit unintentionally, too little attention to the needs and difficulties ... of the Canadian Church..." They saw that the Indian and Eskimo work "was rapidly passing away from the footing on which it was placed by the Society." However, while they were prepared to adjust the grants, they wanted assurance from the MSCC that a scheme would be effected "which promises timely & permanent provision for the remaining work."[49]

Both the Societies negotiated slowly and cautiously; of course, with the outbreak of war in August 1914 one cannot expect that the missions to Canada's native peoples would receive immediate and undivided attention. Communications were slow, and at least one important letter from the CMS to the MSCC was lost. That letter set out the grants which the CMS was prepared to give the Canadian Church from 1916 to 1920, inclusive, provided "that, if the Diocesan authorities and the Board of the M.S.C.C. can definitely undertake the management of and responsibility for the work in the future...."[70] The accompanying letter was even more specific:

> ...You will see that our Committee's undertaking is to do their best to provide an additional grant of £1000 a year for five years if such an organisation as you have sketched can be brought into being to receive and administer these grants in co-operation with the Diocesan authorities. Though nothing very strong to that effect is said in the Minute you must please realise that the addition could only be made on such a condition, and with a definite prospect of the responsibilities being as quickly as possible taken over from the C.M.S. by the new organisation.[71]

The MSCC went to considerable lengths to assure the CMS that they were prepared to assume this responsibility, though they moved slowly--even by their own admission.

> To conclude, the slowness with which the decision of this very important question is being reached must not be interpreted as indicative of want of interest or determination on the part of the Board of Management. The emphasis as a matter of fact bears strongly in the opposite direction. The C.M.S. and the Board of Management, I take it, desire the same result, viz. the preservation and development of the work among the aborigines of Canada represented by the decades of service

> and liberality of the agents and supporters of the C.M.S. That the tedious and arduous investigation required to secure that end - which should have been carried through during the first quinquennium after the adoption of the P.C.'s resolution of 1903 - has been deferred until the last quinquennium before the complete withdrawal of the C.M.S. is a matter of great regret, it cannot now be avoided. I can only, for my part, repeat ...that the Board of Management, and the Canadian Church at large, is actuated by a sincere desire and determination to settle this question upon a basis which will enable the Canadian Church to develop its missionary plans with the consciousness that no worthy cause within its borders is suffering from neglect, and permit the C.M.S. to withdraw finally, in the confidence that the fruitful and heroic work of its missionaries will be preserved and developed.[72]

During the "tedious and arduous investigation" (in 1915), the CMS was able to arrange the grants so that they reverted to their 1910 level and were reduced by one-fifth annually for the remaining five years. Moreover, the Society was able to give an extra £5,000 to be spread over the five-year period.

With the War over in 1918, the situation in both countries seemed better than it had for some time, and the CMS and the MSCC each had large fund-raising projects in view. The MSCC gave the services of two Canadian bishops to speak at the CMS Thankoffering Fund appeals--and was to receive £25,000 towards its own Indian and Eskimo Endowment Fund.[73] The Anglican Forward Movement, the Canadian fund-raising appeal was successful; in fact, there were surpluses. The CMS was not so fortunate. The economy of Europe took longer to recover from the effects of the War. Inflation rose sharply, and there were an unprecedented number of

strikes that year. These and other factors seem to have made it impossible for CMS supporters to donate at their pre-war level. Regardless, the MSCC insisted on its promised £25,000. Gould, the Secretary, wrote to the Society on March 1, 1920:

> We at this end, are therefore, in this position: we emphasised, as we thought on agreed grounds, the fact that while the C.M.S. was about to withdraw in accordance with its long-announced decision, it had undertaken a final contribution on behalf of the work in which it had been so deeply interested, and that in consequence we were jointly undertaking, upon a basis of agreed proportions, the provision of the full amount considered necessary as an Endowment Fund. These facts we set out in our literature and emphasised very widely through sermons, addresses and other public utterances. This announced partnership in the effort had much to do, I believe, in arousing the interest and exciting the generosity of Canadian Church people.
>
> In dependence upon these convictions, we have not only made the announcements described, but in doing so have tied our hands in a manner which now prevents us from taking certain remedial action which might otherwise have remained in our power: that is, have publicly declared that the sum of $300,000 would be a sufficient amount to provide through the A.F.M. appeal to ensure a total of $500,000 for the Indian and Eskimo Fund, at the same time we designated to other objects any and all contributions in excess of the total asked for in the appeal. If, therefore, we have now to announce to the subscribers to the Indian and Eskimo Fund, that the statements made by us in printed and oral forms were mistaken and that, the full amount will not be made up, we shall I fear be subject to considerable criticism, followed by the development of some amount of feeling which will not be conducive to the welfare of the interests we have mutually at heart.[74]

Despite a serious deficit, the CMS kept its promise, and the gift of £25,000 was duly paid and the hundred year relationship with Canadian missions ended. "We rejoice to think of the Church of Canada taking over the

work, and not least that you should be allowing us to take part in the future of the work by making this contribution towards the endowment of the work."[75]

Through all these negotiations the Arctic Mission continued, first at Blacklead Island and later (1909) at Lake Harbour. Fleming was critical of the way the MSCC handled its responsibility towards the Arctic Mission. He wrote to Sydney Gould, the Secretary of the MSCC, expressing his frustration: "Will the Church face the problem? I gathered up information of all kinds in 1913-15 and the Church has done nothing with the same. If I gather up more now will it be used? Does the Church care? Are those in authority prepared to take a big view of this difficult problem?"[76]

We would contend that the Church (or at least the CMS and the MSCC) did not care very greatly. It seems conclusive from the extant material and from the actions taken by the CMS and the MSCC that missions to the Canadian Inuit were of low priority to these two societies.

