WILLIAM DUNCAN OF METLAKATLA:
A VICTORIAN MISSIONARY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a case study of a Victorian missionary in a British Columbia context and focuses primarily on the model Christian Indian utopia of Metlakatla, established for the Tsimshian nation by William Duncan in 1862.

Before offering his services to the evangelical Anglican Church Missionary Society, Duncan had been an ambitious clerk and travelling salesman for a Yorkshire leather firm. He was imbued with the cultural values of lower middle class Victorian England, and like many of Samuel Smiles' readers, devoted his early life to self-improvement, thrift, work and industry. Under the aegis of the C.M.S. Duncan trained as a missionary schoolmaster at Highbury College. Here he was brought into contact with experienced and prospective missionaries and learnt much of the anthropological attitudes of the missionary movement and of the goals and expectations of the C.M.S. for native peoples. In particular, Duncan was deeply influenced by the theories and policies of Henry Venn, the Secretary of the C.M.S. who advocated the formation of independent self-supporting Native Churches.

Although he expected to work in West Africa, in 1856 Duncan was selected to commence a new C.M.S. mission on the North Pacific coast to the Tsimshian people at Fort Simpson. Four years experience at this Hudson's
Bay Company post convinced the young missionary that his dual mission of Christianity and civilisation could not succeed in such an environment. Thus in 1862 a new village was created "reflecting light and radiating heat to all the spiritually dark and dead masses of humanity around us." The settlement grew rapidly and with its many industries, large church, neat houses and gardens became widely known as a model of missionary endeavour. In this environment where the Victorian values of self-help and work had a relevance, the Tsimshian were introduced to a period of rapid social change.

Duncan's success in establishing so quickly a Christian industrial utopia among previously heathen tribes is attributed largely to his intimate knowledge of Tsimshian language, culture and behaviour, and to his willingness to adapt many of his ideas to the traditional needs and values of the Tsimshian. More important perhaps is the probability that the Tsimshian, as the pre-eminent coastal traders had long been in a culture contact situation with various neighbouring tribes and were well able to integrate elements of other cultures into their own life. Their wealth and acquisitiveness also pre-disposed the Tsimshian to accept the type of society offered at Metlakatla.

The schism in the Anglican Church at Victoria led to the establishment of a new diocese of Caledonia in 1879 and to the establishment of a Bishop, William Ridley, at Metlakatla. Both the new Bishop and the C.M.S. who supported him, were anxious to introduce into Metlakatla more orthodox Anglican practice than Duncan felt was desirable for Indian Christians.
Eventually Duncan's refusal to permit the celebration of Holy Communion led to his dismissal from the C.M.S. Several discontented chiefs were then able to use the Bishop as a focus for their growing hostility to Duncan's authority, and the essential unity of the utopia was broken as the village divided into two factions.

Duncan and the majority Indians attempted to remove the Bishop from the Metlakatla Reserve and as a means to this end the Indians raised the question of their aboriginal land title. Hoping to force British Columbia to recognize this title, the Indians refused to allow surveys of their land or to permit an Indian agent to reside among them. The Dominion and Provincial governments would not consider the land question and were prepared to use force to quell the disturbances. To avoid such a situation, Duncan obtained a grant of land in Alaska on Annette Island, where in 1887, accompanied by six hundred Tsimshian, he established his second utopia at New Metlakatla.

The breakdown of Metlakatla was due mainly to the fact that Duncan had never adequately satisfied the social needs and pride of rank of the Tsimshian chiefs. Thus, although his ability to adapt to the Indian culture, and the pre-disposition of the Tsimshian to readily accept new cultural elements gave Duncan his initial success, ironically it was the missionary's inability to adapt his system to the most vital cultural reality of the Tsimshian that brought the ultimate breakdown of this vigorous social experiment.
Indian Chapel, Metlakatla
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PREFACE

The major purpose of this thesis is to analyse the unique Christian Indian Society established at Metlakatla, British Columbia, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Inevitably the fate of this model village was inextricably entwined with the personality and with the social and theological ideas of William Duncan. Thus a considerable portion of the thesis is devoted to the development of Duncan's ideas and to the practical results of his theories in the context of Tsimshian society.

The intellectual and ideological origins of this social experiment are sought in the cultural experience of William Duncan in mid-Victorian England, and more particularly in the missionary's commitment to the policies of the Church Missionary Society. The impact of these ideas on the Tsimshian Indians of the northwest coast, and the social and cultural change wrought by the missionary at the new village of Metlakatla, forms a major focus of the thesis. The tragic breakdown of the community is discussed, and its causes are traced in the conflict between the missionary and his Church, and in the failure of his Metlakatla system to satisfy the needs of the traditional leaders of Tsimshian society.

This thesis is not primarily a study of Indian cultural change, though this is certainly one important aspect of an analysis of Metlakatla,
and one which is discussed at some length. In large measure, the aim here is to analyse particularly the role of the missionary in the process of social change. It is to this end that Duncan's sociological and anthropological ideas, both those inherited from the Church Missionary Society, and those he formulated himself, are given extensive treatment.

It should be emphasised that there is no attempt here to provide a biographical study of William Duncan, although such a study would undoubtedly be a most worthwhile endeavour. Only those aspects of Duncan's life which are relevant to the development of his model Indian village in British Columbia have been considered here. Metlakatla itself, the city on the hill, the island of Christian civilisation in the wilderness, the utopian dream which aroused the hopes and stimulated the imaginations of many, both Indian and White, remains the central focus of this study.
INTRODUCTION*

There is a happy spot of busy life
Where order reigns where hushed the din of strife,
Harmonious brethren neath paternal rule,
Ply their glad task in Methlacatla's school,
There Duncan holds supreme his peaceful throne,
His power unquestioned, and their rights his own.
Anvil and hammer, saw and wheel resound,
And useful arts of industry abound,
While faith and knowledge find an altar there. 1

The inspiration for such an eulogy was Metlakatla, a Christian Indian village established in 1862, close to the mouth of the Skeena River on the northern coast of the mainland of British Columbia. Under the direction of William Duncan, an Anglican lay missionary, this settlement of some nine hundred Tsimshian Indians attracted marked attention both in Britain and Canada, as an outstanding example of the success of missionary endeavour and of the potential future of the American Indian.

* The major primary sources for a study of Metlakatla are to be found in the William Duncan papers referred to here as WD/C, and the Church Missionary Society papers, referred to here as CMS/A. The original papers of William Duncan are located at New Metlakatla, Alaska, and the Church Missionary Society papers are in the C.M.S. archives in London, England. Microfilm copies of both sets of papers are available in the library of the University of British Columbia, and the references here are to the reel numbers of the microfilms in these series.

Other material used in this study is located in the collection of the Public Archives of Canada, hereafter referred to as PAC, and in the Public Archives of British Columbia, hereafter referred to as PABC. 1

WD/C2156 Reverend G. Mason, Lo! The Poor Indian. Read before the Mechanics' Literary Institute, Victoria, October 28, 1875.
In 1876 the Earl of Dufferin after his vice-regal visit to Metlakatla, spoke in Victoria of "the neat Indian Maidens in Mr. Duncan's school at Metlakatla, as modest and as well dressed as any clergyman's daughter in an English parish," and advised British Columbians that "what you want are not resources but human beings to develop them and consume them. Raise your 30,000 Indians to the level Mr. Duncan has taught us they can be brought, and consider what an enormous amount of vital power you will have added to your present strength." \(^2\)

With its parallel rows of neat white houses, gardens and picket fences, with its school, store, street lamps, gaol and with a church reputed to be the largest west of Chicago and north of San Francisco, the village of Metlakatla presented an imposing picture of civilised life in the wilderness. The society developed within this environment was hardly less impressive, particularly when seen in contrast to the life of the heathen Indians of the area. Rank and class had apparently been abolished, as had the use of liquor, potlatching and most other practices of the Indians' previous way of life. Church attendance and family prayers had become the rule, while day schools, evening schools and Sunday schools were regularly attended by adults and children. Government was by a council of elders and the enforcement of the law was carried out by a corps of native constables. Besides continuing the traditional Indian occupations of hunting and fishing, Duncan had introduced such trades as coopering, weaving, rope making and printing, and had built a variety of workshops for the Indians' use. European clothing and cleanliness marked

\(^3\) Ibid.
the appearance of the Metlakatla Indians, who spent their leisure time in hymn singing, playing football or participating in the activities of the village fire brigade and the Metlakatla Brass Band. Christianity had offered the Tsimshian Indians of British Columbia new spiritual ideas and beliefs, and at Metlakatla, their missionary had established the new physical and social environment necessary for a Tsimshian Christian.

This apparently complete and total adoption of the religious and social values of Victorian England by a previously heathen, uncivilised group of Indians, intrigued and often astounded contemporary observers. Authors of various travel accounts of British Columbia were lavish in their praise of the man and his accomplishments, and Duncan's advice and ideas on the treatment of Indians were frequently sought by British Columbian and later, Dominion officials.

Several American and British tourists visited Metlakatla, and when in 1886 Duncan needed land to establish a New Metlakatla, he was able to turn for help to men like the scientist and philanthropist, Henry Wellcome, and the Presbyterian Alaskan missionary, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson. Wellcome himself published an eulogy of Duncan's work, the profits from

4 See A. Begg, A Sketch of the Successful Missionary Work of William Duncan (Victoria: n.pub., 1910).
S. Jackson, Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1880).
M. Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865).
R.C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (London: John Murray, 1862).
which were to finance the relocation of the village in Alaska. Wellcome's
The Story of Metlakatla and a later work on The Apostle of Alaska by a
Minneapolis lawyer John W. Arctander, are typical of most of the existing
literature on William Duncan. To Arctander, Duncan was a wonderful
leader, and a man who had fewer faults "than any man I ever met." Divinely inspired, possessed of abundant energy, Duncan is seen as unique
among men and missionaries. Not only is he considered singlehandedly and
in the face of tremendous hostility from the Indians to have christianised
and civilised them, but his whole system and each stage of his plans is
shown as the product of a brilliant, original mind. Even in the most
recent article, Duncan is portrayed as "a very unusual, untypical candidate
for the mission field" even for the flexible standards of the Church
Missionary Society in the mid-nineteenth century, and the author considers
it appropriate to "see Duncan as a daring, determined social reformer who
was a century ahead of his time." William Duncan was undoubtedly an unusual man, but he was not the
daring social reformer that others have described. He was not, in fact, a
century ahead of his time, rather, he was essentially a typical Victorian
of the lower middle classes. Victorian ideals and Victorian attitudes to
Christianity and social reform shaped his thought; Victorian evangelicalism
and the policies of a Victorian missionary society directed his action.

7 Ibid., 8.
9 Ibid.
Certainly in the context of British Columbian and Canadian missionary endeavour, Duncan's ideas and practices were unique. But the origins of these ideas and practices are to be found primarily in that lower middle class, protestant, Victorian England of which William Duncan was a product.

It has been argued that missionary ideas and practices, the kind of influence exerted and the demands made of prospective converts are largely characterised by the missionary's own cultural background, mores and social position. William Duncan was primarily a Christian missionary, a position which of necessity would make him a reformer, a man likely to make a far greater impact on native society than other Europeans. More particularly, he espoused a nineteenth century, protestant Christianity, formed in the religious, humanitarian and middle class framework of mid-Victorian England. And further, as an emissary of the Anglican, evangelical, Church Missionary Society, he was committed to certain attitudes and policies towards native peoples.

Thus the origins of the Christian Indian Village of Metlakatla are to be found in the larger sphere of mid-Victorian English attitudes, and more particularly in the policies and ideals of the Church Missionary Society and of its Secretary, the Reverend Henry Venn. Duncan was not the inspired innovator, as he has so often been depicted. His genius lay not in developing social theories on the civilising of native peoples, but in his ability to use the ideas of Venn and the C.M.S. to induce rapid social and cultural change among a particular aboriginal group.

I Dedication to Duty

William Duncan was born in Stokes Burton near Beverley on April 3, 1832. He was educated in and lived in the East Riding of Yorkshire until 1854, but unfortunately little is known of his early life. His father, a workingman, died probably while Duncan was still an infant, and although his mother re-married, Duncan's journals make few references to his stepfather. There are references in Duncan's letters to two sisters, Jane and Nancy, neither of whom appear to have been on intimate terms with their brother. Duncan rarely wrote to his mother after leaving home and at times her only contact with him was through the extracts from his letters, forwarded to her by the Church Missionary Society. The Duncans do not appear to have been either a closely-knit or an affectionate family. Indeed, Duncan's references to his family are usually full of shame and regret. He found himself unable to speak to members of his family about their spiritual interests and though it grieved him "to know that my relatives (I am afraid all) are strangers to grace - saving grace," he
realised that "the salvation of my Relations is not as near the heart as the salvation of others." This shame and regret at the condition of his family may be partly explained by Duncan's own determined social ambitions, and to his having risen out of his own class, above and away from his family.

Like most children of working class parents, Duncan attended the local National School until the age of thirteen. Here he was probably more fortunate to live in the market town of Beverley than in an industrial area, where the opportunities for half-day employment and the demands for child labour might have cut short even such a brief education. At fourteen, equipped with the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, some geography and geometry, and probably a good deal of scriptural knowledge, he began work in Beverley for the firm of George Cussons and Son, owners of a large tannery and wholesale dealers in hides and leather.

George Cussons, an alderman of the town and a magistrate, became an important influence in Duncan's life. It is not unusual for the ambitious young clerk to pattern himself after his employer, to adopt the manners and attitudes of the class to which he aspires, and this certainly seems to have been true in the case of William Duncan. Cussons, however, took a greater interest in Duncan than might have been expected of a man with his responsibilities. The close relations developed in Beverley continued by correspondence throughout Duncan's life in British Columbia.

As an errand boy, Duncan was gradually given more responsibility.

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3 WD/C2154 Journal, July 13, 1854.
until finally he became a "drummer" or travelling salesman for the company. "When I first went, I used to assist in the office, go errands and fetch meat from the Butcher's shop. I should think I did this for about two years or until I was over sixteen. When I was eighteen or when I had been with them three years and nine months, I was sent out for orders." He travelled widely in the north of England, particularly in the industrial areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire but also visited Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and went as far afield as Huntingdon and Cambridge. In so doing, he became familiar with middle class society and was himself now moving into the ranks of the lower middle class. He had in fact risen rapidly socially, and was greatly impressed by his own success. A most revealing passage in his journal notes his feelings at this stage of his life.

Travelling also threw me among a class of society which were above what I had been used to, and when seated in a beautiful room surrounded with comforts and at a table covered with the good things of this world, when all my wants were readily and eagerly supplied and I mixed among a class of men far my superiors in education, rank and abilities and treated respectfully by them, Oh! I used to feel my heart overflow in gratitude, for God's wonderful love in thus elevating me from the dunghill and raising my head thus in so little time and so graciously and greatly surpassing my every expectation.

This was surely only the just reward for a life devoted to self-improvement and self-elevation.

As recent work has emphasised, it is inadequate and often misleading
to view Victorian culture as monolithic. Current research has shown so many 'other sides' to the Victorians that the importance of recognising the existence and function of the various subcultures is now acknowledged.

Duncan's particular cultural environment was that of provincial, working class, sober, industrious, Victorian England. His associates, like other Victorians, had faith in education and in the acquisition of knowledge as the route to success. Like many ambitious and hard working clerks and apprentices in English towns and cities, Duncan continued his self-education in his leisure hours. The Beverley Mechanics' Institute probably afforded him with the same facilities for continuing self-improvement as the other Mechanics' Institutes provided for thousands of others in the provincial towns of England. The popularity of self-help literature, the exhortations on self-improvement, the guides to the self-teaching of such useful subjects as grammar or bookkeeping reflects the fact that many more Victorians than ever had access to the Mechanics' Institutes or workingmen's lectures, were influenced by similar attitudes.

Duncan himself was a devotee of this success literature. He was particularly impressed by The Young Man's Own Book. From it he copied such homilies as,

lying late in bed is an intemperance of the most pernicious kind; it impairs the health;

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M. Peckham, "Can 'Victorian' have a Useful Meaning?" Victorian Studies, X (March, 1967), 273-277.
7 In the latter part of the nineteenth century, The Mechanics' Institutes came to be cultural centres for the middle class. But in the 1840's and 1850's, they were still fulfilling their original function of providing education for the working classes.
it is the cause of many diseases, one that would destroy the lives of multitudes; it makes the blood forget its way and creep lazily along the veins...dulls the fancy and subdues and stupifies man to such a degree that he dislikes labour and yawns for want of thought.  

Convinced by the advice of this guide that "success depends upon having fixed principles...to have a good memory you must be temperate in both eating and drinking and sleeping...be accustomed to studying your own self for all other knowledge without a knowledge of yourself, is but splendid ignorance," Duncan devoted himself to the improvement of his moral character on such temperate and disciplined lines. Years later, Cussons, his employer, commented that "besides discharging his duties to myself most faithfully and effectually, he planned out his spare time for self-improvement and laboured most industriously to make up for his want of earlier education."  

Socially ambitious, anxious to improve his own education and believing the axiom of *The Young Man's Own Book* that "nothing is so valuable as a good stock of information," Duncan set himself a rigorous schedule of work. Although business took up fifty-four hours a week and religion twenty-seven, Duncan allocated ten hours weekly to health, (a practice greatly recommended by the various writers, as an important element of the way to success) and twenty-seven to education. His secular education consisted of such popular compendiums as *Cobbett's Grammar* a book

8 WD/C2157 Notebook, 1851. Extract from *A Young Man's Own Book* (no author, publisher, or date of publication given).
9 WD/C2157 Notebook, April, 1852. From *A Young Man's Own Book*.
10 CMS/A124 G. Cussons to the C.M.S., Beverley, January 2, 1886.
11 WD/C2157 Notebook, April 20, 1852.
called *Popular Education* (mostly Geography and Arithmetic), various books on health, Hume's *English History* and *The Successful Merchant*. For Sunday reading and the improvement of his religious knowledge, Duncan also set himself to read in succession, *Christian Miscellany, Pilgrims' Progress, The Churchman's Magazine*, and *Testament Commentary.*

He believed that "time of which we have so little should be fully employed; we ought never to let a moment pass us without striving to squeeze something out of it." In accordance with such sentiments Duncan daily kept a time account book to check his own impulses to waste time. Similarly he kept a daily journal which was to record not only the highlights of his day or activities but the moral progress he had made and "any lesson learnt or circumstances worth remembering." His notebook too records an intense personal striving for moral and secular excellence. At one point he set out a list of thirty-seven items of 'things to learn', varying from navigation, political economy, foreign languages and shorthand to the history of great men, manners and politeness. His notebook for 1851 contains a list entitled, "Ideas which have passed through my mind at times and which I think are worth preserving," consisting of such thoughts as, "the insignificance of this world; the interest and well being of nations and of individuals too are indissolubly connected with true religion;" and perhaps most interestingly, a classic expression of Weber's thesis that, "the followers of Christ cannot but be virtuous and virtue is rewarded in this world."
Duncan not only recorded his progress in the world, but set himself high ideals to follow. In 1853 his journal noted fifteen "Great Lessons which I have yet to learn," amongst them, "to learn to be Calm, Courteous, Thoughtful, Self-denying and Cheerful; to learn to be diligent and to do everything I do do well." Believing that his excesses were presumption, sloth, pride, conceit, wantonness and frivolity, he set out for himself a list of triads to follow. Amongst other things he was to love courage, gentleness and affection; to esteem wisdom, prudence and firmness; to cultivate good friends, good books and good humour; to wish for health, friends and a cheerful spirit; and to be prepared for change, decay and death.

Such strict, narrow guidelines for living, necessitated great self-discipline not only over actions, but over thoughts and feelings. The daily accounting of moral debits and credits in the personal journal ensured that a constant watch was maintained by the individual, who would by present standards probably be considered introverted to the point of obsession. The inability to conform consistently to the high ideals he set for himself, led Duncan often to the abyss of despair. His emotions oscillated violently from the extreme joy he felt in such things as his religion and his work, to the dejection he felt in his personal incapacities. Any deviation from this self-imposed narrow way beset him with grief and guilt.

17 WD/C2154 Journal, November 18, 1853.
18 Ibid.
19 WD/C2157 Notebook, 1851.
I perfectly abhor myself. My weakness, my wickedness, my folly, my ignorance and the madness of my heart are all in array before me. I am confounded. I am in the depths. I am brought very low. I verily believe that I should give up in despair; but that, I can see the hand of mercy holds the rod.

Of happiness, joy, delight in the world and his place in it, there was none in the youthful William Duncan. For him, the world was a place to 'get on in'. Life was not something to be enjoyed or hedonistically exploited; it was a serious, earnest pilgrimage, demanding faith, discipline and continuous self-criticism, and it was rewarded by the earthly recognition of success and the promise of an everlasting life in heaven.

Such attitudes were not unusual for evangelical Victorians of the lower and middle classes, though Duncan, as a Yorkshireman, may have expressed them more lucidly and bluntly than others more reticent by nature. The most popular, most widely read of the success literature was undoubtedly the many works of Samuel Smiles. Originating in a series of lectures to a young men's working class Mutual Improvement Society in Leeds in the early 1840's, Smiles' ideas were later presented in the books

20 WD/C2154 Journal, November 27, 1853.

In the largest sense this was probably the function such literature served. But for the individual, it offered the most specific instructions not for adjustment, but for advancement; the reflection in their own lives of that conviction of progress, which has been so often seen as the essence of the mid-Victorian era.
entitled *Thrift, Character, Duty, Lives of the Engineers* and of course *Self Help*. 22

Relying heavily on biographical examples of such people as Sir George Stephenson, James Watt, the Peel family and the Arkwrights, Smiles emphasised the values of thrift, work, orderliness, punctuality, early rising, common sense and perseverance. Not only would the cultivation of these habits elevate the individual from similar humble origins as the now eminent engineers, industrialists and scientists, but in so doing they would individually add lustre to the collective English character.

Samuel Smiles' doctrine of self-help was itself directed at the working classes. Smiles, like many of the middle class who remembered the Chartist agitation and the European revolutions of 1848, feared the growth of proletarian radicalism and sought to make it unnecessary by exhorting the worker to educate himself, to find a joy in work, to persevere, to be thrifty, dutiful and of strong character; to change himself rather than society. In essence, Smiles recognised the condition of the working classes and aimed not to change society, but to elevate the

22 Although Smiles' *Self Help* was not published until 1859, two years after Duncan left England, the Public Library at New Metlakatla, Alaska, contained multiple copies of all Smiles' works. This would indicate that even if Duncan had not been exposed to these particular success manuals in his own youth, he certainly considered them beneficial for the Indians. WD/C2156 A Catalogue of All the Books in the Public Library of Metlakatla, Alaska, July 1, 1906.

mass of the proletariat to the level of the middle class. Yet only by the elevation of the individual, could the mass be raised. Smiles fully accepted the Victorian ideal of a free and independent labourer, and felt that the improvement of the individual should be initiated by a personal, moral desire rather than by a government pressure. "Whatever is done for men or classes, to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves, and where men are subjected to over-guidance and over-government, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless."

Ironically, although such laissez-faire ideas were widely accepted, the early and mid-Victorian years saw extensive and unprecedented governmental activity. Duncan, born in the year of the great Reform Bill, grew up in this era of ferment in English society. Not only political, but religious artistic and social reform was more deeply a part of the early Victorian temperament, than was the complacency of which it is so often accused.

The reformers, often government commissioners, who influenced the social life of England in these years were endowed, as so many Victorians were, with an unending zeal and energy. "Across the length and breadth of England, assistant commissioners reported miraculous regeneration. Their communications read like letters from missionaries describing the conversion and rebirth of the heathen." Throughout the 1840's and

1850's, their work resulted in sanitary and prison reforms, new approaches to the treatment of lunacy, and the regulation of merchant shipping, mines, smoke and burial grounds. The extensive investigation of conditions, the exhaustive research, writing, inspecting and interviewing that characterised the work of the inspectors was a product of the rational utilitarian ideas of Chadwick and Kay-Shuttleworth. But the initiation of reforms owes much to the humanitarianism, paternalism and conscience of the Evangelicals.

These evangelical reformers were part of a second generation of that evangelical revival which had left its mark on so many aspects of Victorian life. They were largely a middle class group yet in the persons of William Wilberforce, or James Stephen, longtime Secretary of State for the Colonies, were well situated "to turn the great wheels of society." Their intellectual centre was Cambridge University where Charles Simeon at Holy Trinity, and Isaac Milner at Queen's College, influenced generations of undergraduates. Henry Venn, later Secretary of the C.M.S., like many prominent Evangelicals, was at Queen's College, both as an undergraduate, and later from 1824 to 1826 as College Lecturer and Junior Proctor. Duncan's minister, the Reverend Anthony Carr also attended Queen's College in these same years, and perhaps it was under Venn's influence, in the evangelical fervour of early Victorian Cambridge that he formed his religious principles.

Just as Duncan's secular life was influenced by the example of

27 J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabriensis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), Part II.
Cussons and self-help ideas, so his religious and spiritual life was formed in this atmosphere of evangelical protestantism under the direction of his minister, the Reverend A.T. Carr. Duncan himself recognised his debt to this clergyman. "Mr. Carr took a deep interest in me when at school. He kept his eyes on me and laboured hard to win me for Christ. He prepared me for confirmation and ever since then I have been (or nearly so) a communicant at his chapel and a member of his Bible class. He has sought to do me good in every possible way—speaking to me—praying with me and exhorting me." 28

A large portion of Duncan's time in Beverley was devoted to religious affairs. As a boy, he had been a noted choristor, and travellers in the area were recommended to hear the fine tenor soloist at the Beverley Minster. 29 He attended Carr's Bible classes for young men and the Minster Association, a Mutual Improvement Society connected with the Church of England. On Sundays he attended church twice and taught a Sunday school class in the afternoon. The preparation for this teaching took up a good deal of his time during the week, as he continuously tried to improve his own scriptural knowledge and conscientiously attempted to learn something of the art of teaching.

Social life in Beverley also centred on Church activities. For Duncan, Sunday school feasts, teas with members of the parish and other Sunday school teachers, attendance at such events as the Patagonia missionary meeting, or a lecture on the sin of saint worship, provided

28 WD/C2154 Journal, February 12, 1854.
29 WD/C2157 William Duncan and Metlakahtla Alaska, from the Diary and Notes of Matilda Minthorn, 1945.
most of his recreation and companionship. Except for the special attention given him by Carr, there was little in this circumscribed life to distinguish Duncan from any earnest, pious young Victorian.

The Reverend A.T. Carr, M.A. (Cantab.) appears to have been a truly dedicated evangelical clergyman, a man who put his faith in the Bible as the word of God and who saw as his main duty to his parish and to his Lord the preaching of the Gospel.

Oh what reverent regard and unfailing love he had for the Holy Scriptures!...I never knew a man who more truly honoured the whole word of God than your late excellent pastor...From first to last, he never forgot that his grand and principal business was 'to preach the word'. What he sincerely purposed by God's grace he was enabled to accomplish. By daily reading and weighing of Scriptures he waxed riper and stronger in his ministry...Jesus in his wonderful person and with his glorious offices – Jesus with his atoning blood and his everlasting righteousness; his sanctifying Spirit, and his all prevailing intercession – these were the topics of which he never tired and on which he loved to enlarge. 30

Through Carr's preaching and Bible class teaching, Duncan came to learn and accept the tenets of that evangelical protestantism which had had such a marked influence on both the religious and social life of the early Victorians. Like other devout Evangelicals, Carr taught that salvation could only be found by faith in the atonement of Christ. He imparted to Duncan his belief that the personal experience of conversion and the power of saving grace were vital in the life of a true Christian.

The responsibility lay upon the individual to apprehend his state of natural sin in the eyes of God, and by studying His word, to accept individually the sacrifice of Christ. To the spiritual life of an Evangelical, the Bible, particularly the New Testament and the Acts of the Apostles, was central. Few questions could not be answered or few life problems could not be solved by prayer and appeals to the Gospel contained in the Bible. Duncan, like Carr, devoted a good deal of study to the Scriptures, for not only did they provide the true Evangelical with the inspiration for his daily life; but knowledge of the word of God was essential to the understanding of the revealed Trinity. The comprehension of the Divine enabled the individual to approach God in prayer, and it was this faith in the power of prayer and the apprehension of the revealed will which were central to evangelical theology.

As the example of Cussons the successful entrepreneur was a model for Duncan, so did the devoutness of Carr become a model for Duncan's religious life. For an adolescent, who had lost his father at an early age, such men became of great importance, providing a guidance and an example that could not be found at home. Emotionally Duncan was very closely tied to Carr and saw him, in spite of the differences in their ages and positions, as "my nearest and dearest friend." It was through this friendship with, and affection for Carr that Duncan was led to offer

31 WD/C2154 Journal, January 14, 1854.
his services as a missionary to the Church Missionary Society.  

Duncan's contact with the C.M.S. came first through his minister, who as an Evangelical often invited C.M.S. missionaries to speak at evening meetings in Beverley. It was at one such meeting that Duncan volunteered his services to the society as a missionary. Shortly before his death in 1853, Carr wrote to the secretaries of the society, recommending Duncan as a serious and earnest young man, and they in turn invited Duncan to visit them on his next journey to London.

Accordingly, though not immediately, Duncan reported to the society, who offered to train him as a missionary schoolmaster at their Highbury College in London. His employer Cussons was reluctant to release such a

32  The evangelical revival itself had given rise to the foundation of various missionary societies. The Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1792, while the Methodist's London Missionary Society was established in 1796. In 1799 the Society for Missions to Africa and the East was organised by some lay members of the Clapham Sect and several evangelical clergymen. In 1812 this became known as the Church Missionary Society and was the first Anglican society devoted exclusively to the evangelisation of the heathen.

The C.M.S. developed one of the most efficient and extensive home organisations of the century, themselves becoming the model par excellence for later societies. Their two major functions were lay rather than clerical. They collected the home revenue and disbursed it appropriately to their field workers, and acting through their small committee of lay and clerical secretaries, concerned themselves with the selection and education of missionary candidates.

By the mid-nineteenth century there were few parishes in England where the parishioners, if not actually supporting the C.M.S. with annual collections, sales of work, missionary boxes or sales of magazines and literature, were not visited by C.M.S. lecturers and preachers. Indeed the number of parishes supporting the C.M.S. was "the one almost infallible barometer of Evangelical influence in the Church of England." Stephen Neill, Anglicanism (London: Penguin Books, 1958), p. 238n. See also Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work (London: The Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vols I and II.
model employee, but considering himself a religious man, he put no obstacles in Duncan's path. Thus in July of 1854, at the age of twenty-two, having already achieved no small measure of success in business and at the beginning of what seemed to be a promising career, William Duncan left Beverley to train as a missionary for Africa. Duncan was not hoping to find a career as a missionary, for he had already made for himself a successful position in Beverley. Duty not ambition played a large part in his decision to become a missionary.

Deeply affected by the death of Carr, it is quite possible that Duncan felt some kind of responsibility to his teacher and friend, to fulfil the ambitions that Carr had held for his pupil; for it had been Carr's especial wish that Duncan should become interested in mission work. As an earnest reader of tracts and religious literature Duncan might also have been influenced by the calls for men for mission work, and had no doubt contributed already to many missionary causes.

Proeulytizers, missionaries of all types and with all kinds of messages may often be using their position to work out personal problems or to fulfil their own emotional needs. To a certain extent there were such motivations evident in Duncan's decision to become a missionary. For an individual like Duncan who was continuously aware of his failings, who consciously strived for improvement in secular and religious affairs, and on whom the burden of original sin did not rest lightly, there may have been an internalised need to embark on missionary work as a means of proving to himself and others the godliness of his own religion.
Possibly, as Professor Cairns has suggested, such men were seeking the opportunity of an "escape from anonymity, and an emergence into individuality." Duncan, beset with feelings of inadequacy, continually sought reassurance and praise: the need for recognition, the need to achieve and be commended, the need to rise above the common herd that he had already expressed in social terms, might all have contributed to his decision to accept the society's offer. The religious motive, however, was the one uppermost in Duncan's own mind, and the force of this and his sincerity in this belief should not be doubted. His emotional and psychological needs would undoubtedly be satisfied by this work. But the impetus for the decision came primarily from the desire of an Evangelical to bring the news of a Gospel in which he himself found great joy, to the unconverted of the world.

From July 1854 to January 1857, Duncan at Highbury expanded his own basic education in arithmetic, grammar, history and geography and began some formal studies in liturgy and church history. Highbury, however, placed a great deal of emphasis on the techniques of teaching and on school management. Students spent a large part of their time in the Model School attached to the College and here they were frequently inspected and advised.

Duncan was at first dismayed by having such a low grade of colleagues. Accustomed by now to the drawing rooms of the middle class, he felt superior to the other students and frustrated at this new anonymity and yet was

aware at the same time of his great sins of pride and conceit.

The students are not good enough, rich enough, polite enough and intellectual enough for my pride. They do not reverence me as I have been reverenced at home. My dignity is wounded at finding myself lowered in circumstances and class of acquaintances. And oh how anxious I am that they should know some of my previous life. How I strain to tell them it, whenever opportunity offers, and all this that I may elicit their admiration and show my superiority. Oh the depth of my pride and how fearfully corrupted I am.

But just as he had made a successful career with Cussons, so he also worked hard at being a successful teacher. After two months at Highbury, he impressed upon himself the necessity for getting into "a steady serious, diligent, careful and clear way of doing things," and noted emphatically "I want to make progress." His needs to be reverenced and admired were thus soon to be fulfilled again.

The reports he wrote for his instructor were well received. Mr. Daintree "thanked me for my clearness, frankness and candour," while one of the older students told him, "Duncan your responsibility is very great. You are endowed with a great mind and you have nothing to do but to become a genius." And though Duncan commented that "these expressions of admiration are great enemies to my peace, at least I make them so," this was the kind of praise he craved, and to which he had become accustomed in Beverley.

34 WD/C2154 Journal, July 26, 1854.
35 WD/C2154 Journal, October 8, 1854.
36 Ibid.
37 WD/C2154 Journal, October 4, 1854.
38 WD/C2154 Journal, December 23, 1854.
39 Ibid.
There was no doubt of course that he was an extremely conscientious teacher. He sought general, systematic approaches to teaching and was as interested in the method of communicating the material as he was in the subject itself. "In the field today, I thought over a plan for treating an abstract subject before a Sunday class." When teaching children about meekness, for example, he first illustrated what it was not. Secondly, he demonstrated what it is, and then pointed out to them the benefit or evil attached to its observance or attendant to its neglect. Finally he attempted "to apply the subject to the circumstances in which the scholars move." 

By February 1855, Duncan was highly thought of by the staff and had been appointed one of the monitors of the college. Even in the context of a missionary college his intense seriousness of purpose was noticeable. He was often critical of the frivolous behaviour of other students and never hesitated to report them for breaking college rules. During the Crimean war, at the fall of Sebastopol, the jubilation of some college students was held to be quite inappropriate by Duncan. Consistent with the non-imperialistic, C.M.S. view of the duty and responsibility of Englishmen to the rest of the world, Duncan pointed out that the victory was not achieved by England's might alone. "Rule Britannia is not a song to please God or benefit a nation and is certainly not consistent with our position as a Nation." 

40 WD/C2154 Journal, October 19, 1856.
41 Ibid.
42 WD/C2154 Journal, September 11, 1855.
In the neighbouring Sunday schools, students had the opportunity to practice elements of missionary work in their teaching and addresses. Duncan himself was anxious to give his message in terms meaningful to his audience. Giving a sermon on Christ as a fortress for his people, he logically described a castle for the children, alluding to one they might know themselves. He then showed how it gave protection against enemies, and applied the lesson of sin as the enemy and the refuge that could be found in Christ. There was much rote learning of course, just as there was in most English schools at the time. On Sunday mornings Duncan's Sunday school class learnt two Scripture texts and had them explained and illustrated. In the afternoon extracts from the Pilgrim's Progress were read and explained. "I find this plan works admirably," Duncan commented, and indeed it formed the basis for the type of religious education to be offered at Metlakatla.

Highbury students also did some work in the early city missions in London, as parish workers, lay readers or Sunday school teachers. Work among the poor of England was considered good preparation for work among the heathen, for the same moral depravity that kept the heathen in a state of barbarism was seen as the cause of the social condition of the working class. Cairns and others have recognised the tendency to regard natives as "an external proletariat making a claim on the public conscience comparable to that made by the working classes of Britain." Duncan and his fellow student W. Kirkham felt it their duty as Christians and prospective missionaries to gain experience in working among their own poor.

43 WD/C2154 Journal, January 27, 1856.
44 Cairns, 92.
Tonight I went with my friend Kirkham to a wretched neighbourhood - a den of iniquity - an abode of misery indescribable - We distributed a few tracts. One man, a shoemaker we found at work and a woman we found selling apples. After Mr. K. had left them both, I stayed behind. The man was in a bad temper (What miserable wages does sin pay in this life) I talked a little - he pleaded that it was his large family that led him to do what he did. I sympathized with him - told him God's care to provide for His people - reminded him of the shortness of life and gave him a coin and we parted friends - He got up from his work and seemed in a better state of mind than when I found him.45

Highbury certainly gave Duncan an important practical education, but perhaps its most valuable function was to bring him into closer contact with the policies and organisation of the Church Missionary Society. Through informal association with experienced missionaries, officers of the society, prospective missionaries, missionary speakers and missionary magazines, Duncan could learn a great deal of not only the practical problems facing a missionary, but also of the historical experience of the C.M.S., and the attitudes it had developed to its work.

II The Bible: The Secret of England's Greatness

By 1857, the year in which Duncan was sent out by the society, the C.M.S. had been actively involved in evangelical work for over half a century. The society had originally been established to provide missionaries for Africa and the East, but by the mid-nineteenth century it did not consider that there was "a portion of the earth of which man is
the inhabitant which lies beyond our limits."  

Missions had been established to Hindus and Moslems in India, to the Maoris in New Zealand, to the North American Indian at Red River and to various tribes in West and East Africa, as well as workers sent to Smyrna, China and Palestine. The society was an experienced organisation, supporting many missionaries, and dealing with large numbers of converts in various stages and forms of civilisation in many different physical and cultural environments.

As a C.M.S. missionary Duncan would become part of this large army of evangelists striving to bring the Gospel to the heathen of the world. His work, like that of so many missionaries, would be undertaken alone and in isolated places. The C.M.S. undoubtedly understood the difficulties of these situations, and as far as was technologically possible in the first half of the nineteenth century, the society kept in close contact with the men and women it supported. In addition to continual correspondence on particular issues, annual letters from the secretaries of the society were sent to each field worker, often dealing with very specific problems as well as containing general directives for all missions. For those missionaries in isolated areas with few, if any, other non-natives near, this contact was of great importance, both practically in terms of the considered advice given for their problems and spiritually in the encouragement and personal sense of worth imparted to them. "The link with a base in Britain enhanced the missionary's feelings that he was an emissary with

46 The Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1870, p. 11. Hereafter referred to as CMI 1870, p. 11.
a specific task, a representative of a religious society whose moral and spiritual values it was his function to spread.\textsuperscript{47}

The C.M.S. also published several magazines which served similar functions for the missionaries.\textsuperscript{48} Duncan, like all other missionaries in the field, received regular monthly copies of the most important of these, the \textit{Church Missionary Intelligencer}. The \textit{Intelligencer}, founded in 1849, and designed as a medium of communication "among the elite of the movement,"\textsuperscript{49} contained extracts from the journals and letters of missionaries, reviews and past histories of missions, discussions of contemporary religious disputes, scriptural commentaries, travellers' accounts of prospective mission fields, reviews of publications and explanatory articles on C.M.S. policy. For the society's supporters at home its function was to stimulate the interest in missions, solicit funds and personnel, and to provide a forum for the opinions of the Evangelicals within the Church, on both social and political affairs. At its inception the editor, the Reverend Joseph Ridgeway,\textsuperscript{50} offered the

\begin{footnotes}
\item Cairns, 54.
\item Besides the \textit{Intelligencer}, the society published the \textit{Church Missionary Society Record} and the \textit{Church Missionary Gleaner}. The \textit{Record} was designed for the general public and concentrated on publishing the journals and diaries of the various missionaries. It also contained lists of donations from parishes and individuals and demands for the needs of various missions. It later amalgamated with the \textit{CMI}, which then became the \textit{Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record}.

The \textit{Gleaner} was designed for use in Sunday schools. It contained many pictures and published children's prayers and stories of the conversion of children in other lands.
\item The Reverend Joseph Ridgeway M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin) was the incumbent of Christ Church, Tunbridge Wells, and the zealous evangelical editor of the \textit{Intelligencer} from 1849 to 1870.
\end{footnotes}
Intelligencer to the public as "commending itself to the attention of intelligent and thinking minds, and admitted as a welcome visitant to the drawing room and library table, pleads with happy influence the claims of the Missionary cause."^51

For the missionaries in the field the Intelligencer strengthened their link with home and gave them a sense of the vitality of the evangelical party and a faith in the inevitable success of their work. They were provided with an intimate picture of the workings of other missions, a practice which served to give them a consciousness of community, a feeling of being part of a larger movement. In the journals of other missionaries they were able to identify the same feelings of loneliness, frustration, isolation and doubt that they themselves experienced. In reporting the continual progress and success of various missionaries, the Intelligencer also served as an agent of mutual support and edification for field workers. They were constantly reminded too that their mission was divinely ordained, and could not but succeed in the fullness of time.

The C.M.S. believed that "history repeats itself. It does so indeed in a manner truly remarkable, and hence the value of the past. Old experiences become available for present use."^52 In this framework, the Intelligencer by presenting frequent reviews of the history of various missions fulfilled the vital function of making the old experiences available to those who felt they could currently make use of them. The

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51 CMI 1849, p. 2.
52 CMI 1866, p. 67.
society hoped by providing a forum for the sum of mission activity, to search for the general principles involved in their work. By the late 1850s these evangelical missionaries were far less the romantic idealists who longed only to preach the Gospel to the heathen. They had themselves become a national institution, organised on a vast network throughout England and supervising agents throughout the unconverted world. They had had years of experience in dealing with non-Christian peoples and by mid-century approached their mission in a systematic, scientific manner. The Intelligencer records this maturing process. "We desire to ascertain with more accuracy the principles which govern the growth of Missions, and to understand better their cultivation...In the commencement of this work there must have been much of inexperience, but now we have results before us in great variety, and it will be our own fault if, from a consideration of these, we do not derive much of valuable instruction. Missionary action is an inductive science and must be dealt with accordingly."  

The Church Missionary Society's publications provided the Victorian public with much of their information about aboriginal peoples and their social environment. The colourful accounts of heroism and stories of exotic cultures captured the popular imagination, and missionary literature of all kinds enjoyed a great popularity in Victorian homes. The Intelligencer accepted that part of its function was to provide factual information.

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53 CMI 1855, p. 274.
54 The Intelligencer pointed out that "works on Missions now constitute an important branch of our literature: our knowledge of foreign lands, and the habits and manners of distant nations has been amazingly increased by the researches of Missionaries. Works of this description, combining as they do, the agreeable and the instructive, and therefore peculiarly fitted for family reading, need only to be more known to be more sought after." CMI 1849, p. 3.
accounts of the comparatively unknown regions of the world in which its missionaries worked. "Christian ethnography; the scattered portions of the great human family; the places of their habitation; the condition to which sin has reduced them; or the benefits which they have received from the ameliorating influence of Christian Missions - this is our subject."^55 Perhaps more importantly, the Intelligencer also gave formal expression to the attitudes towards native peoples which provided the underlying basis for the policies of the Church Missionary Society. These Christian, humanitarian attitudes not only impressed themselves on a large segment of the Victorian public, but more specifically provided Duncan and other C.M.S. missionaries like him, with a philosophical framework for their mission.

The basic ideal underlying missionary attitudes to aborigines was a belief in the unity of the human family. The Intelligencer stated categorically that mankind was "one species, derived from one common parentage, yet, under the varying influences of climate, habits of life etc., presenting itself under a variety of modification."^56 God had made of one blood all nations of men and for the Evangelical, each man represented in some part the Divine image. The observed differences in the condition of man were seen as partly due to the circumstances of his environment and partly to his ignorance of the Gospel. In the eyes of these Victorians, the degradation of the aborigines was due only "to a prolonged condition of isolation and ignorance."^57

55 CMI 1863, p. 33.
56 CMI 1855, p. 243.
57 CMI 1869, p. 57.
This was an optimistic outlook on other cultures and one which opened up the way to development by the external agency of the missionary. Isolation from western civilisation and ignorance of the Christian Gospel were seen to be the problems facing native peoples. If only the missionary could lay the knowledge of these ways before them they could enter the mainstream of civilised life. The C.M.S. saw every reason to look forward confidently "to the day when under humanizing influences and more especially under the regenerating power of the Gospel or the grace of God, the African will no longer be a byword and outcast from civilization."  

Although the missionaries emphasised the role the physical environment played in determining the condition of aboriginal people, they had no romantic view of the simple innocence of the people themselves. Men of the nineteenth century prided themselves on knowing more accurately the condition of these natives. "Old books...may describe the simple pastoral life of the North American Indian...But we know that, on more accurate inspection, these pleasant imaginations shift into dark and horrible realities; and cruelty and cannibalism, and human sacrifice tell us too plainly that Heathenism is everywhere and always the same accursed thing." As Professor Cairns has noted, the missionary who ascribed to the idea of the African or aborigine as a noble savage would have immediately opened himself to sharp criticism for spoiling such a simple, happy natural life.  

58 Ibid.  
59 CMI 1849, p. 76.  
60 Cairns, 93.
Almost universally, the missionaries saw the native as childlike. This analogy provided them with the explanation for much of the emotional, extravagant, impulsive behaviour they observed. And just as the child can be brought to civilisation under the firm guidance of a benevolent parent, so could these aborigines be brought to civilisation under the stewardship of paternal missionaries. Such beliefs obviously prepared the way for paternalism, and put the native in a position of inferiority "thus justifying any enterprise in which he was to be treated as an object." But most significantly, it was a philosophy of progress, which held out the possibility of development to the native peoples.

These developmental ideas of the evangelical missionaries had much in common with the cultural evolution school of the early anthropologists of the Ethnological Society. Cultural evolution belongs to the same intellectual climate as Darwinism, but is itself an independent development, and its proponents had begun their work before 1859. Edward Tylor, the progenitor of English anthropology, was inspired by the theories of cultural evolution. In his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* first published in 1865, he pointed out that "the facts collected seem to favour the view that the wide differences in the civilisation and mental

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61 Ibid., 235.
62 The Ethnological Society was in part an offshoot of the Aborigines Protection Society, and was founded in London in 1848. In 1863 the society divided and one group formed the Anthropological Society, which deriving many of its ideas from the physical anthropologists, became more hysterically racist and tended to be extremely critical of missionaries and their work. For a valuable account of the ideas of the two societies see J.W. Burrow, *Evolution and Society: A Study of Victorian Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).
state of the various races of mankind are rather differences of development than of origin, rather of degree than of kind." The cultural evolutionists saw culture as developing in a progressive manner through time, and following the same developmental sequential stages wherever it was found. This form of evolutionary theory enabled the aborigines in whatever particular stage of savagery or barbarism they were found, to be viewed as potential Europeans, or conversely as contemporary ancestors of Englishmen. As Tylor suggested, "there is reason to suppose that our ancestors in remote times made fire with a machine much like that of the modern Eskimaux." The attraction of evolutionary social theories for missionaries was that it accorded with their own belief in the unity of mankind, gave them a framework in which to fit the barbarism that they encountered, and held out the possibility of success for their own work.

"Mankind was not one because it was everywhere the same, but because the differences represented different stages in essentially the same process, and by agreeing to call the process, progress, one could convert the social theory into a moral and political one." Progress was indeed the essence of the attitudes of the missionaries and the cultural evolutionists. Their theories of development implicitly assumed that the highest stage for a civilisation to reach was that of protestant, Victorian

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65 Cairns, 235.
66 Tylor, 232.
England. The *Intelligencer* in fact believed quite explicitly that, "there is to be found in England a more advanced social organization than, perhaps is to be met in any quarter of the globe."\(^{68}\) Progress too, was the keynote of the Victorian age itself, epitomised by the Great Exhibition of 1851 and its display of the progress made by England in material culture. Progress was also claimed by the C.M.S. as the law of Christianity, for not to advance in its name could only be regarded as a retreat. The secular faith in progress of the Victorian missionary supported his religious faith in the inevitable success of the Gospel, while his belief in the unity of mankind convinced him of the innate ability of primitive men to absorb western civilisation and Christianity. These basic theories of development that he shared with the cultural evolutionists provided him with the teleological structure for his endeavour.

The fact that "uncivilised" peoples were capable of progressing to the heights of Victorian civilisation was not enough, however. The C.M.S. believed that England's eminent position in the world entailed upon her a moral duty to aid the process of development of these more primitive societies. Divine Providence in fact had specifically equipped the English for such a role. England's world wide commercial contacts, her colonies and her influence in the world all afforded "astonishing facilities for the wider dissemination of Gospel truth."\(^{69}\) Europe was still overshadowed with the errors of Roman Catholicism and more

\(^{68}\) CMI 1852, p. 5.  
\(^{69}\) CMI 1849, p. 3.
immediately, revolutions had forced Europeans to concentrate their energies at home. Internal peace had been imposed on England for a Divine purpose, to enable her to fulfil her function as the emissary of the Lord to the heathen. The Intelligencer asked, "Is it for nothing that tranquillity has been imposed on us?...If our age is the era for Missions, no less plainly is our own country the messenger people to the whole earth. The Heathen cry and they cry to us - to us Englishmen of the nineteenth century." It was this cry which William Duncan and many other young Evangelicals had answered when they dedicated their lives to their Lord and offered their services to the Church Missionary Society.

For England not to answer the call of the heathen would have grave effects on her position. The C.M.S. at mid-century believed that God gave Empires only for the good of the governed, not of the rulers. Where the good of the governed, was not steadfastly and earnestly pursued, such a kingdom carried within itself "the sure seed and element of decay." To the Church Missionary Society the extent of the missionary movement was a symbol of the vitality of the Church at home. The basis of England's greatness was the protestant Christianity she espoused, and thus the missionary represented the strength of British institutions. Just as a non-missionary church was a contradiction in terms, so was the fruitfulness and the promise of all blessing on the Empire suspended "on the fulfilment of the duty of evangelising the world." In essence, the support of

70 CMI 1849, p. 76.
71 CMI 1849, p. 51.
72 CMI 1849, p. 51.
missionary work by the Victorians not only reaffirmed their values, but guaranteed to them the continued health of their own institutions.

These mid-Victorian Englishmen optimistically felt that the world could be evangelised during their own generation, and indeed felt an extreme urgency to realise this goal as quickly as possible. They were seized with the idea that native peoples were becoming increasingly more sinful in their own time. The Intelligencer's jeramiads were clear on the subject. "For generations sin has been increasing in its intensity of action amongst the heathen, until at length it has attained a degree of virulence of the most deadly and destructive character." For true Evangelicals, such a situation was intolerable. Men deep in sin must be elevated, for the C.M.S. believed that "to refrain from setting him right, when he is wrong on matters of eternal import, is not, as some would persuade themselves, a becoming deference to the individual freedom of the man...but the unkindly act of one who, finding a man in bonds is content to leave him so." Nor did religious relativism enter into the considerations of the society. Their mission was urgent, divinely ordained, inevitably successful and involved no kind of self-doubt on the part of the missionary. The Intelligencer stated firmly, "it is not merely that it (Protestant Christianity) is the superior religion so that there are others which are true, although this is more true; but that it is the truth exclusively."

The Victorians, in particular the evangelical missionaries, conceived

73 CMI 1852, p. 136.
74 CMI 1852, p. 137.
75 Ibid.
of the Christianity they took to distant lands as involving far more than a set of personal beliefs about a divine figure. Christianity, for them, was conceived of more as a way of life, based upon certain moral and ethical values and which, while allowing for small variations, corresponded closely to the ideal of Victorian England. The British felt they owed their greatness as a people to the influence of pure Christianity on the national character and conduct, and the idea that civilisation and Christianity were inextricably entwined was fully accepted by most Victorians.

The C.M.S. never satisfactorily solved the question of whether civilisation or Christianity should be sought first by missionaries in the field. It was certainly a difficult problem they faced. Believing as they did that barbarism was due to the free operation of original sin, they could not conceive of a civilised man who was not Christian, nor could they envisage an uncivilised Christian. In practice the problem of whether an aborigine could become Christian before he became civilised, was usually avoided. In general, during the early and mid-Victorian periods, the society's missionaries tended to teach both the Gospel and the arts of civilisation simultaneously.

Theoretically at least, the Intelligencer maintained that the Gospel itself was the "grand element of amelioration, so that, where this precedes, civilization follows,"76 and tried to impress upon prospective converts that "improved habits belong not race, but to Christianity."77

76 CMI 1855, p. 133.
77 CMI 1866, p. 17.
To those who felt that England's prime mission should be a civilising one, the *Intelligencer* pointed out that "we cannot civilize the heathen in that true sense which is comprehensive of the domestic relations, except by the evangelising process." If the Gospel was not an integral part of the civilising process, the society felt that they were thus "precluding the possibility of their being employed by God as instruments of his work." In that case, "we act as independent agents, and attempt on our own strength and by our own wisdom, to accomplish results which require the interference of Almighty power." And further, to exclude the Gospel from the civilising institutions entailed grave consequences for the future of England and her Empire. In India, such a policy would result in Deism and insubordination and "the young men educated in those governmental institutions from whence has been excluded that gospel to which England owes its grandeur and its greatness, will become the troublesome revolutionists of our Empire."

The Victorian missionary's idea of civilisation then, had a religious basis, but more than that it was decidedly ethnocentric and generally meant all that he considered best in his own way of life. The great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, termed by the Prince Consort, a festival of the civilisation of mankind, gives some indication of what the Victorians considered were the elements of civilisation. Here were presented in vast array, the products of all parts of the world, and particularly of Britain and her Empire. Fascinated by their own progress in industry and

78 *CMI* 1852, p. 138.
80 *CMI* 1855, p. 122.
technology, Britons tended to judge other nations in terms of their material culture. Commenting on the Exhibition the *Intelligencer* spoke of the "specimens of the fertility of various lands, and manufactured articles, presenting accurate indices of the limit to which civilization had attained in them respectively." More than that, the Exhibition appeared to show to Victorians how incomplete each nation was without the other and to the C.M.S. at least, showed how the "families of the earth have been providentially placed in a position of mutual dependence on each other." H.A.C. Cairns has commented that, at times civilisation meant no more than the buying and selling of the market place, an attitude based on the "elementary assumption that civilization consisted of the material goods diffused by commercial transactions." Commerce, for Victorian England was not only the means of exchange of goods, but entailed the understanding of ethical principles, a commitment to free trade and its concomitants, peace and brotherhood. This wide view of the importance of commercial life was in fact basic to the attitude of the society and mid-Victorian missionaries, and played no small part in their concept of their civilising mission.

Other elements of great importance were also involved in the civilising mission that the society enjoined upon its agents. "Sound moral principle is certainly the first element in true civilization," emphasised the Venerable Archdeacon Maunsell. Maunsell, a C.M.S. missionary in New Zealand, defined civilisation as improvement in the

81 CMI 1852, p. 5.
82 Ibid.
83 Cairns, 222.
84 CMI 1862, p. 62.
social state. "It implies an organized society in which the condition of the human species is mentally, morally, and physically elevated. It is intimately connected with the increase of knowledge. It leads to the acquisition of wealth. It humanizes the man, softens the manners and gradually surrounds us with every kind of earthly comfort." The civilising mission involved then not only the encouragement of the production of material goods and their distribution through commercial intercourse, but entailed provision for education and law and for inculcation of the particular values in the individual that would motivate him to desire the trappings of a civilised life and also enable him to produce them.

The most important of such values to the Victorians, and one which was of prime concern to all the missionaries was that of work. Just as Samuel Smiles stressed the necessity for the workingman to cultivate industrious habits, so did the C.M.S. value such habits as the most desirable attributes of a Christian man. In Sierra Leone, it was felt that Christianity could not tolerate those habits of indolence in the prospective converts; that "state of savageness in which they only cared for eating, drinking and sleeping. To diligence and industry they had to be roused by the efforts of the Missionaries." Work as a value was not only important because of the contribution it could make to material wealth, but was as Max Weber has indicated, "a self-contained moral virtue independent of its productive implications."
The C.M.S. believed that their self-imposed dual mission played a vital Imperial role. On the one hand, they felt that together, the Christianity and civilisation brought by the society, anticipated the movements of colonisation and prepared the aboriginal races in the best way possible for the coming of the White man. From the point of view of the aborigine, the society saw his future as doomed if he came into immediate and direct contact with Europeans. In reference to New Zealand the *Intelligencer* asked,

> Is it possible that two distinct portions of the human race, in the opposite conditions of civilization and barbarism, can be brought into immediate contact without the destruction of the uncivilized race? We believe it to be quite possible, if only Christianity in its purity and power be on the spot.