We have seen that the CMS abruptly transferred the Mission to the Canadian Church (despite an earlier agreement to exclude this Mission from the withdrawal scheme) as soon as costs exceeded what to the Society was an acceptable level. They ignored for six years what was taking place at their Canadian missions, including the Arctic Mission, regardless of information and complaints from Canadian bishops and their own missionaries. During

those same years, the MSCC did little of a constructive nature for the Arctic Mission. They had grandiose schemes (Blake's letters of 1910-1911 mention starting industries for the Inuit), but those schemes did not materialize. One suspects that a lack of organization within the MSCC contributed in some degree to this aspect of the problem.

Finances clearly were at the root of the negligence on the part of both societies. To a point, this is excusable. However, we believe that the CMS was irresponsible, regardless of its financial woes, in its negligence of Canadian missions in the years immediately prior to withdrawal. The MSCC was little better in its disorganization and in its inability to fund the Arctic Mission. Today many Canadians would agree with the Bishop of Keewatin's remarks in 1907 that domestic missions should take priority. In his day, that attitude was not popular, or so he believed. Nevertheless, it is our opinion that the MSCC erred in not allocating sufficient funds to operate the Arctic Mission in an adequate fashion. Needs, not only spiritual, but also medical and educational, existed among the Inuit in northern Canada.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

"...Nothing in the world is harder than to know when and how to speak..."[1]

In this investigation of the Inuit missions at Baffin Island and in Labrador, we have attempted to do several things: primarily, we have tried to show that the Inuit at both missions were ill-served by the societies which sponsored the missions. In the case of Baffin Island, the sending society was the Church Missionary Society, partially succeeded by the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church; in the case of Labrador, it was the Mission Board of the Moravian Church, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel and the British Moravian Church. Although the internal changes reflected in these successions undoubtedly caused confusion among the administrators of the missions, especially in the case of the CMS and the MSCC, this does not seem to be the chief cause of what we have called inadequate service. Rather, this inadequate service stemmed from the decision both groups had made in the 1880s and later to expand into other parts of the world--to evangelize the "teeming masses" of China, Japan and Africa--at the expense of the already-established missions in Canada and Labrador. Contributing to the decision, and to the poor service, was a decrease in mission income experienced by both groups and their successors in the two mission fields. In no way do we fault the missionaries who laboured long and hard in these two bleak and inhospitable fields. Indeed, the actions of their

sending societies caused them frustration, discouragement and disappointment.

Our second purpose in this investigation was to look at the missionary activities in these two missions during this forty-year period which preceded the major change in organization. We noted the methods in which the CMS introduced the Christian message to the Inuit at Baffin Island and looked at the way the Moravians administered what were, in fact, not so much missions as parishes. Except for climate and people, both situations were quite dissimilar. For the Inuit at Baffin Island, these were initial contacts with missionaries and for the missionaries the message of the Christian gospel had to be taught to people to whom it was brand new. The Labrador Inuit, on the other hand, had been exposed to Christianity since 1771 and virtually all were at least nominal Christians. The missionaries' task was to reinforce the teachings of their Church and to encourage the Inuit to live (and die) according to those teachings. As we have seen, this proved to be a difficult task.

As so many aspects of these two missions were different, we have not attempted to make any direct comparisons between the missions, the missionaries or the sending societies. We have tried, however, to look briefly at the two organizations so as to understand their background and the background of their missionaries. We believed, for instance, that it was useful to draw attention to the typical European Moravian

village and particularly to its choir-houses, in order to give a clearer picture of the kind of village the missionaries envisaged in Labrador. This was unique to the Moravian lifestyle, and it determined to a large extent the religious mentality of the missionaries who had been raised in such a community.

We were able to compare somewhat better the missionary training required by both societies. Both had institutions where the education and spiritual development of a potential missionary was directed and shaped. Both, being deeply evangelical organizations, chose their candidates from among men and women who were strongly and spiritually motivated. The CMS in its missionary preparation placed a greater emphasis on theological education than the Moravian Church appears to have done, while the Moravian Church required more practical knowledge. Yet in the Arctic Mission, the CMS missionary staff were all chosen from among the more practically trained group of candidates whom the Society sent to its less civilized mission fields.[2] Hence, the Anglican missionaries in the Arctic and the Moravian missionaries in Labrador had much in common. To sail a boat or to erect a prefabricated church was not the problem it might have been. Ordination to ministry in their respective churches followed after a number of years' service in the mission field.[3] The missionaries of both organizations underwent a commissioning to service abroad in the name of Christ. We commented in

passing that the nature of the missionary training which both groups of missionaries underwent, combined with their evangelical spirituality, undoubtedly shaped the direction of their missionary outreach. We see no reason to question the effects of their interpretation of the Christian Gospel on the Inuit.

Attention has been drawn in this investigation, as well, to the methods of financing which both organizations employed, as we believe that money--or the lack thereof--was an important part of the serious problems which plagued both missions from the 1880s to the 1920s. In the case of both groups, the largest segment of their income came from voluntary donors--in other words, neither organization was supported by government nor church. Perhaps the situation of the Moravians ought to be explained in this connection. While they could look to their entire membership for donations (unlike the CMS who could look for support only from "evangelical" Anglicans), they did not receive missionary funds from their Church. (The MSCC, the missionary society of the Church of England in Canada, could and did expect missionary funds from the Church in the form of diocesan apportionments.) Both societies experienced severe deficits during this forty-year period. Contemporaries suggested that the mission fields were expanding faster than funds were being received. We have suggested that one or two turns of events may also have contributed. Interest in missionary causes in the

form of donations may have begun to wane or at least to lose pace with the level of expansion, or the proliferation of missionary societies in the late nineteenth century may have reduced the amounts given to the older societies. Moravians, we should point out, in Britain at least, were supported by other than just the members of their own Church. Added to this were economic factors in Great Britain and continental Europe before and after the War which diminished the affluence of the so-called middle class (or classes), the great supporters of Protestant missions.

This brings us back to our original point: that the missions were ill-served or at least inadequately served by the sponsoring societies.

Neither society, so far as we can determine from the information available, questioned its decision to de-emphasize its northern missions. The CMS withdrew; the Moravians merely instituted economies and finally withdrew the trade side of the Mission which, from the Inuit point of view, may well have been the more important aspect of the whole Mission. Neither society expressed any real concern publicly for the lack of development or even continuity (in the case of the CMS) which would have to be suffered by the people at these missions as a result of these decisions. We may be unfair to many of the individuals who participated in the decision-making process and who may have expressed concerns of this or another nature, but the fact remains

that publicly the decisions were made to decrease the amounts spent in North-West Canada for the CMS and in Labrador for the Moravians. The Indians of North America (which for the CMS included the Inuit) were a dying race as were the Inuit in Labrador.[4]

Essentially our quarrel with the CMS lies in their allowing Peck and his colleagues, Parker, Sampson, Bilby and Greenshield, to initiate the mission on Baffin Island and then to thwart them whenever and however they attempted to expand. No ship could be bought or chartered, and when the latter became necessary, the mission had to close. The CMS refused to increase the mission staff to ensure that there were always two men at the mission. Other than cost, there does not seem to be any valid reason for the CMS in 1907 to have transferred the responsibility for the mission to the Canadian Church. The negligence of the mission--and of all the Indian missions in Canada by their own admission[5]--until 1913 is deplorable, and we can make no excuses for it. Had the War not intervened, the Society might have been able to effect some changes and to have brought the missions back to their original footing.[6] This, however, is pure speculation.

They believed that the time was right to withdraw from North-West Canada: the "euthanasia" of a mission was part of their native church philosophy.[7] This is part of a question of far greater proportions than we would attempt to address. The CMS may have been correct:

but their method in Canada of effecting withdrawal was not the best suited to the circumstances which prevailed at the time. It was certainly not good for the Inuit missions which, short years before, the Society was enthusiastically promoting.

It is less easy for this writer to be quite so condemnatory of the Moravian mission in Labrador--although as we have seen, its critics abound--because it is our opinion that the total efforts of the missionary enterprise in Labrador from 1771 onwards outweigh the many errors in management and financing which undoubtedly occurred. We are not qualified to make any comments on the social or cultural aspects of the Moravian-Inuit relationships. Clearly Inuit culture and religion were displaced by those of Europeans. Traditional hunting and fishing patterns were altered to meet the SFG's markets, although it seems that under the Hudson's Bay Company some of these were resumed. It is doubtful that the Mission can be held responsible for the economic difficulties of northern Labrador then or now.

Our quarrel with this organization--be it the Moravian Church, the SFG or the British Moravian Church--was its decision to decrease its spending in Labrador at a time when a not too substantial financial outlay would have improved life--literally--at the Mission. Clearly their income for missions was limited--one cannot dispute that--but we question why the

needs of existing missions were sacrificed to the needs of new and yet non-existent missions. Not until the Mission was forced by the presence in Labrador of Wilfred Grenfell did they undertake to provide qualified medical assistance at their Mission. Yet the population had been decreasing for several decades due to epidemics and a high rate of infant mortality. Only when Grenfell brought to their attention the connection between housing, hygiene and disease did they make any effort to educate and assist the Inuit towards improving their housing and methods of waste disposal. Judging by the extant correspondence (some of which we cited), the Mission Board and the SFG needed the criticism of "the stranger at their gates"? before initiating needed improvements.

We are also of the opinion that the schools which the missionaries operated were deprived of needed funds. These were the only schools in northern Labrador at the time. For Br. Perrett to have to appeal to the readers of Periodical Accounts for text books in 1909[10] or for Br. Ritter to have to assure the Mission Board that the new school in Makkovik would not cost them anything[11] is regrettable. As we commented, education was about the last area in which the Mission could be innovative; yet it was hampered by insufficient funds.

The provision of poor relief was a contentious issue--as is any social assistance programme. Whether the Mission was as open-handed as it should have been (or

as the missionaries might have wished), is hard to determine. Their own records indicate that few people died of starvation in the Mission villages although they admit to many seasons of severe privation. Their philosophy, to which we alluded, was not to encourage idleness. One notes a slight softening of this attitude by the 1920s: in particular we would refer to the comments of the missionaries after the decision to disallow any further credit at the mission stores: "...but our people were assured that the Mission would see that no one starved: help would be given where needed."[12]

All in all, we believe, from our observation of these two small northern missions, that the CMS and the Moravian Church erred in their missionary policies in Canada vis-a-vis the Inuit. By withholding needed financial support at an important time in the life of the mission, they blocked the development of the missions in Baffin Island and in Labrador in the spiritual sphere as well as in the medical and educational spheres.

NOTES

PREFACE

[1]E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899-1916),v. 2, p. 316.

[2]The spelling of place names, such as Okak and Makkovik, varied from time to time. We will use the form generally in use at the time of writing.

[3]H. Kleivan, The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador: a History of Eskimo-White Relations, 1771-1955 (Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitutt, 1966) and B. Richling, "Hard Times Them Times: an Interpretative Ethnohistory of the Inuit and Settlers in the Hopedale District of Northern Labrador" (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1978).