The role of the missionary and the civilisation he established in the wilderness, were indispensable not only to the progress of the Gospel, but to the peaceful and honourable expansion of Greater Britain.

One of the earliest C.M.S. ventures in the civilising of native peoples, was in granting aid to the Reverend Samuel Marsden in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Marsden, an Anglican chaplain in New South Wales made several visits to the Maoris of New Zealand, and in 1808 urged the C.M.S. to begin a mission to these people. Like his successors, Marsden had an optimistic developmental attitude to the potential future of the Maoris. He saw their minds as a "rich soil that had never been cultivated, and only wanted the proper means of improvement.

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88 *CMI* 1860, p. 2.
to render them entitled to be ranked among civilized nations." Marsden, however, viewed the proper means of improvement as largely secular ones, and asked the C.M.S. to provide him with a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a twinespinner. In his opinion the introduction of the arts of civilisation and the Gospel must come simultaneously. "The arts of civilisation and religion should go together. The attention of the Heathen can be gained and their vagrant habits corrected only by the arts. Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrial habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the gospel." Here is the earliest indication of the concern the society was to have in later years with the problems of civilisation and Christianity, and the inculcation of Victorian values into the cultures of native peoples.

Marsden's mechanics were the first of many practical Christians sent by the C.M.S. to various parts of the mission field. In the middle years of the century, under the aegis of Henry Venn, the C.M.S. became strongly committed to the idea of a dual role of evangelising and civilising the heathen. William Duncan in fact was only one of a great number of industrial teachers, carpenters and schoolmasters recruited, trained and directed by the society under Venn's leadership.

Henry Venn, energetic and vigorous, dominated the committee of the C.M.S. and originated the ideas and established the policies which guided

89 S.M. Johnstone, Samuel Marsden, A Pioneer of Civilization in the South Seas (Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd., 1932), p. 69.
90 Ibid.
a generation of evangelical missionaries. After joining the Parent Committee of the society in 1835, Venn became its Secretary in 1841, and until his retirement in 1872, he presided at meetings of the committee, prepared the annual report, corresponded with the missionaries, read the journals they submitted, edited them for publication, organised fund raising meetings, and established the home organisation of the C.M.S. on such a basis that it was seen as a model by many of the popular movements of the century. At the same time, he found time to edit the Christian Observer, the journal of the Evangelicals in the Church of England, and to attend the monthly meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as those of the other protestant missionary organisations. He actively prosecuted the evangelical cause within the Church, and towards the end of his life he was a member of several committees and commissions concerned with Church policy and organisation. A personal friend of men such as Sir T. Fowell Buxton and Sir Francis Baring, Venn also supported the humanitarian organisations of the day, particularly the Anti-Slavery Society.

But the Church Missionary Society and its missions, especially those in Africa, always held the centre of his attention. For many Victorians, the society itself had become identified with Venn, "so completely had he

91 Henry Venn, the son of John Venn of Clapham, and grandson of Henry Venn, was descended from a long line of Cambridgemen and clergymen, and was born into the centre of the second wave of the evangelical revival. He was particularly noted for his work in the parish of Drypool, Hull. Venn's meticulous attention to detail, his passion for systematic treatment of problems, his energy and conscientiousness, his wide interest in all aspects of the evangelical cause and of mission work, and his well placed family and social connections, combined to make him a formidable but benevolent director of mission work.
transfused his soul into it, and become the life-blood as well as the exponent of its principles." 92 His biographer and friend, the Reverend W. Knight, feels that Venn saw his greatest contribution here, and would have ranked the Native Church Policy he developed for the society's missions as the chief work of his official life. 93 Not only did Venn plan the grand strategies of the society, but he found time to maintain a close and intimate contact with his missionaries in the field. The C.M.S. evangelists, by their connection with the society, were already committed to carrying out his policies and ideals, but in addition, many of them developed almost a personal allegiance to Venn which gave them an added commitment to the Native Church Policy. In his lifetime Venn was revered. At his death in 1873 there were many who, like Duncan, mourned: "what a loss to the world! and how powerfully solemn the event speaks to all engaged in Mission work...How many have wept and still weep (some like myself alone) and while in thought we follow him to heaven, how many of us are crying My father! My father!" 94

Venn's Native Church Policy stemmed basically from his religious attitudes and from his allegiance to the idea of the invisible church of Christ. Venn, who urged upon all his missionaries the necessity of maintaining fraternal relations with other protestant missions, was more concerned with winning souls for Christ than with extending the organisation of the Church of England. Indeed, he looked forward to a

92 CMI 1873, p. 129.
94 WD/C2148 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, May 3, 1873.
time when "Churches composed of Bible Christians,...will outgrow the denominational features in which they were cast."\textsuperscript{95}

As a true evangelical he was of course primarily concerned with the salvation of the individual, but as the \textit{de facto} director of the society's missions, he was also charged with forming the policy that could best achieve these ends with the means at his disposal. He realised that the heathen world could not possibly be evangelised solely by European and American missionaries for as he pointed out, "transplant the whole clergy of England into China, place them as they are placed here, so many clergymen to so many people, and what would be the consequence? You would have supplied just one twentieth part of the population of China."\textsuperscript{96}

Venn took the work of the Apostle Paul as his ideal. St. Paul's main work as a missionary "was the gathering and forming of local churches...He thus in each place put in requisition the power of association, organization and combination of a self-governed Christian community."\textsuperscript{97} Venn emphasised that the true function of the missionary was to evangelise and convert the heathen, and to form a congregation of believers. His guiding principle was that missions must always be treated as if in a transition state. The role of the missionary was to establish self-supporting congregations of Native Christians, and when this had been effected, the mission would have "attained its \textit{euthanasia} and the Mission

\textsuperscript{95} H. Venn, \textit{Speech at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society}, April 31, 1861, cited in Knight, 248.
agency can be transferred to the regions beyond."\(^98\)

To Venn, England was the new centre of world Christianity, and one more influential than Rome had been. Yet he noted "it was so not by conquest, but by commerce and colonization."\(^99\) However, this did not mean that England's Church must establish herself throughout the heathen world. The object before the society was "not only to induce a few individuals of every nation to flock into the Christian Church, but that all nations should gradually adopt the Christian religion as their national profession of faith, and thus fill the universal Church by the accession of national churches." The C.M.S. under Venn, aimed to make Christianity indigenous and not exotic, with many centres instead of one. The church established in these centres was consciously to assume a national character as far as was commensurate with the principles of evangelical Christianity. Here, Venn was influenced by the failure of the Anglican Church in Ireland. The Church in Ireland had never assumed a national and native character, for it had never communicated the teachings of Christianity to the people in their own tongue and consequently had never received the allegiance of the majority of the population. Venn saw that "the Protestant Church in Ireland came to be regarded by the native Irish as an Anglican institution designed to promote English ascendancy...and the aversion manifested at the very outset to the Irish element by the refusal to employ the vernacular of the people confirmed and justified that impression."\(^100\)

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98 Stock, II, 83.
100 CMI 1869, p. 99.
A prime responsibility for the society's missionaries was to place Scriptures written in the vernacular in the hands of the heathen. Missionaries were further directed to study the national character of the people among whom they laboured, and to learn to understand their ways of thinking. Venn realised that it was difficult for Englishmen to show respect for national peculiarities which differed from their own, but emphasised to the society's agents that they must make a concerted effort to overcome this problem. From their first arrival in the new country, the missionaries were to study and respect the national habits "till it becomes a habit with you to do so and a second nature."  

By integrating the Christian Church into the mainstream of national life, Venn hoped the converts would never have to choose between nationality and religion. He believed Christianity was designed for all nations and that in organising the native church as a national institution, each church member would feel himself doubly bound to his country, both through his religious community and through his secular associations. Native peoples often saw Christianity as a White man's religion and refused to accept it on those grounds. Venn aimed to make this reason untenable by placing Christianity in the natives' own setting and presenting it to them as a part of their own way of life. He hoped too, that the native church as a national institution would eventually attract all the Christians of the nation and would "ultimately supersede the denominational distinctions which are now introduced by Foreign Missionary  

Societies,"^102 and would thus approach Venn's ideal of the supremacy of the Invisible Church of believers.

Venn not only formulated such general principles for C.M.S. policy, but established systematic and detailed plans for the establishment of the native churches. Each district brought under missionary action was to have its converts formed into companies where they would receive daily instruction in Christianity and make regular contributions toward a Church fund, a system comparable in many ways to that of the Methodist classes in England. Venn may have had the Methodists in mind when he suggested this, but his scriptural origin was the Acts of the Apostles, (chapter four, verse 23) the literal translation of 'company' meaning 'their own friends and relatives'.^103

These groups were not to be too large or their numbers too scattered to prevent their meeting together frequently for religious purposes. At the head of each company was to be an elder or Christian headman, generally selected by the missionary, who would be responsible for both the moral and religious condition of his company. The missionary would hold monthly meetings of all headmen, where subscriptions would be handed over and the native leaders would receive spiritual counsel and encouragement from the missionary. By establishing these companies, the society hoped to introduce some form of corporate life into the nascent church. At the same time, the companies fulfilled the essential role of providing a form of mutual support and encouragement for new converts.

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102 Venn, On Nationality, cited in Knight, 286.
103 H. Venn, The Native Church, cited in Knight, 311.
The first step in the organisation of a native church would be the formation of one or more companies into a congregation, having a school-master or native teacher amongst them, supported by their own funds. Secondly, the congregation would come under the instruction of a native pastor, again supported by a native church fund. In the final phase, district conferences would come together to organise the future of the national church under a native episcopate.

The most important function of the missionary was to educate and to train the native pastors and evangelists. The man who, from the beginning, did not set himself the task of raising an indigenous ministry to replace himself was building on an insecure foundation. At all times the missionary was to hold clearly in mind the distinction between himself as a European evangelist to the heathen, and the pastor of a flock, who should ideally be a native. Venn warned of the dangers involved in delaying the advent of a native ministry. When the missionary is of another and superior race, experience had taught the society that converts remained personally attached to their missionary and tended to stay too long in a dependent condition. "The same congregation under competent native pastors, would become more self-reliant, and their religion would be of a more manly, home character."  

Venn was less concerned in fact with the intellectual and academic qualification of the native ministers, than with establishing the principle of a native pastorate as soon as possible in every appropriate

104 H. Venn to the Bishop of Kingston, January, 1867, cited in Knight, 216.
mission. It was not even necessarily desirable that a native minister should have reached an approximation of a European standard of intellectual development. "This is not the material needed for the native pastorate", the *Intelligencer* advised in 1856. "It will not at all answer that they who hold that office should be too much in advance of their flock. If this be the case, there will be of necessity a want of sympathy. The pastor will be above his people: the people, made painfully conscious of their inferiority, will not identify themselves with one who is so far Anglicised as to be withdrawn from them."¹⁰⁵ The ideal native to minister to the new church was valued more for his personal qualities and potential abilities for ministry, than for his academic qualifications. "If a man be a gracious man, well versed in his own vernacular scriptures, apt to teach, who, by service as a catechist, has purchased to himself a good degree, has obtained influence with the seriously minded members of the flock, and had a good report amongst the people generally, he is a proper person for admission to the native pastorate."¹⁰⁶ Such a man had distinct advantages over the European missionary, being one of the people, and not so far in advance of them to discourage them from feeling they could not reach his standard. Ideally, as the *Intelligencer* pointed out to its readers "they see in their own pastor one from among themselves, in advance of them undoubtedly, as to Christian Character and influence; but they are encouraged to press forward, in the belief that what was possible for him, is attainable by them likewise; and thus pastor and people grow together."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ CMI 1856, p. 157.
¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
¹⁰⁷ CMI 1858, p. 37.
There was no hint of imperial domination in the attitudes behind the Native Church Policy of the Church Missionary Society. Venn's policy early put great responsibility upon the native. Partly this was due to the fact that he always held in view his ambition to evangelise the world in one or two generations, a feat which could not be accomplished by Europeans alone. In tropical regions, particularly West Africa, the life expectancy of a European was often very short, and the early training of an indigenous pastorate was thus an important practical concern. Yet for Venn, his policy was more than a pragmatic response to the practical problems of a missionary organisation. His ideal of a native Christian strongly resembled Samuel Smiles' ideal of the upright workingman. The values of self-help and independence that were important to Smiles were also to be important for native Christians in the society's missions.

Venn himself was greatly interested in setting the missions, the embryonic new churches, upon an independent economic basis. Again there were practical advantages to this policy, for to do so would certainly relieve the pressure upon the society's limited funds. But for Venn, the encouragement of self-government and independence was of especial intrinsic importance. Unlike many later Victorians, he never doubted the ability of non-Europeans to attain independence or to govern themselves. 108

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108 J.F.A. Ajayi, in *Christian Missions in Nigeria: The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longman, Green and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 174, has pointed out that Henry Venn was the most important advocate of self-government as a virtue. He sees the same policy as embodied in the Queen's proclamation in India in 1858, where it was declared that race and creed should never be a barrier to office or service to the Crown. This Ajayi argues, was the assumption underlying a good deal of missionary work, and that it "culminated in the doctrine of self-government as a virtue and not dictated only by the needs of economy."
From the beginning, it was important that the missionary impress upon the converts that they were to be ultimately responsible for their own affairs, although the society would give as much help and advice as it thought expedient. As early as 1852, addressing the missionaries embarking for Sierra Leone and Abeokuta, Venn made this aspect of his policy particularly explicit.

Keep in mind the importance of introducing, from the first the principles of self-support and self-government among the converts. Never let them imagine that the Society is to do all and pay all. Remind them daily and hourly that you only come among them to put them in the way of doing all for themselves. Their native benefit clubs, and their native idea of collective responsibility show that they are fully capable of appreciating at once the principles to which we have alluded. When Schools are to be established let the people build them themselves, and pay the teachers, with such assistance only as may be absolutely necessary. The Society must supply the Teachers; but let the parents pay for the education for their children; let them buy their own books; let them contribute to a church fund; let them manage their sick fund: you have abundant proof of their ability. 109

The attitude of the missionary was of utmost importance to the success of this policy of ensuring the independence of the native converts. The technology and civilisation of the missionary would naturally tend to make him the leader and innovator in the group, and dependence upon such a person would easily follow. The C.M.S. was certainly aware of these sociological problems and foresaw the disadvantages to the native society inherent in that situation. Converts would become dependent upon a foreign

109 H. Venn, *Dismissal of missionaries to Sierra Leone and Abeokuta*, CMI 1852, p. 20.
mission, rather than members of a native church. "There may be the individual spiritual life, but there is no corporate life, though the converts may amount to thousands in number they are powerless as a body. The principles of self-support, self-government and self-extension are wanting, on which depend the breath of life in a native church."^110

The role of the missionary was then from the beginning never to do for the converts what they could well do for themselves. Most affairs of the mission, Venn instructed, could be best handled by the people themselves. Venn recommended to the Reverend J.C. Taylor, an African missionary returning to the Niger Mission, that in matters such as "the management of affairs, the serving of tables, the exercise of discipline, the building of places of worship and schools, the extension of the Mission — avoid putting himself before the people as a leader; rather stand behind them as a prompter and counsellor. Prompting to self-action is more important than inducing men to follow a leader."^111

The missionary was to refrain from imposing himself on the new religious community. By so doing he would give the native church the opportunity to express itself in its own terms and to develop into a truly national institution. "Let all European habits, European tastes, European ideas be left behind you,"^112 Venn advised Taylor. The C.M.S. under Venn was never interested in merely swelling the ranks of Anglican adherents, or of making Englishmen of Africans. They consistently held in view the ideal of establishing congregations of independent native

^110 H. Venn, The Dangers of Station Mission Work, cited in Knight, 309.
^111 H. Venn, Dismissal of Missionaries, CMI 1860, p. 90.
^112 Ibid.
Christians, forming part of an indigenous national church, presided over by a native clergy and episcopate and expressing the aims and reflecting the attitudes of the people.

For Venn, a social planner of great imagination, it was not enough merely to urge the virtues of independence. Recognising that in primitive economies the means to acquire the goods considered necessary for a Christian life were often non-existent, he constantly urged his missionaries to seek opportunities for native industry and trade.\textsuperscript{113} Within the context of the Native Church Policy, it was imperative too, that the converts be able to support their own teacher and pastor, and if possible to demonstrate the vitality of their religion by supporting their own evangelists to the extant heathen. Again using the example of the apostles and the early churches, Venn emphasised that "the people in Sierra Leone and in Abeokuta must be taught that it is the law of Christ that His people should pay for their religious instruction and ordinances; that the primitive rule was one tenth of their produce, and sacrifices and first fruits and other offerings a still further proportion. Let this principle be brought to bear upon the weekly contributions."\textsuperscript{114}

Thus Venn, for a number of impelling reasons, repeatedly sought ways to profitably utilise the talents of the people and the produce of their region. Consistent with his aim of developing national churches as

\textsuperscript{113} In West Africa, his especial concern, the search for employment for natives arose partly out of a desire to find a legitimate substitute for the slave trade. Like his friend Fowell Buxton, the anti-slavery writer and crusader, Venn believed that the slave trade would be abandoned more readily if alternative financial avenues were opened to the native traders.

\textsuperscript{114} CMI 1852, p. 285.
expressions of national character, Venn did not necessarily attempt to impose European industrial pursuits on native peoples, but as far as possible he sought to use already existing skills and inclinations. To the missionary proceeding to the Ojibway Indians in 1868, he re-iterated his principles. "Live among them; respect their national peculiarities; ascertain the industrial pursuits which may be introduced amongst them with the best prospect of meeting their peculiar habits."115

Thus like Samuel Marsden, Venn saw the necessity to send out not only ordained clergymen, but schoolmasters and lay industrial agents, for these were the men who taught the mechanics of civilisation. Their work not only enabled the community to become self-supporting, but elevated the Christian African above his heathen counterpart. Thus, Dr. Edward Irving, the lay agent of the society at Abeokuta, was instructed to study the resources of the country and to encourage the new converts to develop them so that they might "rise in social position and influence while they are receiving Christian instruction and thus form themselves into a self-supporting Christian Church and give practical proof that godliness hath promise of the life that now is, as well as that which is to come."116

Venn, in fact, aimed to create an African middle class, though not necessarily in the image of its Victorian counterpart.117

For Evangelicals, the Bible was the only source of religious knowledge and it was thus the first duty of a missionary to make the Scriptures

115 Knight, 287.
116 H. Venn, Final Instructions to Dr. E. Irving, December 23, 1853, CMS/CA/2LI, cited in Ajayi, Nigeria, 81.
available in the vernacular and to teach the people to read and understand the word of God. Religious instruction and Sunday schools were naturally of prime importance in mission work. But to Venn and the C.M.S. civilisation and Christianity were to proceed together, and to this end they conceived of the education of their converts in the broadest possible way.

Venn was particularly interested in encouraging industrial education. At Kissey Mission in Sierra Leone, the C.M.S. had established an industrial school where the children were taught tailoring, and where cotton was planted for export to Manchester. Industrial education was strongly advocated by Venn, for it encouraged desirable attitudes to work from an early age. He reminded the native schoolmaster in charge of Freetown Grammar School in 1853, that "England's social advancement...has all sprung from God's blessing upon her industry...I hope you interest yourself in the industrial employment...In India, New Zealand, and all our missions, an industrial department is being added to our schools." 118

The C.M.S. in fact did not aim at producing a highly educated élite, but attempted to build self-supporting educational institutions by combining book learning and industrial labour. "The separation of scholastic life and manual labour is a refinement of advanced civilisation. It may be doubted whether even in this case it is desirable, but certainly it is not desirable in a mission school or according to the example of the Apostles of the Gentiles." 119

118 H. Venn to James Quaker, November 29, 1853, cited in Knight, 53.
119 Instructions of the Parent Committee to W. Kirkham, Schoolmaster, January 29, 1856, C.M.S. CA/L2, cited in Ajayi, Nigeria, 144.
As a true evangelical, Venn did not concern himself only with the children of a nation. In fact the conversion of an adult was of the utmost importance for the future of the mission, for here was evidence to his neighbours that Christianity came not merely by habit or force of education. The adult was aware too, of the idolatry and native customs he must renounce and not only was he often also imbued with a missionary zeal himself but, "he has some idea of the obloquy and danger to which he is exposed." There was no lost generation in the vision of the C.M.S. It was recognised that the development of a true Christianity would best come within the atmosphere of a Christian home. To this end Venn did not overlook the necessity of female education. The conscientious missionaries, such as those at Tinnevelly, established boarding schools for girls, where the European wives acted as teachers and guardians. Christian mothers were the basis of stability for the Christian Church, Venn pointed out to missionaries bound for Sierra Leone and Abeokuta. "God may give you a few illustrious instances of mature Christianity in your adult converts; but the mass will be far below that standard until you have a generation nursed in the lap of Christian mothers and taught to lisp the name of Christ."121

Though the education of a native clergy was considered to be one of the most important tasks facing the European evangelist, Venn did not feel that the formal education of the schoolroom was necessarily the best kind

120 H. Venn, Memoir on the Character of the Reverend Edward Bickersteth, cited in Knight, 166.
121 H. Venn, Dismissal of Missionaries to Sierra Leone and Abeokuta, CMI 1852, p. 21.
of training. The native pastors were to be of the people, for the C.M.S. consciously aimed to avoid producing an élite within the native church itself. "A young prig, turned out of a collegiate institution, inflated with self-sufficiency and the pride of learning, would be a poor substitute for a well-approved Catechist - perhaps his inferior in secular knowledge - but who knew his Bible and had for years been conversant with the wants and feelings of the flock." The ideal training for native pastors was to be more a form of apprenticeship to the European missionary. A large staff of native teachers would be employed as catechists and Scripture readers. The missionary was to continue to educate them while they were employed and then advance the most promising to ordination. "Thus in one and the same district the preparation of native pastors and the work of evangelisation may be carried on at the same time and the two departments will have the most beneficial influence on each other." The young men of most promise should become boarders in the home of the missionary and would thus experience daily the example of a Christian life. The wives of prospective native pastors were also to be given some training in scriptural knowledge and in Christian habits, and again it was recommended that for such a purpose it was not a collegiate institution which was required but rather an institution "partaking of the character of a Christian settlement." The idea of a Christian village or community was certainly attractive. The Roman Catholics in Paraguay had formed their converts

122 CMI 1875, p. 298.
123 H. Venn to the Bishop of Kingston, cited in Knight, 218.
124 Ibid.
into strictly organised Christian villages. The Moravians in the eighteenth century and nineteenth century in Labrador and elsewhere had applied the idea of an all-encompassing mission village with medical and industrial facilities, and in England, the Church of England Self Supporting Village Societies also aimed at creating Christian communities. For missionaries to uncivilised people, the idea was particularly appealing. It was far easier for the missionary to supervise the religious and secular education of his converts in the confines of a Christian village than in the native village where the authority of the missionary was challenged by the traditional structure of society. Here the European evangelist could control the environment and develop a Christian civilisation, which would be a model to the yet unconverted. 125

Even in areas where White civilisation existed it could be valuable to the missionary to create his own Christian society. The Whites, traders, travellers, settlers, or hunters, who lived in these 'frontier' regions did not necessarily provide the inspiration for Christian living

125 David Livingstone, the Victorian explorer and free-lance missionary, envisioned the creation of a series of Christian settlements in Africa in the mid 1850's. These were to be the centres of Christianity and civilisation, "for the promotion of true religion, agriculture and lawful commerce," and they would be staffed by clergymen, doctors and a number of artisans or mechanics. Similarly, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the anti-slavery crusader, writing in 1841, felt that it was not enough for British naval forces to blockade the slave trade, but Christian England should invest in Africa and attempt to stimulate agriculture and commerce and produce an industrial class of African. "These Africans, protected by Britain, guided by the missionaries, and working with capital from European merchants would...move inland and man factories at every strategic spot, living together in little colonies, little cells of civilisation from which the light would radiate to the regions around." See T.F. Buxton, The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy (London: 1841).
that the mission needed. The need for a Christian village was often dictated by the failure of White settlers to fulfil the somewhat unrealistic expectations of the missionary.\textsuperscript{126} In addition, as Professor Cairns has pointed out, the emotional and physical needs of the missionary played a large role in the emphasis placed on the civilising mission of the European. The further a man was from civilisation the greater was his need to structure his environment to satisfy his own needs for a familiar way of life, and thus he tended to form civilised communities in the wilderness.\textsuperscript{127}

From the converts' point of view, the establishment of a Christian village provided them with a place of refuge. Ridicule often made it extremely difficult for converts to live the kind of life and observe the kind of rules that the missionary exhorted them to follow. In Christian surroundings, they would have every opportunity to develop as 'civilised Christians' and would have the advantage of mutual support and comfort from their neighbours. The importance of the community was recognised by at least one of the New Zealand missionaries. Describing the problems of a young native trying to live a civilised life in heathen surroundings he concluded that "civilization, to make any progress, or to be permanent in any people must be the result of a simultaneous move on the part of a large body of natives."\textsuperscript{128}

Venn recognised the advantages of a Christian village in providing a model of civilised society and forming a solid social base for a native

\textsuperscript{126} Cairns, 230.
\textsuperscript{127} Cairns, 72 and 219.
\textsuperscript{128} Venerable Archdeacon Maunsell, Speech at the Oddfellows Hall, Auckland, New Zealand, September 20, 1861. \textsuperscript{CMI} 1862, p. 63.
church. But he consistently warned his missionaries of the dangers of 'station' mission work, as he termed it. It was too easy for the European evangelist to fall into the error of becoming a pastor to the people instead of working towards the 'euthanasia' of his mission. Yet in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, Venn's particular area of interests there were several well established Christian villages, such as Kissey Station and Abeokuta. In New Zealand, the Maori village of Otaki had become a Christian community by virtue of the conversion of most of its inhabitants. Here Christian discipline was strictly enforced. Every individual adult attended church services twice a day and crime and vice were almost unknown. "Public opinion is altogether enlisted on the side of strict religion..." A visitor commented in 1850, "they never travel on Sundays, and form a very bad opinion of Europeans who do...One Sunday we walked among some native huts, and found a great number of them squatting in their blankets round one of the largest, reading the Bible and praying, alternately as it seemed to us." 129

In Tinnevelly province, India, there were several noted Christian villages, institutions which the Intelligencer considered had "exercised a most beneficial influence on the Mission and aided in fostering habits of mutual co-operation, Christian liberality and self-denial." 130 The new Christians in these villages had organised not only the usual Church Building Fund, and the Bible Society, but also formed a Philosophical

130 CMI 1856, p. 178.
Society, a Tract Society and each individual gave one day's income to the special funds for the poor, the widows of catechists and to the Heathen Friends Society. Not all missionaries were attracted by the idea of a Christian village, or were in positions where it was possible to form such a community. But Venn and others were aware of the advantages that accrued from the development of such societies, and the C.M.S. had built and organised several such villages in different parts of the mission field.

Venn's ability and imagination left an indelible mark on the character of the C.M.S. Nowhere was this more evident than in his insistence that his missionaries speak the native language. Although English was taught in some of the more advanced schools, C.M.S. missionaries were obliged to teach the native language in the primary school and as soon as possible to translate the Scriptures for the converts. Venn wanted all people to have access to the Bible. He felt that "few would be able to acquire other languages than the vernacular."131 The C.M.S. in fact recognised the importance of a knowledge of the language, in understanding the attitudes and mentality of a group of people. The Intelligencer in 1855 spoke sympathetically of African culture, demonstrating that the missionaries' optimistic attitude towards the development of uncivilised peoples was based not only on theoretical grounds, but on a respect for and knowledge of the abilities of the people. "If one can understand them as they intelligently and good naturedly converse in their native tongues - if one sees the wit of their proverbs, comparisons and

131 Ajayi, *Venn*, 340.
figures, and hears them rehearse their amusing fables, tales and romances - one cannot but wish such persons better informed who still speak of the negroes as a kind of chimpanzee, an intermediate step between the irrational creation and the rational European and American."  

Cairns has argued that missionary insistence on the learning of the native language was not necessarily an indication of their respect for the society. He points to the possibility that they might have been reluctant to spread the use of English, as he feels there were indications that they regarded an English speaking native as a rogue. In the period of Henry Venn's secretaryship this cannot be said to apply to the C.M.S. No one was more insistent upon respect for the native societies than Venn, and his willingness to bring native students to England to train in various professions and trades demonstrates that he certainly did not intend to restrict native peoples purely to the use of their own language.

Missionaries were urged to keep journals and notebooks and to be continually aware of themselves and their environment. Every encouragement was given to field workers to observe all physical and geographical phenomena. Venn advised men going to East Africa, "do not grudge the trouble of satisfying the curiosity of the scientific, by noting in your Journals observations upon the physical character of the country and its inhabitants, the courses of the rivers, the philological relations of the

132 CMI 1855, p. 56.
133 Cairns, 220.
different languages and even the popular traditions of the Natives."\textsuperscript{134} Knowledge of the people on their own terms would lead to sympathy, he felt. Only by learning their modes of thought, and sympathising with their difficulties would the missionary win the hearts of the people.

By knowing the people intimately, the missionary could hope to use what was appropriate in the society for his own purposes. The social change that Venn desired, was to be accomplished gradually and at all stages was to accommodate itself to the nature of the people themselves. When looking for natives to take medical training, Venn chose the native doctors and recognised their skill in discovering the healing powers of roots and herbs and minerals of their regions. As far as possible, the C.M.S. advocated that "the views and feelings and even the prejudices of the converts...should be carefully consulted."\textsuperscript{135}

In a reasonably sophisticated manner, Venn was able to see the main elements of various societies and to recognise their functional relationships. For Victorian missionaries, Christianity was not merely a set of beliefs, but involved also a certain way of life. The C.M.S. recognised their own role as social reformers and also knew the dangers inherent in their positions as outsiders attempting what was little short of a revolution in native societies. Here Venn realised that the relations between the missionaries and the native authorities were vitally important to the future of the missions. Europeans going to Yoruba in 1856 were to defer to the authority of the native chiefs, in spite of the fact that

\textsuperscript{134} CMI 1851, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{135} CMI 1878, p. 73.
many of their modes of exercising authority might at first seem absurd to the eye of the European. "Nevertheless," Venn admonished, "they are the framework of society and till they are replaced by a more enlightened system, they must be respected." If the governing powers were abolished, civil disorganisation might ensue: Venn instructed his missionaries to convince the chiefs that there was no intention to decrease their authority. The true Christian course, and a wise and politic one according to Venn, was to treat Chiefs and Kings with respect and deference. "Tribute to whom tribute is due, honour to whom honour, binds the Christian missionary in the heart of Africa." It was indeed a paradox: a conservative philosophy to achieve a revolutionary end.

Respect was due to chiefs partly to prevent a breakdown of society, and partly because the power they wielded could be of value to the missionary. In some cases the missionaries were dependent upon the protection of the local authority to travel and teach in the region. The influence of the chiefs was also important to a European wanting to introduce a new set of beliefs to their people. St. Paul had followed such a policy in the development of the early churches, and Venn consciously adopted his example in his advice to missionaries. "Missionaries are only following the example of the Apostle Paul, when in attempting to evangelise a nation they address themselves at once to men of influence and to leaders of national thought."

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136 Instructions of the Parent Committee to those about to join the Yoruba Mission, October 21, 1856, CMS/CA2/L2, cited in Ajayi, Nigeria, 120.
137 CMI 1851, p. 43.
138 Cited in Knight, 430.
But in their attempt to gain the adherence of the leaders, there was to be no gift or bribe from the missionary. This policy was strictly followed in West Africa and was highly commended by Henry Venn. "You had for several years abstained from giving anything; and when at last you made them a present, you took care that it should be understood to be a mere tribute and payment for the protection you receive...and not a gift or a bribe."\(^{139}\) Success was inevitable, they believed, and would be achieved solely by power of the Word. Moreover, once the people were accustomed to receiving gifts, their self-respect and independence might disappear, and the prospective members of a native church would become mere attendants on a foreign missionary.

The picture so often presented of an ethnocentric Englishman distributing Bibles with one hand and Victorian clothing with the other, to the uncivilised hordes could not be further from the reality of the C.M.S. in the mid-nineteenth century. Doubtless there were many blunders made in the field, but the ideas and influence of Henry Venn are testimony to the respect some men of the nineteenth century had for large elements of other cultures, to their unflagging faith in the potential of native people and to their concern for their independence and self-respect.

Venn's ideas and policies were communicated frequently to the missionaries, both through informal personal meetings and letters; and through the formal mediums of the training schools, C.M.S. magazines, and annual policy statements. At Highbury, Duncan and the other missionary students were exposed to these ideas and most expected to be sent to

\(^{139}\) CMI 1852, p. 19.
Africa or New Zealand, where Venn’s policies were already being put into practice. Friendships made at the missionary college were often continued by correspondence, giving the missionaries a closer contact with and a personal concern in the operations of the society. William Kirkham, who had recently been sent to West Africa, wrote to Duncan, describing his first impressions of the mission at Abeokuta. "The natives are naturally industrious but our converts much more so: in one corner of the yard you will see a carpenter’s shop, in another a cotton cleaning establishment and in another a printing press busy at work. In the School are about sixty children receiving a sound elementary education. My work is to train a few choice young men as visitors, catechists and schoolmasters...I have school hours from nine to two and then from three to five they, the pupils, work at agriculture, carpentry and bookbinding. I have introduced Mr. Randall’s system of drill.”

III  The North Pacific Coast: A New Mission Field

Duncan, however, was not destined to follow his friend to Africa. Only a few months before completing his three year training at Highbury, he was unexpectedly asked to undertake the first Protestant mission to the Indians of the North Pacific coast. The C.M.S. had supported missionaries at the Red River colony in the Northwest America mission from 1822, but had never been active in other parts of North America. It was on the initiative of Captain James Prevost of H.M.S. Satellite, that the Church Missionary Society began their mission to the Indians of

140 WD/C2143 W. Kirkham to W. Duncan, Lagos, July 19, 1856.
British Columbia.

Prevost, a firm supporter of the Church Missionary Society, was concerned with England's duty to fulfil her responsibility towards the native peoples of her Empire. While on duty on the British Columbia coast in 1854, the *Satellite* had visited Fort Simpson, the Hudson's Bay Company post on the northern coast of New Caledonia, as the northern and interior parts of British Columbia were known in the fur trade. Here, he was struck by the character and condition of the native Tsimshian Indians. In a letter to the *Intelligencer*, he regretted that "hitherto, our possession of this country has yielded to the aboriginal tribes, the native inhabitants, thus entrusted to our care, no benefits."\(^{141}\) Prevost was impressed by the potential of the Tsimshian and felt that "there is much in the character of the natives to encourage Missionary efforts... They manifest a great desire and aptitude to acquire the knowledge and arts of civilized life." Under the influences of pure Christianity, Prevost was convinced that the Indians of British Columbia could form as valuable a population to the Empire as the Maoris of New Zealand.\(^{142}\)

Ironically, it was the crisis in the New Zealand missions that led to Venn's decision to send a lay schoolmaster as the first missionary to the Pacific coast Indians. Prevost had suggested the appointment of an ordained man and even after Duncan's arrival at Fort Simpson, he continued

\(^{141}\) CMI 1856, p. 168.

\(^{142}\) The society was not immediately enthusiastic about Prevost's suggestion for a mission to these Indians. It was only after Prevost had made personal appeals to Venn and to his own vicar, Joseph Ridgeway of Christ Church, Tunbridge Wells, the editor of the *Intelligencer*, that a campaign was initiated to find funds for the new mission.
to urge the society to place a clergyman at the head of the mission. Venn, however, was interested in establishing native churches, and was more concerned with producing able native clergy than with providing the heathen with Anglican priests. The New Zealand Church, although blessed with great early success had been unable to sustain its growth and had lost many of its early adherents. C.M.S. Maoris from Otaki, a model settlement in the 1840's, had been active from 1854 in the movement to forcibly isolate their northern region from European penetration, and to establish a King to whom all Maoris would owe allegiance. The C.M.S. failure to influence these former Christians, Venn concluded, was due to the inadequate attention given to the arts of civilisation by the mission, and to the poor preparation of native teachers and clergy. Venn, always searching for the general principles of mission work, warned the missionaries embarking for Abeokuta in 1853, that conditions there were similar to the early days of Christianity in New Zealand, where thousands were brought to the Gospel in a short time, and where education had been neglected. Unless improvements in education were immediately adopted, the standard of Christianity would be lowered considerably. In New Zealand, the oldest and wisest Missionaries have felt themselves compelled to form industrial boarding and training establishments. The veteran Missionary was thus turned into the elementary schoolmaster; the itinerant native preacher... now took his place in the classroom; the Mission House was become the Academy; and at the very time when the Society was looking for such a self-supporting native pastorate, as would have permitted the withdrawal of a portion of its

143 CMS/A105 Captain J. Prevost to H. Venn, Vancouver's Island, August 12, 1857, and Captain J. Prevost to H. Venn, Vancouver's Island, October 17, 1857.
expenditures from New Zealand to other heathen lands, the Committee have been obliged to sanction an additional expenditure for schools and schoolmasters.\textsuperscript{144}

The lesson learnt in New Zealand was also important in the establishment of the mission to Fort Simpson. Addressing Duncan before his departure, Venn noted particularly that "experience has shown that such a station is better commenced by a Missionary schoolmaster than by one in holy orders."\textsuperscript{145} As Prevost, who was soon to return to the Pacific coast, had offered the C.M.S. a free passage for their missionary, the society had to make a hurried choice of man. From those already in training as missionary schoolmasters, Venn selected William Duncan who had been commended by his college principal as an excellent teacher and a pious Christian, and who was "noted as a young man combining qualifications peculiarly fitting him to occupy such a post."\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{144}CMI 1852, p. 286.
\textsuperscript{145}CMI 1857, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{146}Ibid.
CHAPTER II

THE TSIMSHIAN:

THE LONG SLUMBERING OFFSPRING OF ADAM

The North Pacific coast, the new mission field of the Church Missionary Society, was the home of one of the most complex of the North American aboriginal cultures. The C.M.S. had set their young inexperienced missionary no small task when they asked him to bring the Gospel to these highly structured native societies. Their environment provided these Indians with abundant wealth and leisure, and they had evolved both an intricate social organisation and an elaborate and skilful artistic tradition. Although involved in similar economic activities and possessing comparable social and political structures, the coastal Indians divided themselves into six distinct language groups, the Tlingit, Nootka, Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl and coast Salish.

Prevost particularly wanted Duncan to begin his mission at Fort Simpson, among the Tsimshian Indians. Both Prevost and Venn felt that missions were best established where there had been little white influence, and both were convinced that Fort Simpson offered the best location for the first of the C.M.S. missions on the northwest coast. In 1857 the Intelligencer compared a missionary's work to that of a military general.
"Missionary work is a grand strategical operation...The positions occupied ought to be such as shall command influence and introduce us to further conquests. It is desirable that our initiative and primary operations should be directed not to points of a terminable nature,...but to such as shall prove doors of access to the countries beyond."¹ This was only the elaboration of the practice of the early Church and the Apostles. As Henry Venn pointed out, in following this policy the committee "had respect to the pattern of the first promulgation of the Gospel in apostolic times, when Missions were spread over the known world by occupying great centres of national intercourse."²

Fort Simpson had not been a random choice by the society. Venn and Prevost were well aware of the role of the Tsimshian Indians as the most important trading nation in the aboriginal economy of the coast, and recognised the function of Fort Simpson as a trade centre and meeting place for the many different tribes of the region. The Intelligencer pointed out quite explicitly that Fort Simpson was central to all the most populous villages; and here, in the spring of each year, a kind of great national fair is held where the tribes from the most distant parts of the coast and interior assemble...On these occasions, valuable opportunities would be afforded to the Missionaries of conversing with the natives and giving them religious instruction.³

In his journal in 1856 Venn noted that "Fort Simpson would be an admirable mission station, as on many occasions nearly 20,000 are encamped around."⁴

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¹ CMI 1857, p. 25
² H. Venn, Retrospect and Prospect, 8.
³ CMI 1856, p. 168.
The Tsimshian live on the mainland of British Columbia and occupy the valleys of the Nass and Skeena rivers and the coastline between the mouths of the two rivers. Within the major ethnic division of Tsimshian there are three smaller dialect groupings; the Tsimshian proper, who were generally concentrated at the mouth of the Skeena, the Gitskan who lived farther up the Skeena, and the Niska who occupied the basin of the Nass. Each of the dialect groups was divided into several tribes, the lower Skeena Tsimshian dialect having at least nine tribes, while each tribe consisted of a number of extended families. Traversing the boundaries of tribe and dialect group were the four major phratries of the Tsimshian nation, the Eagle, Raven, Wolf and Bear.

The Tsimshian had a basically hunting and fishing economy. The Gitskan and Niska being inland people tended to be active hunters, while the Tsimshian proper were more closely tied to the ocean and the hunting of sea animals. All, however, were dependent upon the salmon runs for their basic food supplies, and by developing efficient methods of preservation were able to store food for winter use. Starvation was a rare occurrence among the Pacific coast tribes. In fact it was this abundance of the basic necessities of life which enabled them to spend the winter months, from the end of October to the beginning of March, developing elaborate ceremonials and social organisations. Although not an agricultural people, the coastal Indians lived a settled life in tribal

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5 This group is further subdivided into three; the Coast Tsimshian, the Lower Skeena Tsimshian and the Canyon Tsimshian. Wilson Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. I The Impact of the White Man* (Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 5) p. 19.
villages. Land was not owned either individually or by the group in a European sense, but each tribe or family "owned" recognised areas for hunting, berry picking, fishing camps and burial grounds. The Indian year was punctuated by the annual migration of most members of the tribe to the fishing camps in March or April, to fish for oolachan, a small fish which was important mainly for the grease it produced and later in the year to the salmon fishing camps. At the end of the fishing season, some hunting and berry picking would complete the gathering of food for the year.

The coastal tribes were a particularly mobile people. Besides their annual group move to the fishing camps, they travelled long distances by sea in their huge well built canoes. In post-contact times, the Haidas and Tsimshian travelled frequently to Victoria and even further south to American territory. In the aboriginal period, their fleets of war canoes moving swiftly through the dangerous waters of the Queen Charlottes or through the splendour of the inland passage were indeed awesome sights. The purpose of these long voyages was usually either to make war or to trade. The Tsimshian, though by no means a peaceful people, were more noted for their extensive trading activities, which had made them the wealthiest of all the coastal Indians. Situated as they were at the mouth of two rivers, they controlled access to the interior tribes and had set themselves up as extremely competent middlemen.

Upon their abundance of wealth, the Tsimshian, like other coastal Indians had erected a complex social and political system. Probably the most striking feature of the northwest coast Indian society was the
existence of social classes and a system of ranking. The major division in Tsimshian society was between the freemen and slaves, the latter generally being non-Tsimshians captured in battle. As so much of the social organisation was dependent upon a food surplus, the economic value of slaves in a hunting-gathering economy should not be underestimated. Viola Garfield has argued, however, that there was no leisured class among the Tsimshian and that slaves were far more important as items of property and prestige. Slaves were certainly regarded as personal property and could be disposed of according to the whims of their owner. Few explicit rules governed the treatment of slaves and as a group they were not usually considered to be part of the society.

The highest class of freemen were the chiefs of the tribes and clans. In each settlement of coast Tsimshian, the head of the dominant family would be recognised as the head chief of the village, and all others would be ranked accordingly. The role of a chief on the northwest coast has been compared to that of a feudal lord in medieval Europe. In return for the allegiance and economic support given by his people, the chief offered them protection and undertook responsibility for their welfare. His authority was respected but was not absolute. It was his responsibility to declare war and peace, but as in other major ventures he needed the support of his followers to execute his plans. If a strong personality,

the chief appears to have been able, if necessary, to wield an almost autocratic power. More frequently, councils of lower ranks were called to give advice. Chieftainship was an inherited position, but as for all other positions of eminence in the society, the demonstrable wealth of the successor had to be commensurate with the position to which he succeeded.

The name and position of chief was only one of a number of names and privileges possessed by a family. Not every family could claim the right of chieftainship but each family could claim the right by matrilineal inheritance to a certain number of prestige names and ranks. To succeed to one of the available ranks, a potlatch was held to demonstrate publicly that the individual had now claimed the title, and to show that he was qualified by wealth to hold that rank. The size of family usually exceeded that of the available ranks and thus the younger siblings, unable to claim any prestigious names, became commoners. Chiefs and high ranking people were thus connected by blood with some of the lowest status people of the society. Drucker interprets this to argue that classes, by the sociological definition of a group of people having common attributes and a common consciousness, did not exist in northwest coast Indian society, and that society was composed rather of "an unbroken series of graduated statuses." It is certainly true that no two ranks could be considered equal in status, and that there were fine distinctions of status between each individual in the society. But as the acceptable marriage was only between persons of

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10 Drucker, 57. These infinite gradings of status were usually only important to the Tsimshian at potlatches.
similar rank, than as Boas has pointed out, it is likely that some concept of class did exist in the society. 11

Since the potlatch was the only way the status of an individual could be changed, it was thus of vital significance for the whole society. Indeed, for the Tsimshian "it was the foundation of the economic system; the stimulus for accumulation of goods and one of the sources through which wealth might be acquired." 12 The potlatch was a great gathering of guests and relatives, at which the host would not only provide feasts, but would distribute his property to the assembled guests, in amounts varying according to the rank of each guest. If a person wanted to accede to a new rank in the hereditary possession of his lineage, a potlatch was held, demonstrating this intention publicly, and by the display of wealth, giving proof of his right to that particular status. Thus to a large extent the potlatch "served as a legal and publicity department through which all matters concerning the group were approved and accepted." 13

The potlatch served as the focus of all ambition for the individual and his clan or tribes. The vast amount of property distributed at these potlatches was accumulated over a period of time by the tribe or clan of the host, and the potlatch was thus an exhibition of the status of the tribe as a whole. The extensive oratory which accompanied the feast and gift-giving lauded the generosity and wealth of the host and his tribe, and denigrated the poverty of the guests. For commoners too, the potlatch

11 Boas, 497. Garfield, 176, argues that the Tsimshian are divided into "virtual castes based on birth". 12 Garfield, 216. 13 Garfield, 217.
could serve as the vehicle of their ambition, as each was evaluated by the amount he contributed to the potlatch of the chief.

Tsimshian potlatches were never single events. They generally involved a series of feasts which took place over several years and which required the careful organisation for distribution, of the resources of the individual and his group. The need to acquire potlatching goods permeated the whole society and was a "stimulus which motivated lineages to produce and acquire as much as possible."\textsuperscript{14}

A potlatch series most frequently began as a commemorative feast to a recently deceased relative. Here, the heir publicly demonstrated his intention to accede to his rightful position. In later parts of the series, feasts would celebrate house building or totem pole raising and would culminate with the final taking of the inherited name. On other occasions, potlatches would be held by a man organising a war party. Those who accepted his gifts were publicly announcing their support for the warrior. The Tsimshian also held potlatches to restore lost social position or to wipe out personal or group humiliation. Although most of the potlatch ceremonies were held within a village or between neighbouring communities, chiefs occasionally held spectacular inter-tribal ceremonies to which guests came from up the Nass and Skeena rivers and even from Haida and Tlinkit tribes.

Not all the property distributed at Tsimshian potlatches was returnable. Unlike the Kwakiutl system, there does not appear to have

\textsuperscript{14} Garfield, 216.
been a definite rate of return on goods received. As Garfield has emphasised, many potlatches "were given for no other purpose than to give the host an opportunity to display his wealth and insult his guests in speech and song." The various potlatch ceremonies were the stimulus for much of the artistic, literary and musical activities of the society, and in themselves stimulated the emotion, enthusiasm and love of display which were to so disturb the European missionaries.

The potlatch system fostered two sets of paradoxical social attitudes among the coast Indians which were extremely important to a missionary wanting to introduce new values into the society. On the one hand it demanded an acquisitiveness and an insatiable demand for property purely for purposes of display; yet at the same time it institutionalised liberality, for social worth could only be gained by the distribution of the assembled property. The potlatch encouraged competitive attitudes at all levels of society, yet as Mead has emphasised, a great deal of co-operation was needed within the group to hold a potlatch.

Co-operation was an important element in Tsimshian life as a whole and one of which Duncan was to make skilful use. The potlatch, pervading all aspects of the society, required the greatest amount of co-operation but was only the most evident display of this attitude. Food gathering was conducted by the extended family as a group, and this process demanded some informal discipline, organisation and co-operation to reach the common goal. The building and sailing of the large canoes demanded

15 Garfield, 208.
co-operation, and again the operation was usually conducted by the 
extended family or tribe acting as a unit. House-building too was a 
co-operative venture by a group of relatives, each of whom retained a 
personal right in the house upon its completion. Tsimshian houses, 
constructed of cedar planks were large enough to house twenty to forty 
people and their property. Built in rows, often facing the sea, they 
had a central fireplace and space to stack belongings round the edges. 
Chiefs' houses were built and owned by the whole tribe and were considered 
part of the lineage property, although only the chief and his family 
might dwell there. The social organisation of the large groups within 
these houses required some co-operation and division of labour in matters 
such as food preparation and heat provision, in order to function 
efficiently. Division of labour in a social group larger than the nuclear 
family necessitates that individuals must learn to rely upon the work of 
another. In such situations there will be a development of trust 
relationships with persons outside the immediate family and thus greater 
social cohesion. The Tsimshian, with their clan and tribal structures, 
already had obligations beyond their family, but the division of labour 
within the tribe also gave them a greater dependence upon each other, and 
was again a form of co-operation for economic goals.

The co-operative nature of Tsimshian society cannot be emphasised 
too strongly, for the traditional interpretation of their social life has 
long been dominated by the potlatch, which superficially has given the 
whole culture an air of aggressive competition. This is not to deny the

17 Garfield, 276.
competitive nature of the potlatch or other parts of the northwest coast culture, but is only to demonstrate that there were fundamental co-operative attitudes underlying the Indian society.

To the Tsimshian then, living most of the year in large houses in permanent villages or in group fishing camps, the communal life was the basis of their culture. The interdependence of the chief and his adherents is only one example of the value attached to popular support. The major social sanction was for the community to shame a person, which for the individual was such a painful process that suicide was often preferred. Indians who had been shamed, often spoke of their "death" during that period. 18

Professor Morris Zaslow argues that Indian society was imperfect and that sociologists would detect serious weaknesses in their communal organisation. "A major weakness if not the major weakness of the native civilization was the lack of a proper system of law and authority." 19 To a European the inter-tribal wars and murders of revenge certainly made Indian life appear disorganised and lawless. But the presence of law and authority was strongly felt within the society and was formally recognised at certain intervals.

Murder, whether accidental or intentional, could only be compensated for by the death of a member of the murderer's tribe, who must be a man of equal rank. For the death of slaves or commoners, the murderer's

19 Zaslow, 63.
tribe could offer compensation in property. Private feuds, long remembered grudges flaring into open hostility, coupled with a cultural attitude which placed a limited value on human life, certainly imparted an atmosphere of violence to Indian society, but it was not the savage capriciousness which Zaslow depicts.  

In Tsimshian society much of the social control derived from internal sanctions, that is from the social organisation itself rather than from fear of outside intervention, or of gods or spirits. Some of the laws were in fact internalised in the behaviour patterns of the individual, as in the case of the observation of various taboos, marriage requisites and clan and tribal obligations. The pattern of communal life, particularly the use of large dwellings, housing twenty or more people, played an important role in maintaining social control. The potlatch in its role of a public meeting had the vital function of making known the particular laws and penalties of the community as well as establishing the rank and relative authority of each individual in the community. Indian law was not a peaceful, nor in European eyes, a just law, but the acceptable code of behaviour was understood by all in the society, as were the punishments for deviant behaviour.

According to Captain Prevost, the Tsimshian had some notion of a supreme being, and an idea of a life after death. He did not feel,  

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20 Zaslow, 54.
21 In his article for the *Intelligencer* Captain Prevost had noted that the Tsimshian were "not idolaters: they believe in the existence of two great Spirits - the one benevolent, and the other malignant - and in two separate places of reward and punishment in another world." *CMI* 1856, p. 168.
however, that they were purely monotheistic, and although they personalised this Chief of the Sky, Prevost believed that he was far more remote from human affairs than was the Christian God, and was often approached through mediators such as the sun and the moon. In fact, like many coastal Indians, the Tsimshian had an animistic system of beliefs which endowed animals, particularly the salmon, raven, and bear with supernatural powers to influence the course of human events. A form of prayer or invocation was used to placate or induce benevolence from these spirits, but when an individual felt betrayed or angered by one of these gods he showed no fear in vociferously attacking them and their powers in his "prayers".

During the winter months, the spirits were felt to be particularly close to man and the Tsimshian believed that it was easier to contact them. From November to February there was little need for economic activity, apart from some hunting and trading, and thus all along the northwest coast, this extensive period of leisure was largely devoted to ceremonials, potlatches, feasting and the activities of the secret societies. Membership in these societies was hereditary, and as much a lineage possession as were the names and ranks.

The cannibal society was the most prestigious of all and very few people on the coast had the privilege of acquiring the cannibal spirit. Some travellers claim to have seen Indians of the northwest coast eating dead human flesh, but this would certainly have been an exceptional event. During the initiation ceremonies of the cannibal society, the new member,

22 Garfield, 297.
23 Garfield, 303.
when seized by the appropriate spirit, would rush into the camp and take a bite of the first person he saw. European witnesses declared that in some cases pieces of flesh were removed from an arm or a leg, but in general in these ceremonies, anthropologists feel that the human flesh itself was rarely eaten and that a piece of animal meat was substituted for digestion. The cannibal's victim was usually proud of his wound, considering it a mark of honour, and in fact people were often anxious to present themselves to the cannibal for this ceremony. The cannibals were an extremely small group, their activities were not representative of the whole society, and although European observers were naturally horrified and repulsed by this behaviour, within the Indian camp the cannibals perhaps did little more than provide some exciting and stimulating entertainment.

Although Duncan was to be the first missionary to the Tsimshian, he was by no means their first contact with White civilisation. The Tsimshian, like many of the coastal Indians had had a lengthy and varied experience of Europeans. Perhaps they had less contact with the Spanish explorers and with the British naval scientific expeditions of the late eighteenth century than did the southern coastal Indians of British Columbia, although as traders, they were familiar with the goods introduced by these Europeans during their visits to the region. Their earliest continuous form of European contact was with the maritime fur traders who were active along the coast from the 1780's to the 1840's. To the north of the Tsimshian in the Russian territory, permanent posts were established in 1783 at Kodiak and in 1799 at Sitka, and from 1805 the North West
Company was active in New Caledonia. However, it was not until 1831 with the establishment of Fort Simpson on the Nass River by the Hudson's Bay Company, that Europeans were to make a permanent residence among the Tsimshian.

The earliest traders, of various nationalities, were interested in the skins of sea animals, particularly the sea otter, which was highly prized in the Orient. After 1800 this trade was dominated by Americans or "Boston men" as the Indians called them. The trade was conducted from the ships, the Americans being very cautious, preferring never to venture into port and keeping boarding nets and other defences ready. Yet in spite of this attitude Aemelius Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company reported in 1828 from the Nass, that the Americans were on reasonable terms with the Tsimshian, "so much so that a half-breed population was already growing up there."24

The maritime fur trade had little disruptive effects on the northwest coast Indian culture and in fact is generally considered to have enhanced the existing cultural forms.25 As Joyce Wike has indicated, the primary effect of the maritime traders was to increase the individual Indian's opportunity to become wealthy. The aboriginal culture was largely oriented to the acquisition and display of wealth, and thus the influx of prestige goods from the traders only gave added vitality to already existing cultural institutions. The traders demanded few new

25 Wike, 152.
skills of the Indians, yet they brought a seemingly inexhaustible demand for Indian produce, and thus changes in the Indian culture were able to proceed in already existing directions. As more gifts were available, there was an increase in potlatching and inter-tribal commerce was enlarged and extended. 26 "The arts and crafts, trade and technology, social and ceremonial life were all brought to new peaks of development. The climax of Indian culture was reached well after the arrival of the white man on the scene." 27

The Tsimshian were particularly well able to take advantage of the new situation. Already wealthier than many other groups from their extremely abundant food surpluses of oolachan, they were well situated to exploit the land and maritime fur harvests, and to fulfil the demands of the maritime traders. 28 The Tsimshian role as middleman was also reinforced by the presence of European traders. The maritime traders dealt only from their ships, and thus the Tsimshian, as a coastal group, were able to prevent any direct contact between them and the interior tribes, and to retain control themselves of the trade of the hinterland. 29 The increased wealth they derived from the trade, enhanced their already eminent position among the coast tribes.