[4]J.W. Grant, "Indian Missions as European Enclaves," Sciences religieuses/Studies in Religion 7:3 (1978):274

[5]H.A. Williamson, "The Moravian Mission and its Impact on the Labrador Eskimo." Arctic Anthropology 2:2 (1964): 32-36.

[6]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1902. (London: CMS, 1902), p. 585.

[7]Mission records up to about 1900 were microfilmed in 1954 by the Public Archives of Canada, and a finding aid (No. 23) to the collection has been prepared. Much of the correspondence after 1900 was not microfilmed, however, and the records relevant to the Arctic Mission were consulted at the University of Birmingham. The references therefore are cited according to the classification scheme given by the CMS Archivist to the Society's records in the 1950s.

[8]Prior to their transfer from Labrador to the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem in 1960, all the documentation at the various stations was microfilmed. The quality of the microfilming was not up to today's standards, and the finding aid (No. 339) is of limited assistance. As every researcher knows who has attempted to use these records, the quantity of the material, the absence of indexes and the German orthography of the period combine to make the contents somewhat overwhelming. By the turn of the century, the English language and the use of typewriters were becoming a part of Moravian life in Labrador, making the work of the North American researcher a little easier. Indexing of the records at Bethlehem has yet (as of July 1986) to be done.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

[1]We are considering the nineteenth century in its fullest form: i.e. ca. 1789 to ca. 1914.

[2]By the time of the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, the word "heathen" was being replaced by the less contentious "non-Christian."

[3]K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity. (New York : Harper, 1937-1945), v. 4, p. 458.

[4]Ibid., v. 4, p. 459-460

[5]Ibid., v. 4, p. 459.

[6]Two resolutions accepted by the SFG on April 20, 1710 stated that "the design of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts does chiefly...relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels..." and "that...immediate care [should] be taken to send itinerant missionaries to preach the Gospel among the Six Nations of the Indians...", cited by S. Neill, History of Christian Missions, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), p. 226.

[7]Ibid., p. 222.

[8]Ibid., p. 245.

[9]Latourette, v. 4, p. [7]-15.

[10]D. Jenness, Eskimo Administration: II. Canada. (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), p. 10.

[11]J.W. Bilby, Blacklead Island, July 12, 1905 G.1 C.1/0 1905, No. 132.

[12]W.F. King, "Report upon the Title of Canada to the Islands North of the Mainland of Canada," (Ottawa: Dept. of the Interior, 1905), p. 28 cited by Jenness, Eskimo Administration, Canada, p. 10.

[13]A.P. Low, "Cruise of the Neptune: Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands on Board the D.G.S. Neptune 1903-1904." (Ottawa: Govt. Print. Bur., 1906), p. 10, cited by Jenness, Eskimo Administration, Canada, p. 12.

[14]Jenness, Eskimo Administration, Canada, p. 14.

[15]A. L. Fleming, Archibald the Arctic. (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1956), p. 272.

[16]The foregoing incident is not referred to by Gavin White in his article "Missionaries and Traders in Baffin Island, 1894-1913", Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 17:1 (March 1975): 2-10. This article, however, sheds a good deal of light on the relationship between the missionaries and Crawford Noble's firm.

[17]C.E. Whittaker, Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1906, p. 506.

[18]Jenness, Eskimo Administration, Canada, p. 14.

[19]Cf. Richling, p. 137.

[20]Richling, p. 199.

[21]R.F. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage ([Lexington, ky.]: University of Kentucky Press, [1965]), p. 57.

[22]Latourette, v. 4, p. 60.

[23]Stock, v. 3, p. 328.

[24]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 4 (Sept. 1899): [174]. The figures have been rounded.

[25]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 2 (June 1894): 281-282.

[26]H. Venn, To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 7.

[27]Church Missionary Society, Proceedings 1880-81 (London: CMS, 1881), p.189.

[28]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 7 (Dec. 1908): [195]-199.

[29]Settler was the term used for people of European or mixed European-Inuit background who settled (lived permanently) in northern Labrador. Further south, Europeans were referred to as "Liveyeres" (a corruption of "live here"). English, not Inuktitut, was the language of communication.

CHAPTER TWO - THE MORAVIAN CHURCH, A MISSION CHURCH

[1]Instructions for the Mission Directing Board given by the General Synod. Herrnhut: Printed by Gustav Winter,[1899], p. 47.

[2]Ibid.

[3]A.G. Spangenburg, Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf. Barby, 1771, pp. 703 ff., cited by J. T. Hamilton and K.G. Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church (Bethlehem: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967), p. 655.

[4]Charles H. Robinson, History of Christian Missions (New York : Scribners, 1930) pp. 49-50, cited by J.H. Kane, Understanding Christian Missions. 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1982), p. 144.

[5]Periodical accounts, 32 (December 1882:[328].

[6]Robinson, p. 49-50, cited by Kane, p. 144.

[7]Churches respond to BEM, v. 3. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986, p. [284].

[8]Results of the General Synod, 1889, p. 107-108.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 169-170.

[11]Results of the General Synod, 1879, p. 52-53.

[12]Results of the General Synod, 1857, pp. 111.

[13]Results of the General Synod, 1869, p. 96

[14]Results of the General Synod, 1869, 1879, 1889, pp. 97, 123, 117, respectively.

[15]Results of the General Synod, 1869, p. 97.

[16]A.H. Mumford, "An Arsenal of God, or, Our Mission College" Moravian Missions, 3:2 (Feb. 1905):[29]-30.

[17]Williamson, p. 34.