From the maritime fur traders, the Indians also received their introduction to a wide range of European goods. Some isolated objects from the Spanish, English and Russian explorers had passed along native

26 Wike, 98.
27 Duff, 53.
28 Wike, 102.
29 Rich, III, 626.
trade routes, and the Indians are known to have already had some experience of iron goods from Asia. In the 1780's, trade developed very rapidly and the area quickly became saturated in some items such as copper. The most important items of trade were muskets and ammunition, while blankets, cloth, molasses, rice, tobacco, beads, buttons, chisels, needles, thread, knives and scissors were also in great demand.  

When combined with an extensive use of liquor, the availability of guns had extremely disruptive consequences for Indian life. At first the more northerly tribes had a distaste for liquor and were suspicious of the motives of the people who offered it. But as early as 1790 its distribution was widespread among coastal tribes, and by 1800 it was a mainstay of the trade. Liquor became the most destructive force among the Indians, and apart from bringing physical debilitation and death to many, it was also the cause of many quarrels and inter-family and inter-tribal battles, which brought a further decimation of the population.

The maritime fur trade had been largely conducted between two equal and interdependent groups of businessmen. With the establishment of a

30 Duff, 56.
32 Several informal pacts were made in the early part of the nineteenth century between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, and between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian - American Company, to eliminate liquor from the fur trade on the Pacific coast. None of the pacts was entirely successful, for the Indians could always obtain liquor from the Americans, and the pacts remained more pious statements of purpose, than practical elements of policy.
land based fur trade the Indians were brought into closer dependence upon the European goods of the fur traders, and thus opened a new era in the history of the fur trade and of Indian-White relations. In 1831, the Hudson's Bay Company established its northern post of Fort Simpson on the Nass River, hoping to wrest control of the fur trade in the area from the Americans and Russians. Although seals and sea otters had been the original impetus for European trade on the coast, the Governor of the Company, George Simpson, realised in 1828 that as valuable as these skins might have been, "it is the land Skins of our interior Country that renders it all worth following."33 It was his aim to deny the "Boston Men" all access to land furs by establishing a northern coastal factory. By leaving them with only sea furs, he hoped to eliminate them from the fur trade on the North Pacific coast. In 1831 Peter Skene Ogden led the party which established Fort Simpson on the Nass, and in 1834 he was also responsible for its removal to the present location, south of the outer mouth of the Portland Canal. The Indians at first protested vigorously against the removal of the fort but by 1836 the new location had proved to be very successful, attracting Indians from the Russian territory and enabling the Company to almost double its previous returns from the north.34

Most significant, however, was the fact that the nine Tsimshian tribes abandoned their previous homes and established themselves at the new location of Fort Simpson. Clusters of Indians dwellings round a

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33 Cited in Rich, III, 615.
34 Rich, III, 638.
fortified fur trading post had become a familiar sight wherever traders had established themselves. The Hudson's Bay Company in fact was well aware of the advantages of land bases in binding the Indians to themselves. The historian of the company has pointed out that "the ease with which the Indians could be brought into dependence and reduced to orderly conduct by a land establishment, was further demonstrated when in 1834, Ogden had called at Nass to transfer Fort Simpson to a new site."35

By 1834 the Tsimshian had been in contact with Europeans for at least sixty years, or approximately two generations. This initial period of trade during contact was "one favourable to the expansion and prosperity of the dominant primitive groups."36 Certainly for the Tsimshian, these years had seen a flowering of their arts, crafts and ceremonial activity and had confirmed the Tsimshian in their position as competent middlemen and as one of the wealthiest, if not the wealthiest, of the coastal tribes. There was basically little difference in the attitudes of the maritime traders and the Hudson's Bay Company land traders towards these Indians and in the effect of their activities on the aboriginal culture. Both the maritime and land trader was interested purely in profit, in maintaining the loyalty of the Indians, and in ensuring their efficiency as trappers and hunters. Their presence undoubtedly brought some changes to the native culture, but there was no attempt on the part of the trader to change any basic structures or beliefs of the Indian. The fur trade era is a period of non-directed culture contact. The trader asks the

native to accept only that part of white culture he desires.\(^{37}\) Thus at one level, and from the Indian point of view, there were many elements of continuity between these two periods of the fur trade. Both groups of traders brought similar European goods into the native culture. Both were using liquor in their trade at this time, although the maritime traders tended to be more generous in their use of this article of trade. Both made similar demands on the Indians, yet neither was interested in changing the structure of the aboriginal society. The major change not only for the fur trade but for the Indian society came in 1834 with the permanent establishment of the land base, and the recognition by the Indians, of their fascination for European goods.

Until the initiation of the period of directed culture change under the aegis of a missionary, the Tsimshian were in continuous and often daily contact with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson. Although the traders made no extensive impact on the Indian society, "contact even without the transfer of culture elements...is a strong stimulus to culture change. It not only modifies the environment, but also makes the individual critical of the status quo and more receptive to novelties."\(^{38}\) By the time of Duncan's arrival in 1857, three generations had been in contact with White men, and at least one generation had emerged which had lived in close proximity to a group of Europeans and which had certain expectations of European behaviour and attitudes to Indians.

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The fur trade period may be considered as an Imperial era, although the Hudson's Bay Company had never held land rights on the mainland of the present British Columbia; as far as the Indians were concerned, the Company was the lawmaker and administrator of the region. Where the British in Africa used Her Majesty's gunboats to uphold their prestige and authority, the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia found the steamer Beaver of great importance in impressing the superiority of the Company upon the Indians, and thus affording considerable protection to the isolated posts.\textsuperscript{39} The Hudson's Bay Company was as monolithic a body as any colonial administration, policy being determined as much by people external to the situation as by the man on the spot. The Company, in travelling through the country, encountered the native dominated situations of a characteristically pre-Imperial era. Yet before 1858 and the establishment of Colonial government on the mainland, the Company was in the difficult position of feeling a necessity to maintain the aura and reality of authority over the Indians, characteristic of an Imperial era. The ambivalence of their position is reflected in their attitudes toward the native people, particularly on the question of liquor.\textsuperscript{40} As administrators they recognised the importance of suppressing the trade in liquor, but as traders they regretted that an item of such value to their

\textsuperscript{39} Rich, III, 641.
\textsuperscript{40} Officially the Hudson's Bay Company did not use liquor in trade, and James Douglas as Governor of Vancouver Island forbade the sale of intoxicating spirits to Indians. Yet at Fort Simpson there were occasions when the Chief Trader thought it expedient to use his own judgement in this matter. The post journal noted in April of 1856, "Gave to the chiefs of this tribe, Nass, a little Rum, as an encouragement." Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter referred to as AHBC) B201/a/8 Fort Simpson Post Journal, April 15, 1856.
customers could not be used. The Chief Trader at Fort Simpson commented in 1843 that the Indians

still much regret rum being withheld from them and say they have no spirits to exert themselves, particularly when they make a feast. . . . Liquor being stopped saves us much trouble, but there is no doubt it tends to diminish both our returns and profits.41

Lewis Saum indicates that in general the more the trader saw of the Indians, the more misgivings he had about them. In fact he was happiest when the Indians were not in the vicinity of the fort.42 Like most nineteenth century Europeans on the frontier, he was afraid of falling to the level of the "savages" around him. Like missionaries in isolated areas, he took care to surround himself with all the trappings of civilisation, to maintain not only his own grip on civilisation, but as in the case of the officers and men of the Hudson's Bay Company, to uphold his authority by emphasising the distance between himself and the Indians.

The Chief Traders at each fort, usually Scotsmen, were men of considerable experience in dealing with Indians and the fur trade, having served long apprenticeships as clerks and traders before being assigned command of a post. They were not drifting frontiersmen, marginal men who could find no place in civilised society. Rather they should be regarded as adventurous conservatives, as people who saw the frontier as an opportunity for them to make their stake in civilised life.43

41 John Work to John McLaughlin, Fort Simpson, September 21, 1843, Fort Simpson Correspondence Outward, PABC.
43 Saum, 26.
levels of fur trade society, however, were filled with a mixture of French Canadians and other nationalities, and discontent and desertion were frequent.

In 1850, Fort Simpson was described as "a most miserable place, surrounded by the Indian Lodges - and the Fort Gates secured from Sunset to Sunrise, and locked during meals." The Chief Factor at the time, John Work, was credited with having an excellent garden, producing good supplies of turnips and potatoes as well as peas, parsley, cress and radishes. The garden was mainly a hobby for Work and subsequent traders, but it was large enough to keep many of the Indian women busy, weeding and harvesting. The post journals record numerous instances of the Indians stealing potatoes, possibly for brewing purposes, although Indian watchmen were appointed to protect the garden and the pickets around it, which were also subject to heavy losses. In 1853, pigs were also sent to Fort Simpson, which after feeding, it was hoped would provide fresh and salt pork.

J.W. McKay, reminiscing in 1876 of his days at Fort Simpson in the 1840's, saw the Indians as "the worst lot of cut-throats I ever had to do business with," and told of an order of his predecessor forbidding the admission of more than two of these Indians to the store at the same time. This statement is probably the basis for H.G. Barnett's description

44 D.D. Wishart to Dr. J.S. Helmcken, Victoria, August 17, 1850, Helmcken Papers, PABC.
45 W.H. McNeill to J. Work, Fort Simpson, October 8, 1853, Fort Simpson Correspondence Outward, PABC.
of Fort Simpson before 1858 as being in "a constant state of siege and suspicion." By 1856, however, some of the men in the fort were married to Indian women and had families there, and traders certainly seem to have felt confident enough to employ Indians inside the fort and in the gardens, and to travel with them to parts of the interior and up the Nass. There undoubtedly was a great deal of mistrust of the Indians on the part of the trader, but the trader never seemed to consider his own life in danger, and had no qualms about disciplining an Indian or denying him liquor, in the face of a threatening attitude. In 1852 a fire at the fort was fought by five hundred Indians, without whose help the fort would have been completely razed. Captain W.H. McNeill acknowledged his debt. "It was lucky for us that we were on good terms with the natives or they might have given us trouble."

The Indians had been in contact with men of the fort for thirty years before Duncan's arrival. Within the fort was a society apart from their own, yet one which was forced to rely upon them; a society with a civilised exterior yet composed of men accustomed to wilderness living, many married to Indian women. The land based fur trade had continued the process of intensification of Indian culture but had itself directed no changes within the native society. However, the movement of Tsimshian tribes to Fort Simpson, the first major disruption of traditional ways, itself generated a change within the culture.

48 W.H. McNeill to the Board of Management, Fort Simpson, August 26, 1852, Fort Simpson Correspondence Outward, PABC.
The establishment of all the tribes in one location meant that there were many people of similar rank in one place, a situation which was incompatible with traditional Indian social life. At Fort Simpson, and also at Fort Rupert where previously separate tribes also established themselves near a fort, these problems of social status led to a great increase in potlatching and ceremonials, in order to find an acceptable status and rank for each individual.49

This situation was further complicated in 1836 by the outbreak of smallpox among the Fort Simpson tribes which killed possibly one-third of the population. The effect was apparently most strongly felt in the families of the chiefs.50 The necessary social readjustments took some time to be established, and the effects of both the move to Fort Simpson and the smallpox epidemic undoubtedly lasted well past 1857, the year of Duncan's arrival.

In the previous thirty years the Tsimshian had experienced two important changes in their lives, the one induced by the establishment of Fort Simpson and the other by the loss of a third of their people from smallpox. But their society still maintained its basic structure. Their laws still functioned, and by potlatching so intensively they were trying to adjust their real situation to their social ideals. Their problems were due to contact with Europeans, but this was still an Indian dominated society, and Indian solutions for these problems could still be applied.

49 Duff, 58.
50 Cited in Duff, 42.
Such was the society which Duncan faced soon after his arrival on the Pacific coast. The Satellite had reached Vancouver Island early in June 1857, but the missionary was not able to complete his journey to Fort Simpson until September. During his stay in Fort Victoria, Duncan was perhaps struck by the civilised aspect of this, the major settlement and trading centre of the present British Columbia. Close to the wilderness, surrounded and often inundated by Indian tribes from all along the northern coast, and built mostly of wood, the small town still exuded an air of reserved dignity, uncommon on the American frontier.

For the frontier experience of British Columbia before 1858, was not that individualistic, liberating experience portrayed by Frederick Jackson Turner. The fur trade frontier, antagonistic to settlement, was

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51 The voyage to Vancouver Island took four months, from the end of January to the beginning of June 1857, and proved to be a miserable experience for the young missionary. In spite of personal discomfort, Duncan maintained his earnest attitudes and appeared anxious to test himself in the new role of missionary. He distributed tracts, conducted prayers and Bible study sessions on board. He also preached the virtues of self-help to the Satellite's crew, delivering lectures on self-culture.

According to Duncan, the nature of man as a creature superior to animals necessitated self-culture. Contrasting an Indian with Newton, he concluded that the difference between them was due to self-culture or self-help, and using the illustration of the vine, pointed out that man in fact was progressive by nature. Not only did man's nature demand self-help, but "the age prompts it." The age was "emphatically one of progress, he continued, and demonstrated the progress made in agricultural, mercantile, manufacturing, scientific and religious affairs. He concluded that as a whole, self-culture would bring his listeners, "Inward Peace, Family Blessing and Natural Good." Satisfied with his work on board, Duncan reported to Venn that "the tone of morality at least has been very much improved both among the officers and Men since we sailed."
characterised by autocratic rule and a rigidly maintained hierarchical social order. The social atmosphere of the fur trade was still dominant at Fort Victoria and indeed found its dual expression in the person of James Douglas, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor of the island colony.

The population of the present British Columbia before 1858 was composed of the approximately four hundred Whites of Vancouver Island, the personnel of the various posts of the Hudson's Bay Company on the mainland and on the northern coast of Vancouver Island, and approximately 63,000 Indians. At Victoria, the schools, chapel, agricultural and lumbering activity and the presence of the wives and families of the traders and townsmen gave the town a settled appearance. Many of the trappings of Victorian England were evident in the gardens, style of dress and manners of society. After 1854, the increasing use of nearby Esquimalt as a naval base by the Pacific squadron of the British navy, gave an added dimension to the social and economic life of the town. Officers such as Rear Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby and his son-in-law, Captain James Prevost, later Admiral James Prevost, provided an uncommon lustre to the otherwise commercial society.

In 1857, Duncan was not just the first protestant missionary to the Indians of the northern coast, but he was entering a field where religion as a whole had not extended far beyond the boundaries of the few posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Religious work in the Pacific coast colonies had been largely carried out by the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. Catholic influence was directed in the first place, to the French Canadian
servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and their half-breed families. Father Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers had been sent to the Pacific coast as early as 1838, and although their work was originally confined to the region below the forty-ninth parallel, Father Demers had visited British Columbia in 1841, 1842 and 1843, and had made extensive journeys through the valleys of the Fraser and the Thompson, making contact with many of the Indian tribes. In the Kootenays and in the Okanagan region, the Jesuit, Father Pierre de Smet had done some preliminary work, while Father John Nobili, S.J., in 1845 had followed the path of Demers through the Thompson River country to Stuart Lake and Babine Lake. For a few years after 1845, Nobili and Father Anthony Goetz also maintained a permanent mission on Lake Okanagan. The work of these early missionaries left no permanent congregations among the native people, though thousands were baptised. Their work was significant, however, in laying a groundwork for the later, more concentrated efforts of the Oblates, and also in designating the areas in which they would work. On Vancouver Island, the Reverend Jean Bolduc had accompanied Douglas to Fort Victoria, but his work was largely concerned with the Canadian servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and it was not until the Oblates established a centre at Esquimalt in 1858 that any attention was given to the Indians of Vancouver Island. The Hudson's Bay Company itself undertook to provide Anglican chaplains for its larger posts, and in 1857 this position at Victoria was occupied by the Reverend Edward Cridge. It was not until after the gold rush in 1858 that other Protestant bodies, such as the Methodists, provided ministers even for the White population.

In such circumstances, the reluctance of the Governor to allow Duncan
to proceed to Fort Simpson is perhaps understandable. The only permanent mission previously established had met with little success. Douglas could not predict the reaction of the Indians to the establishment of a mission among them, and evidently he felt he could not guarantee Duncan's safety under such conditions. According to Duncan, even before he had arrived at Victoria, Douglas had written to England "remonstrating with the people there against my going to Fort Simpson...he had intimated that it would be unsafe for me to proceed thither and that he would rather I would remain at Victoria." Douglas himself felt that those Indians at Victoria, in closest proximity to White society, were in the most need of missionary teaching. Even before 1858, Victoria was gradually becoming the scene of annual visits by large numbers of Haidas and Tsimshians from the northern coast, and Douglas undoubtedly considered that missionary work amongst them while at Victoria, would be most conducive to the peace of the whole colony.

Prevost, however, was most insistent that Fort Simpson was to be Duncan's ultimate destination. He successfully impressed upon the Governor that the instructions of the Church Missionary Society should be respected. Once Douglas had reluctantly agreed to allow Duncan to proceed to Fort Simpson, he gave the new missionary every assistance. The missionary was offered a passage on the Company ship Otter. Douglas also wrote to the Chief Trader at Fort Simpson instructing him that Duncan was to be given room and board in the fort at the Company's expense. Still concerned

52 WD/C2154 Journal, June 20, 1857.
53 WD/C2154 Journal, September 22, 1857.
for Duncan's protection, Douglas advised Duncan that it would be quite unsafe for him to go immediately among the Indians, and instructed him to content himself for some time with talking to those Indians who were allowed in the fort.

Passage in the Otter was not available until the end of September, and as Prevost had left Victoria at the beginning of July, Duncan was alone in Victoria for three months. Prevost had already introduced him to the Governor and some of the leading citizens, and Douglas in fact had offered Duncan accommodation at Government House. Duncan, however, was already lodged with the Reverend Edward Cridge, the Company chaplain, with whom he had quickly formed a strong friendship. This was perhaps only to be expected, as Cridge was the only protestant minister in Victoria; Cambridge educated and espousing similar evangelical principles to Duncan, Cridge had also met Henry Venn, and as incumbent of Christ Church, West Ham, in the early 1850's, had been involved in the home activities of the C.M.S. Unlike Douglas, Cridge was sympathetic to Duncan's and the society's insistence on the location of the mission at Fort Simpson. Duncan gained much valuable experience while in Victoria with Cridge. Besides providing a much needed friendship in strange surroundings and after a lonely and miserable voyage; Cridge also helped to introduce Duncan to the colonial society. He introduced him to his own friends, made opportunities for him to learn Tsimshian, and allowed Duncan to assist him in his parochial work and to teach at his Sunday school.

54 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Victoria, July 27, 1857.
55 Reverend Edward Cridge, Diary, November 1, 1852, PABC.
56 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Esquimalt Harbour, June 17, 1857.
Duncan was unused to the seemingly primitive conditions of frontier living, and at first was appalled by the life he observed among some of the White population of Victoria. After visiting the home of a farm foreman he noted in his journal that

the forms upon which we were invited to sit down were very dirty and had to be rubbed before we could patronize them...It struck me that Indians would not be able to see much difference between their condition and the condition of the Scotch man and his family - and he also being the foreman of the Governor's farm.57

While adjusting to his new circumstances, Duncan spent much of his time learning what Tsimshian he could from those of that tribe who were visiting Victoria, or who worked on the Company's farms or from Whites who had been in contact with them. In general he gained a far more optimistic impression of the Tsimshian than Douglas had imparted. In June he noted with satisfaction that he had heard "these Northern tribes are very intelligent and active...they are a bold and determined people and rather difficult to manage sometimes,"58 and also that "most of the Farm Servants employed here by the settlers are Chimsyan Indians - and they all give them a good character."59 He also made contact with a former Highbury colleague, John Kennedy, who had lived at Fort Simpson some years before and who informed him that the Indians there were perfectly friendly to the White man. Kennedy felt he "might go anywhere among them, but when other tribes attacked them and war was raging it would then be unsafe to move about."60 In spite of such reassuring opinions, the Indians must

57 WD/C2154 Journal, July 2, 1857.
58 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Esquimalt Harbour, June 17, 1857.
60 WD/C2154 Journal, July 2, 1857.
still have presented a formidable picture to the young Englishman. Only in the middle of August on meeting a party of Indians was Duncan able to confess in his journal that "I seem to have shaken off all fear of them," and to pause as he passed them, to think "when will those voices be lifting up the praises of our Emmanuel?"

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61 WD/C2154 Journal, August 11, 1857.
CHAPTER III

TOWARDS UTOPIA

Franz Boas, one of the first anthropologists to study the Pacific coast Indians was deeply and immediately impressed by their physical environment. To him, the overwhelming solitude and stillness of the shores, the monotony of the dark pines and cedars, of the channels and of the roaring cascades, beget a longing for the sight of human habitation, that swallows the admiration of the magnificent scenery.¹

The loneliness and solitude of life on the northwest coast was certainly strongly felt by Duncan, as it was by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson. For the Company's servants it was the boredom and the lack of female company and amusement which were felt most keenly. But Duncan's longing was for spiritual counsel and for help in what appeared to be an impossible human endeavour. To his friend in Victoria, the Reverend Edward Cridge, he confessed that "now as I look forward, I feel almost crushed with a sense of my position. My loneliness; the greatness of the work, which seems ever increasing before me;..."²

It was indeed an immense task that had been set the missionary. In his own terms, his aim was to reclaim this portion of the human family, the Tsimshian, from the depths of depravity, to teach them of Christ's love for them, His sacrifice at Calvary, and of their need for faith in His word, the Bible. In abstract terms, his mission would necessarily bring him into conflict with the whole culture of the Indians, and would demand of the individual Indian a separation from the only way of life he had known, for the untrodden, unpredictable way of the Christian. Here were goals which required "immense faith and courage, and the gigantic audacity...to move uninvited into a large community of foreign and hostile people, and single-handedly assume absolute control and reshape their lives."³

Duncan himself was undoubtedly a man of great faith, who never doubted for a moment the justice of his mission or his vision of the ideal society for the Indians, though at times he was overcome with feelings of inadequacy, or personal inability to complete this mission. As necessary as was his personal ability, of equal importance for the success of his mission was the method or tactic he pursued, and this was dictated to a large extent by the Church Missionary Society. William Duncan was not simply an earnest Victorian on the frontier, the benevolent religious preacher anxious to save the souls of thousands. He was a determined young man, the agent of a world wide organisation, which was experienced in dealing with exotic cultures and in handling large and small scale adoptions.

³ Duff, 92.
of Christianity; an organisation based on the support of substantial numbers of Englishmen, many in positions of responsibility in government and business.

Church Missionary Society policy had determined the location of Duncan's mission, but his work during his first few months at Fort Simpson was guided by the advice of Governor Douglas and by his dependence upon the hospitality of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ajayi has commented on the inter-dependence of traders and missionaries in Nigeria in the mid-nineteenth century. In their search for new commercial empires the traders greatly extended the bounds of European political and economic influence and thus facilitated the introduction of missions in many distant parts of the world. The missionaries were usually dependent upon the trading vessels for travel in the country, and for postal services. In some areas the traders served as banks for the missionaries, the missionaries often being dependent on the trader for basic supplies and foodstuffs. The missionaries in their turn, brought wives and families to these remote areas, and provided some social life for the traders.

Duncan brought little social life to Fort Simpson, but like the missionaries of West Africa, he found himself quite dependent for some time on the munificence of a private trading company. Most important, the Hudson's Bay Company provided Duncan with free food and board. Partly this action was due to Douglas's own generosity and desire to see the Indians peacefully adopt Christianity. But as early as 1837 the Company had decided on principle, to provide supplies for missionaries in Northwest America,

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4 Ajayi, _Nigeria_, 57.
largely to prevent them bringing their own goods into the region. Duncan also valued the protection afforded him by the Company. While travelling on the Company steamer, Otter, he was somewhat unnerved at Fort Rupert by the sight of the hordes of Indians there.

The first view of so many strange Indians all waiting and staring was a little alarming to me. Their smell too was by no means agreeable...I shall not soon forget the furious clamour and wild demeanour which ensued among the Indians immediately on our arrival. I must confess my nerves would have been greatly shocked had I not been in company with influential and well known men among the Indian.

The availability of a base of operations at Fort Simpson was of great importance to Duncan too. Cairns has pointed out that in the early stages of their mission missionaries often spent a great deal of their time building comfortable dwellings and acquiring civilised surroundings, leaving comparatively little time for their religious work. The practical assistance given by the Hudson's Bay Company meant that from the beginning Duncan was able to devote all his attention to missionary activities.

In return for this help, and for being allowed to proceed to Fort Simpson, Duncan was expected to follow the instructions which Douglas had given him, a copy of which had also been sent to Captain McNeill at Fort Simpson. Douglas was still concerned for Duncan's safety, partly because as Cairns has indicated, the murder of a White man was the ultimate breakdown of prestige for all Whites in the culture contact situation.

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5 Rich, III, 683.  
6 WD/C2154 Journal, September 29, 1857.  
7 Cairns, 32.  
8 Ibid., 49.
and would have necessitated some disciplinary action by the Hudson's Bay Company to preserve its own authority. Knowing that the Indian reaction to this might precipitate more murders in retaliation, Douglas was determined that Duncan should exercise all due caution. He was not to go immediately among the Indians, and as it was at times considered dangerous for the Company to allow too many Indians into the fort at one time, Duncan was to content himself for a few months with talking to those Indians who were allowed inside, or who worked in the fort.9

Douglas's authority in this matter was as Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, for he had no political jurisdiction on the mainland at this time. But there was little doubt that Duncan would adhere to these instructions for he was both impressed by the Governor personally, and pleased at the recognition and attention he had received from such an eminent personage. "I feel very grateful to the Governor for noticing me so. Indeed throughout my stay he has been very kind to me."10

Duncan arrived at Fort Simpson on October 1st 1857, but it was not until the beginning of June 1858 that he made any attempt to hold religious meetings in the Indian camp. This enforced period of semi-isolation in the fort, was, however, of the greatest value to him, and perhaps accounts in some measure for his initial success with the Indians. Close to the Indians yet not among them, he was in an ideal position to observe their way of life, and to follow Venn's maxim of studying the people among whom he was to labour and to learn to understand their ways of thinking.11

9 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Victoria, July 27, 1857.
10 WD/C2154 Journal, August 10, 1857.
11 Supra, chapter 3, p. 4.
The missionary's first responsibility, according to the C.M.S., was to learn the language of the people so that Christianity could be presented to them in their own terms, and so that the Scriptures might be made available to them in their mother tongue. With the help of an Indian, Clah, who had worked as an interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company, Duncan learnt and transcribed several thousand of the most common Tsimshian words and phrases he would need. Traders on the coast used the Chinook jargon to communicate with the Indians, but the jargon had only about two hundred words and was primarily used in trade situations. Duncan felt that it was useless for explaining the complexities of the Trinity. He preferred to wait until he had mastered enough of the Tsimshian language to ensure that his message would be clearly understood from the beginning.

Meanwhile he had started a school inside the fort for the resident half-breed children, and had begun a series of evening lectures for the men. Captain McNeill commented, "he appears to be indefatigable to do good to all, both Whites and Indians." Duncan's decision to establish a school in the fort rather than in the Indian camp, was influenced partly by the need to comply with Douglas's instructions, and partly by his own desire to demonstrate his work in a small way, without involving or demanding anything of the Indians themselves. In addition, his pupils would provide his first link with the Indian community, for "the children I shall have in the Fort have Indian Mothers and their good word would be very serviceable if secured."
Even the method of instruction was to some extent geared to impressing on the Indians outside of the fort, the value and importance to them of a missionary's work. Concentrating mainly on the elements of reading and writing, Duncan at first taught them by using a blackboard. But this method of instruction gave no tangible evidence to those outside the classroom of the progress being made within. Thus in mid-November, the children began reading from books made by Duncan himself.

> The books are of my own making and I add a little each day. This measure I have adopted more as a stimulant to the Indians outside than anything else. When they see these little books and hear their own people read and explain them, I think that a good effect will be produced.  

These first few months of Duncan's stay at Fort Simpson were marked by great caution. Much of his time was spent in obtaining command of the language, and in careful observation of Indian life. His reaction to the condition of the natives was one of mixed horror and pity. "O dreadful, dreadful to see one's fellow creatures like this when the blessed Gospel has been 1800 years in the world." Yet in spite of this compassion, his work was characterised by restraint and carefulness. At the beginning of November 1857, an Indian knowing a little English asked to attend the classes in the fort. The missionary would certainly be expected to be enthusiastic about this display of interest in his work. But Duncan knew this particular man was in trouble for having recently shot a woman, and concluded,

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14 CMS/A105 Journal, November 16, 1858.
15 CMS/A105 Journal, January 14, 1858.
I must not have him as a scholar yet, as that would bring me into collision with the Indians especially as he is not a favourite and also with the Company whose study is to keep as even handed as possible with this fickle minded people. 16

The expressed motives for Duncan's action here are further indication of the value he placed on the support of the Hudson's Bay Company in these years, and also show how aware Duncan had become in a short time of the political situations in the Indian camp and their possible significance for his missionary work.

Duncan's first close experience of the Indians came in January 1858, when he conducted a census of the native population. In the same way that the English sanitary and industrial reformers systematically counted the numbers and investigated the condition of the working class, so did Duncan, mindful of the advice of Venn to study his people feel that "it would be well to count them and thus get as accurate a view as possible of the field to be cultivated." 17

Accompanied by Clah he visited each tribe in turn, counted himself as many people as he could see, and noted additional numbers supplied by the Tsimshian, of people temporarily absent. Lists were made of the men, women, children and strangers present, the sick in each house, and the number of houses in each tribe. Some years previously just prior to an outbreak of measles among the Indians the Hudson's Bay Company officers had taken a census, and some Indians were thus understandably afraid of Duncan's intentions. Yet in the few months he had spent in the fort,

16 CMS/A105 Journal, November 2, 1857.
17 WD/C2154 Journal, January 14, 1858.
Duncan had perhaps intentionally aroused great curiosity in the camp and thus in each house he entered, he met with great hospitality and was accorded a place of honour near the fire.\(^{18}\)

In February 1858, before he had formally begun his mission or spoken to the Indians of Christ, Duncan sent extracts of his diary to the society and wrote his first report from Fort Simpson to the C.M.S. describing the conditions he had found and his future hopes for the mission. Following the advice of Venn to report on the physical environment and to look for opportunities to introduce suitable industrial pursuits, after only one week at Fort Simpson, Duncan informed Venn that

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\text{there is hardly any prospect of our being able to change the pursuits of the people as far as getting their living is concerned. The physical character of the country is such as to impell its occupants to be hunters and nothing else.}^{19}\]

For as he recorded in his journal, "the land is densely covered with wood - excessively rocky, uneven and mountainous...there is so much rainfall during the year as to prevent any grain from ripening and to but barely allow some vegetable to come to any good."\(^{20}\) The immediacy with which Duncan treated this problem of Indian occupations shows that he viewed his mission in sociological as well as theological terms. It is also indicative of the probability that Venn's ideas and attitudes were to be influential in the policies adopted by William Duncan.

Duncan observed and recorded the ecological framework of Tsimshian life; the fishing and hunting of spring and summer, and the ceremonials of

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18 CMS/A105 Journal, January 14, 1858.
19 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Fort Simpson, October 6, 1857.
20 WD/C2154 Journal, October 7, 1857.
the winter season. He saw that the Tsimshian had adequate supplies of fish, seaweed, roots and berries and that food never seemed to pose any problem for them. "I must say that their food seems to agree with them for they are generally plump in appearance and very strong." The Tsimshian, he realised, were divided into nine tribes, and he distinguished five crests among them, the whale, porpoise, wolf, raven and eagle, clan membership being decided by matrilineal inheritance. Marriage within the crest was forbidden, and possible though not encouraged, within the tribe. Polygamy was not uncommon, but most men, he found, had only one wife. Duncan also reported on the visiting customs of the people, on the carvings of the men, the weaving and the mat making of the women, the face painting, and the use of labrettes by the women, a custom already dying out according to Duncan, and on the propensity of the Indians to drink extensively and to gamble.

He described Tsimshian dress for Venn and the other secretaries, pointing out that their hide shoes left them with continual wet feet and caused much sickness among them. He had already recommended to the Indian that they put wooden bottoms on their shoes as a measure of improvement.

To induce the Indians to adopt this measure I have got a pattern made to shew them what I mean. All who have seen it are pleased with the plan and call the clogs\(^23\) tsaush ah kan, (shoes of wood). For men hunting a great deal these shoes would not do — but the Chimsyans scarcely hunt at all as a race. They do more in trading up the channels with other Indians.\(^24\)

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21 WD/C2154 Journal, February, 1858, First Report from Fort Simpson.
22 Ibid.
23 Clogs, heavy wooden soled shoes, were a familiar form of footwear in the mill towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire until very recently.
24 CMS/A105 First Report, February, 1858.
It is important to notice here that Duncan was anxious to bring innovations to the Tsimshian, but that he was also careful that his suggestions should be approved by the Indians and should be appropriate to the already existing habits of the people. His careful observation of the Indians was not simply to satisfy his own or the society's curiosity about aboriginal peoples, but was to enable him, as Venn consistently pointed out to missionaries, to understand habits, pursuits and modes of thought of a people and thus to know how they could best be approached.

Duncan was particularly interested in the attitudes of the Indians to medicine men, for in giving medical aid himself, he would be exposed to this set of mores. He realised that the so called "medicine men" of the winter ceremonials were not those called upon to heal the sick.

The Medicine profession is altogether a distinct business and the doctors a distinct class. After investigation of the Matter I am led to conclude that the Medical practitioners are for the most part those who have themselves been visited with some serious sickness and have recovered...it is believed that during the period of unconsciousness, supernatural power and skill was vouchsafed them.25

Illnesses were often deemed to be the work of malevolent persons, a fact which led Duncan to be extremely cautious in his work. Much of his medical work at this time in fact was, like his school, conducted within the confines of the fort, and was likewise aimed at soothing the fears of the people in the camp. The Indian women in the fort whom he treated were "generally the most influential in the tribe to which they belong, in

25 Ibid.
gaining their confidence a great blow is struck at the prejudices of the people outside."26

The potlatch and winter ceremonials were also of concern to the missionary. To a Victorian, concerned with self-improvement and thrift, the potlatch appeared particularly senseless. Duncan lamented that the Tsimshian had no pride in property itself.

They never think of appropriating what they gather to enhance their comforts, but are satisfied if they can make a display like this now and then...And thus it is that there is a vast amount of dead stock laid in the Camp - doomed never to be used, but only now and then to pass from hand to hand for the mere vanity of the thing.27

Much of the potlatching was in connection with house-building, he reported, and was accompanied by vocal music and much dancing. The houses themselves he found most impressive, and was pleased that the Indians spontaneously showed a tendency to improve upon their previous designs. In his report Duncan noted that in several cases improvements in the houses had been introduced. "A chief is now finishing one which will have a wooden floor and two small windows in it."28

The winter ceremonials were distasteful to him and though he abhorred the practice of face painting, Duncan noted appreciatively that "the number of designs they have and the taste they display in putting it on is really surprising."29 His ethnocentricity in fact did not appear to prevent him

26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
from admiring some aspects of the Indian culture. Nor did it prevent him from appreciating the function of the winter ceremonials in the Tsimshian society. When one of the Tsimshian chiefs pointed out to him that no guns could be fired during the winter season, Duncan was able to note that "no doubt this has been one object with the origination - to preserve peace during Months in the winter season when all the people are together."$^{30}$

The missionary was interested too in the character of his people and not unexpectedly saw pride and revenge as the major characteristics of the Tsimshian.$^{31}$ Of prime importance were the religious beliefs of the Indians, and Duncan was extremely diligent in reporting these and in recording the myths and legends of the natives. God was regarded as a great chief.

They call Him by the same term as they do their chiefs only adding the word for above, thus shimanyet is chief, and lakkah is above, and hence the name of God with them is Shimanyet-lakkah. They believe the supreme being never dies...They do not know who is the author of the Universe, nor do they expect that God is the author of their own being. They have no fixed ideas about these things I fully believe. Still they frequently appeal to God in trouble. They ask for pity and deliverance. In great extremities of sickness they address God saying it is not good for them to die...Sometimes they show their anger against God, calling him a great slave, which is their greatest term of reproach.$^{32}$

One traditional tale of the Tsimshian which fascinated the missionary was that of the flood "where they say that all people finished in the waters but a few. Amongst that few there were no Chimsyans and now they are at a

$^{30}$ WD/C2154 Journal, December 3, 1859.
$^{31}$ CMS/A105 First Report, February, 1858.
$^{32}$ Ibid.
loss to tell them how they have re-appeared as a race." The analogy between this and the Old Testament Noah's Flood did not escape Duncan, and in his later sermons this story was often used to great advantage.

A curious incident related to Duncan by both the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers was carefully reported to the society. During a previous spring season an Indian from the interior had appeared at Fort Simpson, claiming to have been sent by an angel to bring the word of God to the Tsimshian. He had promised that a teacher would soon be sent to the Tsimshian, but that meanwhile they should attend to his preliminary instructions.

The sum total of his teaching amounted to a few popish ceremonies, mixed with Indian customs. Crossing-bowing-wearing crosses around the neck - singing and dancing without laughing - were all he demanded. The enthusiasm of the man was so great and his appearance and tenets so startling that the Indians almost to a man welcomed him and obeyed his injunctions...The Officers in charge of the Fort were astounded to see how readily they responded to this man's call. 34

Duncan's presence could thus be fitted into an expected pattern of events by the Indians, and this no doubt partly explains why they were at least prepared to hear his message. The lengthy contact with Whites in the fur trade had also opened their culture to changes and made the individual "more receptive to novelties." 35 Duncan too, noted that "the presence of the Whites and their own visits to the South have shaken their

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Supra, chapter 4, p. 28, n. 64.
superstition and awakened inquiry but that is all." According to Duncan, there was a general belief amongst them "that the Whites do possess some great secret about eternal things and they are gasping to know it." Thus Duncan's presence as a man whose only avowed aim was to teach the Indians, certainly excited their interest. Yet between October 1857 and June 1858, Duncan made no attempt to arouse any excitement in the Indian camp, but contented himself with teaching half-breeds in the fort, attending some of the sick, learning the language, taking a census of the people, and talking informally with visiting chiefs or any individuals who approached him. This waiting period of nine months must certainly have intrigued the Indians and sustained their curiosity.

At last on June 13, 1858, Duncan spoke to the Indians assembled in groups of a hundred in the houses of their tribal chiefs, and told them of his purpose in coming among them and of the importance to them of the word of God. He had spent several months perfecting this, his first sermon, in order to ensure his initial message was as clear as possible. H.G. Barnett has argued that Duncan's patronage was of political importance to the chiefs at this time, and that once he had been invited to speak at the house of one chief, he was invited by each chief in the village to address his people, in order that they might not be shamed. They were in fact trying to use him rather than understand him. If this were so, it was certainly not apparent to Duncan. He found the Indians in each house compliant, eager to hear his message and to kneel and pray with him, although they were

36 WD/C2154 Journal, January 14, 1858.
37 Ibid.
indeed startled by his praying and by the way he spoke to God.\textsuperscript{39}

Duncan had no great ambitions for a mass conversion following the first appeal to the people. He had observed them long enough, and already understood them well enough to realise that few would comprehend his mission. "I have not been very anxious to inquire what the people thought of the message, for if I had I should have gathered up, no doubt, a great deal that was not true."\textsuperscript{40} The missionary did not expect to gain instant adherents for Christ, but was prepared to live many years among the people, teaching them not only about Christ, but of his view of the way of life of a Christian.

The ability of a convert to read and to understand his Bible in his own language was of primary importance to the evangelicals of the Church Missionary Society. In the flush of enthusiasm that followed these first meetings, Duncan began construction of a school-house for the Indians outside the fort. Until this was completed he accepted the offer of Legaic's house to begin his school work. Legaic's own young relatives and those of other chiefs formed the first class, for even at this stage, Duncan approached his work with great forethought.

As I only want about thirty children I thought it best to invite the chiefs first to send theirs,...My purpose is to give them a taste for the work and get a few children put in the way a little before I begin with a large number.\textsuperscript{41}

Similarly in West Africa, attempts were made by the C.M.S. to take the sons

\textsuperscript{39} WD/C2154 Journal, June 13, 1858.
\textsuperscript{40} WD/C2154 Journal, June 15, 1858.
\textsuperscript{41} CMS/A105 Journal, June 26, 1858.
of chiefs to be educated at the central missionary stations, with the
dual purpose of training young men who could return to teach their people,
and of gaining the favour and protection of the chiefs themselves.

At Fort Simpson adult classes were held in the afternoons, and
though the pupils here were mostly women, Legaic and other chiefs also
visited occasionally. These first groups of Tsimshian students began
their education by learning the alphabet, and Duncan "finished a lesson
with showing them a few matters of order. They went through a drilling
and marching very heartily but without a smile. Instead they seemed
astonished."\(^42\)

By November 1859, the school-house was ready for use, and could
accommodate the two hundred pupils that Duncan now had. Reading, writing,
counting and singing were taught in English, while religious knowledge, a
substantial part of the curriculum, was taught in Tsimshian.\(^43\) The students
were divided into three classes and issued with coloured tickets denoting
their class, name and number, a system which was typical of the Victorian
schools of the time. As in English schools, there was much rote learning
at Fort Simpson. Duncan reported, "they then repeated after me, answers to
some questions on religious truth, both in English and their own tongue."
Most of his teaching was done from the blackboard, but by March, some of
Duncan's students were advanced enough to use Help For Christian Disciples;
a small book written by Duncan, printed in Victoria and similar to those
he had made himself for his pupils in the fort.\(^44\)

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\(^{42}\) WD/C2154 Journal, June 28, 1858.
\(^{43}\) PABC F 395/16 W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Fort Simpson, February 7, 1860.
\(^{44}\) WD/C2156 Entrybook, March 7, 1859.
Trained as an elementary schoolmaster by the C.M.S., Duncan excelled in teaching and in communicating his ideas. The organised systematic approach, characteristic of all Duncan's work, was most evident in the schoolroom. "Over eighty children at school today, I spoke to them in the morning about what God expects from us, being our maker, which is point No. 1 in my course of oral lessons." The Tsimshian were also introduced to the Victorian mode of self-examination. Duncan gave his first class copy books and asked them to record their own thoughts in their own way, at home after school. Shooquanaht's journal reveals the values that were being impressed on the Tsimshian, the emphasis that was put on the importance of work. It also indicates the sense of sin, or guilt, so necessary to Christian salvation, that had been introduced into the Tsimshian mentality.

I could not sleep last night. I must work hard last night. I could not be lazy last night. No good lazy - very bad. We must learn to make all things. When we understand reading and writing, then it will very easy. Perhaps two grass, then we understand. If we no understand to read and to write, then he will be very angry Mr. Duncan. If we understand about good people, then we will very happy.

Cleanliness was also important at the Fort Simpson school and face painting and the wearing of nose rings was actively discouraged. "I inspect them every day and so most have now got in the way of washing hands and face." The C.M.S. reminded its missionaries of the Apostle's

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45 WD/C2154 Journal, June 7, 1859.
46 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Fort Simpson, August 24, 1860.
48 WD/C2154 Journal, November 15, 1858.
prayer that "spirit, soul and body may be preserved blameless," and hoped its emissaries would "come to the conclusion that the good Missionary, who thus tries to train his boys in manliness and hardihood, as well as in Christian knowledge and mental culture, does well in regarding all three parts of human nature as alike objects of God's fatherly care, and designed for his service." Drill had been part of the curriculum at Highbury, and Samuel Smiles also praised the discipline and training that drill introduced. And so at Fort Simpson, in preparation for a New Year feast for the schoolchildren,

we taught six games - hunt the hare - sheep and goats - free fun - racing in bags, keeping a prisoner in a ring, and blinded boys running to catch the boy with a ball. Afterward then I gave them a little drilling and gymnastics all which [sic] they seemed to enjoy tremendously.

The school was the most important and most direct agent of acculturation at Fort Simpson. It was successful in teaching the elements of reading and writing to several dozen Tsimshian. It provided an opportunity for Duncan to give some daily instruction in Christianity and to make explicit the acceptable habits and way of life of prospective Christians. Duncan was certainly well satisfied with the work of the first year.

They can sing hymns and are learning God Save the Queen...they know the consequences to us of both courses of conduct, bad and good. They have learnt what are the proper expressions in

49 CMT 1865, p. 141.
50 Briggs, Victorian People, 137.
They can count alone to 100...They have learnt how to speak in terms of civility to their fellowmen and have had several of their ways corrected.52

The school, however, was only a means to an end, and that goal, the adoption of Christianity by the Tsimshian nation was kept clearly in sight in these early years. Prospective converts were welcomed at the daily school, but their attendance was only expected on Sunday for the religious services. Duncan explained to the Indians that

worshipping God was the duty of all so that I wished all, young and old, to attend on Sunday - but that teaching to read and write was not God's commandment but man's wish, and so they might use their own discretion about coming in the week day.53

In the early years at Fort Simpson Duncan realised that the people were not yet prepared to attend religious teaching regularly, and felt that they needed training in the manner and stillness of prayer before he could introduce regular services and prayers in Tsimshian.54 Thus most of his work was in the form of visiting from house to house, and speaking personally to those present, of the message of Christ.

Duncan's visits to the sick were of great importance to his religious work, for by this means he hoped to "secure their confidence and strike most effectively at their superstition."55 These visits gave him many opportunities of speaking to all the inmates of a house.

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52 WD/C2154 Journal, February 18, 1858.
53 WD/C2155 Journal, December 8, 1861.
54 WD/C2154 Journal, February 3, 1859.
55 WD/C2154 Journal, September 17, 1858.
I usually address them on the evil of their doings and point out the inevitable consequences of sin both in time and eternity. I then tell them of the sinner's Friend and set the blessed Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ before them illustrating from their own customs our need of such a Saviour.\textsuperscript{56}

This, in fact, became his most common approach in presenting the Gospel to the Indians. First that sense of sin, without which the message of salvation was meaningless, must be induced in the Indians.\textsuperscript{57} It was difficult for the Indians to understand the sinfulness of their traditional ways, such as the winter ceremonials, their secret societies, and their attachment to animistic beliefs. But although these were not acceptable Christian practices, Duncan tended to give greater emphasis to the sin attached to following the White man's way in prostitution and drunkenness.

\begin{quote}
Do not love bad ways, Love God. Bad ways make God angry and deceive us. They please us a little time then bring us to misery. The Book of God says - the wages of sin is death. We all have sinned. We all must die.\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

Particularly after the gold rush, the wages of sin were becoming increasingly apparent to the Tsimshian and they could well appreciate that adherence to these sins did bring misery and death.

The missionary, however, presented them with an alternataive in the salvation offered by Christ. This salvation was achieved by faith, not good works. But it was not the pre-determined salvation of Calvinism, for a choice was presented to the Indians. Christ offered them salvation, but

\textsuperscript{56} PABC F395/16 W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Fort Simpson, February 7, 1860. \textsuperscript{57} Cairns, 179. \textsuperscript{58} WD/C2159 Language and Translation Notebook, 1859.
it was the free choice of the individual to accept this offer of eternal life. Lesson nineteen, *Who are Saved*, makes Duncan's position on this quite clear.

All people who rightly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ do love Him, and all who love Him do obey Him:— they leave their sins and try to be good. If we do not obey Our Saviour Jesus Christ, that shows we do not love Him, that shows we do not believe in Him, and if we do not believe in Him we shall not be saved.

But having been offered the road to salvation it was imperative that the Tsimshian follow Christ. Before the missionary came they had sinned in ignorance, but now as Duncan never tired of pointing out, God would no longer forgive their ignorance. To Duncan, the Tsimshian were like the Jews, for they had received the word of God first, before the surrounding tribes of Indians, and like the Jews they would be cast out if they did not heed the message.

I said that God had pitied their forefathers a long time, although they were bad and had not destroyed them because they knew not His way and nobody was here to tell them but now He had sent them His word and if they refused to hear He would soon cease to pity and they would certainly suffer for their sin.

In preaching, Duncan's sense of timing, and his ability to seize the appropriate moment to press home his lessons were important qualities. When one of his pupils died suddenly in school, Duncan took the opportunity

59 The similarity between these ideas and the theology of the Massachusetts Puritans is quite striking.
60 WD/C2159 *Language and Translation Notebook*, 1859.
61 WD/C2155 *Journal*, November 7, 1860.
62 WD/C2155 *Journal*, November 1, 1860.
to address all present "on the shortness of life and the realities of eternity." He knew the importance, too, of visual demonstrations to a primitive people, and was fond of showing the Indians a broken or rotten stick and a healthy branch. The former, he would tell his audience, represented the present position of the Tsimshian, while the latter could be their condition if they chose to follow God's way.

Duncan's knowledge of Indian traditions, legends and religious beliefs was of great value to his religious teaching. He would often direct the Indians' attention to the Flood of the Old Testament, knowing a similar story existed in their own tradition, and would interpret it for them in a Christian manner. Similarly when the subject of sacrifice arose, Duncan was aware of the function of this in Tsimshian life, and was quick to emphasise its Christian meaning. His adult class read an illustrated scripture lesson on the Flood.

The picture showed Noah and his family sacrificing when they returned thanks to God for their deliverance. In that religious act the Indians at once recognised an old custom of their own and seemed quite astonished. I cannot describe the encouraging feeling this circumstance supplied. I had at once a capital stepping stone from their own system to the Great Sacrifice and Lamb of God. It was quite a new light to them. They saw an evident reason for the custom of sacrificing and some reason for my setting forth a Saviour who had died for us.

In spite of Duncan's care in emphasising the difference between the Indian and the Christian belief, the Tsimshian must inevitably have interpreted the new ideas in the light of their own existing religious

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63 CMS/A105 Journal, November 9, 1859.
64 WD/C2154 Journal, September 8, 1860.
65 CMS/A105 Journal, May 24, 1859.
beliefs. In such a transitional situation, much of their religious faith rested on the person of Duncan. The Indians certainly appeared to feel Duncan had particular spiritual powers. One of the old chiefs remarked to him in 1860, "you see they follow you - they want to see you - they are learning from you about God and regard you as the same as God to them."  

Converts were called upon to renounce many of their traditional ways, such as potlatching, participation in secret societies, face painting, and their beliefs in animal spirits. It was extremely difficult for an individual to extricate himself from the potlatch, for either he was in debt, or, if he had recently held a potlatch, others were in debt to him, and by withdrawing from the system, he was denying them the opportunity of wiping out their shame. The potlatch, with all its attendant ceremonies and the network of obligations it established, was the greatest obstacle encountered by missionaries of all denominations among the coastal Indians.

Duncan had not expected early conversions and the C.M.S. would have been suspicious of any mass adherence to Christ. The society always emphasised the need for care in the selection of the first converts. The Intelligencer in 1867 expressed the policy clearly.

It is better to wait until true converts come to hand, then precipitately to use individuals concerning whom we have misgivings...so heavy will be the pressure that unless by faith they are enabled to rest on Christ as their foundation, they will never be 'stedfast, immovable.'

67 CMI 1867, p. 67.
Although some Tsimshian may have committed themselves to Duncan by 1860, there were no baptisms or acceptance of candidates for baptism until the arrival in 1861 of the Reverend L. Tugwell who had been sent by the C.M.S. to take spiritual charge of the Fort Simpson mission. It is sometimes assumed that the first converts of any missionary will be those who are dissatisfied with their present condition, who have little stake in their own society and will lose nothing by adopting the way of the missionary. Barnett has claimed that Duncan's early followers were people who were not entrenched in the system of privilege and power, among them orphans, slaves and illegitimate children, "for whom the future held no prospect of emancipation or gratification of the social ambition accredited in the Tsimshian system of values." There is, however, little information available on the class or status of the first converts and catechumens, although it is certain that no chiefs were among this group. Between July 1861 and July 1862 fifty-eight Tsimshian were either baptised or accepted as candidates for baptism. Of these, thirty-seven were males and twenty-one females. Twenty-two of these were under twenty years of age; twenty-seven were aged between twenty and thirty; five were between thirty and forty and only four were over forty. Thus, youth was certainly the major characteristic of Duncan's followers. Two tribes, the Gitlans and the Gitzaklalth dominated the list of converts, but there were representatives of each of the nine tribes in the baptismal registers at Fort Simpson.

68 Cairns, 187.
69 Barnett, Innovation, 405.
70 WD/C2159 Baptismal Register, 1861-1862.
The Christian Gospel was only part of the new culture that was offered to the Tsimshian. The Church Missionary Society and most Victorians believed that the Gospel must be accompanied by the introduction of civilisation if it was to be at all successful. Duncan too was aware of this problem, and was prepared to devote a good deal of his energy to civilising the Tsimshian, for he saw it as a vital part of his religious mission. In March 1860, he realised that "I must wait for circumstances to change and for the Indians to gain some knowledge of civilization before I press the Gospel upon them." At this time it is interesting to note, Duncan was reading a biography of Samuel Marsden, the first missionary to the Maoris, who had advocated so strongly that civilisation and the Gospel were indispensable to each other. That the first Tsimshian convert, Shooquanahts, was to be baptised as Samuel Marsden indicates that Duncan had a great respect for Marsden himself and for his theories of mission work.

Duncan's school was the major civilising work undertaken at Fort Simpson. Here the Indians learnt the English, the reading, the writing and the arithmetic that would hopefully enable them to comprehend and to survive in the White man's world. At school, too, the pupils were taught European habits of cleanliness and clothing, deportment and demeanour, that would make them acceptable as civilised people. Clogs were recommended to the children for "naked feet are a hindrance to our progress in school." To those who complied with his suggestion, Duncan promised

71 WD/C2154 Journal, March 6, 1860.
72 WD/C2155 Journal, December 12, 1860.
73 WD/C2154 Journal, November 2, 1859.
a shirt, perhaps one of those which was being made by the fifteen girls in the sewing class he had begun in October of 1859. The close link between the Gospel and civilisation was brought home forcibly to the missionary during his first winter of school work, when he found he must clothe his pupils warmly if they were to be able to continue with their education. "I had appointed today to give away some baize to the children to make garments out of— for the weather is now extremely cold and it is with great difficulty we can go on with the school work."^75

His medical work also gave Duncan opportunities to introduce the Tsimshian to aspects of civilisation. Horrified at the dirt and squalor surrounding his patients, Duncan at first considered it useless to give the Indians any medicine "as their habits prevent any good effects ensuing."^76 Later he attempted to convince the Indians, that just as they no longer sinned in ignorance, so was there now no excuse for not treating their sick in a proper manner. According to the Tsimshian tradition they were forbidden to wash during sickness. I then commenced a long talk against their superstition. I told them that the old Tsimshians were led to make the law on account of their being so poor and having nothing to wipe themselves with after washing and the body left wet to dry by itself had no doubt suffered, but I assured them if they would but wash and rub well after washing, they would experience benefit.^77

Besides Duncan's obvious concern for their physical welfare displayed here, it is important to note his functional approach to Tsimshian

74 WD/C2154 Journal, October 28, 1859.
75 WD/C2154 Journal, November 9, 1859.
76 WD/C2154 Journal, November 17, 1857.
traditions. He did not merely assert that their mode of treatment of their sick was a worthless superstition, but assumed that such habits had served a valuable function in Tsimshian life, yet one which was no longer necessary. His ability to understand and to respect the forms of the traditional way of life and to thus interpret them to the Indians, was of great significance to the success of his mission.

Duncan became increasingly concerned by the poverty of the Tsimshian. He felt that a good deal of what he considered their destitute state, could be attributed to the effects of the potlatch, for much property was stored away never to be used by the people. Yet apart from this, Christian civilisation would demand a great deal more capital outlay by the Indians for shoes, clothing and household furnishings, and Duncan felt it was imperative that additional means of earning money should be made available to the Indians. Venn had urged all his missionaries to seek opportunities to expand native industries and trade, and though Duncan was careful in noting the artistic, building and entrepreneurial skills of the Tsimshian, he could do little to develop these for the Indians' benefit. The dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his own dependence upon the hospitality of the Company, made it extremely difficult to introduce alternative means of employment at Fort Simpson.