[18]"Our Medical Mission in Alaska," Moravian Missions 3:2 (Feb. 1905): [23]-24.

[19]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 321.

[20]Results of the General Synod, 1869, p. 39-41.

[21]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 234.

[22]Results of the General Synod, 1879, p. 125.

[23]Instructions for the Mission Directing Board, p. 36.

[24]Results of the General Synod, 1909, p. 99.

[25]Results of the General Synod, 1914, p. 97.

[26]Letter from Peder Pederson Dam, Hopedale, Nov. 24, 1886 to E.J. Peck. General Synod Archives, E.J. Peck Papers, Ser. I-VIII, M56-1, Box 1.

[27]Results of the General Synod, 1869, 1879.

[28]Results of the General Synod, 1909.

[29]Results of the General Synod, 1869, p. 100.

[30]Instructions for the Mission Directing Board referring specifically, but not exclusively to Missions-Blatt aus der Brüdergemeine, the official missionary publication of the Mission Board.

[31]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 320. The full quotation reads: "Indeed many of those present at Herrnhut [for the 1870 Synod] accepted the deficit [of $23,570] as another proof that the task of evangelizing the heathen must ever remain a work of faith for the Unity."

[32]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 164-165.

[33]J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co.,1901), p. 208.

[34]Results of the General Synod, 1909, p. 127.

[35]Instructions for the Mission Directing Board, p. 12.

[36]Results of the General Synod, 1879, p. 131-132.

[37]MAL [Moravian Archives, London], SFG Jan. 1875, cited by Richling, p. 150.

[38]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 1 (Dec. 1891):366.

[39]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 329.

[40]Excerpt from the "Proclamation of Governor in Reference to Moravians" by Hugh Palliser, dated April 30, 1765, cited by W.G. Gosling, Labrador, its Discovery, Exploration and Development (London: Alston Rivers, 1910), p. 260.

[41]Makkovik and Killinek, the other Labrador missions, were opened in 1896 and 1905 respectively. Zoar was closed in 1890, Ramah in 1907, Okak in 1919, Killinek in 1924 and Hebron in 1959. Happy Valley, a more recent Moravian congregation, came into existence in the late 1940s.

[42]Periodical Accounts, 31 (July 1878):[15].

[43]Carol Brice-Bennett, "Two Opinions: Inuit and Moravian Missionaries in Labrador, 1804-1860". (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981), p. 65-66.

[44]Kleivan, p. [26].

[45]Ibid., p. 79.

[46]Cf. G. Kmoch, Memoir of Br. George Kmoch, Missionary in Labrador. (London: W. Mallalieu & Co., 1858).

[47]Letter from P. Dam, Hopedale, Nov. 24, 1866 to E.J. Peck. General Synod Archives, E.J. Peck papers, Ser. I-VIII, M56-1, Box 1.

[48]Periodical Accounts, 31 (Dec. 1880): 341-342.

[49]Gosling, p. 429.

[50]Periodical Accounts, 31 (Dec. 1879): 236.

[51]Periodical Accounts, 31 (Dec. 1879): 214.

[52]Results of the General Synod, 1869, p. 105.

[53]Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 501.

[54]Periodical Accounts, 31 (Dec. 1879):214-215.

[55]Periodical accounts, 31 (Dec. 1879):215.

[1]Periodical Accounts, 34 (Dec. 1884): 179.

[2]Extract from the Journal of the Rev. E.J. Peck from July 22, 1909 to Oct. 1, 1909, G.1 C.1/0 1909, No. 73.

[3]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 63 (Dec. 1896): 174.

[4]Linder, Trade Superintendent, Aug. 18, 1874 to SFG, Moravian Archives, London, Oct. 1874, cited by Richling, p. 149.

[5]Brice-Bennett, p. 65-66.

[6]Results of the General Synod, 1909, ch. III, Sect. 92, p. 99.

[7]Richling, p. 152.

[8]Richling, p. 151.

[9]Trade Superintendent Linder to SFG, Aug. 18, 1874, MAL, SFG, Oct. 1874, cited by Richling, p. 149.

[10]Richling, p. 203.

[11]P. Sillitoe, "The Flexible Social Organization of Labrador Eskimos: the Response to a Harsh Environment?" Arctic Anthropology, 18:1 (1981):85.

[12]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 4 (Dec. 1900): 419.

[13]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 4 (Dec. 1900): 419-420.

[14]Brice-Bennett, p. 100.

[15]Edmund De Schweinitz, The Moravian Manual: containing an Account of the Moravian Church, or Unitas Fratrum. 2nd enl. ed. (Bethlehem: Moravian Publication Office, 1869), p. 139.

[16]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 3 (Sept. 1897): [360-361] and Periodical Accounts, N.S. 4 (Sept. 1899): [172-173].

[17]Berkhofer, p. 57.

[18]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 1 (Dec. 1891): 411.

[19]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 4 (Sept. 1900): 395.

[20]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 4 (March 1899): 16-17.

[21]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 2 (March 1894): 245.

[22]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 2 (March 1894): 246.

[23]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 2 (Dec. 1895): 594-595.

[24]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 3 (Dec. 1897): 378-379.

[25]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 2 (March 1894): 248.

[26]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 3 (June 1896): 58-59.

[27]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 6 (June 1906): 347.

[28]David Scheffel, "The Demographic Consequences of European Contact with Labrador Inuit, 1800-1919" (Thesis, M.A. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981), p. 77-8.

[29]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 7 (Dec. 1908): 196.

[30]Scheffel.

[31]Scheffel, p. 133.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Consultation with Dr. L. Madeheim, Assistant Archivist, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, July 1986.