Self-help was to be Duncan's major means of accomplishing the social change he thought necessary in order to bring civilisation to the Tsimshian. This was an approach which arose naturally from his own experience and his attitude to his own society, for the principles of self-help had elevated William Duncan to his present position. Henry Venn had also explicitly
applied these same principles to the problems of civilising native peoples. Addressing the missionaries to Sierra Leone in 1852, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society advised them to "keep in mind the importance of introducing from the first, the principles of self-support and self-government among the converts."  

Duncan in his first letter to Venn from Fort Simpson emphasised that

> I intend from the first to demand co-operation. 
> And from that, advance if possible to the self-supporting system...They are taught in their dealings with the white man that they never get anything for nothing - now if we set about doing all for them - I firmly believe they will suspect some deep laid plot and perhaps heap upon us every annoyance.

Self-help was to be of double significance for the Indians. Not only was it the method by which they would reach civilisation, but it produced the type of sturdy, independent, native Christian that the C.M.S. and Duncan saw as their goal.

From his first week at Fort Simpson, Duncan made clear to the chiefs and the people with whom he was in contact, that eventually he would need their help in building a school and mission house outside the fort. The Indians certainly had different expectations from Duncan, one chief asking if he intended to pay the parents to send their children to his school. "How absurdly unreasonable is man without the Gospel," the missionary

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78 CMI 1852, p. 20.
79 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Fort Simpson, October 6, 1857.
80 WD/C2154 Journal, October 16, 1857.
commented. Although the Indians, in conversation, agreed to help Duncan build his school, he was cautious enough to wait until the idea had become more firmly established in their minds. He felt it was "a pity we cannot put their sincerity to the test at once but I feel it would not be prudent to do so." This policy was successful, for the following year, Duncan received a great deal of assistance from the Indians, observing "their determination to supply me with plenty of boards for the school - without buying - which they say with emphasis." The Tsimshian appeared to have absorbed well their first lesson in self-help.

By 1862, Duncan had achieved more than a modest success in his mission. Over fifty Indians had publicly committed themselves to him, while more than a hundred were prepared to work for him or attend his school. There had been no generation of religious excitement in the Indian camp, no mass services, or large scale baptisms. Proselytizing had been largely carried out in the schoolroom, in small groups, or in personal conversations. The work at Fort Simpson was made spectacular by the fact that fifty-eight Tsimshian were prepared to renounce the potlatch and most of their traditional ways, to follow the unknown path marked out by a young, inexperienced, English missionary.

Undoubtedly one reason for Duncan's remarkable success was that the C.M.S. had made a fortunate choice in the Tsimshian. Having had a long contact with Europeans, these Indians had been opened to the novelties of cultural change for at least a generation before the arrival of the

81 Ibid.
82 CMS/A105 Journal, October 1, 1858.
missionary. Yet being distant from White settlement, they were better able to avoid the physical and cultural breakdown that befell the tribes near Victoria. As the great traders and intermediaries of the coast, they in fact had been in a culture-contact situation with many tribes over a long period of time, and might well have become skilled in integrating into their own culture the artistry and legends of others. The European missionary thus might have found them exceptionally interested in new ideas and techniques, and well able to make use of them in their own lives. 83

Duncan's personality and the tactic he used in his work were major reasons for his success in dealing with the Tsimshian. He seemed inexhaustibly patient, and was always willing to engage in long conversations about Christianity with anyone who wanted to speak with him. In spite of the fact that he experienced extreme discomfort in the wet climate at Fort Simpson, and probably had tuberculosis throughout his stay in British Columbia, his energy was astounding. Each day he taught sometimes two hundred children, tended the sick of the whole camp, and transcribed the Tsimshian language or translated English prayers and hymns. His energy was perhaps only exceeded by his quiet determination that the mission should succeed. Duncan saw himself as part of a world wide movement of evangelisation, and though he might never be able to see

the results of his own work, the Divine Master, to whom he was responsible, assured him of ultimate success.

Although a determined individual, Duncan was neither domineering nor uncompromising. He knew Tsimshian society well, and was prepared to compromise with it and to adapt himself to Indian ways as much as was commensurate with his own principles. This approach contributed greatly to his success.

Realising the economic importance to the Indians of the spring fishing, Duncan wisely decided to close his school during that season.

I want to prove no hindrance to their procuring food as has been their custom. I have had several ask me whether they are to take their children to fish or whether they are to leave them here to attend school. But I invariably recommend them to go, for if distress for food was to arise by and by, there would be plenty among them ready enough to put me and the school down as the cause.84

A more rigid policy, applied by a less thoughtful missionary could easily have led to a disastrous situation under those conditions.

Similarly, Duncan recognised the significance to the Tsimshian of the manner in which a speech is delivered. "They have a great idea of strong talk. Unless they feel affected at what is said to them, they regard the speech as weak. If you can share them out and speak loud, that is a strong speech."85 This was an important discovery for a missionary who must talk to many people, and make countless speeches. Here too,

84 CMS/A105 Journal, March 8, 1859.
85 WD/C2154 Journal, June 8, 1859.
Duncan made a conscious effort to adapt himself to the Indian way. "The Tsimshean people say that Mr. Duncan was a more eloquent orator in their language than the orator of their people."\(^{86}\)

In dealing with the chiefs of the Tsimshian, Duncan was at great pains to treat them as they were treated by their own people. This was in great contrast to the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company where the factor sent Old Sebassa to the kitchen for his dinner announcing, "I have no idea to make the mess room or my quarters a publick place of entertainment to every chief that likes to come."\(^{87}\) Venn's advice was to "be wise in reference to the governing powers of the country...convince the governors that you do not wish to lower their authority,"\(^{88}\) and it was this course which Duncan attempted to follow. On a journey up the Nass in 1860, a chief was Duncan's guide. Realising that a chief should be treated differently from the rest of the party, Duncan offered his own tin plate to eat from, while the others ate off wood. The chief, "though contented to eat with the others at other times was glad enough to show his pride of rank when occasion offered."\(^{89}\) At Fort Simpson, no chief committed himself entirely to Duncan, but none made a serious attempt to obstruct his work. They saw that he had gained some influence among their people and on occasion when their goals coincided with his, they sought to use his influence for their own ends. After Duncan had given a sermon on the evils of prostitution "there was a great meeting at the

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86 WD/C2158 Diary and Notes of Mathilda Minthorn, New Metlakatla, Alaska, 1945, p. 38.
87 PABC Fort Simpson Post Journal, February 17, 1860.
88 CMI 1852, p. 19.
89 WD/C2154 Journal, September 7, 1860.
head chief's house. All favoured my views...He (the head chief) begs of me to speak strong against the prostitution and to shame them out of it."^90

The prestige of the chiefs within their tribes was of obvious value to Duncan, and as far as possible he accommodated himself to their wishes. Faced with an invitation to a festival he personally preferred not to attend, he nevertheless tried to understand the reason for holding the feast, and what role it played in the whole culture. The Indians assured him that this was only their way of welcoming his arrival amongst them, and that their performance and drum beating was to them what the Book was to us. I think they meant that as we met to hear the Book so they met to hear the Spirit speak through the chiefs on these occasions - or else they meant that as we give a paper to those whom we love and wish well to, so they exhibit their wonders to those whom they respect and admire. As I had no desire in the least to offend them, I thought I had better go. 91

But to the Tsimshians, Duncan had himself become a source of prestige. Although they did not all accede to his views, they nevertheless felt a group pride in the fact that they had been chosen before other tribes to receive the Book from this messenger of God. When work on his school-house had stopped for a time, the chiefs came to him to beg him to continue building. Many tribes along the coast knew of his presence and purpose at Fort Simpson, and they feared the Tsimshian would be shamed if he ever left them. 92

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90 WD/C2154 Journal, March 17, 1859.
91 WD/C2154 Journal, September 8, 1860.
92 WD/C2154 Journal, August 18, 1858.
Duncan's work was acknowledged in Victoria too, for few had expected him to remain long at Fort Simpson, far less to achieve any measure of success. He was regarded as a rather eccentric young man, and one rather outside the confines of proper Victorian society. Captain R.C. Mayne, in what would now be considered a patronising manner noted that the labours of men of his social class among the distant heathen are undervalued by the world, which refuses to credit the fact that savages, such as these Coast Indians undoubtedly are, can receive and retain impressions so utterly at variance with their nature and habits.

Governor Douglas took a particular interest in Duncan's work, offering through Reverend E. Cridge, to help Duncan in any way he could, even "if necessary representing any such measures with his favourable recommendation to Her Majesty's Government." He admired Duncan's accomplishments, and when the missionary visited Victoria in the summer of 1860, Douglas took the opportunity to ask his advice on how to deal with the Indian situation in Victoria.

The Fraser River gold rush in 1858 had irrevocably altered the character of the Pacific slope and of its major settlement, Victoria. Thousands of prospectors streamed into the country, many coming by sea from California. The vast fur trading empire of the Hudson's Bay Company

93 Captain R.C. Mayne spent several years on the British Columbia coast in the service of Her Majesty's navy. He was a familiar figure in Victoria society before returning to England in 1860.


95 WD/C2143 E. Cridge to W. Duncan, On Behalf of His Excellency Governor Douglas, Victoria, January 11, 1860.
now had to accommodate that settlement, albeit of a sporadic and shifting nature, which it had so long excluded. Victoria itself became the supply, financial and entertainment centre first for the lower Fraser miners and then for the Cariboo miners. And inevitably the quiet English atmosphere within Fort Victoria was rapidly replaced by the more frenzied air of an American frontier boom town. American saloons and American businesses were established near the harbour, while Chinese, Jewish and Negro establishments added a cosmopolitan flair. The Presbyterians, Methodists and Roman Catholics were now active in Victoria and Bishop George Hills, accompanied by other clergymen, had arrived in 1860 from Great Yarmouth to take charge of the Anglican diocese of Columbia. The mainland became a Crown Colony on November 19, 1858, and James Douglas, no longer Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, served as Governor of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

It had long been the habit of some of the northern coastal Indians to come to Victoria in the summer to trade, to prostitute their women and to purchase what liquor they could. The Victoria of the gold rush, with its excitement, entertainment, increased opportunities for prostitution and easier access to spirits, increasingly became the mecca for entire tribes. In 1860, the prospect of thousands of Indians of various language groups, living in appalling conditions on the outskirts of Victoria, greatly concerned the Governor and at least a few of the townspeople. Disease and violence were rife within these temporary Indian camps, so close to the town, and though they had not yet directly affected the life of Victoria itself, there were some in the town who were prepared to meet
the threat by driving all the Indians from the area, and stationing
gunboats in the north to warn the Indians not to proceed to Victoria.

To Duncan, this policy appeared disastrous, for the time had long passed when the Indians were prepared to accept restraint. When Victoria first grew to its gold rush proportions, the Indians had been awestruck by the new phenomenon and would have obeyed any guidelines laid down for them. But they were now accustomed to living and behaving in their own way in the town. Were they now to be driven from Victoria, Duncan was certain it would lead to "a quarrel, then a war, then we should have had a repetition of the Misery and trouble the Americans have experienced with the Indians in their western territories." 96

Apart from the likelihood of alienating the goodwill of the Indians, the policy of driving them away was repugnant to the missionary, because it was contradictory to a free constitution and did not differentiate between orderly and disorderly Indians. Duncan advised Victoria, "as you deal with the rowdy whites, so deal with the rowdy Indians: make them obey the laws." 97 The colony was expanding rapidly, he pointed out. White settlement might soon spread north and inland, and it would be impossible to provide gunboats for the entire region. But apart from the practical drawbacks of such a restrictive policy, Duncan emphasised that it was contrary to the laws of humanity, and inconsistent with the spirit of true religion.

96 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Fort Simpson, August 24, 1860.
We are taught by our religion that all men are brethren of one blood, and if some possess greater advantages than others, those advantages are given them to use for the common good of all... How are we then, discharging our duties to them, when, after corrupting them by our vices, we drive them out of our sight.  

Since his return to Victoria in May 1860, Duncan had been working daily in the Indian camp among the Tsimshian. He found them "in such a bad condition socially, that I felt little could be done until the Government and Law put forth their united power to aid." Anxious to improve their situation, Duncan pleaded with Douglas and Prevost for help. After several meetings with the Governor, Duncan presented him with a detailed plan for the future organisation of Indians visiting or temporarily residing Victoria, although it is not clear whether this was done on his own initiative or at the request of Douglas.

Duncan's first aim was to discourage the Indians from coming to Victoria by imposing various taxes. Land was to be allocated to each language group and those who were not original inhabitants of Victoria were to be required to pay a tax of two dollars per month. If the northern Indians persisted in visiting Victoria, and Duncan believed they had every right to do so, they must live in a civilised fashion, in separate villages according to their language. They were to build their houses in an orderly manner, "according to a plan to be laid out for them," and no more than six or eight adults were to be permitted to live in each house. Employment

98 Ibid.
99 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Victoria, August 24, 1860.
100 WD/C2159 Memorandum, Victoria, June 21, 1860.
should be found for as many Indians as possible, and Duncan suggested a wash-house be established where the women might wash clothes "at one dollar per dozen."¹⁰¹ Land should be laid out for a church, school and market place, and a large temporary room could be constructed immediately by public subscription, for use as a school and place of worship.

This system was to be entirely self-supporting and almost entirely self-governing, for Duncan hoped to create individuals devoted to self-help, living in healthy, independent communities. All Indians between the ages of fifteen and fifty were to pay in advance, a tax of one dollar a month or a quarter a week. This would be used to provide medical care for the sick, public works such as well digging and road building, and to support a native police force.

A White man was to be appointed as general overseer, but there were to be two native policemen for every hundred adults, with at least one from each of the five different language groups. "Each one should belong to an influential and numerous family,"¹⁰² advised Duncan, who was, as at Fort Simpson, anxious to adapt to the existing political structure of Indian society. A jail was to be built out of the tax money to house petty offenders. Liquor offences were to be severely dealt with by the Colonial authorities, who were also to be responsible for any grave Indian offenders or any disorderly Whites found in the Indian camp. Any individual who refused to pay his tax was to be made "to work a sufficient time on the chain gang until he has earned the amount due from him." A register of

¹⁰¹ Ibid.
¹⁰² Ibid.
all the Indians should be compiled and this would be called each night at
nine p.m. This list would also be useful for anyone who needed Indian
labour, and as each Indian obtained work, this would be noted beside his
name. Those tribes who refused to comply with these regulations, "might
with justice be sent away."

There had been no previous attempts to organise the Indians in any
way, and as they assembled to hear Duncan interpret the Governor's message,
few Indians could have understood what this plan would mean for them. For
Douglas had adopted Duncan's plan in its entirety, a fact which has led
G.E. Shankel to comment that "there is unfortunately much truth in the
opinion that during his later years, Douglas did not appear to have a
policy except as supplied by Duncan."103 Douglas was now almost sixty
years old, and with little money, or assistance from Britain, he was trying
to preserve a vast area for the crown, and to provide competent government
under trying conditions for the two colonies on the Pacific. He had
himself had a long and practical experience of dealing with Indians, and
this was probably one of the major reasons for his appointment as Governor.
Indian policy was certainly important to him, but it was by no means his
main concern. Douglas was probably thankful that for at least one of his
problems, he was able to seek the advice of an experienced and capable
man. Indeed, his ready acceptance of Duncan's ideas, in fact, was probably
because in their basic assumptions about native peoples, and the goals
laid out for the northwest coast Indians, they coincided remarkably with

103 G.E. Shankel, "The Development of Indian Policy in British Columbia"
his own, and with those of the Colonial Office to whom he was responsible.

Both the Colonial Office and Douglas adhered in principle to a policy of civilising and christianising the natives, with a view to producing independent self-supporting communities. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, as Colonial Secretary, advised Douglas in 1858 that "above all it is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that your early attention should be given to the best means of diffusing the blessings of Christian Religion and of Civilization among the Natives." The following year he impressed upon Douglas the importance of self-help, recommending the establishment of both general and industrial education for the Indians "whereby they may acquire the arts of civilized life which will enable them to support themselves, and not degenerate into the mere recipients of eleemosynary relief."

Douglas needed no convincing on this point, however, though his reasons for advocating self-supporting institutions were "as much from a principle of justice to the State...out of regard to the well-being of the Indians themselves." In 1859 he assured Lytton that he thought "it would be advisable, studiously to cultivate the pride of independence, so ennobling in its effects, and which the savage largely possesses from nature and early training." To this end he advised that

104 Copy of a Despatch from the Right Honourable Sir E.B. Lytton, Bart., to Governor James Douglas, No. 6, Downing Street, July 31, 1858. Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia, Part 1.
105 The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor James Douglas C.B. No. 49, Downing Street, April 11, 1859. Papers Relative to the Indian Land Question in British Columbia.
107 Ibid.
the Indians should be encouraged and fostered in their minds of adding to their possessions, and devoting their earnings to the purchase of property...they should in all respects be treated as rational beings, capable of acting and thinking for themselves; and lastly, that they should be placed under proper moral and religious training, and left, under the protection of the laws, to provide for their own maintenance and support.108

In this context, Duncan's plan for the Indians at Victoria, was well adapted to achieving the goals of Douglas and the Colonial Office. Indeed, as Douglas and Duncan spent many hours together discussing Indian affairs in that summer of 1860, it is likely that Douglas's ideas were more influential in the formation of the policy than might at first appear. Such a possibility is of greater interest in view of the fact that this plan of 1860 contained the germ of many of the ideas and policies that were later to be incorporated into the community established by Duncan at Metlakatla.

It had been Duncan's intention and the Governor's desire, that Duncan should remain in Victoria to administer the new Indian policy. However, after the sudden arrival of the Reverend L.S. Tugwell and his wife, the C.M.S. agents who were to take charge of the Fort Simpson mission, Duncan felt he should return with them to the north to introduce them to their new post. While on a brief journey up the Nass to inform the Indians of the new policy in effect in Victoria, he received a letter from the Reverend A.C. Garrett, a new arrival in Victoria, offering to take over the

108 Ibid.
work among the Indians there, a suggestion which Duncan accepted. 109

The summer of 1860 saw an important step in the clarifying and defining of Duncan's policy for the northwest coast Indians. Unfortunately, the plan for Victoria was never carried out, even though a Committee for the Improvement of the Indians was formed by several prominent people, to raise the necessary funds. Returning to Victoria the following year, Duncan was sorry to see that the Governor has failed to do what he promised to the Indians last summer in the way of organizing them. I am told the reason is because I left Victoria. Sad it is that there is nobody dare carry out the Governors' wishes with the Indians there, and therefore the Indians will be able to lay a great charge of inconsistency against the Governor. 110

Duncan's decision to remain with the Tsimshian led him seriously to consider his future plans for the native Christians. His visit to Victoria had revealed to him the strength of the external threat to his work. The degradation of the Tsimshian, however, was not confined to the area around Victoria. In the winter, most Indians returned north to Fort Simpson, bringing increasing amounts of liquor and disease to the rest of their people. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the missionaries saw that the social conditions in the Indian camp were deteriorating rapidly. From 1860 most of the Indians took their furs to Victoria where it was easier to obtain rum and tobacco. By 1861, they were demanding what seemed to be exorbitant prices for their marten at Fort Simpson, and any respect or fear

109 WD/C2158 Notebook of Mission History.
110 WD/C2155 Journal, May 27, 1861.
of the Company seemed to have disappeared. Hamilton Moffatt, the Chief Trader, complained to Victoria.

I am sorry to say that we have been exceedingly annoyed by the Indians up to the time of their going to the fishery. I have been fired at 4 times, and our canoe as she was returning from the Rafting received a shot from Lagaic [sic] the head chief, which fortunately did no damage. 700 pickets have been torn down and stolen besides other little injuries to [sic] numerous to mention. All this as they themselves acknowledge has been done from spite as they say they cannot now obtain Rum and Tobacco for nothing. If something is not done to stop these annoyances there will soon be no living here.\footnote{PABC H. Moffatt Letter Book, H. Moffatt to the Board of Management, the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, Fort Simpson, April 9, 1861.}

The Reverend L.S. Tugwell was also struck by the rampant hostility among the Tsimshian. During the winter of 1861 there was open fighting between two particular tribes, and though Duncan had attempted to establish peace, he had met with no success.\footnote{CMS/A105 Journal of the Reverend L.S. Tugwell, December 13, 1860.} The school was very thinly attended that winter. There were demonstrations against Duncan's work and at least one attempt on his life by Loocoal, a medicine man. Duncan himself later acknowledged that his decision to move to Metlakatla was hastened by the warring attitude between the camps of the various tribes at Fort Simpson.\footnote{WD/C2158 Notebook of Mission History, n.d.}

H.G. Barnett has attributed Duncan's success with the Tsimshian as partly due to the conditions existing among the Indians in 1857, which he portrays as
personal dissatisfaction; the family feuds and friction, the almost complete breakdown of social order resulting from indiscriminate contacts with the whites and their patterns, the inroads of brute force, disease, sceptism and emotional insecurity. 114

There seems to be little evidence to support this interpretation of the Tsimshian in either the missionaries' or the traders' papers. Before 1857, contact with Whites was on a regular, ordered basis. The Tsimshian appeared to be in control of their own society and were coping remarkably well with the effects of the guns, liquor and disease introduced by European civilisation. Their reaction to a missionary who denied the bases of their society was not that of a disoriented people. The Tsimshian neither capitulated entirely to Duncan's ideas, nor did they make any hysterical attacks on the missionary, as a last defence of their old, disintegrating values, either of which might be the expected responses of a society such as Barnett described. The Tsimshian were curious about Duncan's ideas, as they were about many European ways. They were prepared to learn the reading, writing, English and religion that he taught, but only a few individuals before 1860 were prepared to attach themselves publicly to Christianity.

Barnett's description is much more appropriate when applied to Tsimshian society at Fort Simpson after the gold rush, particularly during the winter of 1861. Although the gold rush did not begin in earnest until after 1858, gold seekers had been active in Tsimshian territory, particularly up the Skeena, on several occasions since 1851. Indians from

the Queen Charlottes certainly knew the value of the metal, and it is likely that the Tsimshian who were employed by the miners also were aware of its importance.

Even before Victoria became the boom town of 1858, it attracted thousands of Indians every year. In January 1857, many canoes left Fort Simpson carrying a large number of women who intended to prostitute themselves. With the money earned in Victoria, they bought liquor in the United States, and returned to Fort Simpson either to consume it, or to trade it with other Indians. The scene at Fort Simpson on the return of these canoes was recorded in the post journals.

Nearly every Indian in camp drunk, say about "500". Men Women and Children. God only knows how all this Rum work will end. The Americans are the sole cause of it as our Indians obtained all the Rum from Washington Territory. Anything for the Eternal dollar.

To a European observer, the Indians may at this time have appeared to be a totally disorganised society. It might be attractive too, in analysing the work of a reformer, to see the society he dealt with as in a state of anomie. The reformer’s role as a leader of the blind, as a man giving direction and purpose to a disoriented people would then be perfectly clear and comprehensible. But this would not be an accurate description of Tsimshian society at that time.

The elements of social breakdown themselves, the growing violence, prostitution, and above all the insatiable demand for liquor, were not new to the Tsimshian. But the scale on which they were present after the
gold rush meant that this was no longer an Indian dominated society, where Indian solutions for social problems were still viable. When only one or two canoes went to Victoria each year, a traditional society could still exist at Fort Simpson, and largely maintain the old norms and ways of life. But when almost the entire population migrated to Victoria as they did in 1860, the norms became those of the drunken, hostile Indian camps that had so appalled Duncan at Victoria. It was this way of living that was now being transferred to Fort Simpson, and which disturbed both the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company. Many of the Tsimshian realised the depths to which they were sinking, but recognised too, that they could no longer control themselves or their society, as they had in the past. In such a situation, the role of the missionary, who offered a different way of life, provided a set of guidelines, and promised happiness and prosperity was greatly magnified.

Duncan could see little future in his remaining at Fort Simpson. Economically the Indians no longer needed the fort, as they tended now to take their furs to Victoria. They were also able to trade with the free traders in the schooners, who were becoming more familiar sights along the coast, after an absence of forty years. As early as 1860, Duncan pointed this out to the C.M.S.

Other facilities for trading are opening up. A schooner, not the Company's, is at this moment in the harbour doing a famous trade with the Indians. Indeed I may assure the Committee that the importance of Fort Simpson as a central trading post is gone. Very few Indians from other places come here now as they used to and fewer and fewer will continue to do so. 116

116 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S. Fort Simpson, October 25, 1860.
By 1861, Duncan was convinced that the fort might be abandoned by the Company "because the fur trade with the Indians has nearly passed out of their hands." He was also becoming increasingly fearful that the gold rush might directly affect Fort Simpson, for gold had previously been found nearby in the Queen Charlottes and on the Skeena. "Next winter we expect Fort Simpson to be deluged with profligate miners, and having nothing else to do will spend their time in the grossest immoralities - so that if I do not go, I may have to witness much of my work overthrown, especially among the young."

With the arrival of Tugwell and his wife at Fort Simpson in 1860, the Hudson's Bay Company decided it no longer had any responsibility for supporting missionary work. In an interview with the Company officials in Victoria, Duncan reported that,

I was given to understand that there being now three of us, we were not to expect the same favours which had been kindly extended to us alone, and that would not be agreeable to them for us to occupy very long their quarters in the Fort. They reminded me that when the Government of the Country was in their hands, of course it was right they should do something for the benefit of the natives, but now as they are only merchants, that obligation had ceased.

Now that the missionaries were to live outside the fort, the whole question of a mission building programme and concomitantly, the future plans of the mission itself were brought into sharper focus, and the disadvantages of remaining at Fort Simpson became even clearer.

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117 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S. Victoria, May 14, 1861.
118 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S. Fort Simpson, April 28, 1862.
119 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S. Fort Simpson, October 25, 1860.
Duncan felt there was little room for the kind of programme he wanted to introduce among the Indians. "This place Fort Simpson won't do. There is no land to cultivate without very much expense...All this beach is occupied. There is no room to introduce any measures for their social improvement." The necessity of keeping the Indians from the destructive influences of Victoria had become a matter of vital concern for the future of the mission. Duncan felt work must be found for them at their own homes, and he hoped to be able to introduce some industrial pursuits which would provide employment for the Indians. Without this, the children who left his school "may be able to read and write,...yet still are obliged to go back to the Indian mode of getting a living, and thus they are little better off than the Indians who have had no such education." Employment at Fort Simpson would preserve the Tsimshian physically, for death was the fate of so many at Victoria. But the introduction of industrial arts was a basic part of a mission which saw Christianity and nineteenth century, protestant, English civilisation as inseparable, and would inevitably have been a basic part of Duncan's work.

Thus by 1862, Duncan had many pragmatic reasons for deciding to move away from Fort Simpson and to establish a new, model, self-supporting village for those Indians who wished to follow his way. Yet, this was by no means a novel idea. The 1840's and 1850's, the decades when Duncan matured, was an age of models, when reformers devised such ideal towns as

120 WD/C2155 Journal, September 24, 1860.
121 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S. Victoria, May 14, 1861.
Saltaire, or like the Prince Consort at the Great Exhibition, designed model dwellings for the working classes. The activities of the Moravians and the Church of England Self Supporting Village Society are evidence too that others had considered the idea of a self-supporting religious community as an ideal form of society. The C.M.S. had established self-supporting villages for converts in Africa, India and New Zealand, while Fowell Buxton and David Livingstone had advocated the establishment of Christian villages in Africa as cells of civilisation, spreading the light

122 One of the most spectacular model towns was the industrial settlement at Saltaire, fifty miles from Duncan's home in Beverley. Titus Salt, a former mayor of Bradford, a woollen manufacturer, and himself a hero of self-help, alarmed by a cholera outbreak in Bradford, began in 1851 to build a model manufacturing town for his workers. Residential and industrial areas were separate, and schools, shops and a literary institute were established. The mill itself, a huge structure with unusually large windows for light and ventilation, was a model of industrial architecture.

123 The Moravian Brethren had established several community settlements in England which lasted into the nineteenth century. Before admittance to the community, the individual signed a brotherly agreement, declaring willingness to abide by the rules and discipline of the community. A council of elders attempted to maintain a unity in secular and religious matters.

124 John Minter Morgan was impressed by the Moravian communities and in the 1840's began to advocate a similar scheme for self-supporting villages under the auspices of the established church. The Church of England Self Supporting Village Society aimed at those "benefits resulting in the Moravian settlements from a more intimate connection between secular and religious affairs." The community as a whole was intended to be a practical demonstration of Christian brotherhood and unity "wherein each labouring for all, the exertions of each will receive their due and proper reward - wherein the weak shall be aided and supported by the strong."

to the heathen villages of the area. Similarly on the northwest coast, Duncan saw it as desirable to

place our example of order and industry in the shape of a Model Indian Village before the numerous Indian Tribes around here, shewing them the proper road to improvement, wealth and happiness.125

At first glance it perhaps seems incredible that after only four years among the Tsimshian, this small, young, English missionary was able to take a sizeable number of Indians away from their homes and establish a new Christian settlement. On close examination, however, there are several significant reasons for the success of Duncan's plan.

Most important perhaps was the social condition of the Tsimshian after the gold rush. Some of the Indians, conscious of their misery were prepared to give more attention to a missionary who promised wealth and happiness. Duncan was offering them a set of rules to follow and the promise of eternal life if they followed him, and this was no doubt attractive to a disoriented people. Perhaps also the Tsimshian, associating their present conditions with the environment at Fort Simpson, believed that migration from there would alleviate their problems. Such had been the reaction of the Maoris of the Bay of Islands when faced with a similar situation.

As a result of the sudden sickness and death, the constant threats of war, and the dawning realization of their inability to regulate their own lives, many of the Ngaputi around

125 PABC F395/28 W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Fort Simpson, April 24, 1862.
the Bay of Islands in the late 1820's were ready to admit their increasing bewilderment...One reaction was the temptation to run away. Some expressed the desire to emigrate to a distant island where they could live peacefully. 126

The way in which Duncan presented his idea to the Tsimshian was well calculated to achieving his goals. Venn had advised the missionaries to "avoid putting yourself before the people as a leader; rather stand behind them as a prompter and counsellor. Prompting to self-action is more important than inducing men to follow a leader." 127 Similarly, Duncan prompted the Tsimshian, rather than made decisions for them, and spent many hours listening to their ideas about the location and future of the new village.

The idea of a model settlement was first presented to the Tsimshian in the summer of 1859. When an old chief and his son complained about the drunkenness in the camp, Duncan hinted to them about "the probability of some day dividing them. The Good going away to some good land and establishing a village for themselves where they could be free from the drunkenness and the bad ways." 128 This new village became a topic of discussion for the Tsimshian for the next two years, and this was certainly a deliberate policy on the part of Duncan. In 1861 he noted in his journal that he had decided to delay the move to the new village for yet another winter, "as I do wish to get the regulation of the new place well thought over and understood by the Indians before starting." 129 Duncan's patience,

127 CMI 1860, p. 90.
128 WD/C2154 Journal, June 2, 1859.
129 WD/C2155 Journal, September 9, 1861.
his forethought and his ability to involve the Tsimshian themselves in the decisions that would fashion their future, were important factors in his success in gaining Indian adherents for his new venture.

The location of the model village was itself suggested by the Indians.

Had several Indians here as I have every day to talk about our going to start a New Village. They all universally recommended the site of the old village about 15 miles from here. It is pleasing to hear their talk about the old home.\(^{130}\)

Duncan accepted their suggestion, being favourably impressed by the physical beauty of Metlakatla and the advantages it offered for the establishment of industries. This was an important decision, for it meant that the Tsimshian were now not only discussing the ideas presented by Duncan, but were actively initiating proposals for the new village.

To the Indians, though many who followed Duncan had been born at Fort Simpson, their old home would be associated in their minds with a pre-contact situation, a place where they had been able to control their own lives and where their families had been comparatively happy. Duncan noted that "many of the Indians have expressed a desire to return to their former home and there begin on a better footing a new history...May God grant this their desire."\(^{131}\)

From Duncan's point of view, and to some extent from the Indian point of view, the migration to Metlakatla was a radical move. Yet the choice of the ancestral home of the Tsimshian as the new site, indicates that

\(^{130}\) WD/C2155 Journal, September 20, 1860.

\(^{131}\) WD/C2154 Journal, May 2, 1860.
internally at least, the Indians harboured strong conservative motives for their decision to follow Duncan. It should be noted too, that the west coast Indians were a highly mobile people and that the Tsimshian had already relocated themselves once from Metlakatla to Fort Simpson. They had become accustomed to moving from their fishing camps to Victoria to Fort Simpson. Their removal from the fort to Metlakatla need not necessarily be considered as disrupting an experience as it might have been for a more stationary people.

In May 1862, a small group of canoes carrying a band of fifty Tsimshian left Fort Simpson to establish a new settlement at Metlakatla. The Intelligencer reporting the news to Victorian England, told of Duncan's aim to build "a model Christian village reflecting light and radiating heat to all the spiritually dark and dead masses of humanity around us."132

132 CMI 1862, Recent Intelligence, n.p.
CHAPTER IV

THE METLAKATLA SYSTEM

I am of Metlakahtla
I wish all to know
Sweet is the sound
Of my village name
Wherever I go
A Home so sweet as mine
I cannot find.

Good roads are spread
For the peoples' use
The Guest-house stands well
For our new brethren to lodge in
Wherever I go
A Home so sweet as mine
I cannot find.¹

Metlakatla was to be the city on the hill, the utopia in the wilderness, the refuge for the panic-stricken and disoriented Indian population, the model for all the coastal tribes, and the practical demonstration to the White settlers of British Columbia that Indians could be Christianised and civilised. For the essence of the Metlakatla experiment was the founding of a physical and social environment where Victorian societal and religious ideals were relevant and would flourish.

¹ WD/C2159 Notebook, n.d., English version of the Metlakatla Village Song.
Fort Simpson had long exhibited to the Indians civilisation without the Gospel, with, in Duncan's view, none too salutary effects. To those who argued that the Indian must be civilised before he could become Christian, and that the best way to civilise him was to let him live in close proximity to White society, Duncan presented his experiences of Fort Simpson where civilisation had shaped the exterior, but where ungodliness seemed to be the rule within.

I think this instance alone to the contrary is sufficient to explode such an absurdity. No, civilisation apart from Christianity has no vitality - how then can it impart life? It is the fuel without the fire, how then can it radiate heat? Civilisation appeals to the eye and to the hand, but not to the heart. It may move the muscles but it cannot reach the hidden springs of life.

Metlakatla was to be a truly Victorian idealised community, where civilisation and Christianity would be inextricably entwined.

Duncan's idea of civilisation was one shared by many Victorian missionaries, and in its largest sense encompassed all that he found desirable in his own cultural background. This ethnocentric idea had a basic religious orientation but also demanded an unquestioned faith in progress, a progress measured by material production. Commerce and the ethical principles of free trade were integral aspects of this idea of civilisation. Education, at once a means of achieving a civilised society, was also itself part of the civilising fabric, opening the minds and enlarging the horizons of the citizens. A civilised community also

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2 WD/C2154 February, 1858, *First Report from Fort Simpson.*
demanded obedience to constituted authority and an acknowledged presence of law as Europeans understood it. A C.M.S. missionary to the Maoris expressing these ideas in a simplified version in 1861 noted that

there are four great agencies in the work of civilization, - the Bible, supplying the principle and motive power; the Government, embodying that principle in the form of law; the Minister and Schoolmaster, inculcating both, and forming the opening mind into accordance with them.

Duncan had high expectations that the individuals within this social and cultural environment would resemble his ideal of the Victorian working-man. The basic religious orientation of the Victorian missionaries' idea of civilisation, necessitated that the individual conform to European concepts of honesty, truthfulness, and duty. The emphasis on progress in civilisation, as marked by material production and personal acquisition, meant that the ideal civilised individual must be imbued with the notions of the importance of work and the necessity for thrift. The principles of Samuel Smiles which had guided Duncan's generation of Victorians, were now to be applied to the problems of the regeneration of the Tsimshian Indians at Metlakatla.

Before the departure from Fort Simpson, Duncan had made known to the Indians the pattern of life that would be constructed at the new settlement. Those who wished to start a new life at Metlakatla were required to accede to these very strict and specific guidelines that were laid out as the first laws of the village. Forbidden to the future

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3 CMT 1862, p. 68.
Metlakatlans were "the Demoniacal Rites called Ahlied or Medicine Work; Conjuring and all the heathen practices over the sick; Use of intoxicating liquor; Gambling; Painting Faces; Giving away property for display; and tearing up property in anger or to wipe out disgrace." In addition the settlers were required to observe the Sabbath strictly and to attend divine services. All children must attend school. All settlers were to undertake to build neat houses and to cultivate gardens. Taxes of one blanket, or two and a half dollars, were to be demanded of each adult male, while all residents were to endeavour to be "cleanly in habits... to be industrious... peaceful and orderly... and... to be honest and upright in dealing with each other and Indians of other tribes." The evils of White society such as liquor, were to be unavailable at Metlakatla. But this was no return to a traditional Tsimshian life, for the basic institutional structure of Tsimshian society contained in the potlatch was to be destroyed. In its stead were to be constructed the moral and social institutions of a small, pious, Victorian village.

Duncan justified the strictness with which he adhered to these laws as affording some evidence of sincerity in those who were enabled to join him. Nor did he attempt to solicit settlers for Metlakatla. For "I wanted none but honest volunteers; I used no persuasion, nor so much as asked one person to join us; - a rule from which I have never varied."  

4 WD/C2158 Notebook, Laws of Metlakatla, October 15, 1862.  
5 Ibid.  
6 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Black Series, R.G. 10, 111 B, vol. 51, File 2959, (hereafter referred to as C/DIA/BS/RG 10/111 B/51), W. Duncan to the Honourable David Laird, Ottawa, May 21, 1878.
No mass exodus was anticipated, and Duncan was not dismayed when "some fifty souls were all whom faith and courage proved equal to the occasion of actually moving."7 Duncan's plan for Metlakatla was one of slow, cautious expansion from the original core of early converts, by the personal, individual accession of new catechumens.

The smallpox epidemic of 1862 which in two years decimated approximately one-third of the native people of British Columbia, profoundly altered the character of the nascent settlement. Alarmed by an extensive outbreak of the disease in Victoria, the reaction of the local inhabitants, which Duncan had feared and anticipated in 1860, was to drive the natives from the area. Their camps burned by the Victoria authorities, the Indians "started up the coast for home, taking the disease with them, leaving the infection at every place they touched. The epidemic spread like a forest fire up the coast and into the interior;..."8 The effect on Indian society was cataclysmic, "depleting the population and introducing disorder, consternation and uncertainty."9 Apart from its obvious disrupting effects on social and cultural institutions such as familial and tribal life, the epidemic caused the Indian almost totally to lose faith in his own powers and indeed closely to approach a state of anomie.

News of the epidemic had reached Fort Simpson before Duncan left for Metlakatla. The impact of the disease was not, however, felt for several weeks after the new village was established. Now, instead of the small

7 Ibid.
8 Duff, 427.
9 Barnett, Personal Conflicts, 170.
stream of faithful converts that had been expected at Metlakatla, Duncan was faced with several groups of panic-filled Indians, who, finding no solution for their distress, were prepared to submit to the will of this missionary.

By June 6, 1862, the Gitlan tribe with two of their chiefs had settled at Metlakatla, and in the following month another small tribe, with whom Duncan had had little previous contact, also agreed to abide by the laws of Metlakatla and asked to be admitted as settlers. Duncan had no illusions about their decision.

Smallpox had struck and they were too afraid to stay with the sick or bury the dead. They desired me to undertake for them. They would not oppose my will. One of the chief speakers said - we have fallen down and have no breath to answer you - do your will.

Thus Duncan was thrown unexpectedly and immediately into a situation where he had to deal with large numbers of Indians of different and hostile tribes; disoriented, dejected and frightened people who knew little of

10 The smallpox epidemic may not have been the major cause of the Gitlan removal, although it undoubtedly had some effect on their decision. Duncan noted that "this is the tribe that has long talked of flitting with me, and they have certainly very promptly taken the step." (WD/C2155 Journal, June 6, 1862.) Barnett, however, maintains that the Gitlan tribe were being shamed for not having revenged several murders by the Gitlutsau. Their prestige was declining, and after having installed a new chief with great ceremony, they planned a whisky feast for the Gitlutsau, intending to revenge themselves by killing at least one of their chiefs. In the ensuing battle, the Gitlan chief was wounded, and allowed his people to take him to Metlakatla, where he was converted and asked for reconciliation with the Gitlutsau. (Barnett, Personal Conflicts, 167.) There is, however, no account of this feast which presumably took place at Fort Simpson, in either Duncan's or the Hudson's Bay Company records, and it is unclear on what information Barnett is basing his argument.

11 WD/C2155 Journal, July 6, 1862.
Christianity or the purpose of Metlakatla, but who saw in Duncan a man of determination and strength, who might make for them a coherent existence.

Duncan's utopia at Metlakatla, British Columbia, was to last from 1862 to 1887. Most of his basic assumptions about the Indians, and about his conception of his role, were evident in the work at Fort Simpson, and many of his techniques and approaches were developed there. Duncan came to Metlakatla with certain fixed goals and principles, to which he remained inflexibly committed. Yet his means of achieving these ideals were eminently flexible. Metlakatla remained a Christian, Indian, industrial village, but it was never a static society. Indeed, progress was inherent in its ideology. To fulfil this Gospel of progress for the surrounding heathens, visual evidence of change was constantly provided in the growing affluence of the Metlakatlans and in the developing morphology of their village.

As a model, industrial, Christian, Indian village, Metlakatla was unique in the history of British Columbian, and indeed, Canadian missionary work. Yet it was not the product of a brilliant original mind, but was the application to a particular aboriginal group, of the ideas and the theories inherent in much of Victorian reform and particularly in the policies of the Church Missionary Society. It has been noted before, and must be emphasised again, that Duncan was not an innovator of ideas, nor was he a social theorist. He was essentially a practical man, but one sensitive to the needs, desires and abilities of the Tsimshian Indians.
Duncan, as an Evangelical, firmly believed in the unity of the human family, and in the innate ability of aborigines to achieve the standards of White civilisation. To him the Tsimshian were "the long slumbering offspring of Adam," who lacked only the inspiration of the Gospel of Christ and the guidance of a capable and energetic missionary to take their place among the civilised nations of the world. Such a missionary, he believed, must aim at doing good to the bodies as well as the souls of his people and must concern himself with whatever concerns them. Christianity without civilisation was inconceivable to the Victorians. Duncan never saw his role as merely a preacher - schoolmaster to the Tsimshian, but from the beginning laboured to change many of the temporal and secular ways of his converts. Reverend Edward Cridge, writing in support of Duncan's work argued that

surely the building of a house, the giving to a needy member of the flock a coat or a bag of flour in exchange for a skin, is as much a work of piety and the genuine fruit of the gospel... as the coats and garments which Dorcas made. Thus the blessing of God seems specially to rest on those who, after the example of the Saviour are willing to say themselves that His members may be corrupted both in body and soul.

From the beginning, Venn encouraged his missionaries to seek opportunities for increasing the productivity and wealth of native Christians, and Duncan in his first report from Fort Simpson had noted that there was no likelihood of his doing this while the Indians remained

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12 CMS/A105 February, 1858, First Report.
14 CMS/A105 E. Cridge to the C.M.S., Metlakatla, September 27, 1867.
at the fort. But at Metlakatla this would be possible. This hope was indeed one of the major reasons for the establishment of the new village.

Following Venn's policy, Duncan's objects for the industries at Metlakatla were

to improve the temporal circumstances of the settlers in order that they may be able to meet the increased expenditure entailed upon them by their advancement in habits of civilized life; and secondly to make, and leave the Mission, that is the Church and school, self-supporting.  

A native Christian, according to Duncan and the Church Missionary Society, needed to clothe and house himself in a 'civilised' manner, and this necessitated that he possess more cash than his heathen counterpart. He must be able, too, to support with money or produce, the church, schools, teachers and pastors of the nascent Native Church. For the missionary to call for "an increased outlay in their expenses without augmenting their income," would be inconsistent and not conducive to the success of his mission.

Most immediately, however, the purpose of industrial activity at Metlakatla was to provide an alternative source of money for Indians who had long been accustomed to journeying to Victoria. Disease and death were now the results of such visits, and Duncan saw that the Indians must be prevented from making their annual visits to the south in order to survive. Indeed, Duncan felt it was vital for the peaceful future of British Columbia that he be enabled to keep the Indians attracted to

15 PABC/P498/24 W. Duncan to A. Musgrave, Victoria, December 16, 1870.
16 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to the Minister of the Interior, n.pl., May, 1875.
Metlakatla. Otherwise they would rush in hordes to the settlements of the Whites "and thus become more and more demoralized - victims to every low vice, and clogs to civilization and the progress of the colony." Ideally, Duncan hoped to eliminate most contact between Whites and Metlakatlans, especially with the coastal traders who supplied liquor to the northern Indians, and with the gold miners, who periodically were active in the Skeena and Nass region. Particularly during the 1860's and 1870's, Duncan attempted to keep his Indians away from the colony's labour market, where the temptations were "too fascinating for the Indian in his present morally infantile condition to withstand."

The problem of finding employment for the growing population of Metlakatla was one which continually occupied Duncan. In the early days of the settlement, the heathen taunted the Metlakatlans with their poverty and boasted of the profits they had made in Victoria. If Duncan's experiment was to succeed, Metlakatla must be able to demonstrate its superiority visually to the heathen, and it certainly could not serve as a model to the surrounding Indians if they were contemptuous of its results. In later years, the very success of the Metlakatla industries was a spur to their extension. As the converts gained some experience in White civilisation, their desire for more luxuries increased, as did their willingness to satisfy these desires by seeking work outside Metlakatla at the gold mines of Cassiar or in the salmon canneries that were established on the Skeena. The growing economic development and settlement of British

17 PABC/F498/5 W. Duncan to W.A.G. Young, Metlakatla, June 10, 1863.
18 PABC/F498/4 W. Duncan to Sir James Douglas, Metlakatla, March 6, 1863.
Columbia in this period, and the attraction of employment in the new industries for his civilised Indians, was a continual challenge to Duncan's ingenuity and authority.

The first economic activity undertaken at Metlakatla was the opening of a store. This store was not part of his pre-meditated plan for Metlakatla, but appears to have been a pragmatic, ad hoc solution to the problem of supplying the settlement with goods previously available from the Hudson's Bay Company. This was certainly a fortuitous decision, for the profits from the store were to provide the financial basis for the future physical development of the village. Duncan was thus "in an unforeseen and remarkable way... led into a position in which he... could... turn to the Glory of God, his remarkable mercantile talent." 19

The Metlakatla store was at first organised in much the same way as a Hudson's Bay Company post. Duncan himself was the factor, receiving furs, establishing prices and ordering saleable stock. The missionary, however, was anxious for the Indians to become more actively involved in the operations so that eventually they would be able to assume independent control of the store. By the mid-1860's some of the business was in effect contracted out to Legaic 20 and several of the young men. Just as Duncan was using his own mercantile talent, so were these Tsimshian now enabled to continue their traditional role of traders to the interior tribes of northern British Columbia.

19 CMS/A80 R. Tomlinson to Archdeacon H. Woods, Kincolith, October 31, 1871.
20 Legaic was the head chief of the Tsimshian at Fort Simpson, who came to Metlakatla with his wife in 1863.
For many years Duncan employed as store clerk, an ex-servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, William Rudland, now married to a Metlakatla woman. Later, David Leask, a half-breed, and one of Duncan's earliest pupils at Fort Simpson, assumed command of the daily operations of the store. In 1884, there was some attempt to form a co-operative trading company, but although there was a change in ownership, the management and effective control always remained in Duncan's hands.

The establishment of a store at Metlakatla in the hands of a competent trader was not welcomed by the Hudson's Bay Company, either at Fort Simpson or at Victoria. As early as 1863, Hamilton Moffatt, then factor at Fort Simpson, noted that "Mr. Duncan is doing a great deal of harm and I fear his opposition more than the schooners, in fact if he continues the trade much longer I see no alternative for us but to close up our shop." Bishop Bompas estimated in 1878 that Duncan's store had "swallowed up fully half of the Company's business on this coast." The Metlakatla store was deliberately competitive with the Hudson's Bay Company. Its prices were more favourable to the Indian and it was stocked with goods at lower prices. Duncan's aim was not only to keep the Metlakatla Indians from visiting the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, but to attract the surrounding Indians, particularly the Haidas from the Queen Charlotte Islands, and in this he was notably successful.

In order to lower his prices and to make his Indians independent of White traders, Duncan resolved to try to maintain control of the

22 CMS/A106 Bishop W.C. Bompas to C.M.S., Metlakatla, January 29, 1878.
Metlakatla - Victoria trade. With the aid of a loan from the Colonial government of British Columbia, and by selling shares to the Indians, Duncan was able in 1864 to form a company to purchase a schooner. His goal was to have this ship, the Carolina, manned by Indians, but this plan was never fully achieved. After a service of five years, the Carolina was sold and the government loan repaid.

The schooner, however, did enable the village to achieve a great measure of independence from the Hudson's Bay Company. In Victoria, opposition to Duncan's store increased. Perhaps tired by the burden of work involved in the management of the store and schooner, Duncan then proposed that the Hudson's Bay Company take over the Metlakatla store under certain conditions laid down by himself. The factor was to be lawfully married, and was to mark and charge fair prices of not more than forty per cent on the wholesale Victoria price. No red paint or other articles of heathenism were to be offered for sale, and the Company, in fact, was to sell only articles, such as windows or locks "tending to the improvement of the Indian." The Company was to buy the mission schooner. In addition it had to undertake to permit no drunken or disorderly conduct on ships trading with Metlakatla. The sabbath was to be strictly observed by Company servants and ships. Not unexpectedly, the Company refused to operate under such conditions. But these rules are an interesting indication that Duncan conceived of the store as far more than a simple economic institution.

23 Journal of Bishop George Hills, May 16, 1866.
As Professor Zaslow has pointed out, the Metlakatla store was an important agent of acculturation. Duncan insisted on quietness and courtesy in the store itself, and ensured that it stocked a supply of goods "necessary for the civilised life and tending to elevate the tastes and improve the appearance." The store goods by stimulating the acquisitiveness of the Indians ideally promoted work and thrift. The store procedures were designed to introduce to the native Christians "those principles of justice which ought to be the basis of all business transactions." Most important, the trade, utilising the local resources and the available skills of both Duncan and the Tsimshian, was unfailingly successful as a business venture, and continually provided the necessary funds for the physical and social development of the village.

Building was a continuous activity at Metlakatla as new settlers arrived and new industries were introduced. From 1862 to 1867, although some attempt was made to erect buildings with European style exteriors, the construction methods were limited by the available technology. In fact most of the buildings were similar to those the Tsimshian had built at Fort Simpson, and which had so impressed Duncan. By 1867 the Metlakatla store had made enough profit to enable Duncan to install sawmill equipment. The growing population of the village, the new possibilities opened up by the sawmill, and the increasing individual and corporate wealth of the settlement, led Duncan in 1871 to formulate a town plan.

24 WD/C2155 Journal, July 10, 1866.
25 The stock of the Metlakatla store included weathergauges, clocks, mirrors, pictures, a great variety of clothing, books, furniture, wallpaper, jewellery and perfume.
26 WD/C2144 W. Duncan to W.F. Tolmie, Metlakatla, May 9, 1866.
This aimed at not only improving the present situation of the village, but laid out a scheme for its future growth and development.

Housing was one of the most important single consideration in Duncan's civilising mission. From the first, he insisted that a uniform plan be adhered to by the Indians, for all were to appear to be equal at "God's village". Just as Prince Albert had designed model dwellings for the British workingman at the Great Exhibition, so did William Duncan design a model house for the Tsimshian Christians. Duncan would have liked to have seen the Indians living separately in nuclear families, in cottages similar to those he knew in England. The Tsimshian, however, were accustomed to living in large houses with one room serving an entire extended family, numbering between twenty and forty individuals. Had Duncan insisted on immediate division of the traditional household units, he would have risked unnecessary hostility from the Indians by forcing such a radical change in the basis of their social life. The large houses and communal living also played important functional roles in maintaining social control among the Tsimshian. It is unlikely that Duncan consciously attempted to preserve this function, but his model house design was fortuitously well adapted to maintaining a considerable amount of group cohesiveness.

Duncan's aim in planning Indian housing was "to combine the accommodation necessary for the Indian as a Christian, without offering impediment to his love of hospitality, or conflicting with his habits of life."\textsuperscript{27} The first model, in use until the 1870's, was a simple, forty-foot

\textsuperscript{27} CMI 1874, p. 149.
long house, with a bedroom at either end and a central communal room.

Reverend Edward Cridge, visiting Metlakatla in 1867, noted that though

the houses are after the European model and
the habits of the people proportionately
improved...they have not forsaken the habit
of living more than one family in a house, for
the sake of fuel and company, they are beginning
to build their houses with small apartments at
each end and a common room in the centre, and
thus to reconcile the difficulties of their
situation with a due regard to the decencies of life.28

The exteriors were finished with doors, glass windows and shingled roofs,
while the interiors were replete with matting, mirrors and easy chairs.

Duncan noted almost wistfully that he wanted to see "each house possessed
of a stove and have chairs and tables and a clock in it and also see the
walls papered and floors well matted."

After 1871 a more elaborate house design was introduced to the
Indians. Again, the housing was to be uniform to foster the ideal of
equality before Christ; and again the house design was adapted to the
social life of the Indians, although its exterior was even more
conspicuously European than the earlier design. A visitor to the village
in 1879 was particularly struck by the form of a Christian Indian dwelling.

Two houses, each having an upper storey are
erected, side by side with an interval of some
thirty feet between. Each of these houses
receives its particular family, the interval
between them being built over, one story in
height, thus connecting the intermediate

28 CMS/A105 A. Cridge to C.M.S., Metlakatla, September 27, 1867.
29 WD/C2155 Journal, November 17, 1863.
building, into which a door opens, and from both houses as well as from the front, forms a common room or hall of entrance, to which both families have access, and in which a large open fire is jointly maintained for the common benefit.  

The new housing was part of the second town plan for Metlakatla, which itself was designed to manifest progress to the outside world. With some satisfaction, Duncan confided to his diary that "the progress of the Tsimshian in civilisation under our guidance, goes a long way in impressing the Indians favourably with Protestant's Missions, in opposition to Romish, for in vain do they look for any social advancement among Indians where Romish missions are established." To the C.M.S., Duncan stressed the value of this ambitious building programme for his missionary work. "I look for much greater accessions yearly when our new village is built..."

Order and regularity were the main characteristics of Duncan's town plans, as they were for those of Titus Salt and Minter Morgan. Two hundred houses, each with its own garden, were to be accommodated in a series of regular streets set at right angles to the shore. A deep drain behind the village would carry off the waste to the sea. A sea wall was to offer protection to the settlement. Lamps donated by Admiral Prevost were placed along the main front road where Duncan had already planted poplar trees. Metlakatla, in fact, gradually took on some of the external appearance of an English village.

31 WD/C2155 Journal, August 18, 1863.
32 CMI 1873, p. 208.
The preponderance of large public buildings, however, distinguished the Indian utopia from an English settlement of similar size. On a slight elevation above the houses and mission buildings stood the magnificent Metlakatla Church built by the Indians in the early 1870's. This church, St. Paul's, had a seating capacity of well over one thousand, and was reputed at that time to be one of the largest churches west of Chicago and north of San Francisco.

The guest-house, built to accommodate visiting Indians trading at Metlakatla, served an important social function in the system established at Metlakatla. Previously the visitors had lodged in the Indians' houses, overcrowding them, adding a burden to the household resources, and most importantly, bringing heathen influences into the homes of Christians. Partly to prevent "the interference to domestic comfort and improvement arising to the villagers," and partly to ensure that visiting Indians could be easily assembled to hear the missionary's message, Duncan insisted that non-Metlakatlans must stay in the guest-house. A commodious building, with facilities for washing, the guest-house served its function well.

Other public buildings included a court-house, gaol and a large school-house. In 1881 construction of a town hall was begun. This building was "to be purely Indian as to architecture, and to be used for adult Sunday and night schools and for general assemblies." Mission facilities were gradually expanded. A new four-storied building was used

33 See the illustration of this church on page 350.
34 PABC/498/4 W. Duncan to Sir James Douglas, Metlakatla, March 6, 1863.
35 CMI 1881, p. 506.
for trade, a boarding-school was added to the missionary's house, and a public reading room and museum were established in a new wing of the mission.

The growth of industries at Metlakatla also necessitated an expanded building programme. The blacksmith's and carpenters' shops, the sawmill, the soap-house, general worksheds and salmon cannery all aimed at being models of industrial construction. Like the mills of Saltaire, they were large, well ventilated and well lit, and would have undoubtedly satisfied the standards of the Victorian industrial inspectors.

Although profits from the village store were Duncan's most constant and lucrative source of money, he did have access to some outside financial aid. As the fame of Metlakatla spread, contributions increased from friends of the mission in England and Victoria. In general, the Colonial governments gave no systematic assistance to any work among the aborigines of British Columbia. Sir James Douglas, however, took a personal interest in Duncan and the future of his mission. Besides authorising a loan to aid in the purchase of a mission schooner, he also provided £30 for window sashes, nails and seeds, £20 for a soap and clog manufactury, and £50 to provide uniforms for twenty native constables and to cover general police expenses. Governor Frederick Seymour, who was able to visit Metlakatla before his death, also made a grant in 1867 of over two hundred dollars to the settlement to cover the expenses of maintaining a post office, and the building of a gaol. When he was appointed a Justice of the

36 Contributions to the secular fund in 1873 included £582.9.8 from voluntary subscriptions in England, and £295, from New Westminster and Victoria.
Peace in 1863 Duncan was allowed to keep half of the fines he imposed for the benefit of Metlakatla. In dealing with liquor traders, heavy fines were usually imposed, and this became a valuable, if not steady source of money for the village.  

By the terms of Confederation in 1871, the Dominion of Canada assumed responsibility for the administration of native affairs. The Dominion government undertook the responsibility of providing a salary for the school-teacher later sent out by the Church Missionary Society, and made some attempt to provide basic medical supplies for the village. In 1875 the government gave a grant of $1,000 to Duncan to be expended on improvements at Metlakatla.

This money was not, however, divided among individuals nor was it used simply to provide houses for the Indians. For Duncan, committed to the inculcation of self-help ideas and the formation of sturdy, independent natives, it was unthinkable that presents be given to able-bodied men and women. In 1863, Duncan received from England a large gift of clothing for the Indians, but he insisted that "those who wished for anything which they saw, must work at the roads to obtain it," and made quite clear to the Metlakatlans that he disagreed "with giving absolutely to those who are able to work." This policy, he felt

excites them to industry and punishes the lazy, encourages the diligent, and leaves nobody able to grumble or be jealous...the clothing will materially help us to put the settlement straight -

37 In September 1868, fines at Metlakatla amounted to $525, of which half was allowed to remain in the village.
38 WD/C2155 Journal, January 1, 1863.
39 Ibid.
for we have built a great part of the village 
on unreclaimed ground and a good deal of labor 
is necessary to make a decent road.\textsuperscript{40}

Similarly, Duncan insisted that government grants not be given as 
presents to the Indians. The Metlakatlans should be required to work for 
all that they received, and though governments should be encouraged to 
aid Indian endeavour, aid should be in the form of payments for services 
rendered and not as a pure gift.

Government grants to Indians \textit{as to paupers}  
(the American fashion) is both a curse to the 
Indians as well as a constant irritation to the 
Government. The Indians are too proud and 
conceited (and in the North well-to-do) to be 
grateful for presents. They would look upon 
\textit{gifts} as bribes and hence become avaricious 
and insolent. Thus I do hope that the Government 
of this Colony will scout the idea and practice 
of giving anything to Indians for nothing - but 
rather watch for every laudable way of assisting 
them to rise when they are helping themselves or 
the Government.\textsuperscript{41}

This was the policy advocated by Henry Venn, and one adhered to by most 
C.M.S. agents at this time. Venn reminded the missionaries embarking for 
Sierra Leone and Abeokut in 1852 to "keep in mind the importance of 
introducing from the first, the principles of self-support."\textsuperscript{42}

And so at Metlakatla, as far as possible, Duncan gave money to the 
Indians only when they themselves were able to produce an equal amount 
for the particular project. The large church, and several of the public

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid. 
\textsuperscript{41} PABC/F498/13 W. Duncan to A.N. Birch, Metlakatla, February 15, 1867. 
\textsuperscript{42} CMI 1852, p. 20, H. Venn, \textit{Dismissal of Missionaries to Sierra Leone} 
\hspace{1em} and \hspace{1em} \textit{Abeokuta}.
buildings were financed in such a way. Duncan reported to the C.M.S. on the construction of the church. "I proposed (and they have agreed to the proposal) that they shall find money or labour for half the cost of the building while I with the funds contributed by friends in England and profits from the trade of the village-supply the other half of the cash."

On public projects such as wharf construction and road building the Indians were expected to supply their labour, while Duncan, in effect using public funds from the trade profits, paid out small amounts of cash or provided the day's supply of food. Although he was not averse to offering an incentive to the Indians, Duncan was determined that they should show some measure of effort and initiative. This policy was consistently adhered to and is most clearly demonstrated in 1875 in distributing the grant of the Dominion government.

The plan I adopted for disbursing the Grant was to allow each Indian builder of a house (if he built according to a certain model calculated to cost about $250) window sashes and nails etc. to the value of twenty five dollars, doled out to him in sums proportionate to the outlay he was prepared himself to make till his house was finished.

Duncan could only condone the practice of giving pure financial aid to the Indians if the project appeared to be a necessary part of their education in civilisation. In a draft letter to Governor Douglas, he observed that he had no intention of rendering any pecuniary aid to the Metlakatlans except to help them procure "such things which through ignorance or

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43 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., February 3, 1870.
inexperience they despise, but which are essential to their well being
and prosperity."\textsuperscript{45}

Visitors to Metlakatla, passed through the Venn channel, and were
immediately impressed by the physical aspects of the settlement. On closer
inspection, the industrial activity of this village of Tsimshian held an
even greater fascination. Duncan had two major aims in establishing
industries at Metlakatla. First he needed to find employment to keep the
Indians from Victoria, and this was the motive he constantly presented to
the C.M.S. and to the Colonial and Dominion governments. It was the most
readily apparent goal and the one most easily comprehensible to his friends
and supporters in England and Victoria. Secondly he needed to produce the
individual attachment to the internal values of work and independent labour
that the Victorians considered to be essential to Christian civilisation.
Furthermore, the native Christians needed to be able to support
independently the future institutions of a native church. Duncan was
convinced that the missionary should concern himself with such apparently
temporal affairs. "For should the day come when the Indians must turn
their backs on the Mission House and resort to traders for sympathy and
help in their temporal concerns, from that day I feel sure their spiritual
interests will suffer, and decay in their religious life commence."\textsuperscript{46}

Several of the industries at Metlakatla were established for
primarily social reasons. By 1867, after many trials and errors, Duncan
succeeded in making soap. Cleanliness was demanded of civilised Indians,

\textsuperscript{45} WD/C2155 Journal, March 23, 1863.
\textsuperscript{46} CMS/A106 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 7, 1879.
and it was thus desirable that soap be readily available at reasonable prices. "I trust I may be able to turn our success to good account for the welfare of the village and people," Duncan noted in his journal.

In 1881 the village was able to purchase additional machinery for the sawmill, and as the native carpenters gained greater skill they were able to produce furniture and other luxuries suitable for the houses of native Christians. Weaving of goats' hair was undertaken partly with the intention of eventually marketing the finished blankets, but also partly to advance the industrial education of the Metlakatla women. Duncan advised the C.M.S. that "the weaving business, though still only carried on as a school, is advancing very nicely. The young women are delighted with the industry, and the production of our looms (shawls, cloth and blankets) has already created a thrill among the Indians." An elementary blacksmith's shop, producing Indian made iron manufactures, and the beginning of a brick manufactory, both aimed at improvement of the village.

Other industrial activities were aimed primarily at economic profit so that the money would be available to purchase the necessary elements for a civilised life. The fur trade and the dressing of the skins were by far the most lucrative of the industries. The sawmill was largely for supplying the needs of Metlakatla. It employed a large number of people both in the mill itself and in lumbering activities in the bush. In 1879, the Indian Superintendent reported that the village sawmill

47 WD/C2155 Journal, April 1, 1867.
is very complete and managed by two native sawyers under Mr. Duncan's direction. All the lumber used in the village is sawn here, and as I was informed by Mr. Duncan, sold to resident Indians at the bare cost of manufacture. The logs are cut up and brought to the mill by Indians who generally receive their pay in lumber or other goods.  

At times the Metlakatla mill was able to produce enough of a surplus to provide sawn lumber for Kincolith and on at least one occasion, a load of lumber valued at sixty dollars, was sold to an American firm at Tongas for construction purposes.

Furs, lumber and fish were the major resources of the region. Whether Duncan was consciously following Venn's dictum of adapting to local ways, or whether his was merely a pragmatic response to the particular environment with which he was faced, is not entirely clear. Furs and lumber had already been fully exploited when Duncan turned in 1875 to the utilisation of the abundant supply of fish. The oolachan, which the Metlakatla Indians in particular were accustomed to harvesting in vast quantities in the early spring, were important for their grease which provided food, heat and light. Four years earlier, Duncan had shown the Indians how to use a steam boiler and pipes to extract the oolachan oil for the traditional method of the women "was so destructive to health and

50 Kincolith was a second Christian Indian village established by the C.M.S. on the Nass River.
51 Garfield and Wingert note that there was specialisation in the production of oolachan oil in traditional times. The Niska and the Coast Tsimshian from Metlakatla produced most of the oil and used it extensively in trade, the Coast Tsimshian dealing particularly with the Kitkatlas and the Haidas. Viola Garfield and Paul Wingert, The Tsimshian Indians and Their Arts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 16.
degrading to the females.\textsuperscript{52} He was anxious to teach the Indians to salt and pack the oolachan and the salmon to have a profitable export. Part of the Dominion government grant of 1875 was devoted to training several coopers, who could manufacture the necessary casks. Duncan reported their progress to Dr. I.W. Powell.

In reference to the Coopering business, I am glad to inform you that I have succeeded in getting a number of Indians taught that trade by a white man at a cost of about $80, and I also procured for their use two sets of Coopers’ tools at a cost of about $100. I also built them a large and commodious Coopers’ Shop which you will remember I showed you on your visit to Metlakatla last Summer.

In addition I formed the Indians who were taught, into a Company and provided them with means for putting up and exporting salt fish. In the year 1878, after making their own casks, they exported a quantity of Salt Oolachan and Salt Salmon.\textsuperscript{53}

Great efforts were made to find a wide market for these new products. Duncan even enlisted the aid of such visitors to Metlakatla as the geologist George M. Dawson. But in acknowledging his receipt of a consignment of oolachan in Montreal, Dawson unfortunately had to point out that they arrived here some time since in good order, but their journey has made them so expensive that I fear they could not be sold here with any profit...The smoked fish if done up in packages not too large, would I think stand a better

\textsuperscript{52} CMS/A81 W. Duncan to the Minister of the Interior, n.pl., May, 1875. In order to extract the oil from the oolachan, the Tsimshian women were accustomed to squeezing the fish against their naked bodies. To the European missionary this was both unsanitary and unseemly.

chance of selling well and if you think it worth while to do anything further in the matter, I shall be glad to aid you in any way I can.\textsuperscript{54}

The salted fish fared little better in other markets, both in Canada and abroad. Duncan recognised that "the returns for their industry have been very poor owing to the heavy charge made in Australia upon their goods, and a quantity of their salt Oolachan still remains unsold in the Australian market."\textsuperscript{55}

Salting was only the first stage of an extended plan. "I intend to commence with the salting process first, as that would incur less risk and require much less capital than the canning process, but would prove a good preliminary step thereto."\textsuperscript{56} With such poor results from the first stage of his scheme, it might seem surprising that within four years Duncan had established a fully operational salmon cannery at Metlakatla. The reason for this haste lies in the external pressures on the village that were now intensifying. Between 1877 and 1883, several salmon canneries had been established along the Skeena and in adjacent areas. They proved to be an irresistible attraction for the Christian Indians at Metlakatla. However, as the Indian Superintendent noted, the experience several Metlakatlans gained in these canneries provided Duncan with a skilled labour force for his own cannery. "The Tsimshean Indians, and particularly those of his

\textsuperscript{54} WD/C2154 George Dawson to W. Duncan, McGill College, Montreal, February 10, 1879.
\textsuperscript{55} C/DIA/RS/RG10/1961/4392, W. Duncan to I.W. Powell, Victoria, March 22, 1880.
\textsuperscript{56} C/DIA/RS/RG10/2040/8983, W. Duncan to I.W. Powell, Victoria, October 1, 1877.
village, are preferred by the fisheries already in operation, so that Mr. Duncan has at hand all the labour that he requires, provided he can succeed in raising the necessary capital."

By selling shares in a Metlakatla Canning Company to the Indians, by using some of the trade profits and by accepting donations from friends of the mission, Duncan was able to raise the capital for the project. In its first year, the cannery employed seventy-five women and seventy-six men and boys, and succeeded in putting up 6,500 cases of salmon. This was a substantial accomplishment. But in spite of such an auspicious beginning, the cannery never proved to be a profitable operation. The succeeding two years were poor for the canning industry of British Columbia "and those engaged in the business have suffered heavy losses in consequence. The continuation of a very low market has caused nearly all the canneries on the coast to shut down, so that not withstanding the very large run of fish, no advantage could be taken of it." 58

The remaining two seasons in British Columbia were complicated by internal strife at Metlakatla. And although Duncan made attempts to market the canned salmon in London this industry cannot be considered to have been successful in economic terms. Socially it may have served its function well by keeping at home at least a portion of the Metlakatla Indians at a time when White-operated canneries and the hop-fields of Puget Sound offered attractive opportunities.

58 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1885. Report of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, British Columbia.
A familiar saying of William Duncan's was, "in all labour there is profit," and this might well have served as his motto for Metlakatla. On furlough in England for several months in 1871, he diligently learnt all he could about new processes of soap-making, spinning, weaving and rope-making. On his return journey to Metlakatla, having time to spare in San Francisco, he made a point of observing the weaving operations of the Occidental Pacific Woolen Mills. He also visited the Mercantile Library to take copious notes on the processes of dressing deer skins. He was always ready to use traditional skills of the Tsimshian if he thought a market could be found for their products. After receiving several inquiries in Victoria about the possibility of acquiring Indian curios, Duncan persuaded one of the older women at Metlakatla to teach the younger girls the old art of hat-making. "I had an old woman today give her first lesson to the girls in Hat Making - such as the Tsimshean used before the whites came among them - She used the rind of the cedar tree." Similarly when he found white marble near the village, he was not slow to enquire of his agent in Victoria, whether a market existed there for such an item.

Unlike many missionaries to the North American Indians, Duncan never attempted to agriculturalise the Tsimshian. There was to be no model farm or agricultural school at Metlakatla. In part, this was because the Tsimshian were not a nomadic group and there was thus no need to change

59 WD/C2144 R. Tomlinson to W. Duncan, Kincolith, April 17, 1869.
60 WD/C2155 Journal, November 25, 1863.
61 WD/C2149 W. Duncan to J. Englehardt, Metlakatla, July 14, 1875.
their economic life to enable them to receive the Gospels of Christianity and civilisation. Duncan himself had few farming skills and probably knew very little about agriculture. He came from an industrial, urban, commercial environment, where progress was measured in steam engines, iron and steel, and it was these values which were dominant in the Tsimshian utopia.

Gardening, however, was encouraged. Many of the Indians had previously worked in the large gardens of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Simpson. Up the Nass River and in the Queen Charlotte Islands potatoes were grown in relatively large quantities, and had become a significant item of trade, particularly for the Haidas. At Metlakatla garden plots of about half an acre each were marked out on the islands in the channel. Later each house was also provided with a fenced garden as befitted an English village. Besides the staple crop of potatoes, the Indians produced turnips, peas, cabbage, radishes and beans, and soon found that these were in demand by other Indians. Duncan reported to the Colonial Secretary for British Columbia that "we are taking up more ground every year for cultivation, there being an urgent demand upon us for garden produce from surrounding tribes."62 Like the Victorian school inspectors, Duncan hoped that gardening would encourage habits of work, thrift and forethought among the Metlakatlans.63 And indeed this effect was noticed

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62 WD/C2149 W. Duncan to W.G. Young, Metlakatla, April 14, 1867.
63 Under the influence of Swiss educators such as deFellenberg, school inspectors like Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth encouraged industrial training and farming as a means of reforming pauper children. Just as Samuel Smiles encouraged thrift to produce moral independent workers, the school inspectors advocated gardening to teach the future workers the forethought and economy that would ensure their independence.
particularly by Bishop George Hills on his visit to the village in 1866.

Looking at these garden islands from the Mission, the beholder is impressed with the marked industry and order of the settlement and as the rich soil in furrows is seen on the sloping sides of several of the islands, one is reminded of the hanging gardens of eastern fame.64

Education in its broadest sense was the major function of the Metlakatla settlement. As an Evangelical, Duncan was concerned with the teaching of religion through the knowledge and understanding of the word of God. The C.M.S. desired to make Christianity indigenous, and Venn was particularly insistent on the necessity of the missionaries learning and transcribing native languages and dialects. Duncan's first task at Fort Simpson had been to master the Tsimshian language and to translate portions of the prayers and the Gospels. An Evangelical's need to teach a convert to read and understand his Bible, made formal education a major undertaking for this first missionary to the Tsimshian people.

For many years a Sunday school teacher at Beverley Minster, and trained in pedagogical techniques in the model school attached to Highbury College, Duncan was an enthusiastic and conscientious teacher. His children's day-school at Metlakatla, composed at times of over a hundred children, was reminiscent of the many schools organised on the Lancaster system both in England and abroad. As in the Lancaster schools, children were divided into classes and taught by monitors who were themselves instructed by the master. Duncan noted, "I took the first class almost exclusively in the afternoon - because I employ them as teachers in the

64 Hills, Journal, May 17, 1866.
morning." The monitorial system was well adapted to the problems of instructing large numbers of pupils with no other help. It also conformed to the C.M.S. aims of encouraging the development of native teachers and evangelists. As in English schools, competition was encouraged among pupils, prizes were given for advancement, and the use of slates and tickets for each child was in accordance with Lancaster's practices.

Reading, writing and scriptural knowledge formed the basis of the curriculum, but a conscious effort was made particularly in the adult evening school to widen the experience of the Indian, to stimulate his curiosity about a larger world and to attempt to eradicate what Duncan felt to be his superstitious beliefs. Systematic lectures were given on history, geography, astronomy, natural history and morals. Duncan took great pleasure in showing the Indians "the advantage we had in being able to gather instruction from books over those dependent on the ear alone... I then spoke of the progress that God was permitting man to make in knowledge and expressed my hope that the Tsimsheans would soon be able to step up with others in the enjoyment of this blessing." Although Duncan spoke Tsimshian fluently, and had translated several parts of the Bible for the Indians, most of the teaching was done in English, and the Indians were taught to read and write in both English and Tsimshian.

One of the purposes in establishing Metlakatla had been to gather a

65 WD/C2155 Journal, November 11, 1867.
67 See table 1 for an illustration of Duncan's timetable.
68 WD/C2155 Journal, January 1, 1862.
community whose moral and religious training might render it safe and proper to impart secular instruction. At Fort Simpson it would not have been possible to establish the kind of adult evening lectures that were given at Metlakatla, for the missionary believed that only a Christian Indian could use the secular knowledge gained to the greater glory of his divine Master. Duncan confessed that he would always feel safe and happy in "committing secular knowledge to those who seem in a fair way of making good use of it - but sowing it broadcast among heathen who having heard - reject the Gospel I believe will result in much evil." Yet Duncan did not leave to chance the moral lesson of their secular learning. Using as an example Samuel Smiles' famous hero of self-help, he noted in his journal that "after reading and writing lessons were over I gave them a lecture on perseverance illustrating by...George Stephenson the great Engineer."  

Like Venn, Duncan believed that it was undesirable to separate labour and learning. Industrial training in its most practical form was an integral part of a Metlakatla education. Unless the Christian Indian were taught a useful and profitable trade he would not rise in status above the heathen, nor could he in future contribute to the support of a native church. If the Christian Indian were "obliged to go back to the Indian mode of getting a living...(he would be) little better off than the Indians who have had no such education." So earnest was Duncan to encourage the Victorian habits desirable in Christian converts that he decided in 1872 that only the girls and small boys were to attend the day-school.  

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69 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Fort Simpson, April 28, 1862.
70 WD/C2155 Journal, December 22, 1864.
71 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Fort Simpson, May 14, 1861.
the big boys earn their bread in daylight and come to school at night, will be my rule." Perseverance, industriousness, thrift and self-help were to be as important to the Metlakatlans as they were to William Duncan.

As in Victorian England, the atmosphere of a Christian family home was considered vital to the education of the Indian child. This was partly why the C.M.S. was insistent upon reaching all generations of natives. Not only were there individual souls to be saved, but men like Venn recognised the value of the influence of Christian parents and saw how difficult it was to isolate one generation within a community. Only when children could learn of Christ at their mother's knee would the native church be considered a strong institution.

To further his aim of producing moral Christian homes, Duncan, like Samuel Crowther, the African missionary and later the first African Bishop, and many other missionaries of the mid-nineteenth century, established a boarding-home for young girls at the Mission House. There, he hoped to eliminate some of the promiscuity in the village, and to train the girls in domestic pursuits and Christian habits. Ajayi has pointed out that the boarding-school became a regular feature of life in a Mission village, and that as the C.M.S. did not provide funds for this kind of work, the boarders in fact became personal wards of the missionary and

72 WD/C2155 Journal, October 2, 1872.
73 On a speaking tour in England in 1870, Duncan spoke several times on the same platform as Bishop Crowther, and they travelled together to some of the meetings. Duncan's Highbury friend, Kirkham had previously worked under the Reverend S. Crowther at Lagos and in his letters to Duncan had spoken with admiration of the twenty children Crowther kept as boarders.
dependent upon a supply of funds and contributions from English friends of the mission.  

Similarly at Metlakatla the boarders were supported by Duncan himself, who felt that this was a most important part of his work. "If we want to save the people from utter ruin - bring them into a virtuous channel and socially improve them - I consider this step absolutely necessary in the present state of the Indian population." In some cases, the boarding-house provided a period of teaching for girls from heathen tribes who wanted to become the wives of Christian men at Metlakatla. The boarding-house was consciously an instrument of social education, particular care being taken to ensure that the girls did not become glorified servants. Mrs. Owen, the wife of an assistant missionary, complained to the C.M.S. that Duncan refused to allow the Mission House girls to work for her. According to Duncan, several were daughters of chiefs and could not therefore be expected to do menial work. In many ways Duncan treated the boarders as his own children, and conducted family prayers with them in the morning, and held family Bible reading sessions in the evenings. The Reverend A.J. Hall noted that there is a marked contrast between the women who were trained in the Mission house and others. The former are quite domesticated, many of them have clean homes and they exercise a good influence throughout the village. The girls enter the Mission House when about sixteen years of age and remain, if their conduct is good,

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74 Ajayi, *Nigeria*, 137.
75 WD/C2155 Journal, May 2, 1863.
77 CMS/A105 H. Owen to C.M.S., Victoria, October 9, 1867.
78 WD/C2155 Journal, December 2, 1865.
until they are married. The training of these girls keeps a check upon the young men who are all anxious to obtain a wife from the house, and are aware that good conduct is necessary to obtain such a prize.79

The boarding-house was one of the most forceful and successful forms of acculturation, and one which considerably extended the personal influence and control of the missionary.

Discipline, which was strict both in the boarding-house and in the day-school, often involved corporal punishment. Duncan recorded in his journal that "last night I had to chastise Susan for inattention and gave all a very severe lecture on their careless, dirty and lazy habits - I had Margaret in prison (the cupboard under the stairs) two days and nights for pilfering and also added a severe beating."80 The fact that Duncan ran the boarding-house alone, with no female supervisor, laid him open to many rumours and innuendoes in Victoria. His seemingly harsh discipline was also much criticised, although it was probably no different in kind or degree from that exercised in many Victorian homes. Duncan himself maintained that corporal punishment was a very ancient mode of correction, used frequently by officers of Her Majesty's Navy, and one not entirely obsolete in England. The orderliness and regularity which Duncan's discipline produced, were, however, much admired by visitors to the settlement. Bishop Hills noted appreciatively that after the children had sung God Save the Queen "on going out, they did not dart up and run

79 CMS/A106 Reverend A.J. Hall to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 6, 1878.
80 WD/C2155 Journal, November 19, 1865.
helter skelter, but at the word of command all stood - then face about, and one by one went out in order."\(^{81}\)

In a community such as Metlakatla, composed of disparate groups and individuals yet where brotherly love was to replace tribal animosities, it was important that an adequate and acceptable social organisation be established. The internal organisation of Metlakatla was most clearly influenced by the ideas of Henry Venn on the formation of native churches. Like Metlakatla, "a Native Church in a heathen land, if it be retentive of its fidelity to Christ, becomes like a city set on a hill, which the hinderers and opponents of Divine Truth would gladly veil, but which cannot be hid."\(^{82}\)

One of the principal aims of both the Native Church Policy and of the Metlakatla experiment was that converts should be trained to self-government. To further this aim, Venn recommended that the first step in the formation of a native church should be for the converts to form themselves, for mutual support and encouragement into Christian Companies (Acts. IV, 23.) /And being let go, they went to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them./ The literal translation would have been, their own friends or relatives. The translators of the Bible adopted the term 'company' to denote the

81 Hills, Journal, May 19, 1866.
82 CMI 1849, p. 149. The description of a Christian settlement as "a city on the hill," has its biblical origin in Matthew, Chapter 5, v.14. "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." The same phrase was used by John Winthrop to describe the future Puritan utopia in Massachusetts, in a speech on board the Arabella.
new close brotherhood into which Christians are brought... The members of such companies should not be too numerous or too scattered to prevent their meeting together in familiar religious conference.83

Under a Christian headman, each company was to hold weekly meetings for "united counsel and action, for reading the Scriptures and prayer, and for making contributions to the Church Fund."84 The headmen would then attend monthly meetings with the European missionary where he would report upon the moral and religious condition of his company, hand over the contributions and "receive from the Missionary, spiritual counsel and encouragement."85

The Intelligencer in 1855 published an account of this work in Sierra Leone. The Reverend S.W. Koelle reported that "the Christian converts have systematically taken up the work of providing for their own sick and needy. I allude to what they call 'Christian Companies'...there is at present in every congregation, an exclusively Christian company with Christian regulations, and only open to members of the Church."86 Duncan himself possessed a copy of a printed extract of a letter from the Reverend J.A. Lamb of Lagos, describing a similar system in operation there.

Our leaders hold class meetings once a week... After a hymn and prayer, instruction is given in the word of God... If any member needs reproof for carelessness or improper behaviour, or has

83 CMI 1862, p. 125.
84 CMI 1862, p. 162.
85 Ibid.
86 CMI 1855, p. 65.
been guilty of conduct which requires suspension, the case comes before the meeting for united decisions. Thus personal responsibility is thrown off me, and our people are taught to respect their own people when put in a position of authority in the Church.\textsuperscript{87}

The C.M.S. was particularly impressed with the operations in West Africa; and the Reverend C.C. Fenn, one of the secretaries of the society, recommended to Duncan that "the system of classes and class leaders adopted in Sierra Leone and Lagos might perhaps furnish a useful model,"\textsuperscript{88} for his own work.

Duncan, however, had been planning a similar system for Metlakatla as early as 1864. In 1865, he had organised modified companies of small numbers each being led by one of the corps of native constables who was to be especially responsible for the conduct of his company "and whose improvement and industry he will especially watch to promote, and at the end of his year report progress."\textsuperscript{89} Perhaps on Fenn's advice, but more immediately as the result of an influx of gold miners into the region in 1870, Duncan found it necessary to re-organise the internal society of Metlakatla. The men of the settlement were divided into ten companies, each having two members of the village council and two constables. The females were likewise divided into ten classes and a responsible woman was appointed to look after each group. After ten years the companies were again modified to include new elements of village life; each was now to

\textsuperscript{87} WD/C2156 Unpaid Native Leaders in the West African Missions of the Church Missionary Society. Printed Extract from the letter of Reverend J.A. Lamb to C.M.S., Lagos, April 17, 1869.

\textsuperscript{88} WD/C2144 C.M.S. to W. Duncan, London, 1879.

\textsuperscript{89} PABC/F498/11 W. Duncan to A. Birch, Metlakatla, January 18, 1865.
include a chief, two native teachers, two constables, three councilmen, two musicians and ten volunteer firemen and their captain.  

For Duncan, the function of these companies was "to unite the Indians for mutual assistance, to keep each member of our community under observation (surveillance), and to give opportunities to the majority of our men to be useful to the commonwealth." An added advantage, the missionary found, was that every new arrival from a heathen tribe could be drafted at once into a company "where he can find advice - help and sympathy suited to his need." In the traditional Indian way of life many of these functions had been informally served by the tribal and crest organisation. At Metlakatla, however, the Indians were deprived of the rewards of tribal life, such as the sense of cohesion, the network of people who could be depended upon for aid, and a structure to maintain some social control. There is little evidence to suggest that Duncan, realising the needs that were fulfilled by the Indian social system, deliberately adapted his own policy to their ways. Yet it is more than likely that the similarity in function between their own society and that of Duncan's accounts in large measure for their comprehension of his goals and their ready acceptance of his social organisation.

Like the tribal chiefs, the headman of each company at Metlakatla was to attempt to maintain the values of the culture. He himself was expected to exhibit a high standard of behaviour and to exhort others in

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90 CMI 1881, p. 506, W. Duncan to C.M.S., n.d.
91 Ibid.
92 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, February 3, 1872.
his group to emulate his example. In his general plan for company organisation, Duncan listed for the guidance of the ten companies eighteen specific instructions. These included directives to visit their own sick, to study each other's welfare, to have respect for the aged, to consult together in difficulty, to raise subscriptions for village purposes, to avoid spending money on trifles, to see the necessity for not taking work outside Metlakatla without consulting the company, to rebuke refractory members before all, "and to strive to be great in everything good." In themselves these instructions provide a valuable insight into the cultural values and societal goals of Duncan's Metlakatla.

The future role of the chiefs, as traditional sources of authority in a civilised Christian society, was a problem which concerned both Venn and Duncan. Venn's advice to C.M.S. missionaries was to treat the native chiefs with respect and deference. The Christian precept of "tribute to whom tribute is due, honour to whom honour, binds the Christian missionary in the heart of Africa." At Fort Simpson, Duncan had given particular attention to the chiefs and was certainly concerned about their position in the new settlement. He realised too, that the chiefs feared that "when all the Indians come under my influence they will break loose from their present chiefs and become their own masters and thus the chiefs will sink to the rank of common man without the authority, influence or support." In the true spirit of Victorian improvement, Duncan believed that this pride of rank as exhibited by the chiefs, could be profitably utilised.

93 WD/C2157 Notebook, 1871, General Plan.
94 CMI 1851, p. 43.
Differences of rank prevail in every place. The highest pride themselves upon their position and not unfrequently despise those beneath them. Those in the lower grades are each aspiring to the step above them, but still remain dissatisfied... This aspiring spirit is laudable and noble when rightly directed. If it was not for this, the world would present a very monotonous aspect. We owe to this all the benefits arising from enterprise and energy we see around us. Give a man who is moving in an inferior position of life a hope of raising himself immensely, and you at once see every nerve stretched and tasked to attain the desired goal.  

Duncan's attempts to preserve the authority and ranks of the chiefs may be considered as another aspect of his use of conservative methods to promote an ultimately radical goal. In 1864 he began consulting the two or three chiefs at Metlakatla on judgements in civil cases involving Metlakatla Indians. The annual village tax was divided, fifty percent being allotted to Duncan for village purposes, the rest being shared equally by the chiefs. This money was to enable them to maintain their social leadership of the Indians, yet was not to be construed as a gift but rather was in "recognition of stated services which they will be required to render to the settlement." Later their position was formalised as they became the only permanent, non-elected members of the village council, a role which Duncan found satisfied both their needs and his own goals. "It has opened up a way to employ and turn to good account the influence and authority already vested in the chiefs." 

The policy of the Church Missionary Society was to encourage from the

96 WD/C2160 Notebook, September 3, 1859.
98 PABC/F498/24 W. Duncan to A. Musgrave, Victoria, December 16, 1870.
beginning self-government and independence among converts. The native council of Metlakatla aimed at precisely these goals. The council consisted of Duncan, the chiefs and ten councillors elected by the adult males of the village,\(^99\) and performed many of the functions of a municipal town council. Under Duncan's direction, the councillors decided on tax levels, public works and welfare matters.\(^{100}\) On ceremonial occasions they led their companies to the main square wearing rosette badges of office.

After 1876 Duncan, hoping to give more prominent recognition to his native teachers, called upon each company to select one of their number, a responsible teacher, to form a church committee "with whom the missionary may confidingly advise in all matters affecting the interests of the mission."\(^{101}\) At the same time, two churchwardens were elected by the congregation, and two appointed by Duncan. Together, this group managed the secular affairs of the church, appointed a sexton and paid him a salary out of the church contributions.\(^{102}\)

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99 Voting methods were primitive, and allowed Duncan to know the voting patterns. The men stood facing the wall and the names of those eligible for election were read out. If a man approved of the candidate, he opened both his hands. Those with the top ten number of votes formed the council. (WD/C2157 The Diary and Notes of Mathilda Minthorn.)

100 The Minutes of the council meeting of January 3, 1881, included such topics as "tax $3 each adult male. Each dog to be taxed $1 for a year. Graves Island to be cleaned up of rubbish. Fences to be made around lots, and privies erected for each family. Town Hall to be built, 120 x 60." The council also decided on the dates of the company meetings and the annual feasts. (WD/C2157 Minutes of Meetings.)

101 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, February 14, 1877.

102 Ibid.
Visitors were understandably impressed by this elementary though hesitant move toward self-government by native Indians. Duncan, too, was satisfied with his organisation for it "has reconciled the natives to the adoption of civilized laws, by finding the management of their public affairs partly in their own hands. It has also thrown an interest into the native mind, on matters concerning the public weal, which they never felt before." 103 In 1875 the C.M.S. in the annual letter sent to all missionaries in the field, publicly lauded the work at Metlakatla. "Among the outward and visible events of the past few months, I would venture to specify the organisation of the Native Church at Lagos, the advance in the same direction at Metlakatlah." 104

The increasing activity of whisky traders on the northern coast, and the need to protect Metlakatla from the hostility of both heathen Indians and Whites, led Duncan in 1863, to request and receive the appointment of Justice of the Peace for the northern coastal region of British Columbia. In rural England, the Church of England minister often assumed the magisterial role and Duncan was quick to reply to his detractors that "some of God's most earnest servants were magistrates." 105 In spite of a standing rule of the C.M.S. that no missionary, lay or ordained, should be a magistrate, Venn recognised the difficulties of Duncan's position and was prepared to make his case an exception. 106

Like most ethnocentric Victorians, Duncan considered that the closer

103 PABC/F498/24 W. Duncan to A. Musgrave, Victoria, December 16, 1870.
104 WD/C2145 C.M.S. to W. Duncan, London, September 3, 1875.
105 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 16, 1874.
106 CMS/A81 C.M.S. to W. Duncan, London, January 16, 1865.
aborigines came to observing the form of English law, the greater progress they would make in civilisation. At Metlakatla progress in law was as important as secular and religious improvement, and Duncan was convinced that the Indians were capable of developing, or evolving to the English standards. Duncan reported to the Canadian government on our progress in law and order. It is in this aspect to the outward observer, perhaps more than in any other, that our advancement appears both real and striking. From a great number of lawless and hostile hordes have been gathered out and established one of the most law-abiding and peace loving communities in the province...What to the most sanguine minds seemed at least a generation of time distant has been brought about in a few years.  

Duncan's missionary goals guided his magisterial action, and he considered the enforcement of the colonial liquor laws his most important responsibility. To Duncan, "intoxicating drink is the bane of the Indians - the cost of nearly all the crime amongst them and the all but impassable barrier to their enlightenment and progress." The abandonment of the Fort Rupert mission on Vancouver Island by the Roman Catholic missionaries, he considered to have resulted from the influence of liquor on the Indians, and "another proof if any were wanted, of the necessity of connecting Magisterial duty with Christian teaching to do any good."  

Duncan's determination, his persistence and thoroughness were as evident in his enforcement of the law as they were in other aspects of his work. A large part of his time was occupied by the apprehension of the

107 C/DIA/BS/RG10/111B/51/2959 W. Duncan to Honourable D. Laird, Ottawa, May 21, 1875.  
109 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, April 8, 1874.
schooners and sloops who plied whisky along the coastal waters, and occasionally up the Nass and Skeena rivers. Learning of their presence from the Hudson's Bay Company who had a vested interest in eliminating their competition, or from Metlakatla Indians, Duncan sent his Indian constables to the ship to attempt to buy liquor. If successful, the captain and crew were then charged with illegal trafficking in liquor and ordered to appear before Duncan at Metlakatla. Their ship was impounded at the village and was later taken to New Westminster or Victoria for auction. Heavy fines, often of six hundred dollars or more, were imposed, of which Duncan himself was allowed to retain a half for village purposes. Reverend A. Doolan described one such occasion, when the constables with a search warrant from Duncan, stopped a vessel at the mouth of the Skeena.

Everything was conducted in a very quiet manner — the Indians replacing the things they had disturbed in searching for liquor. Two casks were seized and the Captain with two constables started for Metlakatlah...Thus these bad men will lose all their ill gotten gains, as the fine is now very heavy, as much $100, and the case against them is too strong for them to deny their guilt.110

Duncan relied on his Indian constables in most cases of this nature, but as he felt that their usefulness was limited he continually pressed the Colonial, and later the Provincial government, to institute regular visits of Her Majesty's gunboats to all coastal settlements. It was far easier, he insisted "to prevent lawlessness arising by the occasional appearance of a ship of war in our midst, than it will be to correct and

punish crime when it has once arisen!" He also suggested that a system of agent-informers be established among all the coast tribes to facilitate the capture of whisky traders. As it would be enormously expensive to employ a sufficient number of White agents, Duncan argued that for a few hundred dollars the government might employ "literal Indian Agents - giving authority say to the head of every tribe on the coast to act as a Government Reporter." As at Victoria in 1860, and as at Metlakatla, Duncan actively sought ways to preserve and utilise for his own purposes the traditional authority of Indian society. The local government having less faith in the desirability of employing Indians in such positions took no action on his suggestions. Nor did they implement any regular system of gunboat patrol, but acted largely on an ad-hoc basis of sending boats only if a crisis in Indian affairs seemed imminent.

Duncan had only limited success in eliminating the illegal whisky traders from the northern coast. Many of the traders operated from the nearby Russian, and later American waters, where he had no jurisdiction. Within his region his own instruments of enforcement were restricted to the occasional gunboat sent by the government and his own band of between twenty and forty Indian volunteer constables. In addition, Indians could always obtain liquor to the south either at New Westminster or Victoria, or in Washington. It was in fact, an almost impossible task to prevent

111 PABC/F498/26 W. Duncan to J.W. Trutch, Lt. Governor of British Columbia, Metlakatla, October 19, 1871.
112 PABC/F498/13 W. Duncan to A. Birch, Metlakatla, February 15, 1867.
the Indians from obtaining access to liquor. 113

As a magistrate, Duncan had full power to prevent the intrusion of undesirable elements at Metlakatla. Several acres had previously been designated as a government reserve to serve the missionary activities of the C.M.S. This greatly increased the missionary's command and control of the Metlakatlan's environment. His legal powers also enhanced the position of Metlakatla, for it became a centre for all Indians who needed such help. "Indians from every quarter who feel themselves aggrieved come here for redress or advice; but my rule is to assist none with force beyond the precincts of our own village. My summons is invariably sufficient to bring up all offenders whose cases admit of settlement by fine or a little imprisonment." 114

Duncan was gradually assuming a pre-eminent position among all the people of the coast. Yet he knew the Indian mind well, and realised the limitations of his authority. He felt it was unwise for him to meddle with serious offences, particularly murder, for the Indian laws of retribution might well dictate that Metlakatla Indians be held responsible for the missionary's actions. Duncan feared that

113 Duncan's solution to the perennial problem of the legal definition of an Indian was, predictably, based on a moral rather than a blood distinction. "The Indian Liquor Law owes its very existence to the morally degraded state of the indians and having nothing to do with blood; and hence I argue that a half breed's position in regard to the liquor law depends entirely as to whether he grows up under the influence and training of his civilised relatives and thus becomes a responsible member of Society; or whether he joins altogether his Indian relatives and lives as a savage." (WD/C2148 W. Duncan to the Attorney General, Metlakatla, January 25, 1872.)
114 PABC/F498/21 W. Duncan to W.A.G. Young, Metlakatla, April 14, 1868.
calamity in some shape or other would be sure to redound to the Indians of this village when they are scattered abroad hunting or fishing; therefore almost all that I can do to appease the avengers of blood, is to assure them that I shall plead their cause with the Captain of the first ship of war that visits us.\footnote{115}

For Duncan himself, his missionary position protected him from the anger or retribution of the Indians. He firmly believed that his life would have been taken long before "had I been nothing else but a magistrate among these Indians, but happily it is my influence in another line of things that affords me a safeguard in spite of my being a Magistrate."\footnote{116}

Although Duncan saw English law as ideally the most civilised in the world, this was not the law that was applied to the coast Indians. He fully supported the personal restrictions on Indians such as the liquor and franchise laws, and argued that as a people they were yet in their infancy and needed a benevolent parental discipline. It would be "utter folly to expect the laws for an enlightened and highly civilised race to fit the needs of people but lately emancipated from savage life."\footnote{117}

In many cases, Duncan took pains to establish what had been the Indian way of dealing with situations. When, on the death of a family head at Metlakatla, a quarrel arose over inheritance, he did not automatically apply English law. The chiefs and elders of the village were called and the Indian law on the case clarified. The deceased had left a form of will, but on the advice of the Indians, Duncan, as a magistrate ignored

\footnotesize\footnote{115}{Ibid.} \footnote{116}{WD/C2155 Journal, January 25, 1866.} \footnote{117}{WD/C2155 Journal, November 24, 1882.}
this, and in the traditional manner allowed the brother to take possession of the estate, reimburse the amount owing for the funeral feast, and divide the property among those of the family who were entitled to it.  

Similarly when a Metlakatlan shot a Kitimat Indian in revenge for the loss of his child, Duncan wrote especially to the Colonial Secretary to plead for a tempering of the law.

I hope you will spare him alive, as he really had, according to Indian law, very justifiable cause for what he did, but still I think that sending him down a prisoner will have a good effect upon the Indians - in as much as it will teach them that they are not allowed to take the law into their own hands.

Duncan also attempted to have a special divorce law formed for the Indians. As a missionary he found it unjust that marriages which had been contracted by two heathens could not be broken when one partner became Christian. To the Christian Indian who must absorb new and different concepts of family life, this often led to very difficult situations. As a magistrate he was able to plead the case to Governor Seymour.

The superiority of our management of affairs for the public good disappears at once before a simple-minded and common sense people when they see our laws the tools of oppression, or affording no remedy for the oppressed: and I must confess that it brings a painful feeling to my mind to be a party to bringing them under those laws which may be consigning some individuals to a life-long misery from which there is at present no retreat.

Although Duncan was unsuccessful in his petition, his purpose is indicative

118 WD/C2158 Metlakatla Court, J.P. Records, December 17, 1875.
119 PABC/F498/12 W. Duncan to A. Birch, Metlakatla, December 18, 1865.
120 PABC/F498/19 W. Duncan to Governor F. Seymour, Metlakatla, September 18, 1867.
of his willingness to accommodate to the peculiar situation of the Indians, and of his flexibility and ingenuity in attempting to find solutions to their problems.

Within Metlakatla, the corps of volunteer constables was instrumental in maintaining peace. In accordance with Venn's directives to encourage self-government and independence, Duncan advocated that the proper persons for constables in Indian villages are the natives themselves. The results may not be as satisfactory at first but such an office is good training for the natives — tends to enlist their sympathies on the side of law — is less expensive to the Government, and ultimately will afford a better guarantee of the preservation of the peace than if held by white men in their midst. 121

In 1860, the Duncan - Douglas policy had recommended that Indian police be responsible for the discipline in the Indian camps near Victoria. From the beginning of the Metlakatla settlement in 1862, a corps of volunteer, uniformed, Indian constables had been formed, and by 1880 this force had grown to a body of forty armed men. The Indian superintendent spoke highly of their appearance. "The men are generally stalwart in form, not unsoldierly in appearance and would reflect no discredit upon the 'Grand Army of Canada' if properly drilled and officered." 122

These constables were valuable instruments in the upholding of Duncan's personal authority. Their role was to carry out Duncan's orders,

121 WD/C2149 W. Duncan to Honourable Dr. Ash, Metlakatla, January 27, 1875.
122 C/DIA/BS/RG10/111B/51/18294 I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Victoria, January 6, 1880.
to keep a watch on the members of their respective companies, and to enforce the all-encompassing village laws. Their vigilance was demanded in all aspects of Metlakatla life. On Sundays they patrolled the village to ensure that all attended church. The work habits, marital life and religious beliefs of the people were all the responsibility of the police force, a factor in part responsible for the reputation of totalitarianism that Metlakatla gained in some eyes.

Indians came to Metlakatla voluntarily and were able to leave at any time. Once resident in the model village, however, there were certain forms of behaviour which were unacceptable, and a standard of social life which Duncan strictly enforced. Many utopian communities faced similar problems of establishing order and creating the means of maintaining social discipline and cohesion. The Moravian missionary villages, Saltaire and New Lanark were all characterised by authoritarian management. The Tsimshian were accustomed to communal social controls, however, and seemed able to adjust to a situation where social control was exercised by one individual. In disciplinary matters also, Duncan used Indian constables to apprise him of misdemeanours, and consulted with his Indian councillors the appropriate punishment. Thus perhaps the form as well as the function of his control was well adapted to acceptance by the Tsimshian.

Duncan's position as a magistrate also greatly enhanced his authority over the Indians, for they knew his word was not that of a simple missionary, but carried with it the power of Victoria and the gunboats. Duncan expected obedience, and generally obtained it. This was partly because he had assumed in some measure the role of a chief for many
of the Indians, and partly because his great painstaking patience enabled him to emerge the victor in any contest with the Indians. At a meeting of shareholders of the mission schooner, several Indians expressed fears about the future of their money. Alarmed by this, the rest of the group begged me...not to heed the foolish talk of a few of their people who knew not what they were talking about. They were willing in all things to do as I willed - and they wished me to do my own will in all things with regard to their affairs. They had given themselves up to be guided by me and they did not repent.123

As in the day-school and boarding-house, discipline in the Metlakatla community was strict by modern standards. Flogging was often resorted to, particularly for the young people, but also for the adult men. "I imprisoned Calvah the slave for a week and flogged him with sticks...after twenty lashes had been given him...I asked him if he now felt his sin to smart. He said he did and thanked me for having had him punished."124 Jail sentences and fines were frequently imposed, and signed bonds promising good future behaviour with collateral property deposited, were extracted by the magistrate from law breakers. Duncan also used the Indian method of punishment by shaming wrongdoers.

The black flag was a device resorted to by the Missionary to expel any notoriously bad fellow from the settlement. In lieu of the English ensign, he hoisted a piece of black calico, with fingers pointing to the black-hearted villain; and such is the Indian sense of shame, that this device always rendered the employment of force unnecessary - the scoundrel had to retire.125

123 WD/C2155 Journal, January 13, 1864.
124 WD/C2155 Journal, March 17, 1866.
As many of the violations of Metlakatla laws were moral and religious offences, so the severest punishment was considered to be excommunication and banishment from the village.  

The Metlakatla system was all-embracing. Duncan's belief that the missionary should become everything to his people meant that he was concerned with all aspects of their life, including the use of their leisure hours. The seasonal nature of the Tsimshian economy meant that traditionally the winter season had been devoted to medicine practices and ceremonial dances. Having eliminated these from Metlakatla, it was necessary that the missionary should attempt to replace these activities with those considered more conducive to the life of a Christian Indian. Thus, the education of a Metlakatlan included the informal learning of English games such as football. Duncan reported the Indians were delighted. "They had never seen the game before. The village is in two wings east and west, so it was easy to get sides." A playground was built for the children who were also introduced to sack races, and "hunt the hare". Bishop Hills was particularly struck by this aspect of mission life. "Mr. Duncan, while teaching his people to be devout and earnest, encourages every rational and cheerful amusement. There are gymnastic bars - a merry go round and boys play marbles and ball...he does what he can to amuse as well as edify his people."  

Duncan himself, once a noted choristor in Beverley Minster, was  

126 Similarly in Puritan settlements, violations of the moral code were considered criminal offences.  
127 WD/C2158 Journal, December 26, 1864.  
particularly interested in music. The Tsimshian, too, were among the more musical of the coastal tribes and quickly adapted to the songs and hymns that the missionary introduced. Henry Schutt, an assistant schoolmaster sent out by the C.M.S. to Metlakatla, conducted regular singing practices in the Mission House during the winter months. He reported that "now the young people can sing a number of Sankey's hymns which they like very much. Some of them have been translated into the Native tongue by Mr. Duncan." The church choir also practiced regularly, and the hymn singing in church was noted by visitors to be most pleasant and hearty. In the 1870's, after Duncan's return from his visit to England, a brass band was formed at Metlakatla. It is interesting to note that the brass band is a peculiarly British institution and one which had its origin and found its most enthusiastic reception in that north eastern part of England from which Duncan came. As in the north of England, where works bands and village bands flourished, the Metlakatla brass band was an object of pride for the whole group, and served also to utilise constructively the time and the energies of the young men.

Two familiar institutions of Victorian England, the museum and the public reading room were introduced into Metlakatla in 1881. Both had the social purpose of providing acceptable leisure time activities for the Indians. The museum, with its collection of Indian artifacts, aimed also to be a visual reminder of the physical and moral progress of the village.

129 CMS/A81 H. Schutt to C.M.S., Metlakatla, February 10, 1877.
130 John F. Russell and J.H. Elliot, The Brass Band Movement (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1936). The first brass band contests were held in the 1840's at Burton Constable, twelve miles from Duncan's home.
The reading room was a large chamber, well lighted and well warmed, in which the residents can assemble at leisure hours during the day, and in the evening to discuss their local politics, and study, if inclined or able, the printed intelligence from abroad...the illustrated publications, of which there appears to be a copious supply, afford an endless source of amusement. 131

Traditionally, preparations for a potlatch had occupied the time and attention of most of the people, but at Metlakatla, the potlatch as the Indians knew it, had been prohibited. Duncan had particularly objected to the giving away of property for display, and the destruction of property in anger or to wipe out disgrace, and these two practices had been specifically forbidden at Metlakatla. To Duncan, the major evil of the potlatch "is that such feasts very seriously impoverish the giver. Another evil is they excite the pride-jealousy and rivalry. And another evil is they form a great obstacle to the temporal progress and prosperity of the Indians." 132

Potlatches, however, also had significance as festive and as commemorative occasions. At Metlakatla, the gap felt by the renunciation of the potlatch was filled to some extent by the communal celebrations of Christmas, New Year and the Queen's birthday. The Metlakatlans also gave personal feasts on the birth of children, the death of relatives and the completion of a new house, occasions which in heathen days had been celebrated by potlatch feasts. In the Christian utopia, bread, biscuits

132 WD/C2145 W. Duncan to Neashot, January 1, 1876.
and tea replaced the whisky and molasses of the heathen ceremonies. Duncan himself gave a feast the first Christmas at Metlakatla. He felt it proper to do so "as they have come to me, given up their heathen feasting - and it being our first Christmas in our new circumstances." It would seem that Duncan understood some of the functions of the potlatch, and in this case at least, tried to adapt the demands of Christianity to the needs of the Tsimshian.

The commemorative and publicity functions of the potlatch were closely imitated by the formal ceremonies of New Year's Day at Metlakatla. Duncan gave a feast to all the villagers and this was followed by the annual business meeting of the settlement. Here, new settlers were introduced and assigned to their companies, and each company was examined on the progress made during the year. Taxes were collected, the village song sung, and speeches were made by Duncan, the chiefs and council leaders which re-affirmed the laws and goals of Metlakatla. "We then adjourned to the open ground in front of the Mission House - stood in companies - two cannons were fired - then, with hats off (though it snowed very hard), we sang 'God Save the Queen' and dismissed." Later, games were played, and in the evening Duncan usually gave a magic lantern show. "The delight of the Indians with the pictures was shown in true English fashion by clapping their hands. All dispersed much pleased and instructed." It is extremely doubtful that in this case, Duncan was consciously adapting Metlakatla practices to Tsimshian customs. Many

133 WD/C2155 Journal, December 25, 1862.
134 CMI 1874, p. 151, W. Duncan to C.M.S., 1874.
135 CMS/A105 Doolan, Journal, January 6, 1867.
utopian communities in fact, such as the Moravian settlements, had similar types of ceremonies, where the community evaluated their aims and the people confirmed their attachment to its goals. Yet for the Tsimshian, the New Year ceremonies provided a good opportunity to show their rank and wealth, which had been one of the functions of the potlatch. On New Year's Day the constables, fire brigade and band all assembled in their uniforms; the chiefs and council members proudly displayed their badges of office; the companies were led to the flagpole by their elders, and speeches were given by all the leaders in order of importance, headed by Duncan and the chiefs. Here was the ideal occasion for most of the men to demonstrate their rank, while the women, generally dressed in their best clothes were probably also engaged in subtle displays of wealth and status.

The New Year ceremony was also the visible demonstration of unity, one of the primary principles that Duncan impressed on the Tsimshian. This was particularly important in the early days of the village when fear of external threats demanded solidarity. It assumed significance in later years too, when internal and external challenges threatened to destroy the community. As a group, the Metlakatla Indians had not only set themselves against the ways of their people, but had set themselves morally above such heathen. Their wealth made them envied and resented, and in such a situation, the need for internal unity, and mutual trust and interdependence among settlers was intensified.

To Duncan and to a Metlakatlan, the most important of individual values was that of work. "This is the place for toil, heaven the place
of rest," Duncan advised his female boarders. The missionary had many cultural barriers to overcome, for the high status Tsimshian were not accustomed to manual work. A Yorkshire friend of Duncan's presented the village with a picture of Queen Victoria at a spinning wheel, "an admirable model to her people!...if it enables any of your people out at Metlakahtla to see that they are not demeaning themselves by weaving or spinning, so much the better." 

Not only were Metlakatlans taught the importance of work in a true Christian life, but they were required to cultivate the right spirit of work. It was not toil with resentment that Duncan wanted from the Tsimshian, but a willingness to contribute to the common good, and a desire to elevate their moral worth by cheerful honest labour. Of twenty men working on the village roads, Duncan commented that "some set to yesterday Morning - but not in the right spirit - I must speak again to put them to right." 

Others, particularly Samuel Marsden and the many C.M.S. missionaries who followed him, also struggled hard to plant the idea of work as a self-contained virtue in the minds of aborigines, for whom work was largely a means to a very specific end. Carlyle's view that "an endless significance lies in work. Properly speaking all true work is Religion," expresses the essence of Duncan's philosophy, and the core of the social values of

136 WD/C2155 Journal, January 18, 1862.
137 WD/C2144 A. Clarke to W. Duncan, Elvington Grange, York, June 20, 1870.
139 Briggs, People. 125.
Metlakatla. Indeed, work was the basis of self-help, which was itself the only road to improvement and progress.

The Metlakatla system received wide acclaim. In England, the C.M.S. publicly lauded the work of Duncan, and considered that Metlakatla had very rapidly "acquired a recognised position of importance and influence as the centre...of all good work of every kind among the coast Indians."\(^{140}\) The *Intelligencer* published abstracts of Duncan's letters and journals, and the progress of the Tsimshian was followed by the readers of the missionary magazines, the *Gleaner*, and *Mission Leaves*, with avid interest. In 1870 Duncan had conducted a speaking tour of many English parishes, under the auspices of the C.M.S. Several local branches of the society had adopted Metlakatla as their "mission of the month", and contributions to the secular fund came frequently from ladies' groups and Sunday school classes. In 1872, the *Intelligencer* commented that

> Metlakatlarah is an out of the way place which would not be very easy to find on many maps, but still it is becoming gradually a household word in England, and multitudes who could perhaps be a good deal puzzled to define its exact locality have gradually acquired familiarity with the interesting work carried on there.\(^{141}\)

Visitors to Metlakatla were numerous, and most returned home with glowing reports. Commending Duncan to the Honourable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, the department responsible for Indian affairs in 1875,


\(^{141}\) *CMI* 1872, p. 211.
Senator W.J. Macdonald of Victoria wrote that "Mr. Duncan has been the head and foot of Missionary work for nearly twenty years in this Province, his labours singlehanded have been very arduous, but his firmness of character his earnestness of purpose...crowned his efforts with more than marvellous success." Bishop Hills, whose diocesan authority extended to Metlakatla for many years, visited the village in 1866, shortly before returning to England for a fund raising campaign for the Columbia Mission. The success of the work at Metlakatla figured prominently in his speeches there. "No town is of more importance next to New Westminster in the Colony than Metlakatla, whether viewed in its influence upon the Christian civilization of the Indians, its effect in a more just and fair system of trade, or as a centre of light of the Gospel."