[34]MAB [Moravian Archives Bethlehem] Doc. 008174-186.

[35]MAB Doc. 015652-653.

[36]J. L. Kerr, Wilfred Grenfell: His Life and Work (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 240.

[37]Abschrift eines Briefes von Dr. Grenfell 9 März [undated, from context, 1909], MAB, Doc. 015627-628.

[38]MAB Doc. 015652-653.

[39]Townley to SFG, 1910, MAB Doc. 058004-006.

[40]Conference letter from Nain dated 1910, MAB Doc. 009121-124.

[41]MAB Doc. 009125-126.

[42]MAB Doc. 009804-805.

[43]Abschrift eines Briefes von Dr. Grenfell 9 Marz. [1909?] MAB Doc. 015627-628.

[44]H.O. Essex to Martin, Sept. 27, 1912, MAB Doc. 009864-871.

[45]Essex to Martin, Sept. 27, 1912, MAB Doc. 009864-871.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Grenfell to Council of Moravian Mission. Sept. 15, 1910. MAB Doc. 015654-656.

[49]85th Conference Letter, June 24, 1921, MAB Doc. 008361-363.

[50]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 7 (Sept. 1909): 429.

[51]Periodical Accounts, S.S. 11 (Dec. 1924): 325.

[52]86th Conference Letter to Labrador Missionary Conferences June 14, 1922, MAB Doc. 008364-367.

[53]Cf. Essex to Martin, July 20, 1905, MAB Doc. 009688-702.

[54]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 6 (Sept. 1907): [665]-666.

[55]Conference Letter, 1922, dated 30.6.22, MAB Doc. 009147.

[56]85th Conference Letter [1921], MAB Doc. 008361-363.

[57]Periodical Accounts, S.S. 11 (Dec. 1922): 150.

[58][86th] Conference Letter, 1922, dated 30.6.22, MAB Doc. 009147.

[59]Periodical Accounts, S.S. 11 (June 1925): 11-12.

[60]Periodical Accounts, S.S. 11 (June 1927): [159].

[61]D. Jenness, Eskimo Administration: III. Labrador ([Montreal]: Arctic Institute of North America, 1965).

CHAPTER FOUR - CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

[1]Stock, v. 4, p. [366].

[2]Until 1896 the mission was called North-West America; after that date "America" was changed to "Canada."

[3]A mission was established in that year (1822) with two missionaries. However, in 1820, the Society gave John West, the newly appointed chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company stationed at what is now Winnipeg a grant of £100 to start an Indian school. Hence the centenary in 1920.

[4]At this time, the Society made no distinction between Canadians of aboriginal descent and Canadians of European descent.

[5]The dioceses were Rupert s Land, Moosonee, Athabaska, Saskatchewan, Mackenzie River, Qu'Appelle, Calgary, Yukon (originally known as Selkirk) and Keewatin.

[6]F. Baylis to S. Gould Feb. 10, 1920 G.1 C.1/L.9 1915-1926, pp. 115-118.

[7]CMS Proceedings, 1882-83, p. 193.

[8]Ibid., p. 201.

[9]G.1 C.1/P.3 July 18, 1902, no. 101.

[10]Centenary of the Church Missionary Society 1799-1899. (London: CMS, [1899]), p. 46.

[11]Stock, v. 3, p. 710.

[12]Stock, v. 3, p. 709.

[13]Missionary Publications Miscellaneous v. 3, No. 6, "The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches." First Paper 1851, second paper, 1861, third paper, 1866. Cited in H. Venn, To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn. Edited with an intro. by Max Warren (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 28.

[14]Stock, v. 3, p. [353].

[15]Centenary of the CMS, p. 51.

[16]Stock, v. 3, p. 704-5; v. 4, p. 29.

[17]Stock, v. 3, p. 369; Gordon Hewitt, The Problems of Success: a History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942 (London: SCM Press, 1971-77, 2 v.), v. 1, p. 430.

[18]Quoted in Centenary of the CMS, p. 52.

[19]Hewitt, v. 1, p. 455.

[20]Lawrence Nemer, Anglican and Roman Catholic Attitudes on Missions: an Historical Study of Two English Missionary Societies in the late Nineteenth Century (1865-1885) (St. Augustin : Steyler Verlag, 1981), p. 77. He refers to two theses on this subject. Frederic Stuart Piggin, "The Social Background, Motivation, and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India, 1789-1858" (King's College, London, 1974) and Sarah Caroline Potter, "The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the 19th Century" (University of London, 1974).

[21]G/AZ1/4-132, cited by Nemer, p. 81.

[22]Stock, v. 3, p. 672.

[23]Quoted in Centenary of the CMS, p. 52.

[24]Cited by Nemer, p. 95.

[25]G/C1/38, p. 16, cited by Nemer, p. 95.

[26]G/AZ1/1-56, cited by Nemer, p. 95.

[27]Stock, v. 3, p. 356.

[28]G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, July 16, 1909, No. 56-57.

[29]Bilby to Parent Committee, Blacklead Island, July 12, 1905, G.1 C.1/O 1905, No. 132.

[30]Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag 8:6 (April 1914): 127.

[31]Stock, v. 3, p. 333.

[32]H.G. Anderson, MS "History of CMS Medical Missions," p. 302, cited by Hewitt, v. 1, p. 429.

[33]Hewitt, v. 1, p. 429-430.

[34]Hewitt, v. 1, p. 432.

[35]Hewitt, v. 1, p. 431.

[34]Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada. (Toronto: Collins, 1963), p. 71.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY: ARCTIC MISSIONS

[1]Stock, v. 2, p. 244-245.

[2]Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag 9:2 (April 1915): 31.