The American Presbyterian missionary, Reverend Sheldon Jackson, later Superintendent of Education for Alaska, visited Metlakatla several times. He was impressed particularly by the industrial aspects of the missionary's work and maintained a friendly correspondence with Duncan throughout the 1870's and 1880's. Vincent Colyer, a reformer of Indian affairs in the United States, and U.S. Special Indian Commissioner, also visited Metlakatla. He too corresponded with Duncan and had high praise for his work. "I shall not fail (d.v.) to speak of your mission as one of the most truly practical and useful of any that I have seen."

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142 C/DIA/BS/ RG10/11B/51/2959 W.J. Macdonald to D. Laird, Victoria, May, 1875.
143 Hills, Journal, May 21, 1866.
144 United States, Federal Archives, Seattle, Document 1, file 0, hereafter referred to as USFAS/1/0, Vincent Colyer to W. Duncan, New York, November 3, 1869.
The apparent success of Metlakatla led Duncan to encourage the establishment of other missions on the same principles. In the 1860's a mission to the Nishkas of the Nass River was begun, and the Christian village of Kincolith set up on the pattern of Metlakatla. Begun by the Reverend R.A. Doolan and continued by Robert Tomlinson, both of whom had worked under Duncan, Kincolith, with its sawmill, church and neat white houses took on much of the appearance of Metlakatla. In the 1870's other mission stations were opened among the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands at Massett, and among the Kwakiutl of northern Vancouver Island at Alert Bay, by men from Metlakatla. Duncan himself remained at the original settlement, but recommended that for the new missionaries sent out by the C.M.S.,

preparatory training at Metlakahtla of some two or more years would be invaluable as in such a case he [the missionary] would not only become acquainted with the habits and customs of the Indians, but also with the manner in which Brother Duncan has so successfully dealt with them.145

According to Duncan, the Dominion government had also apparently considered residence at Metlakatla a desirable training period for their future officials, though no action was ever taken on this matter. Duncan proudly reported to the C.M.S. that the "heads of the Indian Department at Ottawa stated that they intend to send their agents which they are about to employ, to Metlakahtla before locating them in their respective places."146

145 CMS/A81 W.H. Collison to C.M.S., Metlakatla, July 16, 1875.
146 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 31, 1876.
To those who felt that the American Indian was inevitable doomed to disappear, Duncan could point to "Metlakatla, though still as weak as a child, is even now a standing proof that no such decree of fate exists." For many in fact, Metlakatla was now the model that Duncan had set out to build. The society of Metlakatla was regarded by Duncan and his admirers as a system, composed of certain specific, inter-related elements and policies, which could be reproduced in their entirety among other coastal Indians. Duncan's view of the most important elements of this system were clearly expressed in some notes made in his journal under the heading of New Thoughts on the Future of the Mission Field.

Two more Metlakatlas - One at Queen Charlotte's first, and one at Fort Rupert. Church, schools and house building in each village. Protection for young girls. Employment for young men, Liberty for slaves, Civil Power in Chief and Council and Constables. All the expenses for Religious Establishment, Public Works, law, redeeming slaves, boarding and training to come from trade profits of each village. Several Branch Stations might also be established.

Duncan then, not unnaturally considered that his success was due to the policies he pursued and the system he established. But the reasons for the outward success of Metlakatla must be seen from a larger perspective and must take into account the particular circumstances and nature of the Tsimshian themselves.

As a highly mobile trading people, in contact with many Indian cultures and with a relatively harmonious experience of European contact,
the Tsimshian perhaps were likely to be far more adaptable to a new experience of acculturation than a more isolated group. Their settled, village society made them readily accessible to the teachings of the missionary, and necessitated no change in their basically communal life. It is possible, too, that many of the values of the Tsimshian were capable of smooth integration into the Christian society of Metlakatla. Their ambition, perseverance and acquisitiveness, which had formerly been directed to potlatching and the achievement of high social rank, were exactly the kind of attitudes and values that the Victorian missionary demanded of civilised Indians. According to Kushner "cultural propensity for change has been seen in terms of...degree of co-operativeness" of a society. In spite of the ostensible individualism of Tsimshian society, there existed many forms of co-operation, particularly in such activities as a potlatch or house-building. It is possible then that not only were the Tsimshian more readily adaptable to social changes, but that they were especially well able to adapt their behaviour patterns to those demanded by the communal co-operative society that the missionary introduced.

Tsimshian reasons for moving to Metlakatla were basically conservative, for amid the disorientation of the smallpox epidemic, they needed the bulwark of authority and direction of Duncan, to provide a coherent structure for their lives. Once they had established themselves at Metlakatla, once they had committed themselves to the new way of life, the Tsimshian fear of being ridiculed or shamed by other Indians, undoubtedly

149 Kushner et al., Sociocultural Change, 3.
contributed greatly to their determination to make a success of the new settlement. Metlakatla, in fact, developed an inner momentum of its own, and for essentially Tsimshian, not Christian reasons.

Duncan's Metlakatla system was of course an important reason for the success. Here it was not the separate elements of the policy which were significant, but rather the fact that they formed a system, a comprehensible whole of integrated, economic, social and spiritual institutions. The main components of the system, contained in the laws established before the group departed from Fort Simpson, left few reminders of the old way of life, and it might be considered a remarkable achievement for Duncan to have imposed an entirely new way of life on this aboriginal group, in so short a time. Yet Margaret Mead has argued convincingly, that to be successful, social change must be both rapid and total.

If there is to be purposeful change, by an Ataturk, an enterprising Maharajah or the agricultural extension department - the whole pattern is transformed at once, with as little reminder of the past as possible, to slow down the new learning or make that learning incomplete, and maladaptive.151

Like most agents of cultural change, Duncan brought forth new demands and created new attitudes in his converts. But at the same time, his system provided the means to satisfy these demands and to conform to the new goals and attitudes. Metlakatla Indians were expected to dress and house

150 Supra, Chapter six, p. 3.
themselves in a European manner, and in the Metlakatla system their
industries gave them the means to purchase, and their store provided the
acceptable goods that their new positions demanded. The Metlakatlans in
effect were introduced to a second culture in such a way that it is
probable they were able to learn the ways of the new life in much the same
way as they learnt a second language. It is far easier, Mead has indicated
"to learn a whole new set of habits, each re-inforcing the other as one
moves,"152 than it is to patch the old way of life. And in such a way did
the Metlakatla system function, providing an ideal integrated social and
physical environment where the Tsimshian could readily absorb a second
culture.

Success was also due to the fact that not only could the Indians
become bicultural, but some elements of the system they adopted were not
necessarily incompatible with the old Tsimshian ways. As we have noted
before, many of Duncan's policies induced little social disorganisation.
In some cases, such as the employment of Tsimshian in their accustomed
role of traders, the use of the traditional economic resources of the
Indians, or the design of the Metlakatla houses, there was undoubtedly a
conscious effort made by the missionary to avail himself of what was
valuable in their culture, and to introduce elements that were as compatible
as possible with the customary Tsimshian life. The policy of adaptation
was as important to Duncan as it was to Venn, and Metlakatla might be
considered as the archtypical adaptive community, "where both original and
foreign traits are combined, so as to produce a smoothly functioning

152 Ibid.
cultural whole, which is actually an historic mosaic.  

Of necessity, the traditional Tsimshian ideas formed a selective screen for the new culture elements, and inevitably many could well have been interpreted in a Tsimshian rather than a Christian manner. The Indians might easily have viewed the companies as new forms of tribal associations, for they served many functions formerly performed by the tribe or clan. The modified feasts of tea and biscuits that Duncan encouraged, and the festivities on such occasions as the Queen's Birthday, satisfied many of the needs that were formerly filled by the potlatch, and were probably interpreted in that light.

Duncan's methodology, his presentation of new ideas and approaches to the Indians, was tremendously important for the success of his mission. Few contemporary anthropologists would disagree with Mead's argument that for social change to be acceptable "the innovator must involve people in the planning and execution of the program." Henry Venn had similarly advised his missionaries in 1860. "Avoid putting yourself before the people as a leader; rather stand behind them as a prompter and counsellor. Prompting to self-action is more important than inducing men to follow a leader." This was essentially the policy followed by Duncan and one which contributed greatly to his achievements. By 1875, Duncan had long wanted to see the Indians adopt a new house design, but rather than impose his will directly, he was prepared to hold numerous meetings, to listen to

154 Ibid.
155 CMI 1860, p. 90, H. Venn, Dismissal of Missionaries.
the arguments of the people, both individually and collectively, and to ensure that all favoured the new plans before construction began. Recording this weary process in his journal, he commented,

I then succeeded in persuading them to cease putting up fresh buildings until we should all agree upon the right model for a dwelling house and a better plan of a town-site. It has taken all this time to educate them up to a really substantial plan for both, but I am happy to say after much discussion we are now agreed. 156

This procedure had been developed at Fort Simpson, where long discussions had preceded the migration, and it was later used in all aspects of Metlakatla life. Commenting on the telegraph company's handling of their Indians labourers, Duncan pointed out that "Captain Butler mistakes the Indians altogether. He plans and commands as if he was among a number of soldiers." 157 Duncan himself never made that mistake. He treated the Metlakatlans paternally, as children, but as Victorian children, as rational human beings, who would hopefully soon mature. His method of involving the Indians in all the decisions and policies of the settlement was recognised, by one of his more astute visitors, as one of his greatest assets.

Mr. Duncan adopts the plan of leaving all matters in abeyance until the Indians come to see things in the same light as himself. Then he strikes while the iron is hot. By this means the Indians themselves become interested in the work, and do it to please themselves, not other people. 158

156 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to D. Laird, n.pl., May, 1875.
157 WD/C2155 Journal, August 3, 1866.
Yet it was Duncan's own personality which was the motivating factor behind all these policies. His determination to succeed, his faith in its inevitability, and his ability to seize the opportune moment to press home his ideas, all contributed to his success. Like most Victorians, Duncan had a faith in the inevitability of progress, and remained convinced that the Tsimshian were capable of achieving a Victorian way of life. Like Tylor and the cultural evolutionists he saw the Tsimshian as "a people resembling in many respects, that land and those people the Romans saw in days of yore, on becoming Masters of Britain," and was fond of reminding his English friends that their nineteenth century "is our first."

Above all, in Duncan's own mind, his success was due to the power and guidance of the Almighty. He warned observers that "they are attributing too much to secular matters, and too little to the preaching of the Gospel. I have strongly warned them not to commence at the wrong end of my plan." Christ was the centre of Duncan's own life, and from the missionary's point of view, He was the heart and core of the Metlakatla system.

159 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to C.M.S., January 28, 1874.
160 Ibid.
161 CMS/A106 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 8, 1860.
CHAPTER V

THE BREAKDOWN OF UTOPIA

In 1882, the Intelligencer with very deep concern asked for the "earnest prayers of all our friends on behalf of Metlakahtla and the North Pacific mission. It is painful indeed to say that Mr. Duncan, in whose noble work we have all so greatly rejoiced for many years, does not see his way to carry out the instructions of the Committee." The following year, the C.M.S. announced with regret that William Duncan could no longer be considered an agent of their society.

Such news was certainly a great shock to the Intelligencer's readers, who had always been led to consider Duncan's Metlakatla as a model of missionary endeavour. Yet to those who had any familiarity with the affairs of Metlakatla, particularly the many friends of the mission in Victoria, it was more surprising that Duncan had remained so long in connection with the Church Missionary Society. Duncan's inability to retain the various helpers sent to him by the society, his refusal to take clerical orders, his quarrels with Bishop Hills, his support of the Reverend Edward Cridge in his dispute with the Anglican Church at Victoria, his refusal to

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1 CMI 1882, p. 115.
allow the celebration of the Holy Communion at Metlakatla, all contributed
to his final estrangement from the Church Missionary Society and from the
Church of England.

The material progress of Metlakatla was, for many observers, the
most impressive aspect of the village. But to Duncan, Christ was the
motivating force and the moving spirit behind all Metlakatlan ventures.
He assured the Honourable David Laird that "it is only because they [the
Indians] have felt the inspiring influences of the Gospel that they have
aspired to a higher degree of social life, and are exerting themselves to
obtain it." Duncan was sent out as a lay missionary to preach the Gospel,
and throughout his life this remained his prime concern. Secular work was
undertaken to enable the Indians to live a Christian life, for religion
always formed the base of a Metlakatlan's education. To Duncan,
civilisation was an important adjunct of Christianity, but Christianity
was the basis of all civilisation.

Not unnaturally, the religion taught at Metlakatla bore strong
resemblances to that which Duncan himself had learned in Beverley and at
Highbury College. His minister, the Reverend A.T. Carr, had been a devout
Evangelical, who saw the inculcation of biblical truths as the main
elements of a Christian education. Carr, like other Victorian Evangelicals,
demanded of a Christian the acknowledgement of sin, the acceptance of
Christ as a personal saviour, and a commitment to follow His way and to be
directed by His word as contained in the Gospels. Carr never laid great

2 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to the Minister of the Interior, n.pl., May, 1875.
stress on the particular dogma of the Church of England, but rather taught a simple, protestant Christianity which might easily have found a home in a Methodist or Congregational chapel. In fact, Duncan and several members of Carr's Bible class occasionally attended the evening lectures or the Sunday evening services at the Beverley Methodist Chapel. Duncan's former employer, George Cussons, recognised that although Carr's religious teaching was excellent in establishing scriptural knowledge, "it failed to bend some of the young people to the Church and some of his best young men have since attached themselves to other religious bodies." 

Like the members of the Clapham Sect, Carr taught that introspection which brought the Evangelical to the realisation and understanding of his innate sinful nature. The consciousness of his own sinfulness remained with Duncan throughout his life, and brought him often to the point of extreme anguish. "I resolve and resolve and plan and pray - but all is unavailing. I go back to my sin as a dog returns to his vomit. I am indeed a lost sinner - I have on me the marks of the beast and must carry ...the consciousness of having fallen to the lowest depth of shameful sin." 

At these times he seems to have despised his own person, and yet was so sure of the loving grace of Christ that the struggle he had set himself could never be renounced.

Oh how I have sinned during the past seven years! My best has been stained with sin and marked with infirmity and weakness - but what has been my worst! Lord pity me - pity me. I fully resolve in God's name to begin a new life - watching

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3 CMS/A124 G. Cussons to C.M.S., Beverley, January 2, 1886.
4 WD/C2155 Journal, March 9, 1873.
more - praying more - trusting more and working more. Oh God help me, guide me, guard me, save me.

This immense faith and firm conviction of the rightness of his way, was Duncan's most valuable asset in the transmission of the Gospel message to the Indians.

Duncan continued his religious education under the auspices of the evangelical Church Missionary Society, and in particular studied under the principal of Highbury College, the Reverend Dr. C. Alford; later Bishop Alford of Victoria (Hong Kong). Alford, like Henry Venn, believed that converts should first become "Bible Christians", who would be able to read and understand the Gospels, and so independently be able to sustain Christianity in their own lives. The missionary was to place Christ before the people as their saviour, and to present them with the Gospels as His word. Venn himself maintained fraternal relations with the other protestant missionary societies, and envisaged the day when churches composed of Bible Christians would "outgrow the denominational features in which they were cast," to form his ideal of a Native Christian Church. The C.M.S. always reminded its missionaries that they were sent out as evangelists, not pastors, and that their main purpose was to preach the Gospel. Venn's emphasis on the raising of an invisible spiritual Church of Christ in the mission field, accorded well with the strict evangelical principles that Carr had already imparted to Duncan.

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5 WD/C2155 Journal, October 1, 1864.
6 H. Venn, Speech at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, April 13, 1861, cited in Knight, 248.
Duncan's own theoretical conception of his role conformed strictly with the guidelines set out by Venn in the Native Church Policy. When baptising a dying Indian who had often repented and asked for baptism, Duncan felt that although "I was not sent here to baptize but to preach the Gospel, yet I had no fear but that \textit{sic}\ I was doing was pleasing to God." His views on the supremacy of the invisible Church also corresponded closely with those of Venn and he always professed to teach the Indians that "they belong to the Church of Christ and that the Church begins when two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, but comprehends more than all the denominations of Christians put together."\footnote{Cairns, 179.}

As Professor Cairns has pointed out, the message of salvation is meaningless to a people who lack a sense of sin. Duncan's way of inculcating this attitude into the Tsimshian mind was to point to their misery, of which they were becoming increasingly aware after 1858, and to convince them that their own sinfulness was the cause. During the winter of 1862, he spoke to the Indians in such a vein. "Tsimshean are not happy, but poor - miserable and diseased. Why so? Because their way is not God's way. You see misery follows sin here. Why do you stick to your sins then?"\footnote{WD/C2160 Notebook, June, 1862.}

The missionary pointed to Christ and strove to teach the Indian to have faith in His work and sacrifice. He stressed the omnipotence of God

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7 WD/C2155 Journal, October 1, 1862.
9 Cairns, 179.
10 WD/C2160 Notebook, June, 1862.
as the creator and heavenly father, thus reinforcing the paternal, secular relationship that he himself had developed with the Indians.

Our Great Father in heaven made all things.
He sees all things and He knows all things.
All bad ways He hates. He loves what is good.
The great God in heaven is our Father. He made us. He made the food we eat. Our breath is in His hands. He knows our ways.\textsuperscript{11}

A good deal of religion was taught in the school at Metlakatla. In general, candidates were prepared for baptism, learning the Anglican catechism in a simplified form. The Tsimshian were taught many Bible stories, learnt scriptural texts from both old and new testaments, and were also exposed to the moral lessons of the \textit{Pilgrim's Progress}. John Bunyan's \textit{Pilgrim's Progress}, together with the Bible, found a place in almost every Victorian home. Bunyan's seventeenth century Puritanism was close to the heart of many Evangelicals, and Duncan who had used the \textit{Pilgrim's Progress} in his Sunday school teaching at Highbury, found it was also appropriate at Fort Simpson and later Metlakatla. "I thought good to take as a guide to our proceedings the Pilgrim's Progress, which would give me ample room for acquainting them with the Bible at the same time, and also bring before us...the most essential truths to be known in order to salvation."\textsuperscript{12}

Many elements of Duncan's methodology are evident in his religious teaching. Having convinced some Indians of their sinful ways, he offered them a solution, an alternative in the Christian way of life. As in his

\textsuperscript{11} WD/C2159 Language and Translation Notebook, 1859.
\textsuperscript{12} WD/C2154 Journal, November 25, 1857.
secular activities, he moved slowly and gradually, ensuring that the Indians would follow him at each stage of his work. Although he felt it was important to teach the power of prayer, he was cautious in introducing the Tsimshian to such novel procedures.

I do not think they are prepared for to hear me pray regularly in their own tongue. They want training. I must first get them to observe the manner and stillness of prayer and this I can best do by praying in English and by and by I hope to have them praying in their own tongue. 13

The policy of adaptation to Indian institutions was also noticeable in Duncan's religious work. The first chapel built at Metlakatla was dominated by two traditional carved poles, representing the crests of the Metlakatla tribes. 14 These stood on either side of the altar, and the scene at first glance might be considered an odd combination of Christianity and paganism. Duncan, however, found nothing repugnant in either the poles or the crest organisation that they represented, and was quite prepared to combine what he considered valuable in Indian culture, with the values of Christianity. 15

Lewis Saum has argued that the general Indian attitude to Christian teaching was a blend of theological openmindedness and opportunism, and

13 WD/C2154 Journal, February 13, 1859.
14 See illustration, frontispiece.
15 "I never interfered with the crest business. It was very helpful to me. Members of the same crest would not fight each other...And any time anyone of that crest begins to show fight, the others immediately step in and try to prevent fighting with the other tribes...That has been of great advantage to me." Unpublished Historical and Legendary Statement by William Duncan, p. 38. Cited in United States, Survey of the Conditions of the Indians in the United States, Hearings before a Sub-committee of the committee on Indian Affairs. U.S. Senate, 74th Congress, 2nd session, part 35, Metlakahtla Indians, Alaska. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939.
that Indians usually showed tolerance and respect for the beliefs of others.\textsuperscript{16} The Tsimshian certainly seem to have followed this pattern. No doubt many of the later converts were attracted by the secular aspects of Metlakatla, but most appear to have taken Duncan's words seriously. Not unnaturally, however, their reaction to his speeches was often to try integrate these new ideas into their already existing religious traditions. Thus one old man after listening to Duncan's message, tried to interpret it for the rest of the Indians. "He said that Our Saviour Jesus Christ was the Moon or the Son of the Sun, the Sun of course being God."\textsuperscript{17} On other occasions, attempts were also made to absorb Christian traditions into Tsimshian mythology. Duncan's own intimate knowledge of Tsimshian culture made him well aware of the difficulties they were trying to meet in understanding his message.

He then said in a lower voice to the chief who was sitting next to him that thraimshun caused the Flood of which I had spoken and that as thraimshun was not yet dead it was he that would be the author of the coming destruction of the world of which I had just warned them. Thraimshun is the name of a great being who can step from one mountain to another - he was the bringer of light - is a great liar and has performed several wonders with and upon the various mountains.\textsuperscript{18}

Venn had strongly insisted on his missionaries learning the native language and providing the Scriptures in the vernacular. Duncan's first task had been to master Tsimshian, and as Venn anticipated, this was the key to his understanding of the native mind, and to his winning of their

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\textsuperscript{16} Saum, 237.\\
\textsuperscript{17} CMS/A105 W. Duncan, Journal, December 17, 1858.\\
\textsuperscript{18} WD/C2155 Journal, January 20, 1861.
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sympathies. He rejected the Chinook jargon as being inadequate to explain
the intricacies of religious ideas. Nor did he consider the syllabic
system of any great value to his work, although he knew of its successful
use in other parts of North America, and had corresponded with the Reverend
W. Kirby who had devised syllabic systems for some of the northern plains
Indians. To the Church Missionary Society, Duncan commented that "I have
very little faith in the syllabic system being of any use to the Indians
on this coast. They are brought so much into contact with the whites
that they naturally desire to acquire their learning and language." 19

Education both secular and religious was conducted in both languages
at Metlakatla. Some scriptural texts and hymns were translated into
Tsimshian, and Duncan himself composed songs, prayers and moral homilies
in the native language. These were printed in Victoria and used in the
Metlakatla school. Reverend R.A. Doolan reported that the children had
been delighted to read their own copies of tracts, containing twenty-three
verses of the Bible, the Lord's Prayer and a hymn in the Tsimshian
language. 20

This, however, was almost the full extent of Duncan's translation
work. Neither the prayer book nor the Bible was entirely translated into
Tsimshian. Partly this was because Duncan had become involved in so many
time-consuming activities that he had very little opportunity to do much
translating. In 1880 he justified his position to the society by arguing

19 CMI 1866, p. 351.
that "the Indians are but few in number and in a few years I believe will become an English speaking community."\(^{21}\) Yet Duncan had done very little translation after 1867, and the destiny of the Indians to lose their own language was not then so clearly evident.

By the late 1860's, Duncan's policy appears to have been to teach the Indians to read the Bible in English and to do their own translating. Most Metlakatlans possessed a Bible, and were able to give accounts of scriptural texts to Bishop Hills that demonstrated an adequate knowledge of their contents. Hills confessed that "I should not have required more preparation for adult baptism in an English person than I did in the case of these earnest applicants."\(^{22}\) Some Metlakatlans became competently bilingual as a result of Duncan's policy and if his goal was to enable the Indians to enter the larger society, this was a reasonable approach. It was not, however, in accordance with Venn's Native Church Policy, and Duncan's secular motives, his commercial goals for the Indians which necessitated that they be able to speak English, appear to have gained precedence over his religious goals.

For the majority, however, Tsimshian remained the working language of the settlement. In this situation, Duncan's own authority over the Indians was maintained, for most could not independently translate their Gospels and needed continual guidance from the missionary. His policy also had the function of increasing his own authority over other European help.

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21 CMS/A106 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 8, 1880.
22 Hills, Journal, May 19, 1866.
at Metlakatla for the Indians never knew enough English to be fully administered in that language. Thus anyone who wanted to work effectively in the settlement must learn Tsimshian, and this necessitated that he live a considerable time among the Indians, in effect as a pupil of Duncan.

Reverend L.S. Tugwell and his wife, who came to Fort Simpson in 1860, were the first of many assistants sent out by the C.M.S. to the North Pacific mission. Mrs. Tugwell's poor health forced them both to retire from Fort Simpson in 1861, but their relations with Duncan were already strained, and it is unlikely that they would have remained any great length of time under his authority. In 1865 and 1867, Mr. and Mrs. F. Gribbell, and Mr. and Mrs. H. Owen were sent from England by the society, but neither couple stayed more than six weeks. Duncan quarrelled violently with Owen because he had sought ordination at Victoria, and because he had left his wife there for her confinement, thus necessitating a second journey to Victoria to escort her to Metlakatla. Gribbell retired from the mission on the grounds that his infant's health would be endangered by the approaching winter.

Both Owen and Gribbell were appalled at the conditions they were expected to live in, and at the ascetism that Duncan assumed in his own way of life. Undoubtedly there was a great contrast between their previous homes and Metlakatla, but their devotion to their assumed duties was not apparently strong enough to keep them in the mission field. Duncan, however, did not make any particular effort to prepare a welcome for new missionaries, or allow them much charity in making the inevitable mistakes.
Tugwell, Owen and Gribbell had challenged Duncan's authority on several issues and Duncan in spite of his loneliness and his frequent letters to the society asking for help, was not prepared to have his decisions or his authority questioned by newcomers who lacked his own experience and his knowledge of the Indians.

Robert Cunningham, a lay assistant, joined the mission in 1867. Although he worked satisfactorily for almost a year, he was found to have had a pre-marital relationship with the Indian woman he subsequently married and was thus dismissed from the mission. Only two of the men sent out in the 1860's were able to work harmoniously with Duncan and thus remained any length of time. R.A. Doolan, later Reverend R.A. Doolan, worked under Duncan from 1864 to 1866, when he left Metlakatla to establish a new mission to the Niskas at Kincolith. Because of family problems in England, in 1867 he was forced to return home, but he maintained a close correspondence with Duncan and became the English agent for the Metlakatla Secular Fund. His work at Kincolith was continued by Robert Tomlinson, later Reverend Robert Tomlinson, an Irish Evangelical with some medical training who became one of Duncan's closest friends and most fervent supporters.

W.H. Collison, later Reverend W.H. Collison, and his wife, a former nurse in the Franco-Prussian war, were sent out in the early 1870's, and after spending some years at Metlakatla, in 1876 began a mission to the Haidas at Massett in the Queen Charlotte's. That same year W. Schutt, a Yorkshireman and lay schoolmaster, also came out and like the Collisons spent time at Metlakatla before assisting in the growing mission field of
the North Pacific. In 1877, the Reverend A.J. Hall joined the mission staff. Trained at Islington, the C.M.S. missionary college, Hall later took charge of commencing the mission to the Kwakiutl at Alert Bay on Vancouver Island.

Metlakatla was never then under continuous clerical supervision until the arrival of William Ridley as Bishop of Caledonia in 1879. Doolan, Collison and Hall all were eventually dispatched to other regions, and Duncan remained the constant figure of all secular and religious authority in the settlement. From time to time the Metlakatlans were visited by clergymen from Victoria who baptised those adults whom on examination they found prepared for that rite. Reverend R.J. Dundas, and Archdeacon C.T. Woods both paid visits to the settlement, as did Reverend E. Cridge, Bishop George Hills of Columbia, and Bishop W.C. Bompas of Athabasca.

The services and forms of religious observations that Duncan established and conducted for the Indians were, in keeping with his evangelical background, simple in content and stark in style. Duncan never used vestments for preaching and discouraged their use by priests who visited Metlakatla. The interiors of both his first chapel and the large church, were extremely plain, with no candles, elaborate hangings or pictures. Bench-like pews, a small organ, and plain altar cloths were the only fixtures permitted. In the large church, it is significant to note the position of the pulpit, at the far end of the nave, and above the altar table, thus symbolising the supremacy of the Word of God. Similar arrangements were favoured in Congregational, Presbyterian and until the middle of the nineteenth century, in most evangelical Anglican churches.
The aim of an evangelical missionary, according to Duncan was to open the eyes of the heathen, and to turn them from dark to light. Evangelical religion was not an intellectualised system; it reached for the heart not the head of its converts. Religion at Metlakatla was characterised by sober, earnest attention to scriptural knowledge. Bible verses were read, translated and interpreted and then committed to memory. Although Duncan's appeal was to the heart, his route was through the mind and the understanding of the Indians. No sensual or visual aids were used and outwardly there appeared to be little emotional involvement.

The outburst of religious fervour which erupted at Metlakatla in the autumn of 1877 was thus most disturbing, not only to Duncan, but to all who had endorsed his work. According to Duncan, who was absent at the time in Victoria, the situation arose as a result of the emotional style of preaching adopted by the Reverend A.J. Hall who had just arrived at Metlakatla. Hall not only introduced the idea of the Holy Spirit or the Holy Ghost to the Indians, but did it in such a way as to excite their emotions. In retrospect Duncan commented that "through Mr. Hall's hasty and unwise zeal in commencing his work at Metlakatla, the Indians had plunged into such a state of fanaticism as well nigh proved the destruction of the mission."[23]

Duncan read of the disturbances in a Victoria newspaper, and immediately hurried back to Metlakatla to find the report had been substantially true, "and the half was not told."[24] After extensive and

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23 WD/C2154 Statement in Reference to Metlakatla.
24 WD/C2155 Journal, November 11, 1877.
painstaking investigation he found that having heard Hall's preaching, several women had discovered in a bush a piece of wood shaped like a cross, and had attached supernatural significance to this. Enthusiastically spreading word of their discovery, they excited others to greater fantasies. Long prayer sessions were held in the church, where some saw Jesus and heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, and others thought themselves to be Jesus. Two women saw illuminated hands and the faces of angels, while six men "presented the appearance as if possessed with devils and were exorcised by David Leask."25 Many had strange dreams which they related at excited meetings. People "roared out on the road they had found Christ and some kept calling out to any they met...[they] acted as in a frenzy, breathed loud, trembled - shouted."26 Six canoes of men left Metlakatla to spread the news of their experiences to Fort Simpson.

Angry and disheartened, Duncan interviewed each individual who had been involved, and spent several hours, trying to show him the sin into which he had fallen. It was a difficult task, for many were slow to acknowledge they were in error. For six hours, Duncan talked with the five men who heard the voice of the Holy Spirit in the church.

They constantly pretended to have been under the guidance and blessing of God, having given themselves to prayer. They had, they said, been praying all night and how therefore could they be deluded. What was it but an answer to their prayer that the voice they heard at night in the Church was the voice of the Holy Spirit.27

25 WD/C2155 Journal, November 12, 1877.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
This was the first time that Duncan could remember that the Indians had ever disputed his knowledge of the Scriptures and defied his interference with their conduct as Christians. After much argument and threats of excommunication, those involved capitulated, acknowledged that they had been deluded, and that their experiences had been the result of their emotional condition.

This unfortunate incident had several far reaching effects on the future of Metlakatla. Nine native teachers and elders had been involved in the disturbances and had been found "guilty of sad excesses of zeal and religious frenzy." Duncan's confidence in the native Christians was severely undermined, and he pointed out to the society the "necessity of still regarding this people (on account of their susceptibility to superstition) as...children in the Gospel." Duncan had previously been considering the probability of his being able to leave Metlakatla to begin a new mission to the Haida or Kwakiutl. Now he had been shown that he had "overrated the strength of the Native Elders and teachers," and he was convinced that they were not yet ready for secular or religious independence. Nor could he leave knowing that the C.M.S. would provide able clerical guidance for the settlement, for it was Hall's preaching which had proved to be the genesis of the frenzy. If Duncan were not to witness the destruction of his work of the previous twenty years, it seemed to him an inescapable conclusion that he himself must remain in command of the religious and secular affairs of Metlakatla.

28 Ibid.
29 CMS/A106 W. Duncan to C.M.S., March 4, 1878.
30 Ibid.
The fact that Hall was largely responsible for the affair, confirmed Duncan's opinion that Metlakatla and similar missions were best conducted by lay workers. Hall's conduct was attributed to his premature ordination and Duncan took a care to point out that "God has rebuked the C.M.S. step of sending out Mr. Hall as pastor of this flock in full orders."\(^{31}\)

The C.M.S. had been anxious for some time to have a priest resident at Metlakatla, to provide instruction for confirmation and to administer communion regularly to those who would become eligible. In deference to Duncan's wishes, missionaries had previously been sent out unordained, but none who had later been ordained had remained at Metlakatla. Bishop Hills had tried frequently to persuade Duncan himself to take priest's orders. Hills feared that Duncan as a lay person with great influence would lower the position of the clergy in the eyes of the Indians. While visiting Metlakatla, Hills warned Duncan that

his position of influence tended to lower the influence of the ordained minister of God who ought to be looked up to as the chief guide in spiritual things, whereas they were put aside by the great influence he had obtained...He was losing too a great happiness in not being able to feed his converts all the higher means of grace.\(^{32}\)

His proposal would seem to have been an ideal solution, satisfying himself, and the society and assuring Duncan of complete authority at Metlakatla. Duncan, however, in theory always adhered to the principles of the Native Church Policy. Answering Bishop Hills "he thought as an Evangelist and

31. Ibid.
Pioneer he could break up the rough ground, go through privation, open new fields and then let the settled ministry occupy and build up.\textsuperscript{33} Furthermore, by the late 1860's, Duncan was not prepared to put himself in the situation where he could be more closely subjected to the authority of Bishop Hills.

Duncan himself had little contact with Hills, but his attitude to the Bishop was strongly influenced by the ideas of Reverend Edward Cridge, the former Hudson's Bay Company chaplain, and since 1865 the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria. Duncan had spent his first night on Vancouver Island at Cridge's house, and the friendly acquaintance that had begun in 1857, developed into an extremely close bond of friendship and affection. On his many visits to Victoria, Duncan always stayed at the Cridge's house becoming almost part of the family. Cridge in fact had made arrangements for a place in the family cemetery plot for Duncan to lie on one side of his grave and his own wife on the other.

This friendship was built not only on personal attachment but on a close alignment of religious beliefs. Cridge's devotion to the search for Divine guidance and his regard for the person and ideas of Henry Venn was close to that of Duncan. A Cambridge Evangelical, Cridge had been a firm C.M.S. supporter in England. His diary noted his impressions of the dismissal of missionaries to Abeokuta in 1852. "Mr. Venn read the instructions to the missionaries - much of which came home to myself - one in particular, live in and for the Mission."\textsuperscript{34} In later years, one of

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Cridge, Diary, November 1, 1852.
Cridge's daughters spoke of the closeness of her father and Duncan.

Writing to Duncan, Maude Cridge reminisced,

I often think of you and my dear father together in the old days, and how completely you were of one mind and how much he thought about you in the last few months of his life, and how I think as far as I know that there was no human being in whom he had as much confidence as in you. 35

Edward Cridge, the son of a Devonshire schoolmaster, had himself taught at Oundle School before going up to Cambridge to undertake theological studies. After graduation he became the curate at North Walsham, Norfolk, was later minister in charge of Christ Church, West Ham, and in 1854 he came to Vancouver Island as chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was accepted readily into the social life of Fort Victoria, and as the only Protestant minister of religion, he baptised, married and buried most of the Island families. Attendance at his church, Christ Church, was part of the social ritual established by Douglas and was followed by visiting naval officers and personnel and most of the denizens of the fur trade society.

Into this close society came Right Reverend George Hills, appointed Bishop of Columbia in 1859. Only a year older than Cridge, Hills was the son of a British naval captain. He was admitted to the priesthood in 1840, after becoming one of the first graduates of the University of Durham, and served under Reverend W.F. Hook at Leeds Parish Church before being placed in charge of a parish in Great Yarmouth. Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, was

35 WD/C2143 Maude Cridge to W. Duncan, Victoria, December 30, 1889.
celebrated as the greatest parish priest of his day, and was undoubtedly one of England's leading Tractarians.

Tractarianism was a religious movement within the Church of England, with its intellectual centre at Oxford University. The publication of a series of *Tracts for the Times* aroused the fear of many churchmen that this Oxford movement was dangerously close in doctrine to the pre-reformation Church. Tract 90, published in 1833, particularly raised the ire of the Evangelicals by showing that the thirty-nine articles of faith of the Church of England, were capable of a Catholic as well as a Protestant interpretation.

The Tractarians emphasised the historic origins of the Church of England in the Holy Catholic Church, and unlike Venn and the Evangelicals, were concerned more with the visible Church, the ministry and the sacraments, than with the invisible communion of believers. To the Tractarians, the maintenance of the authority of the Church was vital, and to a large degree this came to mean obedience to the priesthood and the Bishops. The Catholic doctrine of apostolic succession, and notion of the Church as an organic body with a life and function independent of the state, were as strongly adhered to by the Oxford men as they were

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abhorred by most Evangelicals of the Church of England. The relationship of the individual soul to God was important to both Evangelical and Tractarian alike, but for the latter, the importance of that relationship was to be thought of as transcending the importance of the Church. The Church was the divinely established means of grace. But she was something else and something greater. She was the continuing dwelling place of God's spirit upon earth, and as such she had owing to her all the honour and glory within the power of men to pay.

George Hills was strongly influenced by the Oxford Movement and would have seen himself as a Tractarian of moderate views. In September 1841, he had attended the consecration of Dr. Hook's new parish church at Leeds and had found the ceremony "the most impressive, the most noble, the most Catholic ceremonial that has taken place since the Reformation." The future Bishop Hills was an acquaintance of William Ward, a leading Tractarian and the author of two pamphlets in defence of Tract 90. Hills journal recounts on occasion when he, John Keble and Ward dined

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37 The members of the Oxford Movement were not necessarily ritualists. Ritualism was a later development in the Church of England, and although it found its inspiration in the writings of the Oxford Movement, it was not itself an intellectual force. Most of the changes that the ritualists wanted to make in the Anglican service, such as the use of surplices in preaching, a greater use of candles in the service and the carrying of the cross before the minister's entrance into the church, are now widely accepted by all parties of the church, but during the 1850's and 1860's, they were regarded with horror as dangerous innovations by many Anglicans.


40 John Keble was one of the best known intellectuals of the Oxford Movement. He was the author of The Christian Year, which found its way into most Victorian middle class Anglican homes, and was read avidly by members of all parties in the church.
together. "The conversation turned much upon monastic institutions - Mr. Keble wishing much to see them revived in a modified way and thinking our great towns where the population has outgrown the Church to be come at eventually only by such means. And really there is much truth in what he says." Moving thus on the fringes of the intellectual heart of the Oxford Movement, Hills, whose religious beliefs were so close to those of Hook, was delighted when the great Tractarian offered him the lectureship of Leeds. Hills commented, "I had so high an opinion of Dr. Hook, I rejoiced at the opportunity of serving under him." Several prominent Tractarians, particularly John Henry Newman, later entered the Roman Church, thus seemingly confirming the fears of many that such was the ultimate end they envisaged for the Church of England. But the Roman Catholic Church was not by any means the necessarily logical end for the Tractarian, for his whole purpose had been to demonstrate that his Catholic beliefs had a legitimate place in the Anglican Church. Hills himself was repulsed by the ceremony and ritualism of the Roman Church. He found there "superstition and want of real religion is brought to a pitch. Fine and imposing music, but much of the service could not be participated in. No hymns of praise or fervent prayer." He believed that "the Oxford Tracts contain...truths hard to gainsay," but like many other Tractarians he believed firmly in the Catholicity of the Anglican Church. Hills was critical of the exclusive doctrinal foundation of the

41 Hills, Journal, December 21, 1842.
43 Hills, Journal, August 15, 1838.
44 Hills, Journal, January 26, 1843.
Church of Scotland, which "keeps many from joining it, and drives many from it who in England are with us," and was anxious to heal the Wesleyan schism, putting forth the possibility of admitting their chapels into an Anglican union as mission stations, permitting any form of service and extemporaneous preaching. Hills was pre-eminently an Anglican who, after preaching at Harrow Parish Church where the minister was a leading Evangelical confessed that

I am glad to mix with those who in some shades differ from oneself. I always find that acquaintance is easier than one expected and that a better understanding of one another is created...how much we ought to strive in the same Church to love one another.46

George Hills, future Bishop of Columbia, was undoubtedly a Tractarian, but one for whom the Anglican Church assumed a central place in his faith, and who was prepared to accept, if not welcome, that his Church must contain a wide variety of often conflicting beliefs.

In his own parish at Great Yarmouth, Hills patterned himself on the practices of Hook, and became almost as widely known as the ideal of a parish priest. Young priests came eagerly to work under him, and his missions to the working classes, his schoolroom lectures, his system of parish visitors, and his seamen's services were accorded much acclaim. His work attracted the attention of Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts, later Baroness Burdett-Coutts, an influential philanthropist of the mid-Victorian era. With the establishment of British Columbia as a crown colony, Miss

45 Hills, Journal, May 2, 1858.
46 Hills, Journal, April 9, 1859.
Coutts was prevailed upon to contribute a considerable sum to the Colonial Bishopric's Fund, for the support of a Bishop for the two colonies on the Pacific coast. It was on her recommendation that George Hills, vicar of Great Yarmouth, was selected to fill the new post.

Although appointed in 1859, Hills did not arrive in Victoria until 1860, and spent the intervening months in a strenuous attempt to solicit financial support for his future diocese and to find the men to form the nucleus of his staff. Miss Coutts extended her personal patronage to Hills, and through her he entered into the closely knit Victorian political society. Hills became a frequent guest in her house and at her dinner parties, meeting and conversing with such people as Roderic Murchison the geologist, Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape Colony, and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the education reformer.

Hills, although a Bishop, saw himself as a missionary to the new colonies, and like other Victorians his mission was not conceived entirely in religious terms. In a speech at the Mansion House made as part of an appeal for his Columbia Mission Fund, Hills spoke of his plans. "In Columbia let the institutions of England be planted, her freedom, her laws, her religion...Let there be a union of philanthropic and religious minds. Let the British territory be a spot where sympathy will be shown the oppressed."\(^{47}\)

The diocese of Columbia embraced the British Pacific coast

territories and Vancouver Island and was inhabited largely by Indians. Thus the idea of a civilising mission was certainly appropriate for a considerable portion of Hills' charge. Victoria's society, however, did not consider it was appropriate for themselves, for they took great pride in the civilised observances of their social life. Hills unfortunately tended to treat many of the local people in a patronising manner, and in his journals at least this extended to Governor Douglas, who had striven so hard to maintain an aura of civilised decorum both as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company and as a Colonial Governor. On more than one occasion Hills confided to his diary,

I think the Governor does not understand character. He does not know the tone of the upright and high minded gentleman. His appointments have been subservient to himself and not men of independent feeling and high intelligence. He does not get on with independent men. A good deal of this may be owing to the paucity of worthy persons, and partly to his never having lived in England or in any civilized community. Moreover he has been accustomed to a despotic rule as Head of the Hudson Bay affairs and he does not consult with others.  

For the Victorians, and Reverend Edward Cridge may certainly be regarded in that perspective, religion was regarded as "so fundamental that without agreement upon it there could be no true friendship or full sympathy and confidence." The new Bishop's obviously Tractarian bias did not endear him to Cridge or to his parishioners who had become both accustomed to the Evangelical style of religion, and were also personally

48 Hills, Journal, December 26, 1861.
attached to their own minister. Nor did Hills' stiff manner, his aloofness and seemingly patronising attitudes, enable that bond of cordiality to be formed which might have softened some of the religious differences between the two men.

The priests who had answered Hills' call for assistance in his new diocese also gave Cridge some cause for alarm. Some, such as the Reverend A.C. Garrett and the Reverend H.P. Wright were already close friends of Hills, and the latter in particular he had known from boyhood. Reverend R.J. Dundas had been a curate under Hills at St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, while the Reverend Frank B. Gribbell, unable to co-operate with Duncan, stayed to work under Hills. He had, according to Hills, been "impressed by the wish to come to this Diocese by having heard my address at Highbury." Thus with the exception of Cridge, many of the Victoria clergymen, some who were indeed the senior staff of the diocese of Columbia, owed a personal allegiance to the Bishop, and the fact that many of them were young men, amenable to the direction of the Bishop did not escape Cridge's attention. On a later occasion writing to the Bishop, he spoke of "your own clergy, that is one of those who derive their status here solely from your own choice and appointment, and did not as myself possess it before the recognition or even the existence of your Episcopate."^51

There were several small instances of friction between the Bishop and

50 Hills, Journal, November 23, 1869.
his Dean before the final estrangement in 1874. Of particular importance to Cridge were the Bishop's tentative plans for the establishment of a synod of the diocese of Columbia. As early as 1859 Hills appears to have considered the setting up of a synod as an ultimate goal, for his journal noted the advice of his close friend the Bishop of Capetown "not to have a synod at first." Hills' insistence on assigning veto power to the Bishop in synod was strongly contested by Cridge. Particularly where the Church was not established, Cridge believed that a diocese was "a voluntary confederation of churches, presided over by Bishop, chosen or accepted as their federal head for certain common purposes." Hills' veto rested on the divine authority he claimed from his apostolic succession. But for an Evangelical like Cridge, the "divine authority is in the body of the church itself, the actual congregation, and not in any man or order of men." Moreover, Cridge feared that as the synod could be used as a disciplinary body, and as the Bishop had in effect set himself up as one of three estates, that his power would enable him to determine the doctrines to be taught in the diocese.

The controversy was sparked in 1872 by the preaching of Archdeacon W. Reece, an appointee of Bishop Hills, at the ceremony for the re-consecration of Christ Church Cathedral. In Cridge's view, Reece was

52 In 1868, Hills had offered Cridge the Archdeaconry of Nanaimo or New Westminster. Cridge had consulted his congregation and declined the offer, noting privately that he feared what the Bishop would do if he, Cridge, was no longer present to act as a check on his actions. Cridge, Memorandum Book, 1868.
53 Hills, Journal, Notes, 1859.
54 E. Cridge to G. Hills, Victoria, January 9, 1874, Trial.
55 Ibid.
preaching ritualistic ideas to his own congregation and he felt it incumbent upon himself to contradict publicly such doctrines. For Cridge, ritualism was only an informal expression of "the spiritual domination of the priesthood, grounded on the assumption of apostolic descent. This is the cornerstone of the tractsarian as it is of the Romish system...It is that which leads men to put things and persons between Christ and the flock."  

Cridge's outburst at the Cathedral ceremony brought him a letter of censure from the Bishop reminding him of the canon of the Church of England which forbade public opposition between clergy. Although in matters of service and dress, Hills was not a ritualist, he was undoubtedly a Tractarian but one who felt that the Anglican Church allowed a wide latitude of beliefs within her fold. According to the Bishop, Cridge adhered to the strict Evangelical view that the articles of the Church of England were capable of only one Protestant interpretation. Writing to his Dean, the Bishop pointed out that "so long as you set up your own opinions, which you appear to me to do, as an infallible standard...it is not strange that you first misunderstand and then designate as erroneous in tendency, teaching which is perfectly consistent with the doctrines of your church."  

The censure only convinced Cridge of the Bishop's determination to silence his preaching, and he became more than ever committed to

56 CMS/A81 E. Cridge to W. Duncan, February 1, 1875.
57 G. Hills to E. Cridge, Victoria, December 26, 1873, Trial.
maintaining his right to preach his own form of Anglicanism and to be the sole ecclesiastical authority for his congregation. Victoria's Anglicans divided into two factions, a large portion of the old Hudson's Bay Company, including Sir James Douglas, adhering to their old chaplain. Relations between the Bishop and the Dean deteriorated considerably during 1873. Most of their controversies were carried on by letter and centred on Cridge's opposition to Hills' plans for a diocesan synod. In the summer of 1874, Cridge as Dean of Christ Church refused the Bishop the right of visitation, and the Bishop then moved quickly to bring Cridge to trial by a specially constituted ecclesiastical court. This court found Cridge guilty on several counts of denying the Bishop's authority, and on September 17, 1874, Hills withdrew Cridge's license to preach and suspended him from Christ Church.

Cridge attempted to ignore this judgement, claiming that he never denied the Bishop's lawful authority, but only his spiritual authority over his own ministry. Hills successfully had recourse to the civil courts of the province of British Columbia, and obtained an injunction restraining Cridge from preaching or officiating as a clergyman of the Church of England. The following year Cridge took a large portion of his congregation into communion with the Reformed Episcopal Church of the United States, and was himself consecrated a Bishop of that denomination in 1876.

58 The case was heard before the Chief Justice of British Columbia, Matthew Baillie Begbie, who had remained a member of the Anglican Church after the schism. Hills was advised throughout by J.F. McCreight, who also remained within the Church. According to McCreight, Cridge was deranged on the subject of the episcopate, and "thought before a year he would be a madman." Hills, Journal, February 1, 1874.
Bishop Hills was certainly within his legal and ecclesiastical rights to demand access to his cathedral, and to ensure that Anglican clergymen did not engage in public controversy during a cathedral service. For both Hills and Cridge, however, it was not these specific incidents which were important, but the underlying question of the nature and extent of a Bishop's authority. Essentially the conflict in British Columbia was only an echo of similar problems which had elsewhere confronted the Anglican Church, and in fact reflected that "perpetual tension between the Catholic (and Anglican) idea of Church Government by bishops and the Protestant (and Anglican) idea of the supremacy of private judgement."  

This same question of episcopal authority was the basis of the major ecclesiastical disputes which absorbed the attentions of the mid-Victorians.

The dispute in 1850 between the Calvinist Reverend George Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter, Right Reverend Henry Phillpotts, arose originally over whether or not an infant after baptism was in a state of grace. The ecclesiastical courts decided in favour of the Bishop, that baptism did effect a regeneration in the child. The Privy Council, however, found in favour of Gorham, that grace was not a necessary concomitant of baptism. The theological question was not, however, the major concern. As in the schism in Victoria, the problem also involved the authority of a Bishop over his clergy and their beliefs. The Privy Council in fact was deciding in favour of national comprehensiveness in doctrinal questions. It was

60 During his tour of England in 1859, Hills had made a special point of visiting the aging Bishop of Exeter.
the accident of the respective positions of the two men, not their doctrines, which produced a decision in favour of the one against the other.  

Similar principles of authority were also involved in the conflict in the 1860's between John Colenso, Bishop of Natal and his metropolitan the Bishop of Capetown, Right Reverend George Gray. After publishing a criticism of the Pentateuch, Colenso was tried and found guilty of heresy by the Bishop of Capetown. The Privy Council in its turn supported Colenso, again upholding the principle of comprehensiveness of doctrine. After the findings of the ecclesiastical court in British Columbia, Cridge himself cited the Privy Council decision in the Colenso case. As he pointed out, the Privy Council had ruled that suspension or deprivation was a matter of coercive legal jurisdiction and not of spiritual authority. Cridge of course claimed that he had never opposed the lawful authority of the Bishop, but only his spiritual authority, and thus the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court were irrelevant.

A recent thesis on the Anglican schism in British Columbia concludes that Hills in fact, was the truer Anglican, for his goal was a well organised institution for the worship of all, not a Church committed to

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61 Cockshut, 41
62 The Bishop of Capetown was a very close friend of Hills, and they had often taken counsel together before Hills departed for his new diocese.
63 The dispute was of course far more complicated. The ecclesiastical authorities consecrated a second Bishop of Natal and for fourteen years the diocese had two Bishops, one recognised by the Privy Council, and the other by the Church.
64 Cridge, Trial, Victoria, October 23, 1874.
one particular doctrine. This is only true, however, in a limited sense. Although Hills never specifically interfered with Cridge's evangelical teachings, he was certainly not a latitudinarian by conviction. Replying to such a designation, Hills remarked, "I had distinct views and disliked what are called broad Church views - only was obliged as Bishop to allow the latitude to difference of views which the Church allows." Hills' view of the episcopate, however, was decidedly tractarian, and Cridge was certainly justified in fearing Hills' prospective role in a synod.

Hills' determination to uphold his episcopal authority perhaps only reflected his attitude to the general problems of discipline and authority in British Columbia. Since his arrival in Victoria, his journal showed marked concern for the lawlessness of the miners, the high proportion of suicides and murders in his archdiocese and the attention given to spiritualists and revivalists. Commenting on the political system in 1866, Hills was most concerned that "at present universal suffrage is the mode of sending members to the Council - even China men. In fact the voice of the rabble alone is to prevail." In Hills' mind, Cridge's opposition was based on "dislike apparently to all authority...." He appeared to feel it his duty not only as a Bishop but as an Englishman to try to maintain the proper vestiges of authority in what he still hoped would be

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66 Hills, Journal, June 8, 1874.
67 Hills, Journal, October 13, 1866.
68 Hills, Journal, January 10, 1874.
a replica of England on the Pacific coast. Hills was concerned that colonial society bore so little resemblance to its disciplined Victorian counterpart, and he became convinced that unless he enforced firm standards of authority in ecclesiastical matters, the already existing anarchical elements would receive potentially fatal encouragement. His own sense of self-importance and the nature of his dual mission combined to impose on the Bishop the additional task of upholding authority in general.

This long, and at times bitter dispute, was of great importance for Duncan and the Metlakatla mission, both in its practical effects and in its theological implications. Even before the schism, the strained relations between the Dean and the Bishop at Victoria had had disruptive effects for Metlakatla. New missionaries bound for the North Pacific mission generally had to spend some time at Victoria first, and were inevitably forced into committing themselves to one of the disputing parties. In 1868, Hills claimed that the Cridge was the major cause of the problems which led to the rejection of Owen by the C.M.S. missionaries at Metlakatla. "I believe Mr. Cridge entertained from an early period a dislike to him because he did not show sufficient deference to him, and because he was not a thorough paced low Churchman and because he disapproved of some things in the Mission and because he thought he was in concert with Mr. Gribbell whom the Dean dislikes."69 Hills also suspected that Cridge dissuaded Collison from presenting himself to his

Bishop while in Victoria. On the other hand, Reverend A.J. Hall associated with the Bishop and neglected to visit Cridge. The Bishop found him a "promising young clergyman. A protegé of my friend Canon Ellison at whose Bible Classes he formed impressions which led him to become a missionary." On arrival at Metlakatla, Hall confessed that he had not seen Bishop Cridge and was told by a lady missionary standing by, "Mr. H - I fear you have brought trouble to Metlakatla."

Robert Tomlinson of Kincolith, Duncan's most fervent supporter, was also affected by the dispute at Victoria. His evangelicalism was as strong as Duncan's and he fully supported Cridge's actions. His friendship with Cridge brought him the disapproval of the Bishop. In 1868 Hills came to the conclusion that Tomlinson "was very impetuous and ignorant of the courtesies of civilised society." Further conflict arose over the question of Tomlinson's ordination. Tomlinson came down to Victoria in 1873 only a few months after the Bishop's censure of Cridge, apparently prepared to accept priest's orders from Hills. After spending much time in prayer and consultation with the Dean, Tomlinson reported his decision to Bishop Hills.

He was with the Dean yesterday and to-day came full of Irish fanaticism to say because I had not consulted the Dean as to the arrangements for his ordination and because he connected that circumstance with the Dean's protest in the Church on the 5th of December that therefore he would withdraw from the ordination. It was useless to reason. He spoke disrespectfully.

70 Hills, Journal, July 16, 1877.
72 Hills, Journal, April 21, 1868.
73 Hills, Journal, February 24, 1873.
It is likely that Cridge cautioned the young Evangelical to consider seriously the consequences of putting himself under an oath of obedience to a Bishop with such strong views of the spiritual powers of the expiscopate. Commenting on the incident to his friend Duncan, Cridge wrote, "I think God has enabled him to forget himself and to think only of the Cause. This is what I want now to ask you to remember in your prayers. We three must be united in this."74

Duncan himself wholeheartedly supported Cridge's actions and informed the C.M.S.,

I have felt more than ever thankful that I was not ordained and thus in the power of such a man as Bishop Hills; for so far from my thinking that Mr. Cridge did too much, I verily believe that I should have gone even farther. I never could have sat in our Church and listened to a man teaching false doctrines over my head to my people.75

Like Cridge he believed that Tomlinson acted wisely in refusing ordination from the Bishop. Duncan in particular feared the effect of such action on the Metlakatla Indians: "To receive ordination from the Bishop would be synonymous to telling our people we are on the same path with the Bishop... It seems a far safer course for us to teach them Bishops are fallible men... but when they dishonour their Master we must stand aloof from them and their teaching."76

Both Tomlinson and Duncan made public their adherence to Cridge by preaching in his church, an action for which Bishop Hills withdrew

74 WD/C2145 E. Cridge to W. Duncan, Victoria, March 10, 1873.
75 CMS/A106 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 29, 1876.
76 Ibid.
Tomlinson's license to preach and registered a complaint of Duncan's behaviour to the C.M.S. There were many at Victoria who recognised the possibility that Duncan would follow his friend Criddle into the Reformed Episcopal Church, taking with him the Anglican Indians of the North Pacific coast. Criddle himself saw the possibility and indeed spoke of "our movement" in writing to Duncan and Tomlinson. Although he might have welcomed Duncan into communion with his new church, he advised his friend, "I will not embarass you with any suggestions but pray that God's Holy Spirit may inspire you with counsels of strength and consolation."

Duncan did not leave the Church of England at this point and this was probably largely due to the fact that he was still reasonably independent of the formal authority of the church at Metlakatla, and to his continuing need for C.M.S. funds and personnel. Yet the schism at Victoria and the treatment meted out to his close friend could not but affect Duncan's attitude to Bishop Hills and to the Church of England. Initially the dispute had strengthened Duncan's conviction that Metlakatla is intended by God to be a witness for the power of His truth, unadorned by human assumptions and thus a striking reproof to the Bishop of this diocese and his clergy for all their sacerdotal pretensions. Bishop Hills

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77 Tomlinson argued convincingly that he had broken no church law or rule but that his preaching in the Reformed Episcopal Church was only an expression of Christian fellowship. As the C.M.S. buildings were not consecrated, the revocation of his license could not affect his ability to preach at Metlakatla or Kincolith. (CMS/A106 Robert Tomlinson, Statement in Reference to the Withdrawal of his License by Bishop Hills, n.d.)

78 WD/C2145 E. Criddle to W. Duncan, Victoria, March 10, 1873.
has long since prophesied evil for us, but his prophecies have all failed while he and his clergy have carried out...their sacramental proclivities in their various Missions and God has written ichabod on them all.79

Bishop Hills' doctrines and his exercise of episcopal authority certainly intensified Duncan's already hostile feelings towards any spiritual authority other than that of the individual conscience. If the Bishop were to write a Pilgrim's Progress, Duncan was convinced he would "put the Palace Beautiful at the head of the way and across it too. But I believe Bunyan is correct when he places the Church a considerable distance along the road and only by the side of the road for the refreshment and edification of Pilgrims."80 Hills' action in fact made Duncan more wary not only of tractarian ideas, but of any Bishop or hint of episcopal authority.

In the spring of 1877, Bishop Hills planned to visit Metlakatla to confirm some of the native Christians and to celebrate Holy Communion. Not unexpectedly, Duncan refused to permit this visit, fearing that Hills would attempt to crush his teaching as he appeared to have done with Cridge. In the name of the Indians of Metlakatla Duncan wrote to Bishop Hills, "Let the Bishop be first reconciled to Mr. Cridge and then it will be good for him to come to Metlakatla."81 This refusal to welcome Hills had two far reaching results for Duncan and the Metlakatla Mission. In the first place it gave an urgent impetus to Hills' long nurtured plans

79 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 29, 1876.
80 CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, February 3, 1873.
81 CMS/A106 The Christians of Metlakahtla to Bishop Hills, Metlakatla, March 27, 1876.
for the division of his diocese. As early as 1862 he had spoken with his Archdeacon of his eventual plan to create four dioceses in British Columbia. Duncan's unwillingness to submit to his authority made the division of the diocese and the appointment of another Bishop to officiate on the North Pacific coast an attractive alternative to Hills. The synod of British Columbia concurred with him in this plan 82 and when Hills visited England in 1879 he was able to persuade the C.M.S. to endow the northern Bishopric of Caledonia and to help him find the best man for the delicate task of supervising William Duncan. Secondly and more immediately, Hills believing that it was imperative that Duncan be subject to some episcopal authority, urged the C.M.S. to advise their Bishop of Athabasca, Right Reverend W.C. Bompas to make an official visit to Metlakatla.

Bishop Bompas spent over two months in Metlakatla during the winter of 1877-78. He was able to observe closely all aspects of mission life and to provide the C.M.S. with their first relatively unbiased appraisal of conditions in their North Pacific mission. He confirmed their suspicions that in general Metlakatla was far from being conducted in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. In Bompas' view,

82 In 1862, Hills had planned to divide the diocese into four—Vancouver Island (Diocese of Vancouver), the southern half of the British Columbian mainland (Diocese of Columbia), northern mainland (Diocese of New Caledonia), and Stickeen, a missionary Bishopric which would include Fort Simpson, Queen Charlotte Islands and Stickeen. (Hills, Journal, December 10, 1862.) However, in 1879 the decision was made to divide the diocese into three—Vancouver Island (Diocese of Columbia), the southern half of the mainland (Diocese of New Westminster), and the northern half of the mainland, plus the Queen Charlotte Islands and the C.M.S. mission to the Kwakiutl, (Diocese of Caledonia).
C.M.S. missions should be regulated by the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and declared it to be "obvious that the Church of Metlakatla as elsewhere ought to be in charge of an ordained clergyman."\(^{83}\) He reported too that Duncan was attaching the sympathies of his people to the Reformed Episcopal Church, circulating their prayer book among some of the Indians. Bompas recognised the difficulties of the particular religious situation in the province and saw that the C.M.S. missionaries had no theological support in the province. He recommended to the society that they send an agent to Victoria to provide a rallying point for Evangelical religion. "This seems rather especially called for in British Columbia as the Society's Missionaries in respect to the religious are peculiarly isolated here."\(^{84}\)

The Bishop of Athabasca's report concurred with the opinion of other travellers that most of the Metlakatla Indians spoke little English,\(^{85}\) yet were obliged to use only English Bibles. While he acknowledged that "the use they make of their English Bibles is surprizing...\(\text{for}\) they continue most of them unable to speak the English language,"\(^{86}\) he recommended that the C.M.S. press for more translations to be made into Tsimshian.

83 WD/C2156 Notes and Memoranda, Report of a Visit to Metlakatla by the Bishop of Athabasca, February 1, 1878.
84 Ibid.
85 An unsigned letter in the Colonist July 2, 1869, p. 3, told of "the Mission Indians [who] dress in English clothing and address you with, 'how do you do, sir',' thank you sir', but go into their houses and you find that they have thrown aside that clothing for a blanket, and that their knowledge of the English language is that of a parrot, and confined to a few set phrases."
86 WD/C2156 Notes and Memoranda, Bishop of Athabasca's Report.
I should be glad...for some small translations to be made into Tsimsean namely a gospel and Extracts from the Prayer Book service. I should like to see a little more extended Liturgy used in divine service including the Creed and Commandments and that if possible a Native should read in Tsimsean a Chapter from the Bible at morning and evening prayer.  

Feeling it of utmost importance that an experienced clergyman in orders be established at Metlakatla, and as Duncan had again refused the position, the Bishop ordained W.H. Collison. As Bompas realised, Collison was probably the ideal choice for such a post. He was an experienced worker among the Indians; he knew the language and he had been able to work co-operatively with Duncan for some time. As a priest he expressed the wish "to act with all Christian humility and deference to Mr. Duncan." The major task of Metlakatla's first resident clergyman would be to prepare native communicants and to bring forward candidates for the ministry, duties which had been previously neglected. According to Bompas the Indians were "hitherto too much engrossed in Mr. Duncan's secular work to take up really Mission duties." No native Christians were admitted to the sacrament during Bompas' visit since both he and Hall were ignorant of the language, and no translation of the service existed. In addition the Bishop arrived only a few weeks after the outbreak of religious fervour at Metlakatla and clearly felt it would be unwise to proceed too swiftly with introducing communion services.

87 Ibid.  
88 Bompas agreed with Duncan that Hall's recent hasty action would make it inadvisable to place him in clerical charge of the mission.  
89 CMS/A106 W.C. Bompas to C.M.S., Massett, March 6, 1878.  
90 CMS/A106 W.C. Bompas to C.M.S., Kincolith, March 22, 1878.
The Natives have as yet received no explanation of the Sacrament and without careful training they are liable to receive it in a superstitious manner. Should our plans be carried out it is hoped that Mr. Collison after receiving Deacon's and Priest's orders may be able fully to instruct the candidates, translate the service and administer the Communion.  

The most difficult problem facing Bompas and the C.M.S. was the future position of Duncan himself, after an ordained missionary had assumed clerical control of Metlakatla. The Bishop recognised that Duncan's collision with ecclesiastical authority had produced in him somewhat hostile attitudes to all clergymen, and also realised the personal difficulties that Duncan would encounter in surrendering his authority over religious affairs. He seems to have feared that in such a situation Duncan might leave the C.M.S. altogether for "he seemed very desirous to start the Fort Rupert mission independent of the Society." The Bishop even anticipated that if Duncan did leave the mission he might well "be taken up by the Canadian Government in connection with the superintendence of Indian affairs and that he may find there his most useful and congenial sphere."  

However, Bompas did offer Duncan an alternative, suggesting that he become Lay Superintendent and Corresponding Secretary for all the coast missions, with his headquarters at Metlakatla or Fort Rupert. His Magisterial powers are an important protection to all the Missions and his experienced advice may be of much service to the Society...Nor do I see any need for

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91 CMS/A106 W.C. Bompas to C.M.S., Metlakatla, January 29, 1878.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
him to cease from taking part in preaching the gospel at the Missions and I have offered him a License as Lay Reader for this purpose.94

The schools would still be under Duncan's control and he would have management of the secular work of the mission. Bompas pointed out to Duncan that when he was in sole control of the mission, the "whole burden of the Metlakatla village [was] on you, you become almost a slave to your people and they become too dependent on your aid while we all wish to teach them independence."95 In addition the Bishop reminded Duncan that he had a responsibility to fulfil toward the mission and could not withdraw until such an action would not prejudice the interests of the native Christians.

Bompas's visit had ostensibly brought many changes to Metlakatla and few were welcomed by Duncan. Collison and Duncan were to have joint authority at Metlakatla; Hall began a new mission at Fort Rupert; Schutt moved to Kincolith and Tomlinson was to undertake new work up the Skeena and Nass Rivers. As far as the C.M.S. was concerned, order had been brought to the North Pacific mission, and clerical supervision had at last been imposed. But from Duncan's point of view

the presence of Bishop Bompas at the Mission has not I am sorry to say been attended with any very salutary results...I am afraid he will prove not a safe councillor to the Society about the work out here which is so different to his Indians - he cannot therefore be supposed to understand us.96

94 WD/C2156 Notes and Memoranda, Bishop of Athabasca's Report.
95 WD/C2145 W.C. Bompas to W. Duncan, Fort Simpson, British Columbia, February 20, 1878.
96 CMS/A106 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 4, 1878.
Duncan was troubled largely because Bompas, unlike any other visitor to Metlakatla, concerned himself with purely religious conditions. On the one hand Duncan had not received the usual accolades about the marvels of his secular work, and on the other, he had received a sharp rebuke for the inadequacies of his religious work. "What has struck every other visitor, viz the energy and the industry of the place, has failed to win his sympathy. It strikes me it would be well for the poor wanderers in Athabasca if they had some friend who would help them in temporal matters as well as teach them the Catechism." 97

Duncan made no effort to comply with Bompas' recommendations on religious matters, and although Collison was theoretically in charge of ecclesiastical affairs, there was no confusion in either Duncan's or the Indian's mind as to who was the effective authority at Metlakatla. In terms of the historical development of Metlakatla, and of its present stature, Bompas and the society had made unrealistic demands on Duncan and Collison, for anyone familiar with the model village was well aware, that so long as Duncan remained with the Tsimshians, his authority was supreme and indivisible. Bompas' visit had served merely to confirm Duncan's antagonism to priests and Bishops, even professedly evangelical prelates, and to increase his suspicions of the intentions of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society.

The following year, 1879, the C.M.S. at the request of Bishop Hills, undertook the responsibility of finding the man who could assume the

97 Ibid.
arduous and delicate role of Bishop of Caledonia. In view of the tense situation in the North Pacific missions, it is surprising that the society did not exercise greater care in their selection of the man to supervise Duncan. The future Bishop, Reverend William Ridley, was the son of a Devon stonemason, who had himself been a carpenter by trade before entering the C.M.S. training college at Islington. After spending some years as an ordained C.M.S. missionary in India, mostly at Peshawar, his health had deteriorated and he had returned home. Here he had had two years experience in parochial work in a large village, before undertaking mission church work in Huddersfield. The latter was apparently too strenuous for him for in 1878 he reported that he had "a very serious breakdown from working beyond my strength and have been warned against a renewal of it by the doctor." 98

Ridley's strained health had in fact only recently brought him to the attention of the committee. In November 1878, he had written to the C.M.S. asking to be considered for a quiet position.

It is possible that you may sometime hear of a vacant benefice and have some influence with the patron in bestowing them. If you would kindly consider me when such opportunities arise I shall be glad. I should like a small charge near a large population with a Railway Station at hand so that I may be able to devote a great part of my time to the society cause without neglecting my parochial duties. 99

In reply, the committee without apparently considering anyone else,

98 CMS/A125 Reverend W. Ridley to Reverend H. Wright, St. Paul's Vicarage, Huddersfield, November 16, 1878.
99 Ibid.
offered him the diocese of Caledonia. It is difficult to explain why a retired Indian missionary, who had suffered two physical breakdowns and whose own desire was for a small parish, near to a railway station and close to a large city, was offered episcopal charge of the distant, sparsely populated and climatically unsuitable diocese of Caledonia. The only apparent reason for the choice seems to have been that Ridley was a close friend of one of C.M.S. secretaries, Reverend C.C. Fenn, who was also a former Indian missionary and was presently in charge of the North Pacific missions. If this was indeed the case, it was unfortunate that the C.M.S. allowed patronage to precede principles, for Ridley was hardly the ideal choice for such a difficult task.

The evaluations of Ridley that the C.M.S. received were not excessively enthusiastic about his appointment as Bishop of Caledonia. The Reverend R. Collins of Huddersfield testified that Ridley was intellectually a man of vigorous powers, capable of learning native languages, was morally sound and an abstainer. He emphasised that Ridley suffered poor health, and added, "I am not able to give an opinion as to how far he would be likely to get on with a lay Bishop such as our very valuable friend Mr. Duncan."100 Reverend W.B. Calvert of Nottingham thought Ridley was "an able speaker, a good administrator, firm on principle but conciliatory in manner,"101 but like the Reverend Collins he was far more eloquent about the capacities of the wife of the future Bishop.

100 CMS/A125 R. Collins to C.M.S., Kirkburton Vicarage, Huddersfield, February 5, 1879.
101 CMS/A125 W.B. Calvert to C.M.S., St. Luke's Vicarage, Nottingham, February 5, 1879.
Mrs. Ridley is a most uncommon person. She has robust health, great endurance, large mental powers, great tact, I should say and without being in any unpleasant sense at all, manly, has the qualifications of a most useful and prominent worker.  

Duncan himself was quite contemptuous of Ridley's qualifications, considering him to be just one more "whom the Society's friends have raised to the Ministry, [and who] preferred to remain at home...It needed ...the offer of a Bishopric to arouse his Missionary zeal and restore to him the health needful for Missionary labour."  

While an old acquaintance of Ridley's from Brixham, Devon, reported that "the missionaries of the Society with whom I have conversed, are all astonished at his appointment, never having been considered a man of marked ability."  

The Intelligencer, however, found great satisfaction in Ridley's appointment for it demonstrated "that the importance of placing experienced missionaries and not 'novices' over diocese containing Missions is thus being more and more recognized."  

The fact that Ridley had some missionary experience, and that he was reputedly attached to evangelical principles, were perhaps his only qualifications for the position.

However, Ridley conscientiously prepared himself for his future mission. He became well informed about the state of affairs in the diocese, had long conferences with Fenn and discussed the situation with Bishop Hills who visited England in 1879, and with Admiral Prevost whom he met in

102 Ibid.
104 WD/C2146 A.F. Casey to ? The Vicarage, Brixham, December 4, 1882.
105 CMI 1879, p. 332.
Victoria on his return from a visit to Metlakatla. The Bishop was coming to a North Pacific region that differed considerably from that which Duncan and Prevost had encountered twenty years before. The Indians had decreased in number, some groups having been nearly eliminated by smallpox and venereal disease. Those that remained were more acculturated to the European's way of life than those first converts of Duncan, although their basic hunting and fishing economy had changed little.

The Tsimshian had been in contact with Christianity for two decades, and their industrial villages at Metlakatla and Kincolith were considered models in the missionary world. Duncan had been the first bearer of the Gospel, but the Bishop came to a diocese where five missionaries, including the wives of three of them, had been at work for some years, among not only the Tsimshian but also the Haida and Kwakiutl. In addition, the Methodists under the Reverend Thomas Crosby had entered the field with their mission to Fort Simpson.

In 1857 the Pacific coast had been under the jurisdiction of British colonial authority, but by the time of the Bishop's arrival it had become a province of the Dominion of Canada. Indian affairs, now the responsibility of the Dominion, were under closer scrutiny, and not only

106 In 1873, two high ranking Tsimshian from Fort Simpson, Alfred and Kate Dudoward, had been converted to Methodism in Victoria. They returned home and asked for a Methodist minister to be sent to Fort Simpson. Reverend Thomas Crosby arrived in 1874 and established an industrial village which came to rival the achievements of Metlakatla. The arrival of the Methodists into a previously Anglican domain caused much bitterness, and Duncan was criticised for not having taken more steps to maintain the allegiance of the Fort Simpson Tsimshian. He in his turn did not hide his feelings about the unethical conduct of the Methodists in "reaping where they had not sown."
was the C.M.S. receiving financial aid from the Dominion government for their industrial and educational work, but they were also now subject to some supervision from the recently appointed Superintendent for Indian Affairs at Victoria, Israel Wood Powell.

The Hudson's Bay Company was still important in the North Pacific, but it had lost its overwhelming dominance. White settlement in the new diocese of Caledonia was little more extensive than it had been when Duncan arrived, although the recent interest and activities of the canning companies pointed the way to the future. Some miners were active in Cassiar and Omineca, but the new diocese was almost entirely Indian in population, with only a small proportion of these even nominally Christian. There seemed little need for an episcopate in such a situation. It seems an inescapable conclusion that the appointment was a direct result of Hills' desire to avoid further ecclesiastical conflict in his own diocese, and the C.M.S.'s desire to impose some direct supervision on Duncan, and not of any consideration of the general needs of the North Pacific mission.

From the beginning, Ridley was regarded with suspicion, if not outright hostility by Duncan and the Metlakatla Indians. As an Anglican Bishop, he had paid little attention to Cridge while in Victoria, which inevitably prejudiced his position at Metlakatla. The Bishop was well aware of the tense situation and for at least the first year approached his mission with caution. He journeyed up the coast from Victoria with Duncan and advised the C.M.S. that he felt this to be a wise move as the Christians here thought my mission was to upset all existing plans to reorganise. To attempt such a thing prematurely would
have aroused opposition and invited failure. The people must be slowly educated up to any desirable improvement in the ecclesiastical organization and no-one can afford such valuable aid in this direction as the man whom God has honoured in planting the faith on this coast.  

To arrive at Metlakatla without Duncan would, as the Bishop apparently understood, have immediately prejudiced his mission.

Ridley's own attitudes to the mission were of course prejudiced by his instructions from the society and by the reports of Hills and Bompas. He first made his diocesan headquarters at Metlakatla, for this was certainly the most active centre of Christianity, if not the largest settlement of the region, and although Duncan initially objected, he was overruled by the society. For several months open relations between Duncan and the new Bishop were civil if not friendly, but from the beginning the Bishop privately voiced his reservations to the C.M.S.

He was immediately and not unnaturally struck by the dominance of William Duncan at Metlakatla. This aspect of mission life had been noted before by Henry Owen who in 1867 had informed the C.M.S. that "even the most trivial and private matter is known to and controlled by Mr. Duncan from whose decision there is no appeal." Duncan himself had remarked that the move to Metlakatla had given him the informal role of a chief, but in fact his powers became far more extensive than those of any traditional chief. Several hours each day were filled with long interviews

107 CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, November 1, 1879.
108 CMS/A105 H.B. Owen to C.M.S., Victoria, October 9, 1867.
with any Metlakatlans who had problems, "the sick, mourners, offenders, debtors, promise breakers, backsliders, doubters, domestic quarrels, non-church attenders, non-tax payers." 109

The Metlakatla system, although theoretically aiming at an independent, self-governing community, in practice was extremely dependent upon the initiative and authority of Duncan. Although the rules and principles of the settlement were agreed to by the settlers, much of Duncan's time was spent in teaching the meaning of various regulations and in enforcing them in practice. Not only was he involved in the major problems of industrial and religious life, but the Indians now turned to him with all the problems of every day life, particularly marital arrangements and conflicts that had previously been taken to the chiefs. On occasion, he was even required to interpret dreams.

Nishash (Miriam Bickersteth) came in to tell me her dream and ask for an interpretation... She saw the church elevated and approached by a steep bank. She was hesitating to walk up being old and feeble, when a voice on the height she recognised as Maria's calling her to come forward (Maria died a year ago). As she was stooping to creep her way up she observed women gathering berries about her, but she could find none for sometime and only succeed in finding two very small ones... I told then how God sometimes for our own good speaks to us in dreams... I told her she might learn from her dreams that the things of this world were like to the few berry bushes about her feet yielding but a few morsels for us however much we may labour. 110

The move to Metlakatla and the large demands made on the Indians in

109 See Duncan's daily timetable, table 2, p. 345.
110 WD/C2155 Journal, May 29, 1866.
the new situation had quickly thrown Duncan into a position of enormous power. On occasion he became impatient with the incessant complaints of the Metlakatlans. "There are some here never happy without continually dirging in my ears, that the Ketlahns are always regretting they have settled here and are longing to give away property again and have their children made ahlied etc. Now all this is perfect fudge."¹¹¹ This intimate contact with all facets of Indian life, and the understanding it gave him of the complexities of the Indian character were perhaps the most disheartening aspect of his missionary work for Duncan. Privately it gave him many reservations about the Indian character, which differed completely from his first impressions and from the view that he presented to the society in his annual letters.¹¹²

By 1867 Duncan had become secure and confident in his autocracy and this was evident to several travellers. "Mr. Duncan's rule is autocratic; the Tsimshian language is his sceptre and the main secret of his success."¹¹³ In a more charitable vein, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Victoria concluded in his annual report for 1879 that Duncan's individuality seems to me to pervade everything connected with the town, and it is doubtful if the place could be taken of one who seems so successfully to have fulfilled the duties of magistrate, doctor, judge and jury, chief trader, chief mechanic, and I may add the kind though firm parent of all who for the last twenty years have been placed under his charge. The child at

¹¹¹ WD/C2155 Journal, August 17, 1866. See Duncan's daily timetable, table 2, p. 345.
¹¹² See Duncan's list of Things to be remembered in discoursing to the Indians, table 3, p. 346.
¹¹³ Colonist, November 13, 1868, p. 3.
the school copies his handwriting, the sick believe him to be infallible, and the oldest and most experienced will make no move without his direction.114

This evident dependence on Duncan greatly disturbed the Bishop. He criticised Duncan for teaching the Scriptures solely in English, for "without the Bible in the language of the people the loss of one life would be irreparable. Retrogression would be inevitable, especially with the prospect of an increase in numbers and in the proportion of merely nominal Christians such as many of the young persons brought up here may be regarded as."115 The Bishop felt that Duncan's oral preaching was not likely to continue with as much vigour as in the past, and considered that the greatest present need was for more Tsimshian translations of the Scriptures and service. He admitted that most Metlakatlans had an "adequate grasp of the simple Gospel obtained mostly from oral teaching of a crucified Saviour,"116 but felt that "much gentleness and patience will be necessary to bring the mission into harmony with the Society's rules."117

Ridley was particularly anxious to avoid unnecessary friction with Duncan yet he was certainly not prepared to be in any way submissive. When requesting that he be paid directly by the society and not through a general mission fund supervised by Duncan, he requested the committee,

115 CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, November 1, 1879.
116 CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, December 4, 1879.
117 Ibid.
not to "suppose that any difficulty exists between me and Mr. Duncan. We are on the best of terms. I trust it will always continue but I could not endure for a moment the kind of direction in use on this coast." Ridley recognised that Duncan's and the Indians' suspicions and guarded hostility could be easily roused to open conflict and commented to the society, that "a small mistake could easily raise an ecclesiastical difficulty of a very serious character. The schism at Victoria is at the bottom of the evil to be watched."  

The first conflict to develop in the North Pacific mission, although it did not directly involve either Duncan or Metlakatla, demonstrated clearly the ideological gulf which separated the lay missionary and his Bishop. Robert Tomlinson, the friend of Duncan, and staunch supporter of Cridge, had recently begun a new mission at Ankatlast. Like Kincolith and Metlakatla, Ankatlast was to be a new Christian village, open only to those Indians prepared to accept Christianity and to renounce certain of their traditional ways. Ridley objected to this venture for several reasons and ordered Tomlinson to move to Skeena Forks, a traditional Indian gathering place where there was a large body of Indians awaiting instruction.

In practical terms, the Bishop felt that Ankatlast could never succeed for its location necessitated that the Indians become agriculturalists rather than fishermen and this "not only seems impossible but needless." But Ridley's opposition was also based on more

118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
120 CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, June 14, 1880.
fundamental issues for he believed that the best way to evangelise was
to go out into the heathen villages and preach the Gospel, and not to
establish Christian villages and hope to attract the heathen to them.
This was a thinly disguised denunciation of everything that Duncan and
Tomlinson stood for, and according to Duncan such criticism from a newly
arrived Bishop was "just such that anyone with his inexperience and his
official powers might be tempted to make."\footnote{121} Tomlinson returned to
England to present his case personally to the committee, and pointed out
to them the theoretical distance between what was increasingly becoming
the two parties in the North Pacific mission. Tomlinson had come with the
full support of Duncan who had instructed him to "tell the committee that
I feel as fully persuaded now, as the day we moved to Metlakahtla, that to
effect any permanent good among these Indians you must draw them from their
heathen homes to a Christian centre."\footnote{122} The committee were asked by
Tomlinson either to continue to support the Metlakatla system as they had
in the past, or to be

\begin{quote}
prepared with Bishop Ridley to condemn that
scheme as a bar to the intermingling of whites
and Indians, as opening a door for other sects
(viz. the Methodists) to establish Missions among
the same tribes, as making the natives too
independent of the missionary especially in
religious matters, as involving the missionaries
in secular pursuits thereby giving occasion for
unfriendly comments on their work.\footnote{123}
\end{quote}

The committee in this case supported Tomlinson and he was able to return
to Ankatlast.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{121} WD/C2154 W. Duncan, \textit{Statement in Reference to Metlakatla}.
\item \footnote{122} CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Victoria, February 28, 1880.
\item \footnote{123} CMS/A106 R. Tomlinson to C.M.S., \textit{Statement of the Case}, n.d.
\end{itemize}
Yet it was not long after this, that Ridley succeeded in imposing his own methods on the new mission to the Kwakiutl, and on their missionary, the more tractable Reverend A.J. Hall. Previously the missionaries of the North Pacific had agreed under Duncan's direction that Hall was to follow the Metlakatla pattern.

The plan I advised was the same which had proved so successful at Metlakahtla. The main features of the plan were, that the Missionary should not at first fix on any Indian village in which to locate permanently the Mission Station, but should rather itinerate from a temporary centre to all the scattered tribes speaking the same tongue; but as soon as he discovered there were some in any or all of the tribes who were willing to join him in establishing a Christian settlement he should at once with their approval choose out a suitable locality and then and there erect the Mission premises and build a church and school.124

Bishop Ridley, however, preferred Alert Bay, an already existing village, where some Whites had also settled, and over Duncan's protest prevailed upon Hall to establish his mission there. Thus even before any religious disputes had erupted, the Bishop's policy appears to have been to prevent the formation of more Metlakatlas, and if possible, slowly and patiently to change Metlakatla itself.

Ridley's gravest charge against the Metlakatla system was that both evangelist and converts had lost that spiritual fervour so essential to the Christian life.

The missionary that makes Metlakatla his model is almost sure to prove a failure...The spiritual element has undoubtedly suffered both in the teachers and the taught by the attention given to

124 WD/C2154 W. Duncan, Statement in Reference to Metlakatla.
secular things. Again and again I have known the making up of accounts reach to midnight on Saturday and the question who is to preach on Sunday left unconsidered until Sunday morning.  

It was difficult for the Church Missionary Society which had for so long taken pride in the achievements at Metlakatla to envisage such a situation, much less propose a solution for it. However, the more tangible problems, such as the lack of scriptural translations and above all the absence of the celebration of the Holy Communion had been under consideration for some time, and specific solutions could be proposed that need not involve the loss of a long admired missionary. Thus although initially for Bishop Ridley, it was Metlakatla's basic lack of spirituality that was in question, the conflict quickly came to be centred on the introduction of Holy Communion and the submission to the order of the Church of England which that entailed.

The question of the introduction of communion had certainly been raised before in reference to Metlakatla. Both Bishop Hills and Bishop Bompas had hoped to hold communion services at the settlement, but circumstances had prevented their doing so, and it was left to the Bishop of Caledonia to bring the dormant controversy into the open. During his first winter at Metlakatla he had prepared for the introduction of communion by learning the Tsimshian language and producing some translations for the service. At first the Bishop had hoped to hold a confirmation

125 CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Victoria, February 28, 1880.
126 Hills had been denied a welcome by the Metlakatla Christians, and Bompas had not wanted to introduce the new services so soon after the religious disturbances, and before the converts had been fully instructed on the matter.
before the spring of 1880 but "Mr. Duncan positively objects to admitting any Indians to the Communion until all the heathen on the coast are baptized. (A very distant day; not in ours.)"  

Duncan's opposition to this proposal was based partly on his anticipation of the Indians' reaction to the new ceremony. He feared that they would interpret the communion act as a form of charm, and that they would come to attach special significance to the man who administered this charm in the name of the Lord. When the Methodists had come to Fort Simpson, they had had no trouble finding numerous candidates for baptism in the first few weeks after their arrival. For Duncan, this confirmed his fears, and he commented bitterly to the society that the Methodist missionary "did not know (perhaps he did not care to know) that the poor Indians were seeking baptisms from his hand to act as a charm for their bodily preservation." He emphasised to the C.M.S. what he believed to be the cannibal traditions of Timshian society, and argued that the Indians were still too close to the old ways to comprehend fully the subtleties of a ceremony involving a feast on the body and blood of Christ.

It will take a generation of time at least to rid them of their deeply rooted system of evil. In nothing does the odour of their former state more constantly shew itself than in their tendency to regard in a superstitious sense every rite and Ceremony of the Church and to attach undue importance to the powers of those who are serving them in God's name...From my earliest days among the people I have seen the necessity of presenting Christianity to them in all its naked simplicity - Keeping everything out of view on which their

127 CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Victoria, February 28, 1880.
128 CMS/A81 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, March 29, 1876.
superstitions might fasten...I most firmly believe that the administration of the Lord's Supper to all but a few of the more advanced among us would prove an hindrance rather than a blessing. 129

Duncan's animosity to a communion service for Indians was, however, only partly based on his fears of its effect on the superstitious nature of the Indians. His own strict evangelicalism and determined anti-ritualism, also gave him reservations about the offering of the Lord's Supper as a sacrament at Metlakatla. In the first place, he believed that in meaning, the ceremony had strayed far from its scriptural origins in the simple service instituted by Christ, and from the social feast of the early Christians. In Duncan's eyes the Lord's Supper had "become to many in the Christian Church what the Brazen Serpent had become to the Jewish Church in the days of Hezekiah - nothing but an idol." 130

In addition, and perhaps of more direct relevance for Metlakatla, Duncan objected to the ceremonialism which had increasingly come to be associated with the communion service and which he felt might prove dangerously seductive to his Christian Indians. It was this very sacrament which had provoked much bitterness in Christian life, and which Duncan argued must not be brought to an Indian utopia.

I cannot shut my eyes to the sad fact that out of and around the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (not out of the partaking of the Lord's Supper) have arisen the greatest errors and the bitterest strife, which have cursed

129 Ibid.
130 WD/C2155 Journal, August 18, 1881, copy of a letter to the C.M.S.
and torn the Christian Church. I do not want to see their errors spring up in Metlakahtla where and while I have influence to keep them out.\textsuperscript{131}

According to Duncan, a particularly dangerous aspect of the introduction of these new ceremonies was that it might divide the community in two, those partaking of communion being regarded with jealousy by the others. It was impossible to invite all to take the sacrament, for many were unprepared for such a responsibility, and for Duncan, the selection of candidates was "fraught with too much danger to the peace and unity of the congregation."\textsuperscript{132} The fact that in the Church of England, communion must be administered by a priest, would also have been an additional divisive factor for Metlakatla, for it would have demonstrated in comprehensible and symbolic terms that Duncan's authority was not supreme and indivisible. That the man who for so long had directed their lives was not now able to offer them the ultimate sacrament of the Christian life, would undoubtedly have meant much confusion for the Metlakatlans.

For twenty years, the Church Missionary Society had permitted Duncan to operate Metlakatla in almost complete freedom, and had sent only the general policy directives that were included in the annual letters to all their missionaries. Thus their insistence in 1880 that Church of England ritual should be introduced in its entirety was perhaps unexpected and certainly greatly resented by Duncan. He recognised that his religious work had not been in strict accordance with the Anglican rituals, but

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\textsuperscript{131} WD/C2154 W. Duncan, \textit{Statement in Reference to Metlakatla}.  \\
\textsuperscript{132} WD/C2155 Journal, August 18, 1881, copy of a letter to the C.M.S.,
\end{flushright}
maintained that the divergences he had permitted were not due to his caprice but had "been forced upon me by the necessity of adapting my teaching to the peculiarities of the native mind."\textsuperscript{133} Metlakatla used simple services, "for the simple reason that such kind of service accords with the condition of the Native mind,"\textsuperscript{134} and Duncan pointed out too that "I believe I know more about the Indians than they \textit{[The Society]} do; and... I know better what is suitable and what is not suitable for the Indians in public worship."\textsuperscript{135} Duncan's belief that he knew what was best for the Tsimshian, was of course basic to all his attitudes and mission policies, but it had never before been expressed so clearly nor offered as such a direct challenge to the authority of the Church Missionary Society.

During the winter of 1880, Duncan became alarmed by the Bishop's opposition to the Metlakatla system, and to his obvious determination to hold confirmation and communion ceremonies for the Tsimshian. His most immediate fear was that the coming crisis in the ecclesiastical conduct of the mission might divide the Indians, and he thus prepared a covenant for the Metlakatlans. "This is to the effect that the Indians will never allow any-one to divide them religiously. This all must sign."\textsuperscript{136} Ridley predicted that this was only a prelude to the withdrawal of the village from C.M.S. jurisdiction, and the results of the first conference of missionaries of the North Pacific station were to confirm these fears.

The Bishop of Caledonia was unfortunately unable to attend this first

\textsuperscript{133} CMS/A122 W. Duncan to C.M.S., London, November 24, 1885.
\textsuperscript{134} WD/C2154 W. Duncan, \textit{Statement in Reference to Metlakatla}.
\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{136} CMS/A106 W. Ridley to C.M.S., Victoria, February 28, 1880.
gathering of the missionaries of his diocese, in July 1881, and without
his influence to balance that of Duncan, the conference voted unanimously
to ask Duncan to continue to direct Metlakatla as a lay missionary. But
although Duncan had asked the conference to advise the C.M.S. to allow
Metlakatla to become an independent Church, they in fact decided only to
ask the society to leave Metlakatla as a lay mission with no clerical
supervision. Such a solution might have been amenable to Duncan before
1879, but with the continued close presence of a Bishop who opposed the
Metlakatla system, and who clearly intended to introduce the communion to
Metlakatla, such a solution could only result in continued conflicts and
hostility. By 1881, Duncan's goal was independence for Metlakatla, and
his explicit demand for the removal of C.M.S. authority was laid before
the committee in August of that year.

Duncan maintained that he was only seeking a financial separation,
and hoped that his suggestion

will not be thought to carry with it any menace,
or to change in any degree if adopted the
sympathetic relationship existing between the
Metlakatla Church and the Society. The separation
need only be a financial one. No rupture of any
kind need take place, nor any change whatever be
made in the respectful and affectionate regard
between the Indians and the Society missionaries
in other parts of the Province.137

But as Duncan and the C.M.S. recognised, by 1881, Metlakatla and the
society were bound only by the financial link, and to sever that would be
to give Duncan the freedom he desired to direct the future of the village.

137 WD/C2155 Journal, August 18, 1881, copy of a letter to the C.M.S.
An independent Metlakatla would differ little from its supposedly Anglican predecessor. Worship would continue in the same way with "no imposed forms - no human adornments - vestments or party spirit." Under C.M.S. jurisdiction, Duncan had been "fearful lest through impatience or outside pressure we should prematurely introduce them to higher religious profession than their religious experience and intelligence would warrant." But in an independent Metlakatla it would be possible for "our mode and material of worship to be kept within the mental horizon of the people," suitable to their circumstances and able to grow with them. In the future, Duncan also considered it likely that some form of observance of the Lord's Supper would be introduced in a simple ceremony, "as sanctioned by Scripture."

Duncan's own perspective on the Anglican Church did not endear him to the idea of bringing Metlakatla into closer alignment with its dogmas. His friendship with Cridge had made him especially hostile to the authority of its Bishops. In particular he was angered by Bishop Ridley's close acquaintance with Hills in Victoria. In Duncan's opinion, Bishop Ridley no longer disguises his feelings towards Metlakahtla or his oneness with that Church party in Victoria which has done its utmost to drive out evangelical religion from the Province. And though his religious views and teaching may be very different to the religious views and teaching of the party with whom he associates, yet by the Christian public they are regarded as identical, and all the more so because Bishop Ridley with strict ecclesiastical

138 Ibid.
139 Ibid.
140 Ibid.
141 Ibid.
propriety stands aloof from all other Christian Ministers and Churches in Victoria. 142

In addition, the numerous religious conflicts within the Church during his own lifetime, had made him apprehensive about the future of evangelicalism, and indeed of the Church of England itself. In Duncan's mind the facts are that heartlessness - formality - self seeking in the Church, an overwhelming regard to human authority and jealousy of all persons and methods not of her own appointing, these form the mighty barrier to the spread and progress of God's truth in the world. How sad the spectacle of large bodies of clergymen banding themselves together to fight for baubles about investments with which to adorn themselves. 143

Duncan argued that he had never aimed to make the Metlakatlans Anglicans. He had always seen himself as an evangelist who desired only to bring converts to the Church of Christ. The missionary's duty to the heathen he believed, was "simply evangelistic not ecclesiastical. We should present them...with the Simple Gospel for their acceptance and leave Church order to mould itself in each new congregation, naturally and in harmony with the Native Mind." 144 In Duncan's view all Christian bodies had the right to decide for themselves their form of church organisation, and native congregations in particular were "not bound to adopt any of the ready made divisions of Christ's Church or adopt the formulae of any one Church...they have a right to be free in all matters where the written word allows them freedom." 145 In asking for independence

143 WD/C2155 Journal, August 18, 1881, copy of a letter to the C.M.S.
144 WD/C2146 W. Duncan to C.M.S., London, March 10, 1886.
145 WD/C2146 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Metlakatla, August 18, 1881.
then, Duncan not only aimed to conserve the freedom of action that Metlakatla had always previously enjoyed, but was in effect only following to their conclusion, the policies which had always guided him. And most important, he pointed out to the society, his suggestion was "in accordance with the ultimate hopes and plans of the Society as regards the Mission becoming self-supporting."  

Here superficially, seemed to be Duncan's most valuable defence for the policies he had pursued and for the future separation he demanded. Venn had insisted that the native church become self-supporting before separation, and Metlakatla more than most C.M.S. missions, was well able to provide for its own teachers and religious institutions. In his various papers on the Native Church Policy, and in his instructions to missionaries, Venn had looked forward to that time when "Churches composed of Bible Christians...will outgrow the denominational features in which they were cast." The native churches were to be national institutions and eventually were to attract all the Christians of the nation. Thus they would "supersede the denominational distinctions which are now introduced by Foreign Missionary Societies." Venn aimed not for each convert to become Anglican; rather he hoped that the convert would first be a member of his native church, and as such ultimately part of Venn's ideal of the universal Church of Christ.

In 1872, on his retirement from the Secretariat, Venn had chosen

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146 Ibid.
147 H. Venn, Speech at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, April 3, 1861, cited in Knight, 248.
148 H. Venn, On Nationality, cited in Knight, 282.
Reverend Henry Wright as his successor. Accordingly there appears to have been no deviation from Venn's Native Church Policy in the society's annual instructions to missionaries. The annual letter for 1877 laid particular stress on the independence of native congregations. Duncan had been pleased to bring this to Cridge's attention.

The Society's letters breathe the same kind confidence as ever and I am particularly glad that in their yearly circular sent to all their Missionaries this year they speak out their minds about the Church of England and their native congregations which leave me nothing more to desire.\(^{149}\)

Again in his Statement in Reference to Metlakatla, Duncan pointed to this same letter in his defence. Though the committee had stated that what they desired to see in their converts "is not submissiveness to the Church of England, but a desire for and ultimately the attachment to an independent Church of their own,"\(^{150}\) yet, according to Duncan, when Metlakatla had asked for its independence, the society had refused. Writing to the C.M.S. in support of Metlakatla's independence, Tomlinson also pointed to the Native Church Policy to justify Duncan's demands. He emphasised that the annual letter of 1876 had plainly stated that "a general request from Native Christian in any mission for an independent native church would be irresistible,"\(^{151}\) and that in 1877 the society had further claimed that their object was "the glory of God in the evangelization of the heathen, and not the aggrandisement of the English Church."\(^{152}\)

\(^{149}\) CMS/A106 W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Metlakatla, March 7, 1878.
\(^{150}\) WD/C2154 W. Duncan, Statement in Reference to Metlakatla.
\(^{151}\) WD/C2155 Journal, August 28, 1882, copy of a letter of Robert Tomlinson to C.M.S.
\(^{152}\) Ibid.
Bishop Bompas had foreseen the effect of these most recent pronouncements of the Native Church Policy at Metlakatla. "They seem rather to carry out Mr. Duncan's view which has been he says to make only Christians and not Churchmen of the Converts." The Church Missionary Society, however, saw no anomalies in their position. The Intelligencer declared that the committee "could not for one moment admit that any man, not even Mr. Duncan - could have the right to stand between Christians of fifteen and twenty years standing and the observance of the Saviour's dying commands." In the society's view, the Lord's Supper was not a ceremony devised by men, but was "the Lord's command which must not be disobeyed. It is a spiritual privilege, an exercise of Christian fellowship, from which the metlakahtlah Christians must not be debarred by the Society's agents."

The C.M.S. were less pessimistic about the future of the Church of England than Duncan, and were far less concerned about the dangers of ritualism. They agreed that ritualism was present but felt that the Evangelicals were still an active and vital power in the Church. They advised Duncan to "kindly bear in mind that the circumstances of the Church of England in British Columbia are peculiar owing to the unhappy differences between Dr. Hills and Dean Cridge, and this has caused irritation in the minds of many Christian people, and a consequent impatience of certain features in the Church of England."  

153 CMS/A106 W.C. Bompas to C.M.S., Kincolith, March 22, 1878.  
154 CMI 1882, p. 326.  
155 WD/C2146 C.M.S. to W. Duncan, London, December 3, 1881.  
156 Ibid.
So long as a missionary was preaching to unconverted heathen, the society agreed with Duncan that he should have nothing to do with the ranks, dignities or adornments of ecclesiasticism. "When on the other hand converts are given to him, the duty of Christian fellowship and of united worship compels the introduction of some Church system." 157 Although the C.M.S. reiterated that they did not desire to impose a particular mode of church order on the native churches, they were "concerned about what kind of recommendations in regard to order are made by the missionaries." 158 Their wide experience, they informed Duncan, had convinced them that "Church of England principles are the best with which to guide infant churches." 159 It was therefore Duncan's responsibility to conform to Anglican church order in his work at Metlakatla. If the Metlakatlans later wanted to have a different form of church order, the C.M.S. admitted they could not interfere, but they pointed out to Duncan, that they did not believe that by belonging to their own denomination, the Metlakatlans "are likely to be less sectarian than by remaining in connection with the Church of England." 160

Most important, however, the committee acknowledging that they ultimately looked for the independence of native congregations, declared that Metlakatla could not by any means be considered a native church. "The Metlakahtlah Christians must certainly be regarded as in an incipient stage so long as none of their number are deemed fit to hold the pastoral

157 Ibid.
158 Ibid.
159 Ibid.
160 Ibid.
office."\textsuperscript{161} And indeed it was obviously the weak point of Duncan's case, that it was he who was asking for freedom from C.M.S. supervision, and not the Metlakatlans who were asking for the blessing of the committee on a properly formed native church. Financially, Metlakatla could certainly be independent but it was a long way from having the native pastorate to lead this independence. Venn had warned missionaries not to let their converts become dependent upon them, and had hoped that Europeans would be only the evangelists and not the pastors of the native congregations. As Duncan, perhaps fearing incursions on his own authority, had not trained any native ministers, or even given the Tsimshian the Scriptures in their own tongue, the Metlakatlans were closely dependent on their European missionary in all religious affairs. In theory, Duncan had always held the Native Church Policy clearly in view, and had established the native committees that were the first steps to independence for the congregation. But where his own authority was in danger of being delegated or divided, Venn's policies were discarded and Duncan was guided by his faith in his own infallibility.\textsuperscript{162}

Shortly after the first conference of missionaries at Metlakatla,

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{162} Henry Venn retired from the secretaryship of the C.M.S. in 1872 and died the following year. It is probable that although Venn would have been distressed about Duncan's refusal to offer communion to the converts, that he might still have been more favourably inclined toward Duncan's elementary Christianity and his view of an invisible church. However, he would have agreed with the committee that Metlakatla was not a native church, as it certainly lacked the basic element of native pastors. It is probable that Venn envisaged some form of episcopacy in the native churches. He often spoke of a native episcopate as the crowning achievement of the native church, and during his lifetime he had been particularly proud of the consecration of Samuel Crowther as the first native Bishop in West Africa.
Duncan had written to the society with a full statement of his position. He claimed the right of independence, and though he recognised that his methods had not been orthodox, he directed the society's attention to "the comforting thought that though we have deviated from the beaten track, yet it is evident to anyone that God's good hand has been all the while shielding, helping and blessing us. This would not have been the case had we been following our own devices or walking without this guidance." 163 Duncan's belief that his work was divinely inspired gave him the supreme confidence to believe that Metlakatla could survive without the C.M.S., and that God would provide for His work after Duncan's death.

The society, however, was less sure of Divine guidance, and after explaining their reasons for desiring to maintain Metlakatla as a Church of England mission, invited Duncan to return to England to discuss the affairs. Duncan received this letter in 1882 while he was in Victoria. He replied immediately that business affairs made it inconvenient for him to return home at that time. He assumed correctly that the society had not then received his major statement, and he assured them that when they had read it, they would understand his viewpoint and it would be less urgent for him to return for a conference.

However, the C.M.S. had simultaneously written to Bishop Ridley at Metlakatla enclosing a letter of dismissal for Duncan. This, the Bishop was empowered to deliver to him if it became apparent that Duncan would not return to England to consult with the committee. On his return to

163 WD/C2155 Journal, August 18, 1881, copy of a letter to the C.M.S.
Metlakatla, Duncan was busy unloading freight on the dock when the Bishop approached him to demand a private interview and told him that the society's invitation had been a summons and not a request. Duncan, being absorbed in unloading his cargo, cut Ridley short, saying he would await the society's answer. The Bishop then handed him the letter from the society asking for his resignation, and himself departed for Victoria on the same steamer that had brought Duncan.

In January of 1883, Duncan received another letter from the society, written after they had received his major statement, which regretted that the Bishop had presented him with the letter of dismissal. At about the same time, Ridley too received a letter from the new clerical secretary, Reverend F.E. Wigram suggesting that

it will be best if you have not already delivered to him the sealed letter sent through you, to withhold it for the present. If he could be won over to take up such a position as would avert the catastrophe of a schism how much cause we should have for thanksgiving! I feel that the door is almost closed - but not quite. Let us have all patience. 164

But by then it was too late, and although the separation seemed inevitable, the clumsy and arrogant manner in which the C.M.S. treated a missionary of such long standing, only increased the bitterness of the situation. Not only had the society never informed Duncan that his refusal to visit London would mean his dismissal, but they had put the power of his dismissal into the hands of the Bishop who had the most direct personal interest in removing Duncan.

164 CMS/A122 C.M.S. to W. Ridley, London, November 25, 1881.
Both Ridley and the society apparently thought Duncan would leave Metlakatla, but this was certainly an unrealistic expectation for as Duncan noted in his journal, "I have given all I have to give for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people. My duty is sacred to me. I can die at my post, but I cannot foresake it."\textsuperscript{165} It was inconceivable to him that the C.M.S. did not realise that "my labours for Metlakahtla had made links between myself and the Indians too strong too sever."\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{165} WD/C2155 Journal, November 24, 1882.
\textsuperscript{166} WD/C2154 W. Duncan, \textit{Statement in Reference to Metlakatla}. 
Duncan's decision to remain at Metlakatla had significant and disrupting effects on the life of all the coast Tsimshian. The Metlakatlans themselves were forced to choose between the new, relatively untested Bishop, and the lay schoolmaster who had shaped their lives for nearly thirty years. Metlakatla at times took on the appearance of an armed camp, and the effects of the bitter conflicts that originated there were felt in many of the neighbouring Tsimshian communities.

For some time after Duncan's dismissal from the Church Missionary Society, Metlakatla remained in a state of uneasy calm. Initially, and not unexpectedly, the Metlakatlans cleaved to their old teacher. They were unaccustomed to challenging his leadership, and adherence to his policies in the past had brought his followers obviously desirable secular benefits. Moreover, for decades Duncan had impressed upon his people the importance of unity, and only a few years previously, anticipating the present divisive situation, had bound all Metlakatlans to a written covenant of religious and civil unity.¹

¹ Supra, Chapter 7, p. 51.
Gradually, however, these bonds began to weaken and by 1882 a distinct party had formed around the Bishop and the C.M.S. missionaries. The size of the Bishop's party varied from time to time and although Duncan considered it contained only twelve small family groups, or about sixty people, the Intelligencer, vociferously supporting Ridley, reported that at least one hundred of the Metlakatlans supported the Bishop and the society. The society were pleased to note too, that among their adherents were most of the hereditary chiefs of the village. Men such as Matthew Auckland, Samuel Pelham, Charles Ryan, and Moses Venn, who now supported the Bishop, had previously been on the village council, had been authorized preachers for Duncan, had high standing in the traditional society and had been amongst the early settlers at Metlakatla. It is doubtful that these men were particularly moved by the Bishop himself, or by any loyalty to the distant Church Missionary Society, for they had had little close contact with either. Indeed it is an almost inescapable conclusion that their adherence to the Bishop was based largely on their opposition to Duncan.

According to Duncan himself, the Bishop's party was composed of chiefs who had become jealous and humiliated at noticing the influence the Native Church Elders had acquired over Metlakatla, and regarding circumstances as favourable to their designs, they began intriguing to regain their lost ascendancy on old clannish lines by using Mr. Collison and the Society. Both parties are suffering from disappointment and loss of power. They had a fellow feeling and hence joined their forces against a common enemy.\(^2\)

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In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., Duncan characterised the leaders of the C.M.S. group as "three or four Indians who had been chiefs under the old tribal arrangement, but who had lost their prestige by the progress of civilization." It would certainly not be an unexpected development for the traditional sources of authority to harbour resentment against Duncan for usurping their power, in spite of the fact that he had attempted to find an acceptable position for them within his own framework. J.D. Darling has also suggested that those Indians who joined the Bishop had been closely involved in the religious disturbances of 1877. At that time they had been denounced at length in public by Duncan, and as chiefs had felt that they had been severely humiliated and shamed. This incident had certainly demonstrated in vivid terms the reality of Duncan's power and the relative insignificance of their own position.

The period after 1877 is also characterised by the rapid rise in status and authority of David Leask, a half-breed who had been one of Duncan's original pupils at Fort Simpson. The date of Leask's settlement at Metlakatla is not known, but during the 1860's there is relatively little mention of his activities, and Duncan's closest followers were men like Paul Legaic, the highest ranking Tsimshian chief, Samuel Pelham, the native teacher and one time Captain of the mission ship Caroline, and

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3 USFAS/D4/F2, W. Duncan to Honourable J.D.C. Atkins, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., December 10, 1886.
4 J.D. Darling, "The Effects of Cultural Contact on the Tsimshian System of Land Tenure During the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Economics, University of British Columbia, 1955).
Charles Ryan, the Manager of the sawmill, who later were to support Bishop Ridley. Although Leask had also been involved in the religious disturbances of 1877, as a person of inconsequential status in the traditional society he appears to have been less affected by the public denunciation of his actions than were the chiefs. From that time he appears to have become increasingly prominent in the affairs of the mission, accompanying Duncan on journeys to Victoria, working as a teacher in the day-school, as a native preacher on Sundays, and most importantly, as one of Duncan's clerks in the store, a position of great power in this small trading village. The chiefs of the Bishop's party, humiliated by Duncan himself, may also have been further shamed at being superseded by a man such as David Leask.

Duncan, however, retained the allegiance of most of the population, and among these were many of his oldest converts such as the families of John Tait, Robert Hewson and Edward Mather. He was supported too by Cridge and Tomlinson, and by most of Crudge's parishioners in Victoria, particularly W.J. Macdonald, now a Senator in the Dominion Parliament.

The unity of Metlakatla and the ideal of Christian brotherhood which had been the cornerstones of Duncan's policy for over three decades, was now destroyed. The Metlakatlans were composed of families and individuals from all the Tsimshian tribes who before settling at Metlakatla had been required to "bury their ancient dissensions and hostility and resolve to be one people." In Duncan's mind, this unity had been the basis of the

progress made at Metlakatla: for he believed that for his Indians, civil unity was incompatible with religious division. Even if no other controversies had arisen, the fact that two religious authorities now existed in the village and that the essential communal unity had been dissolved, would have produced a situation incompatible with the principles of the Metlakatla system and would have placed Duncan in an intolerable position. At Metlakatla, secular and religious affairs were so enmeshed that the splintering of the community on any basis would have inevitably proved an obstacle to the peaceful progress of the utopian dream. It is understandable then that the conflict at Metlakatla, ostensibly arising out of differing theological beliefs, and the question of the extent of episcopal authority, should quickly come to centre on specific secular problems, in particular the question of land ownership in the village.

Duncan had always been concerned about the legal security of his Christian village. Initially this arose from his need to prevent incursions by heathen Indians. Land title in British Columbia had always belonged to the Crown, and thus in 1864, the missionary had turned to

However, between 1850 and 1854, James Douglas made fourteen treaties with several tribes on Vancouver Island, and apparently intended to continue the policy of recognising an aboriginal interest in the land in accordance with the wishes of the colonial office and the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island. Neither the colonial assembly nor the British government was prepared to find the necessary money to extinguish the Indian title. Thus in the mainland colony, no Indian title has ever been recognised, and all lands have been laid out and surveyed as Crown land. Lands have been reserved by the Crown for the use of the Indians, but there has never been a formal ceding of land to the Crown, nor treaties signed to guarantee any Indian land rights.
Governor Douglas to request the creation of a government reserve for
the Christian Tsimshian. In response, Douglas ordered that five miles
around the Metlakatla village be reserved by the government for the use
of the Indians; and that two square acres within the village be reserved
for the purposes of the Church Missionary Society. Neither Duncan nor
Douglas consulted the majority heathen Tsimshian about their land,
even though Metlakatla had been the ancestral home of all the coast
Tsimshian and was still used as a camping ground on the journey from
Fort Simpson to the fishing grounds of the Skeena. Certainly they were
under no legal obligation to consult with the Indians; but in view of
later land theories adopted by Duncan, it is significant to note here
that the missionary not only ignored the general interests of the Indians,
but by asking the Crown to create a reserve on land previously occupied
by Indians, he specifically denied any Indian interest in, or title to
the lands of British Columbia.