[3]This somewhat unusual arrangement may have been the idea of Bishop Bompas (of Selkirk) who had written to the Society on June 4, 1894, to the effect that: "It is doubtful whether to leave Eskimo work entirely to Bishop Reeve [of Mackenzie River]" G.1 C.1/P.3, 1893-1906, No. 122, Oct. 12, 1894. In undertaking to pay Whittaker's stipend, Bishop Bompas had the authority to move the missionary where and when he wished. On the other hand, it might have simply been a gesture of co-operation.

[4]Stock, v. 3, p. 624.

[5]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1899, p. 711.

[6]Bishop Reeve, who visited shortly before the Mission was established, cited by Stock, v. 3, p. 624.

[7]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1899, p. 710.

[8]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1909, p. 618.

[9]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1906, p. 505-506.

[10]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1909, p. 617.

[11]News from the Front, 1912, p. 79-81.

[12]Cited by Stock, v. 4, p. 378.

[13]Jervois Newnham, Bishop of Moosonee to G.F. Smith, York Factory, 29.4.00 G.1 C.1/O No. 108.

[14]S. Gould, Inasmuch: Sketches of the Beginnings of the Church of England in Canada in Relation to the Indian and Eskimo Races. (Toronto : [Church of England in Canada], 1917), p. 226.

[15]T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies: a History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and its Dioceses from 1820 to 1950 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 139.

[14]Peck to Parent Committee, March 30 G.1 C.1/P.3, 1893-1906, April 18, 1894, No. 68.

[17]Cf. Boon, p. 140.

[18]Peck, Blacklead Island, to Parent Committee, Sept. 15, 1897, G.1 C.1/P.3 Oct. 22, 1897, No. 162.

[19]Cf. Gavin White, "Missionaries and traders in Baffin Island, 1894-1913" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 17:1 (March 1974): 2-10.

[20]Ibid.

[21]G.1 C.1/P.3 1893-1906, Nov. 16, 1894, No. 146. Resolution adopted Nov. 20, 1894.

[22]Peck, Blacklead Island, Sept. 23, 1901 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.3 1893-1906, Oct. 18, 1901, No. 124.

[23]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1902, p. 583-585.

[24]Boon, p. 141.

[25]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1902, p. 583-585.

[26]Ibid., p. 585.

[27]A.F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist 58:2 (1956): 264-281.

[28]W. LaBarre, "Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults: a Bibliographic Essay," Current Anthropology 12:1 (1971): 3-44.

[29]J.W. Grant, "Missionaries and Messiahs in the Northwest," Studies in religion/Sciences religieuses 9:2 (Spring 1980): 125-136.

[30]Wallace (p. 267) proposed that "a large proportion of religious phenomena" originated as revitalization movements.

[31]"Resolutions regarding the administration of the North-West Canada and British Columbia Missions, to take effect Jan. 1, 1903" G.1 C.1/P.3 1893-1906.

[32]Peck, Herne Bay, Nov. 8, 1902 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.3 Nov. 21, 1902, No. 145.

[33]G.1 C.1/P.3 1893-1906, March 22, 1903, adopted April 7, 1907.

[34]G.1 C.1/P.3 1893-1906, May 20, 1903, No. 76.

[35]Peck, Bournemouth, June 1, 1903 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P3 1893-1906, May 20, 1903, No. 8.

[36]G.1 C.1/P.3 1893-1906, May 19, 1905.

[37]Extracts from the Annual Letters, 1903, p. 730.

[38]Ibid., p. 731.

[39]Ibid., p. 730.

[40]Ibid., p. 731-734.

[41]Peck, Birmingham, March 5, 1906 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, March 23, 1906, No. 44.

[42]Bishop of Moosonee, Chapleau, Jan. 14, 1907 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, Feb. 22, 1907, No. 11.

[43]G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, Feb. 22, 1907.

[44]G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, Feb. 28, 1908.

[45]Bishop of Moosonee, Croydon, June 8, 1908 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4,1906-1926, 1930, No. 65.

[46]G.1 C.1/O 1909-1911, No. 73, 1909.

[47]For this service Greenshield was made a Knight of the Order of Orange Nassau by the Queen of the Netherlands. Cf. G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, April 21, 1911, No. 25.

[48]G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, General Committee, Oct. 11, 1910.

[49]Greenshield, Dundee, Oct. 3, 1910 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, Oct. 21, 1910, No. 24.

[50]"News from Baffin's Land," C.M. Review, Nov. 1912:668.

[51]S.H. Blake to Bishop of Moosonee, Feb. 20, 1911, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 Eskimos, GS 75-103, Box 57, Folder Esk. Misc. 1910-26.

[52]G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, Jan. 19, 1906, No. 7.

[53]Bilby to Fleming, Bombay, Jan. 16, 1916, sent by Fleming to Gould, MSCC, Feb. 25, 1916. General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 Eskimos, GS 75-103, Box 57, Folder Esk. Misc. 1910-26.

[54]CMS Proceedings, 1900-1901, p. 435.

[55]CMS Proceedings, 1882-1883, p. 193.

[56]General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[57]The amounts of these apportionments were determined by the MSCC in consultation with the dioceses and were based on population and income. Not infrequently the amounts were disputed and not fully paid.

[58]Bilby to Fleming, Bombay, Jan. 16, 1916, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 Eskimos, GS 75-103, Box 57, Folder Esk. Misc. 1910-26.

[59]Peck, Leamington, Jan. 22, 1906 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, Jan. 19, 1906, No. 10.

[60]G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, March 22, 1907, Resolution adopted April 2, 1907.

[61]G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, Feb. 22, 1907.

[62]Bilby to Fleming, Bombay, Jan. 16, 1916, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 Eskimos, GS 75-103, Box 57, Folder Esk. Misc. 1910-26.

[63]Bishop of Moosonee, Chapleau, Aug. 10, 1907 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, Sept. 20, 1907, No. 77.

[64]Bishop of Moosonee, Chapleau, Oct. 29, 1907 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/P.4, 1906-1926, 1930, Nov. 22, 1907, No. 98.

[65]Ibid.

[66]G.1 C.1/P.4 1906-1926, 1930, June 26, 1908. Resolution adopted July 7, 1908, "...on the understanding that any expenses incurred do not involve the Committee in additional expenditure."

[67]S.H. Blake, Toronto, Feb. 20, 1911 to Bishop of Moosonee, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 GS 75-103, Box 57, Folder Esk. Misc. 1910-16.

[68]Bishop of Keewatin, Kenora, Ont., April 1, 1914 to Parent Committee, G.1 C.1/O 1909-1911, folder 1914-1916, No. 15.

[69]General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[70]General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder, Minute of Committee, Aug. 10, 1915.

[71]F. Baylis and C.C. Bardsley, CMS Secretaries, Aug. 13, 1915 to S. Gould, MSCC, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[72]Gould, Oct. 30, 1916 to Baylis, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[73]Gould to Bardsley, undated but with pencilled date "Dec. 2/18?", General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2 GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[74]MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[75]Bardsley to Gould, July 15, 1920, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[76]Fleming to Gould, July 15, 1920, General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 57, Eskimos.

CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION

[1]S. Neill, Colonialism and Christian Missions (London: Lutterworth, 1966), p. 415.

[2]"Men of vigorous physique and ready resourcefulness and simple faith" who could "go forward as pioneers into the interior of Africa, China and over the Indian frontier." Cited by Nemer, p. 81. He gave no CMS reference for this particular quotation.

[3]The CMS prepared many of its candidates for ordination prior to departure to the mission field. The type of candidate who was sent as a "pioneer" to such fields as northern Canada generally did not fall into this category. He was usually ordained after several years' experience and further theological reading.

[4]"Living remains," Henry Venn had called them. Cf. CMS Proceedings, 1880-81, p. 189. Also, cf. Bishop Martin's 1908 report, Periodical Accounts, N.S. 7 (Dec. 1908): 196.

[5]CMS Minute, Parent Committee, Jan. 16, 1914. General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Missionary Publications Miscellaneous, v. 3, No. 6, "The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches. Cited in Venn, To Apply the Gospel, p. 28.

[8]Grenfell in the early twentieth century and many anthropologists of the latter part of this century--Richling and Scheffel to name but two.

[9]Plesel to Martin, May 17, 1911, MAB, Doc. 009804-805.

[10]Periodical Accounts, N.S. 7 (Sept. 1909): 429.

[11]Periodical Accounts, 31 (Dec. 1880):341-342.

[12]Periodical Accounts, S.S. 11 (June 1926): 11.

APPENDIX A

[1]General Synod Archives, MSCC Ser. 3-2, GS 75-103, Box 67, CMS folder.

APPENDIX A

MINUTE OF THE CMS PARENT COMMITTEE DATED JANUARY 16, 1914[1]

That in view of the Report presented by their Delegation to the Far East who visited Canada on their journey, and after the opportunity of consultation with several of the Bishops and others specifically concerned, the Committee are led to invite the sympathetic attention of the authorities of the several dioceses in Canada wherein former C.M.S. work is situated, and the attention of the Board of the M.S.C.C. to the present position and prospects of the work among Indians and Eskimos.

The Committee have been led to feel that in the course pursued by them in 1903 in laying down lines for the gradual withdrawal of C.M.S. supplies, and C.M.S. management of the Missions which they then had in hand, they may have paid, albeit unintentionally, too little attention to the needs and difficulties that would come upon the Canadian Church, with its Diocesan and Missionary agencies and problems.

For that or some other reason it seems to them that the work among Indians and Eskimos is rapidly passing away from the footing on which it was placed by the Society, and that in many respects the necessary plans and provision for its prosecution in the future, are complete and adequate in but few districts, and the burden entailed upon the Diocesan authorities are very difficult to sustain.

This is the situation to which the Committee now desire in a brotherly spirit to ask the concentrated attention of the leaders of missionary interest in the Canadian Church. They would feel deeply grateful if before the help of the C.M.S. ceases altogether, some plan or plans likely to command the interest and practical support of the dioceses and the M.S.C.C. can be devised, and so the Committee of the C.M.S. may be able to feel that they have not merely laid down a responsibility without any confidence that other and more competent hands have taken it up with good will and with good hope of success.

Since the Committee are asking for a new consideration of the position in Canada and British Columbia they feel in duty bound for their part, to assure the brethren to whom they appeal that they are willing to give very careful consideration to any suggestions their Canadian friends would wish to make as to readjustment of the reducing grants of the C.M.S. and

their conditions, providing that such re-adjustments are part of some scheme which promises timely and permanent provision for the remaining work, and provided that no reversal is proposed of the position that they have taken, a position in which they feel sure they would have the concurrence of the leaders of the Canadian Church - that it is no longer desirable for the Society as such, to be carrying on missions managed from England in the dioceses of the Church of Canada.

That, pending the consideration of some plans for the future, the Committee felt they would be right to give some additional help to the dioceses now receiving grants, and they will be prepared D.V., on hearing that some scheme will be taken into consideration in Canada, to make for the year 1915, additional grants, say, on a scale equivalent to the reduction that would take effect in that year according to existing undertakings.

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