During his stay in England in 1870, Duncan became concerned about
the security of tenure of the Christian Indians. He was particularly
dissatisfied by the terms on which they held their land, for only communal,
not individual rights were recognised. Even these tribal rights were
only nominal, and Duncan feared that Metlakatla might easily be leased to
White men at the whim of the government. Perhaps Joseph Trutch's actions
in decreasing the Kamloops and Shuswap reserves in 1867, had made Duncan justifiably apprehensive about the future security of the Metlakatlans. In a lengthy statement of his case of the C.M.S. before he left London, the missionary argued that

the tenure by which the Indians as heathen and uncivilized are allowed to hold their lands from Government, does not satisfactorily meet the case of the Indian when he become Christian and civilized - hence my complaint is that the Native Christian colony of Metlakahtla may go on spending money in rearing themselves to a respectable village, but they are not at present secured against the invasion of heathen Indians, or white men who may wish to settle in their midst and by whom their progress may be arrested.

On his return to British Columbia, Duncan appealed to Governor Anthony Musgrave to enact legislation to satisfy his own and the society's demands, and which would give the settlement a closer control over its own future. The missionary argued convincingly that the land at Metlakatla was such that a good deal of work was necessary by the individual to make

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7 Trutch, as Commissioner of Lands and Works in British Columbia, was in charge of laying out Indian reserves on the mainland after 1866. His attitude to Indians and approaches to the land question differed greatly from those of Governor Douglas. Douglas had always aimed to treat Indians as "rational beings, capable of acting and thinking for themselves." In marking our reserves, Douglas was guided by the desires of the Indians, and usually ensured that each tribe retained control of its village site, fishing stations and burial grounds. In his view, the Indians were equal to all other British subjects before the law and if they so desired, they might acquire additional land, either by purchase or pre-emption in the same manner as other classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

Trutch, however, viewed Indians as the "ugliest, laziest creatures I ever saw", and by re-organising the pre-emption laws of British Columbia in 1866, he was able to specifically prevent the Indians from owning land on the same basis as Whites. Several Indian reserves in the interior of the colony were greatly reduced, and were so altered without any reference to the opinion of the Indians.

8 CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S., London, July 26, 1870.
it fit for use and "to let anything like an uncertainty of possession rest upon the Indian who has been brave enough to commence clearing it, would not only be unjust but a death-blow to his aspirations as a cultivator of the soil."\(^9\) Duncan's proposal that individual allotments of land be made to Indians within the reserve as personal property, transferable only to another Metlakatlan with the consent of the magistrate and the council, was readily accepted by Musgrave. But in response to Duncan's request for more stringent regulation of the activities of Whites, Musgrave pointed out that as a magistrate, Duncan had sufficient power to eject disruptive elements from land to which they had no claim. Although the society and Prevost would have preferred to have had a properly constituted legal document clearly stating the land rights of the Indians and the society, they declared that they were satisfied with the Governor's reply.\(^10\) Again it is important to notice that Duncan was concerned here with strengthening his village's independence, and that he clearly recognised the authority of the Crown over the land at Metlakatla.

With the entry of British Columbia into Confederation in 1871, the administration of Indian affairs was transferred from the Colonial government to the Dominion government, as provided for in article thirteen

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9 PABC/F498/24 W. Duncan to Governor A. Musgrave, Victoria, December 16, 1870.
10 WD/C2144 James Prevost to W. Duncan, Ilfracombe, June 14, 1871.
of the terms of union. At this time also, there was an increasing pressure by Whites on land previously held by Indians. In the interior of the province some Indians had begun to understand the possible value of agriculture and now desired land for cultivation and pasture for cattle. On the northern coast, Whites had established several small canneries on land which the Indians regarded as their traditional fishing stations. This had led to sporadic outbursts of hostility by the Tsimshian, and Duncan, alarmed by this, had turned in 1881 to the commissioner appointed by the Provincial and Dominion governments to lay 11 Article thirteen of the terms of union of British Columbia with the Dominion, which dealt with the administration of Indian affairs, enjoined upon the Dominion government to treat the Indians of the new province in as liberal a manner as they had been treated by the colonial administration. But had the Dominion government adhered to the policies of the Crown Colony, they would have been enacting a far less liberal policy towards the aborigines in the rest of Canada. In British Columbia, ten acres of land had been the maximum allowance for a family of five, while in Canada the minimum allowance for such a family had been eighty acres, and according to David Laird, Deputy Minister of the Interior, "a similar contrast obtained in regard to grants for education and all other matters connected with the Indians under the respective governments." (IA/BS/RG10/1001-C Memorandum, November 2, 1874.)

Land remained under the control of the Provincial government, who under Lieutenant Governor Trutch were reluctant to allow the Dominion to lay out Indian reserves of eighty acres per family. Eventually in 1875 a joint Reserve Commission of both governments was established. Both parties accepted two suggestions made by Duncan, that as Indian land needs declined, the unnecessary land revert to the province, and that each Indian nation should be dealt with on its own terms with no fixed acreage established for the province's Indians as a whole. E.A. Meredith, in the report of the Department of the Interior for 1875, acknowledged that "the basis adopted by the Governments of the Dominion and British Columbia for the settlement of the Indian land question in that Province is practically that suggested by Mr. William Duncan, the lay missionary of the Indians at Metlakathla."
out and survey Indian reserves in British Columbia. In September 1881, Peter O'Reilly proceeded to Metlakatla "upon the representation of Mr. Duncan that it was of the utmost importance I should go there at once, as the Indian fisheries were being taken possession of by the Whites for cannery purposes, and that if steps were not taken to secure to the Indians their fisheries they would suffer great injustice." Duncan recommended David Leask as interpreter for O'Reilly, and before the reserve commissioner left Victoria, also advised him on the extent and location of future Tsimshian reserves. According to O'Reilly, every point indicated by Duncan and some additional areas pointed out by the Indians, were laid out as reserves. Duncan expressed himself as satisfied and there was every reason to expect that the reserves could then be finally surveyed. For the third time in fact Duncan had acknowledged the right and responsibility of the Crown to lay out and survey Indian reserves in the province.

The following spring, however, Metlakatla divided into two hostile factions, and there began a long drawn out conflict over the possession of the land and buildings of Mission Point, the two acres reserved by Douglas

12 Provision was made for three commissioners, but only one appears to have been active at a given time. The first commissioner was Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, the author of Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, London, 1868. He was an admirer of Duncan and Douglas, who believed that "to a large extent, the work of the Indian Department will be the corollary of the work of the Missionaries...The more efficient the Administration, the easier the work of the Missionaries" (IA/BS/RG10/1285 Miscellaneous Correspondence). Sproat laid out and surveyed the reserves in the southern part of the colony, particularly in the lower Fraser Valley.

13 Peter O'Reilly, an Anglican, had preferred to remain with Bishop Hills in the schism of 1874. He had also sat in the synod of the Anglican Church in 1879, and was related by marriage to Lieutenant Governor Trutch.

14 British Columbia, An Enquiry Into the Disturbances at Metlakathla, 1884, evidence.
in 1864 for the use of the Church Missionary Society. In the first instance, Duncan's Indians claimed possession of the Mission Point buildings, and indeed forcibly moved the store, guest-house and market-house to the Metlakatla reserve. Ridley and the C.M.S. Indians, in turn, claimed possession of the school-house which had been built largely with Canadian government funds, but which was located on the Metlakatla reserve and not on Mission Point. Duncan had retained possession of the church itself, and unless the C.M.S. were allowed use of the schoolroom they would be unable to hold religious services. However, both the removal of buildings from Mission Point, and the society's attempt to use the schoolroom led to sporadic outbursts of violence in the village. Individual Indians on both sides exchanged occasional blows, and although there was no real rioting, Ridley, in a minority position, and feeling more threatened than perhaps the realities of the situation would have justified, called for help from Victoria.

With some persuasion from the Bishop of Columbia, Right Reverend George Hills, who was perhaps readier than most to believe Ridley was in danger, the government of British Columbia in August 1882 requested the Indian Superintendent, Dr. Israel W. Powell to make a personal inquiry into the situation. No British vessel was available in the fall of 1882 to make the journey north from Victoria, but the Captain of the United States Revenue Cutter Oliver Woolcott placed his ship as the disposal of the local authorities. The Victoria newspaper, the Colonist, protested vigorously against this use of a foreign vessel to quell British subjects.  

15 The Colonist, January 12, 1883, p. 2.
but perhaps the attitude of Captain Stodder of the Woolcott was more representative of the views of both the Dominion and Provincial authorities. Reporting to the Secretary of the Treasury in Washington, D.C., on the effect of the cruise of the Woolcott, Stodder commented that

the indians before my arrival had openly boasted that they were aware that no English man of war could be sent to punish them, whatever acts they might commit, and the arrival in their harbour of a United States armed vessel was a source of great wonder to them. They now realize the fact that assistance is always at hand when the lives of white people are threatened. This knowledge will extend from tribe to tribe, and cannot fail to be productive of the greatest possible good.16

The Woolcott arrived at Metlakatla with Powell accompanied by A.C. Anderson, J.P., Provincial Inspector of Fisheries, and Charles Todd, the Superintendent of Police in Victoria. At a preliminary hearing of charges against several of Duncan's Indians whom the Bishop claimed had assaulted his people, Anderson and Powell dismissed the cases for lack of evidence. On their arrival Ridley also asked Captain Stodder to take the wives and children of the C.M.S. missionaries to safety in Victoria, but Powell himself advised that this would be unnecessary.

The situation at Metlakatla in 1882 was not the physically violent one that had been represented in Victoria, and Anderson and Powell certainly recognised this. However, the seriousness of the actual situation did not escape the visitors, who were particularly struck by the antagonism

16 USFAS/D1-F/FO Captain Louis N. Stodder to Honourable Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, Port Townsend, January 31, 1883.
of the majority Indians to governmental and ecclesiastical authority, and by the new note of defiance that had entered into their relations with White men. Both men understood too that the religious schism and present dispute at Metlakatla had significant effects on neighbouring Indians. Powell had previously reported to Ottawa that "nor does the misfortune end here. The schism extends to other parts of the Coast and particularly to all villages where the Mission society has posts and where, no doubt, its work and usefulness will be seriously interfered with."  

As Inspector of Fisheries, Anderson was concerned about the possible effect the disturbances at Metlakatla might have on the newly-established canneries of the North Pacific. On his return to Victoria he pointed out to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries that

an amount approaching $150,000 dollars has already been invested in the Fisheries in the neighbourhood of Metlakatla and at other points along the coast, and an important fishing and transport trade has been established all of which will be affected and perhaps imperilled, should the defiant stand of late taken by a party at Metlakatla be suffered to continue...It seems needless to add that with the prospect of the spread of disaffection if not timely checked, the future investment of capital in the fishery interests of the Northern portion of our coast will be cautiously entertained.

Powell and Anderson were appalled at the antagonism engendered by rival establishments in the village. Not only were there two religious

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17 IA/BS/RC10 113B/52/2959 I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Victoria, July 20, 1882.
18 IA/BS/RC10 113B/52/2959 vol. 4, A.C. Anderson to Honourable J.W. McLellan, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Victoria, December 20, 1883.
parties, but as both Ridley and Duncan were magistrates, each party was able to support itself with civil authority. Both magistrates had commissioned policemen, and both were engaged in rival trading activities. Powell's major recommendation in 1882 was for the Provincial government to deprive both men of their J.P. status, which had become more an instrument of party advantage than a means of maintaining order among the Indians.

In his own report to the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, Powell, like Duncan, considered that the interests of the coast Indians demanded that religious and civil unity be maintained at Metlakatla.

"The retirement of either or both, would seem the only true solution of the difficulties, and if the latter alternative is not desirable, and as fully nine-tenths of the people are unanimous and determined in their support of Mr. Duncan, the withdrawal of the Agents of the society to more congenial headquarters, would I think be greatly in the interest of all concerned." 19

In general the Indian Superintendent was more inclined to favour Duncan's viewpoint, but this was perhaps due more to his respect for the missionary's past work than to his position in the present dispute. Powell's report in 1883 to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, was "clearly of the opinion that Mr. Duncan's departure from Metlakatla would be a calamity to its residents - The fruit of his many years of marvellous energy and industry would be entirely destroyed and the Indians deprived of a worker whose like, in all probability, they will never see again." 20

20 IA/BS/RG10 111B/52/2959 vol. 4, I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Victoria, February 5, 1883.
The idea of the removal or withdrawal of the C.M.S. agents was seriously considered by both parties at Metlakatla. David Leask on behalf of the majority Indians asked Powell to "beg the Government to remove from this place the Agents of the Church Missionary Society, that we might have our peace and prosperity which you and many others in times past were pleased to see." Duncan's Indians also wrote to the Church Missionary Society in London, protesting the imposition of the Church of England at Metlakatla. They spoke sadly of the previous divisive effects of the Weslyan mission at Fort Simpson but added

we have had conversation with our brethren of Fort Simpson to have a native church free from denomination and we hope to see this soon. We do not want our Metlakatla Church to be turned into a Church of England. We want to be brethren with all other native Christians and our Church to be open for any Christian who will help us in the word of God.

Although Ridley was not anxious to withdraw, the committee of the Church Missionary Society itself did consider the possibility of such action. In a letter to the Dominion government the society requested that they be permitted to remove the C.M.S. Indians to another part of the Tsimshian Reserve. The Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Lawrence Vankoughnet, replying on behalf of the Superintendent General, Sir John A. Macdonald, refused to give permission to any religious body "to remove Indians from one Reserve to another, or from one part of a Reserve to another part of the same Reserve. The location of Indians upon

21 IA/BS/RG10 11B/52/2959 vol. 4, David Leask to I.W. Powell, Metlakatla, November 30, 1883.
22 IA/BS/RG10 11B/52/2959 vol. 4, David Leask for the Indians of Metlakatla to the Church Missionary Society.
a Reserve is vested in the Band or Council of the Band, owning the Reserve, subject to the approval of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs."^{23} Vankoughnet himself had also privately advised the Prime Minister that it would be unwise to interfere in ecclesiastical matters on an Indian reserve, "otherwise hopeless confusion and complications would arise between the Department and the numerous religious bodies having Missions among the Indians."^{24} For the administrators of Indian Affairs, the general implications of the proposed plan of removal were of far greater significance than were the possibilities of finding an immediate solution to minor disturbances on the Pacific coast. In this light, it was perhaps somewhat ironical that Powell placed his hopes for peaceful settlement in the village on the arrival of the Indian Agent whom he had advised be appointed for Metlakatla.

Joseph W. MacKay, an old Hudson's Bay Company man appointed by the Dominion government as Indian Agent, proceeded to the North Pacific in the fall of 1883. The Colonist, although welcoming the Dominion government action on the Metlakatla problem, did not envy MacKay in his work. The newspaper's editorial of November 1883 warned that at Fort Simpson and Metlakatla, the people were civilised and politically aware. They had strong beliefs about their rights as British subjects and could not be won by gifts or bribes.^{25}

The new Indian Agent, however, was given little opportunity to win

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23 CMS/A125 L. Vankoughnet to Major-General Hutchison, Ottawa, July 5, 1883.
24 IA/BS/RG10 111B/52/2959 vol. 4, L. Vankoughnet to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, May 21, 1883.
25 The Colonist, November 1, 1883, editorial.
the support of the northern Indians, for from the beginning, the majority at Metlakatla refused to recognise his authority. Duncan, who had lost his Justice of the Peace Commission in January 1883, was doubtless not prepared to see his now limited secular authority further usurped. Nor did he entertain a very high opinion of Indian Agents in general, and such an attitude was no doubt communicated at least indirectly if not directly to his adherents.

> Indian Agents are noted for being generally speaking a selfish and useless set, and not over honest. It is to be hoped the day is not far distant when the title and office will have disappeared. That day will be a blessing to the Indians and a benefit to civilization.^

The main purpose of refusing the services of an Indian Agent, however, was to attempt to avoid subjecting Metlakatla to the provisions of the Dominion Indian law, codified since 1876 in the Indian Act.

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26 WD/C2156 W. Duncan, Notes and Memoranda, n.d.
27 Canada, An Act to Amend and Consolidate the laws respecting Indians, assented to April 12, 1876. At the time of the Provincial-Dominion deadlock over the land question, Duncan took the opportunity not only to offer suggestions on the reserve problem, but to advise the Dominion on a suitable policy towards the Indians. Many of these are contained in Duncan's letter to Laird in Appendix A, but the missionary also visited Ottawa and discussed his proposals with Laird. In general Duncan recommended that a modified Metlakatla system be applied to the province's Indian tribes. The following year, in 1876, the first Indian Act received royal assent. The major aim of the Act; to make the Indians industrious and independent through the agencies of government, church and school, and eventually to form municipal corporations on Indian reserves, accorded well with the Metlakatla system and Duncan's ultimate goals. However, by 1880, Duncan felt that such an Act was applicable only to uncivilised and heathen Indians, and not to the Metlakatla people.
Duncan argued that his Indians were Christian and civilised and that the Indian Act, which treated Indians as children or wards of the government, was not relevant to the Metlakatla situation. The Metlakatla Indians were certainly industrious, capable of supporting themselves independently of government aid, and were long accustomed to certain limited forms of self-government. With their lay missionary, they had accomplished far more in secular matters than most other groups of Indians, and they indeed had a legitimate argument for not committing themselves to a situation where they might be treated as a less responsible community than they evidently felt themselves to be.

Duncan, however, appeared to be maintaining a contradictory position on the question of the relative maturity of the Metlakatla Indians, although curiously enough, no contemporaries commented on this. To Bishop Ridley and the Church Missionary Society, Duncan had claimed that the Metlakatlans were not advanced enough to understand the symbolism of the communion service, and indeed had argued that the C.M.S. should wait until the state considered the Indians adult, before the church impose on them full Christian responsibilities. Yet now, to the officials of the Indian Affairs department, he professed that the Metlakatlans were, or should be, adult before the law, and should not be treated as wards of the state. Perhaps the only implication that could be drawn from such an apparent conflict is that Duncan was indirectly admitting that his policies had achieved more success in secular than in religious affairs.

Most important, however, was the fact that Section 72 of the revised Indian Act of 1880 which was to be applied to the Metlakatlans, provided
for the government of band affairs by the hereditary or life chiefs. An anonymous letter to the Colonist argued emphatically that the Indian Act would be disastrous for Metlakatla for it would "impose the rule of a few chiefs for the popular present form of management." In fact the Indian Act did not exclude the possibility of an elected council if it was deemed appropriate by the Superintendent General and so ordered by the Governor in Council. However, the act generally anticipated that hereditary chiefs would be most important in the management of band affairs, and for Duncan, who was now opposed by almost all the traditional chiefs, this was a situation which could not be tolerated.

Powell's hopes for a peaceful solution of Metlakatla's problems through the appointment of a resident agent were thus quickly dispelled. Indeed the disaffection at Metlakatla, originally concerned with the question of land and property rights, was given added impetus by this successful defiance of government authority. Momentarily deterred by the 1882 inquiry from tearing down more buildings on Mission Point, or contesting the right of the C.M.S. to have access to the school on the Metlakatla Reserve, Duncan and his party began to question the underlying rights of possession of land in British Columbia and the legal position of the Indians in the province. By refusing to accept the authority of the agent, the Metlakatlans had thus implicitly refused to acknowledge the Dominion's authority over their affairs. In particular, they explicitly denied the Dominion's right to lay out and survey land to which the Indians now claimed they had prior right

28 The Colonist, December 22, 1883, p. 2.
This claim for the recognition of aboriginal title was quickly challenged by Ridley's determination to assert the C.M.S. rights to the Mission Point Reserve. In September 1884, hearing that a Provincial government surveyor, Captain E.E. Shearburne, was intending to begin a survey on the Skeena, Ridley asked him to first survey the two acres of Mission Point. The Council of Metlakatla, composed of Duncan's Indians, hearing of Ridley's intentions, refused to allow Shearburne to remain in the village; and by threatening to remove him forcibly, successfully prevented him from making his survey of the two acres.

The successful intimidation of Shearburne renewed the confidence of the majority Indians in their own power, and they soon began to talk of forcing the removal of the Bishop and the C.M.S. missionaries from Mission Point. Both Ridley and the magistrate, A.C. Elliott, were naturally alarmed at this potentially violent situation. Late in October, A.C. Elliott swore in thirteen of Ridley's Indians and two Whites as constables to protect the C.M.S. property and personnel. The Provincial government was quickly informed of the seemingly explosive situation. Elliott advised them "I cannot conceal from myself and I shall not attempt to conceal from you my conviction that a very dangerous state of things exists not only among the Indians of this place, but among those of the entire coast."
The Provincial government received reports of other alarming incidents from several parts of the region, many of which involved Indian claims to aboriginal title and demands to be treated with on the land question. The newly built C.M.S. church at Kikatla was burnt by Indians in sympathy with Duncan; the Methodist Indians both on the Nass and at Fort Simpson petitioned the Provincial government for treaties; and in a separate incident where miners at Lorne Creek on the Skeena were attacked by Indians, the question of prior aboriginal ownership of land was also raised. In a hasty telegram to the Minister of Justice in Ottawa, the Attorney General of British Columbia, emphasised that "two ideas dominate Indian minds, first all lands belong to them - second, Government powerless enforce Law; they talk Majuba Hill and refer recent abortive visit Gunboat with Powell and McKay. The white community that region generally accuse Duncan of disloyal teaching and being cause disaffection which has already spread amongst neighbouring Indians of North West Coast and continues." 32

The Provincial authorities, who only twelve months earlier had complained that although the Indians contributed nothing to the Provincial revenues, the administration of justice to the Indians consumed a large

proportion of the province's justice budget, reluctantly undertook a commission of enquiry into the Metlakatla disturbances in November 1884.

This Provincial inquiry, conducted by Elliott, the Attorney-General Alexander Davie, and Henry Ball, heard the evidence of both Ridley and Duncan and that of several Indians, and obtained the opinions of the Hudson's Bay Company agent in Fort Simpson and of the Indian Reserve Commissioner, Peter O'Reilly, in Victoria. The old accusations of violence and injustice which Powell had dealt with in 1882 were paraded by both parties before the new commission. The commissioners were also given a detailed account of the circumstances of Duncan's dismissal from the Church Missionary Society. The Indian council composed of Duncan's Indians was severely criticised by the commissioners as having no legal authority, and for imposing its wishes on the Indians of the minority, ordering the destruction of some C.M.S. buildings and preventing C.M.S. Indians building new houses or additions to their present dwellings. But what was most

33 IA/BS/RG10 111B/52/2959 In a telegram to Honourable J.A. Chapleau, Secretary of State, Ottawa, M.T. Drake, President of the Executive Council of British Columbia, protested against the "past inaction of that [Indian] Department. On further consideration, we defer action indicated by previous telegrams, considering this matter [Metlakatla disturbances] primarily a Federal responsibility." IA/BS/RG10 111B/51/2959 M.T. Drake to Honourable J.A. Chapleau, Victoria, October 28, 1884.

The Dominion government replied that "the duty of maintaining law and order rests with Local Government...We have no legal authority enabling us to take action, however, we are disposed to assist to the extent which the law allows us and will be ready to consider fairly the question of contribution to expense." IA/BS/RG10 111B/51/2959 Honourable J.A. Chapleau to M.T. Drake, Ottawa, October 29, 1884.

34 Hawthorn et al, (The Indians of British Columbia, Toronto, 1960), have argued that the Dominion greatly resented the 1884 enquiry as an infringement of its rights. The evidence in the Indian Affairs files quoted in note 33, tends to support the idea that the Dominion insisted that the Province exercise its responsibility for maintaining law and order.

35 British Columbia, Enquiry, 1884, evidence.
disturbing for the commissioners was that the majority Indians explicitly and repeatedly claimed ownership of the land by aboriginal title, and consistently denied the authority of any government to survey reserves until treaties had been signed ceding such lands to the Crown.

It was the opinion of the three commissioners, and of most of the Whites who testified before them, that Duncan was responsible for sowing and nourishing the idea of aboriginal title in the minds of his Indians. In their findings, however, the commissioners were careful to note that Duncan himself had not personally advocated an aboriginal title before them. But they pointed out that when witnesses testified to having heard Duncan speak privately in such a vein, Duncan had not troubled to deny their testimony. The evidence from Duncan's own papers would certainly confirm that he did now advocate an aboriginal title in British Columbia, but it is significant that he was prepared at this time to take a more moderate position.

Duncan, in fact, welcomed the commission, commenting that had such an enquiry been undertaken two years previously, the troubles at Metlakatla would not have reached their present proportions. Optimistically, he hoped that "the present commission will result in a just and wise settlement of the whole difficulty, that order and prosperity may be restored to the Indian settlement here,"36 and to this end he presented the commissioners with a most moderate reasonable statement of his own and the Metlakatlans' position.

36 Ibid.
The missionary stressed that his Indians were not rebels. "The people here are not Fenians or boycotters as they are represented to be, but the people who are most anxious to obtain the help of the law to settle their grievances."\(^{37}\) He felt that the Indians were justifiably concerned about their reserves and the lands outside the reserves. Duncan emphasised that much of the present discontent could have been avoided if the Indians had been treated as responsible adults. The land situation had never been properly explained to them, he pointed out, admitting that even the Mission Point Reserve had been a private arrangement between himself and Douglas, and that the Indians had certainly not been consulted. He believed that this arrangement, however, had had little effect on the Indians' lives.

It was only when the cannery owners and miners began to occupy Indian fishing stations and disturb their former game preserves, that the question of land interests and titles became of utmost practical importance. Many of the problems arose from the unregulated seizure of lands to which the Indians had traditional and legitimate claims. Duncan emphasised that the government "should be the first in the field with the Indians on all land questions, and not leave private persons, miners or others to have to answer questions to the Indians in regard to their rights on the land."\(^{38}\)

The government should meet formally with the Indians and should consider their advice. Although O'Reilly had satisfied the immediate needs of the Indians he had never formally met with them in council, and had never explained to them their position on the land. In Duncan's view

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37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
what was lacking in his work was the Indians were not sufficiently instructed as to the manner in which the Government held the land on their behalf. The Indians are told the Queen owns all of British Columbia. This, although it may be true is not an announcement which is likely to be believed or appreciated by the Indians without due explanation.39

The Metlakatla Indians were Christian and civilised and, in Duncan's mind, they deserved to be treated as such. It was far from adequate to merely translate government orders to them. "This is not the right way to deal with Indians," Duncan emphasised. They should have proper explanation of the new situation, not bald announcements. Duncan pointed out that it may be easily explained to them the benefit which would or did accrue to them from resigning all claim to land outside their reserves; and secondly it should be shown to them that the reserves set apart for them, and said to belong to the Queen are not the less theirs to all intents and purposes...I believe the Queen holds the lands reserved, not in the sense of owning it, but in the sense of protecting their rights to it.41

The government should face the Indians squarely, and Duncan advised that it should seriously consider the possibility of treating with the Indians, for "surely the country cannot be said to be properly governed if its safety depends on...frowning down the reasonable claims of the aborigines."42

His advice fell on deaf ears; for although the commissioners recognised that the claim of aboriginal title was one of the major causes

39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
of the disturbances which it was their responsibility to investigate, there was never any question in their minds of negotiating on this point. Presenting their conclusions, the commissioners felt that they need hardly point out that the question of Indian lands is constitutionally settled by the British North America Act (an Imperial statute) and the Terms of Union between British Columbia and Canada. The commissioners consider that at Metlakatla and the North-West Coast every effort has been made to locate large and sufficient reserves in accordance with the provision of the laws above mentioned, and that particularly as regards the Tsímpseans, the reserve made by Mr. O'Reilly is more than ample for Indian purposes.43

What concerned the commissioners most was the Metlakatlan's rejection of properly constituted authority both in the refusal to recognise the Indian Agent and in the denial of the Crown's right to provincial land. The major recommendation of the commissioners, in fact, was that the government should immediately survey Mission Point and assert by force, if necessary, the right of the Queen to the public lands of British Columbia. It was specifically recommended that a gunboat should accompany the surveyor to Metlakatla. The Provincial Commission of Enquiry, having refused to discuss the causes of the disturbances, made clear cut recommendations for the immediate assertion of government authority and for the violent repression of any attempts to obstruct government officials. Because the commissioners saw Indians as child-like they did not take their land claims seriously. They were, in fact, convinced that Duncan was the sole instigator of the aboriginal land claim and that the land question would not have arisen had he not been dismissed from the Church Missionary

43 Ibid.
Society. Privately like several others in the Dominion and Provincial
governments they believed that only the removal of William Duncan would
bring peace to the northern coast. Duncan, however, claimed that "the
question of rights on land, both at Metlakatlah and at Fort Simpson is
not, as some would suppose, the offspring of this rupture at Metlakatla,
though that rupture has given a new impulse and vitality to the subject." 44

As Whites moved into the area and alienated Indian lands, the
question of aboriginal title would inevitably have arisen, although perhaps
without the aid of missionaries, it might not have been expressed in so
sophisticated a manner. Under their missionaries, the Tsimshian had
become a politically aware people, and were well versed in those mechanics
of petitioning and letter writing which characterise the relations of
dissatisfied citizens with their government. Eventually the British
Columbia Indians would have learned of the treatment of the Indians in
the rest of Canada in particular of the recognition of the Indian title to
land and the generous grants of reserve lands. Discontent would certainly
have been voiced although the practical effect of the policy pursued in
British Columbia might not have been too dissimilar. The demands of
Duncan's Indians to control Mission Point only provided an early focus to
what was almost certainly an inevitable movement of opinion. By regarding
the removal of Duncan as the major solution to the problems of the north-
west coast, and by refusing to discuss the land grievances of the Indians,
the commissioners had taken an extremely short-term view of their task.
By recommending repression rather than rational discussion and compromise,

44 Ibid.
they set the scene for the next two years when conflict and violence were to lead to the final migration of a large part of the Tsimshian to Alaska.

Duncan himself was now in an extremely difficult and anomalous position. Only eight years previously, in the late 1870's, Duncan had been a respected and admired missionary. Because of his apparently spectacularly successful work at Metlakatla, his advice on the Indian problems had been sought and accepted by both the Dominion and Provincial governments. But in his recommendations, and in the laying out of Tsimshian reserves in 1880, Duncan had never raised the question of aboriginal title, far less advocated its recognition. It was not difficult then for Provincial officials to feel betrayed by his present position on the land question.

Not only was Duncan now in opposition to the government, but his separation from the Church Missionary Society, and the violence which he appeared to condone at Metlakatla, had lost him the sympathy of much of the White community. Helmcken's view that "the beast of the field has as much natural title as the Indian, the natural title being what they could hold by force or cunning," was perhaps representative of a large segment of British Columbia opinion. According to the Hudson's Bay Company doctor and colonial politician, "treaty means money and this money would fall into the hands of Indian tutors! A Treaty! What do they want with a Treaty." In this context it was not unexpected that the commissioners of 1884 should regard Duncan's advocacy of aboriginal title as purely an opportunistic move to oust the C.M.S. from Metlakatla.

45 IA/BS/RG10 111B/53/2959 vol. 5, Dr. J.S. Helmcken to unknown, Victoria, 1886.
46 Ibid.
However, from Duncan's point of view, the advocacy of aboriginal title was a means to an end, and was only part of the larger question of the "power of the Indians to eject from their lands what they feel is objectionable." In 1875, Duncan had been looking for an end to a deadlocked situation, and as a basis for compromise had proposed solutions within the framework of already existing Provincial policy. In 1880, his proposal to lay out reserves for the Tsimshian had been mainly directed at providing immediate protection for their fishing stations. But in 1884 he was searching for a means to recapture the secular and religious unity which was the basis of the Metlakatla system. If the government could be persuaded to recognise an Indian interest in the land, they would also be formally recognising an Indian right to determine the future of the land, and in the case of Metlakatla, to determine whether land within the village should be occupied by a religious group which did not command the respect of a majority of the Indians. The preparation of the native for independence or self-government had been one of Venn's basic principles, and in defence of Duncan, it might be argued that his advocacy of aboriginal title was consistent with such ultimate goals for the Indians.

Having failed to convince the Provincial government of the justice of their claims, the Metlakatlans continued to press their case with the Dominion authorities in Ottawa. Duncan regretted that the Provincial government no longer had the confidence of the Indian but in his opinion the province would "grant nothing to the Indians they are not compelled to grant, nor do they fear to provoke hostilities so long as the Dominion
Government are between them and the Indians. At Confederation, British Columbia had boasted of having handed over 40,000 loyal, peaceful and contented Indians, but as Duncan now pointed out to the Dominion government,

the apparent peaceful condition of the Indians did not arise from their being satisfied with the ten acre policy of the Local Government but rather because that policy had not been enforced. The Indians were peaceful because they were asleep. It was only when the Dominion Government began to work on local lines marked out to them in the terms of Union that the Indians became aroused and discontented.

The missionary emphasised again that the Indians were not rebels, and that their refusal to accept an Indian Agent was not a rejection of government authority, but only of that part which had been misapplied. In a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald from the Indians of Metlakatla he argued that

the Indian agency as it is now formed either cannot or is not expected to improve the Indians, but is rather a plausible continuance for passing the money voted yearly by the Government for the Indian Department into the pockets of white men. Hence in our rejection of the agent in his present harness, we are not rebelling against the Government but we are refusing to afford shelter for a system which dupes the Government and the public of their money.

As to the land question, Duncan pointed out that the right to the use and occupancy of the land of Metlakatla "has always been and still is a communal one. No individual Indian has ever obtained a footing amongst us, much less a site for a house but by the assent of the community."

When

47 IA/BS/RG10 111B/51/2959 W. Duncan to L. Vankoughnet, Ottawa, July 20, 1885.
48 Ibid.
49 WD/C2154 The Indians of Metlakatla to Sir John A. Macdonald, n.pl., May 18, 1885.
50 Ibid.
the majority Indians in the village had interfered with the C.M.S. Indians, Duncan claimed that "it was not on religious grounds at all, but to prevent them having independent control over the land of our village."51

In a private letter to Macdonald, Duncan again noted that the establishment of Mission Point as a reserve had been a private matter between himself and Governor Douglas. The Indians had chosen the site and built the settlement of Metlakatla "without any reference or regard to those arrangements, but rather on the belief that the land of Metlahkahtla was their own, they having inherited it from their fathers and their nation having possessed it from time immemorial. They further say that the use of the two acres was only allowed to the Church Missionary Society who was then working for and in harmony with the community as a whole."52 The Metlakatlans now wanted to clarify their position formally with the Dominion government. If the seizure of the two acres of their village home was a legal act than the Indians say that "they will then know their true position and foothold in the country to be that of mere slaves or paupers."53

In 1885 Duncan and three of his Indians had a three-hour interview with the Prime Minister in Ottawa, and a shorter audience with the Governor General. In spite of the fact that this was the summer when the second Riel Rebellion and the threat of general Indian uprisings on the prairies were occupying the official mind, the potentially violent situation on the northwest coast does not appear to have been regarded as an urgent problem.

51 Ibid.
52 IA/BS/RG10 111B/51/2959 W. Duncan to Sir John A. Macdonald, June 19, 1885.
53 Ibid.
In May 1885, Senator W.J. Macdonald of Victoria had proposed to the Dominion government that they advise British Columbia to request the Church Missionary Society to withdraw from Metlakatla. The two acres of Mission Point should be conveyed in trust by British Columbia to the Dominion government to be made part of the Metlakatla Reserve, and one of the governments should purchase the Church Missionary Society buildings with a view to using them as a Court House or Magistrate's residence. In referring these suggestions to Sir John A. Macdonald, Vankoughnet, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, felt that if the Dominion was able to purchase the improvements claimed by the C.M.S., then the society would probably cease operations at Metlakatla. He pointed out, however, that it was not the practice of the department to interfere with ecclesiastical matters on an Indian reserve. Senator Macdonald's proposal would undoubtedly have met with much opposition from the C.M.S., and by avoiding the question of title to the land, it would have contributed little towards allaying the anxieties of the Tsimshian. No further action appears to have been taken on the suggestion, which led Senator Macdonald to conclude that the Prime Minister "has very little heart in Indian works, he plays the game of procrastination too much."

Disillusioned with this lack of response from Canadian authorities, Duncan went to England in November 1885 to see if any support could be raised there for the Metlakatla cause. The secretaries of the C.M.S. were still looking for what they considered to be a compromise solution and

54 IA/BS/111B/51/2959 L. Vankoughnet to Sir John A. Macdonald, Memorandum, Ottawa, May 15, 1885.
55 WD/C2147 Senator W.J. Macdonald to W. Duncan, Victoria, May 4, 1886.
searching for some way to maintain their position in the village. They were far from understanding the principles of religious and secular unity which Duncan had inculcated into the Metlakatlans, for their basis for negotiation appeared to be the maintenance of their own presence and religious authority at Metlakatla. In an earlier interview with the society, Sir John A. Macdonald had suggested that the C.M.S. remove their missionaries from Metlakatla. The Reverend C.C. Fenn's reaction was, that such a proposal was made "not so much because he had thoroughly convinced himself that it was the best thing to be done, as because he wanted to know what we should say to it."\(^56\)

The meetings between Duncan and the C.M.S. were almost doomed before they began. Duncan no longer trusted the society which had trained him and supported him for over two decades. The society, for their part, no longer had any respect for Duncan or his work. According to Fenn, "Mr. Duncan is an enthusiast. He seems to be an intractable and imperious man, very confident that he himself is right and that everyone who differs from him is either ill intentioned or extremely foolish."\(^57\) In a private letter to his friend, the Bishop of Caledonia, Fenn confided that "even before the disruption between him and us I had noticed less and less of a spiritual tone in his conversation and expressions...I was not therefore surprised at an absence of spiritual and loving tone in what he said at the interview."\(^58\)

\(^{56}\) CMS/A122 C.M.S. to Bishop W. Ridley, London, February 15, 1885.
\(^{57}\) Ibid. 'Enthusiast' is used in the Victorian sense here, meaning 'fanatic'.
\(^{58}\) CMS/A122 Reverend C.C. Fenn to Bishop W. Ridley, London, November 25, 1885.
Since his dismissal from the C.M.S., the society's attitude toward Duncan had considerably hardened. Their only source of information was the now embittered Bishop Ridley whose letters to the society and to Fenn breathe little ecclesiastical charity after 1882. In Ridley's mind, Duncan's actions were only directed against the C.M.S. at Metlakatla, and not seriously for any particular general principle such as aboriginal title or the communal control of land. Ridley repeated at length his earlier criticisms of Duncan's work, his divergence from Anglican practices and his extensive involvement in secular matters. Like many others in the province, the Bishop was convinced that Duncan was encouraging rebellion among the Tsimshian. After the rejection of the Indian Agent, he had advised the C.M.S. that "the Indians refuse to acknowledge the statute or any law other than their own. Mr. Duncan said that in their case natural law superseded all other, which if it means anything means revolution."59

Even more alarming to the Bishop was the interest taken at Metlakatla in the Riel Rebellion in 1885. According to Ridley, Duncan had obtained large newspaper prints of "battles between Canadian troops and the rebels on the Saskatchewan river. He is careful to explain how the soldiers have been defeated and that the rebels fighting for their land are fewer than the Tsimshians! In truth he is sparing no pains to foster a spirit of rebellion."60 Like Duncan, Ridley too had lost confidence in both the Provincial and Dominion governments' willingness to find a solution to the Metlakatla difficulties. He remarked to the society that although he was

59 CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, November 28, 1884.
60 CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, April 27, 1885.
glad they had seen Sir John A. Macdonald, he would not advise them to place any great faith in the Prime Minister's promises. Sir John had earlier given assurances to Ridley that "such a state of disorder as now exists could not be allowed to continue," but as no action had been taken, Ridley maintained that "I have but little faith in promises... Expediency is the supreme law to those politicians we have to appeal to. What chance has justice to be heard." In fact, were the society to withdraw from Metlakatla, Bishop Ridley had no doubt that there would be "ill concealed gratification in Government circles at Victoria, (and Ottawa perhaps) because such withdrawal would, they fondly suppose, promote peace among Indians and that is dearer to the authorities than the spread of the Gospel."

Nor did Ridley recommend that the society should attempt to negotiate with Duncan. The Bishop confessed that even Duncan's letters produced in him "a feeling of nausea," and he could only advise the C.M.S. that "there ought to be no negotiation with him. He is a fallen and impenitent man, with whom no terms are possible." The C.M.S. then certainly did not have high expectations of coming to any agreement with Duncan, and perhaps it was not unexpected that no compromise solution was found.

61 CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, January 27, 1886.
62 Ibid.
63 CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, January 24, 1885.
64 CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, January 27, 1886.
65 CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., January 23, 1886.
Duncan himself spent the winter of 1885-6 in England, and after his abortive discussions with the C.M.S., turned to the Aborigines Protection Society for support for the Indians' land claims. Pointing out the anomalous position of the land question in British Columbia, Duncan, on behalf of the Indians of Metlakatla, asked F.W. Chesson, the Secretary of the Society, for aid in this matter. This would give proof to the Indians that "there are in England those who take pleasure in defending the weak and helping the poor without regard to race or nationality." The problems of British Columbia were not new to the Aborigines Protection Society. Chesson himself had intervened in 1858 with Lytton, the Colonial Secretary, on behalf of the Indians in contact with the Fraser River miners, and at that time had respectfully suggested that the Colonial government enter into treaties with the aborigines. In 1870, W. Sebright Green had written on behalf of the society to Governor Musgrave, protesting the lack of a coherent Indian policy in the colony. Now sixteen years later, the society was again ready to use its influence on behalf of a

66 During this period, Duncan was introduced to Sir Edward Tylor, the Oxford ethnologist, and through the efforts of Mrs. S.M. Bright, the sister-in-law of John Bright, who had herself visited Metlakatla, he conferred with Tylor in Oxford and began a lengthy correspondence with him on the aboriginal culture of the Pacific coast Indians. Duncan also corresponded with Sir Charles Tupper, suggesting that a working model of Metlakatla be built as one of the Canadian exhibits at the forthcoming Imperial exhibition. He also had several meetings with the manager of the Army and Navy department store in London, which agreed to become a retail outlet for Metlakatla's canned salmon.

67 WD/C2154 W. Duncan to F.W. Chesson, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, London, March 5, 1886.

68 British Columbia Papers Relative to the Indian Land Question in British Columbia, Victoria.

69 Ibid.
particular group of British Columbia Indians. In March 1886, Chesson reported to Duncan that a deputation composed of himself, Sir Robert Fowler M.P., George Palmer the late M.P. for Reading, and A. Fowell Buxton the anti-slavery campaigner, was to wait on Sir Charles Tupper, the Dominion's High Commissioner in Britain, to present the case of the Indians of Metlakatla.  

The Aborigines Protection Society did not presume to interfere in the ecclesiastical dispute at Metlakatla, but did concern themselves with the C.M.S.'s apparent denial of the Indian title of land in British Columbia. Writing to the C.M.S., Chesson confessed that "the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society would be very sorry to see the misunderstanding between the C.M.S. and Mr. Duncan mixed up with the land claims of the Indians," but pointed out that "at the present moment, the impression exists that one reason why the peace of the country is threatened is that your noble society is a party to the compulsory survey of certain land which it claims at Metlakathla." The Aborigines Protection Society expressed their earnest hope that "your society in asserting what it believes to be its legal rights, will not run the risk either of jeopardising the good work it has been largely instrumental in doing at Metlakathla, or of injuring the claim of the Indians, as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, to more consideration than they have yet received at the hands of the government." Little in fact came

71 CMS/A124 F.W. Chesson to C.M.S., London, November 28, 1886.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
of these efforts, but it is significant to note that Duncan's attitude toward the land question in British Columbia elicited support from influential Englishmen and from a society which had probably reached its peak of influence in that mid-Victorian period in which Duncan's own ideas had been nurtured.

Returning to Metlakatla in the summer of 1886, Duncan was faced with a commission of enquiry sent out by the Church Missionary Society in a final attempt to seek a solution to the conflict. The commissioners were instructed to "visit Metlakatla, and to confer with the Provincial government, with the Bishop, with the Native Christians who still adhere to the Society, with those who have joined Mr. Duncan in his secession... to enable you to assist the Committee in determining the course of action which they should now pursue." For over a month, General Touch and the Reverend W.R. Blackett, both former missionaries in India like Ridley, lived at Metlakatla and talked to all the parties concerned. Their instructions included a strong bias toward the Bishop. In their

74 Tupper passed the letter he received from Chesson to Sir John A. Macdonald, who replied that "it is to be regretted that either Mr. Duncan or anyone else should endeavour to induce the Indians to contend for the exclusive ownership of the soil of British Columbia. That claim had never been recognised by the Provincial authorities and it is quite certain that it will be resisted by both Government and the Legislature of the Province. All that the Dominion Government can do is to see that the Reserves are laid out, are sufficient for the maintenance and comfort of the native bands occupying them, and to procure the sanction of the Province to the establishment of such reserves." CMS/A124 Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council for Canada, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, November 10, 1886.

75 CMS/A122 Valedictory Address delivered to General Touch and the Reverend W.R. Blackett, London, March 8, 1886.
valedictory address, the committee expressed their "warm appreciation of
the zeal, courage, untiring energy and resolve of the Bishop of Caledonia."\(^{76}\)

In general, the commissioners supported Ridley's earlier criticisms of the
lack of piety among Duncan's Indians, and like the Bishop, they attributed
this to Duncan's pre-occupation with secular matters. It was not
surprising then that the commissioners concluded that "it is impossible
that there should ever again be any connection between Mr. Duncan and the
Society. He does not desire it and the Society could not admit it."\(^{77}\)

Like Powell and the Provincial government, the C.M.S. now put their hopes
for a permanent settlement of affairs in the village "in the appointment
of an Indian Agent and bringing the community under the operation of the
Indian Act."\(^{78}\) The C.M.S. knew that Duncan could never accept this as a
solution, and there is no doubt that they looked forward to his removal
from the village. Ridley was certainly explicit on this point, as he urged
the survey of land at Metlakatla be finished. Until the land was surveyed,
Ridley pointed out, it "cannot be transferred to the Dominion and Duncan
cannot be removed, nor a Council organized."\(^{79}\)

The Provincial Commission of Enquiry in 1884 had recommended that
the Provincial government assert its right to the land title at Metlakatla
by a survey of Mission Point. The government had followed this suggestion
in spring 1885, and had sent C.P. Tuck, a surveyor, to Metlakatla to survey
both Mission Point and the Metlakatla Reserve. This was shortly before

\(^{76}\) Ibid.

\(^{77}\) CMS/A124 Report of the Reverend W.R. Blackett, Metlakatla, June 25,
1886.

\(^{78}\) Ibid.

\(^{79}\) CMS/A124 Bishop W. Ridley to C.M.S., Metlakatla, September 3, 1886.
Duncan left for Ottawa and England, and although no physical opposition was offered to the survey, a written protest was handed to Tuck by the majority Indians, who also demanded to know in writing, on whose authority their land had been surveyed.

However, in September 1886, when Tuck returned to complete his survey, Duncan's Indians, who by now had little faith in the willingness of either the Dominion government or the English authorities to support their claims, forcibly prevented Tuck from carrying out his duties. According to the *Colonist* report, each morning the Indians pulled out the stakes which Tuck had erected the previous day. The surveyor then marshalled the Indians into a line, and took down their names. Whereupon the Indians repeated this procedure and took the names of the surveyor and his assistants. This charade was repeated on several occasions until in frustration one day in October, eighty Metlakatlans surrounded Tuck's boat, confiscated his surveying instruments, and successfully prevented him and his assistants from landing in the village. The surveyor's party immediately asked for help from the Provincial government, who quickly dispatched the Superintendent of Police in *H.M.S. Cormorant* to Metlakatla. Eight of Duncan's Indians were arrested and taken to Victoria to await trial. Order was restored in the village, and the survey was completed. For Duncan this was the final defeat, and after seeking the approval of the Indians, he left Metlakatla in November 1886 for the United States to seek a grant of land in Alaska.

80 *The Colonist*, September 29, 1886, p. 3.
The idea of removal and separation of converts from unsuitable conditions was not an unexpected final solution for Duncan to seek, for such had been his reaction to the situation at Fort Simpson in 1857. The possibility of taking his Indians away from the Metlakatla they had built, had occupied Duncan's thoughts for some time before the final decision was taken. Even before the Provincial Commission had visited the village, Elliott reported that "Mr. Duncan, in a kind of frenzy, told me that his people, sooner than give up their claims, would burn their village and leave." In December 1886, Duncan wrote to the Honourable J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C., to put the Metlakatla case before the officials of the United States government.

By the summer of 1887, Duncan had received a promise of land from the United States, and at the same time, while still in that country, had conducted a successful campaign for funds to finance the prospective move of the Metlakatla Indians. In Seattle, Washington D.C., Chicago, Boston and New York, Duncan spoke to church organisations, mostly Reformed Episcopal, Presbyterian or Congregational groups, who gave great support to his cause. Henry Wellcome, the chemist, produced a small eulogy to Duncan's work in British Columbia, which running to at least four editions, brought a considerable amount of money to the Metlakatlans, and lent great prestige to the campaign. Duncan was also able to count on the support of prominent men, such as Vincent Colyer and Sheldon Jackson who had visited Metlakatla and could testify to his work. The editor of the

81 IA/BS/RG10 111B/51/2959 A.C. Elliott to J. Robson, October, 1884.
New York *World* opened a public fund to aid the Metlakatlans, and a national committee was formed to co-ordinate the fund-raising efforts. To Americans, the Metlakatla Indians were a persecuted religious group who had rejected the domination of the Anglican Church, and who were now denying the oppressive authority of British government. The idea of a pilgrim body, seeking refuge from religious and secular persecution was one which re-affirmed for many Americans the values they held most dear, and was one to which they were able to give their unqualified support.

For the Dominion government, Duncan's removal would satisfactorily solve the problem of the disturbances on the northwest coast. According to I.W. Powell, Duncan's departure was desirable "inasmuch as without reason or justification, his guiding hand was seen in the hostile attitude assumed by his followers, and in the many rebellious acts against law and order, of which they have been guilty, and which during the last three or four years have disturbed and agitated both settlers and Indians in that section of the country." The Dominion government concurred in this view, and while they did not think that the United States government would grant Duncan's request, they stated that since "the Indians whom Mr. Duncan represents, and the Indians adhering to the Church of England at Metlakahtla as represented by Bishop Ridley, appear to be unable to reside with cordiality in close proximity, it could scarcely be a subject for regret were one or other of the parties to remove elsewhere."  

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84 IA/BS/RG10 111B/52/2959 Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.
But in British Columbia there was certainly cause for regret. The canneries on the Skeena had drawn principally on the Tsimshian for their labour, and the loss of such a large portion of their work force, appeared to have serious economic consequences. According to B.W. Pearse, the migration would also mean a loss of $50,000 in trade revenue a year for the province. 85

The Tsimshian's genuine concern for their land, and the Province's continued refusal to discuss the question of aboriginal title had produced a situation where the prospect of concerted violent action by the Indians had not been too distant. Had Duncan decided to resort to rebellion, his influence among the Tsimshian and Haidas was great enough to have caused disturbances of major proportions. His decision to move to Alaska rather than continue a seemingly futile struggle at Metlakatla, meant not only that those Indians who remained lost their major protagonist on the reserve question, but as Wilson Duff has pointed out, the whole problem of Indian lands became "unfinished business", an issue which has continued to rankle with the Indians of the province.

For the Tsimshian themselves, this migration to a second utopia was a far more radical move than had been their return to Metlakatla. Apart from a natural regret at leaving their comfortable homes and village site, the move to Alaska was to a land they did not know, and to one already occupied. Many feared becoming 'slaves' of the Alaskan Indians, and resented the possibility of having to ask them for hunting and fishing

85 CMS/A124 B.W. Pearse to Reverend C.C. Fenn, Victoria, October 6, 1886.
rights. Yet in the summer of 1887, the majority had decided to undertake this new venture, and Duncan was able to take between six and seven hundred Tsimshian to Annette Island to begin a new Metlakatla and a new utopia. Yet those who stayed with Duncan, in a sense may be considered the more conservative group, for in this situation it was far easier to remain under Duncan's aegis than to place trust in the still relatively untried Bishop of Caledonia. And paradoxically too, even though this second move involved a great upheaval, its aims were to re-create the utopia they had left, and to conserve the Metlakatla system.

By 1887 Duncan in effect had no alternative but to move. Appeals to Victoria, Ottawa and London had failed to secure the Metlakatla society. The imminent imposition of an Indian Agent would have considerably weakened Duncan's own secular authority which was so vital to the Metlakatla system. The hostilities and sporadic violence of the preceding five years had led to a serious decline in the standards of Christian brotherhood and Christian unity which had been previously held in high esteem by Duncan. The Indian utopia had depended for its survival on its dynamism, and on its continual attempts to close the ever widening economic gap between Whites and Indians. But for the past five years, education and industrial activity had remained static. In such a position, Metlakatla could no longer attract the surrounding heathen, and was in danger indeed of losing the allegiance of some of its own people. The internal disintegration of the Metlakatla system thus gave a strong impetus to a new utopian movement, where a renewed idealism could recapture that which had been lost at Old Metlakatla.
The breakdown of social and religious unity was the basic element in the disintegration of the Metlakatla system. This breakdown itself was caused less by the religious difficulties which brought a Bishop to the village than by the fact that the traditional Tsimshian chiefs were able to use Ridley as a focus for their own hostility towards Duncan. If the Metlakatlans had remained united, there is little doubt that the C.M.S. would have removed their missionaries to new fields of endeavour, and it is unlikely that the demand for recognition of an aboriginal title would have been pursued at this time with so much vehemence.

Duncan's success at Metlakatla had been due in great measure to the fact that the Tsimshian were a group well adapted to receiving the type of Christianity he wanted to introduce. Their acquisitiveness, their industry, their ability to co-operate for communal projects, and their commercial and building skills, all predisposed the Tsimshian to accept the bold combination of God and Mammon which the missionary offered. Duncan's failure to maintain the unity which was the basis of his system, was due to his inability to find an acceptable place in his utopia for the chiefs and traditional leaders of the Tsimshian. Evidently the Metlakatla system demanded a religious and social egalitarianism which at this time was incompatible with the cultural values and social needs of the traditional leaders of Tsimshian society. Pride of rank was perhaps the most significant part of Tsimshian culture, and although Duncan certainly recognised this, and did attempt to find an acceptable place for the chiefs on the village council, his evident failure to satisfy their psychological needs led to the disintegration of Metlakatla. Tsimshian society had
enabled Duncan to create successfully a unique Indian utopia. Yet, in
the final analysis, it was Duncan's failure to integrate into his Christian
utopia the most vital cultural reality of that traditional Tsimshian
society, which finally brought the dissolution of this vigorous and
imaginative social experiment.

The Christian utopia could no longer be the symbol of moral and
secular progress for the Indians of North Pacific coast. The internal
sectarian struggle and the growing conflict between Duncan's adherents and
the new administrators of Indian affairs had halted much of the religious
and secular education in the village. The former glow of the city on the
hill had indeed dimmed, and although only a few years earlier Duncan's
name and work had been revered, there seemed to be few regrets in 1887
when the missionary led over six hundred Tsimshian to a new utopia in
Alaska.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>P.M.</th>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>2:00-2:30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singing and Prayer</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; class - Copybook</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parables - Discussion</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; class - Arithmetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>History of our Lord</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; class - Arithmetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composition on Slates - Grammar</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; class - Copybook on Blackboard</td>
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<td>10:30-11:00</td>
<td>2:30-3:00</td>
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<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; class - Irish Readers Book</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; class - Tsimshian Scriptures</td>
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<td>- Circle of Knowledge</td>
<td>- Gospel and Daniel</td>
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<td>- New Short Series</td>
<td>- Commandments</td>
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<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; class - New Short Series</td>
<td>- Psalms</td>
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<td>- Old Short Series</td>
<td>- Parables</td>
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<tr>
<td>- First Reading Lesson</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; class - Second Short Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00-11:30</td>
<td>3:00-3:30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geography - Monday and Thursday</td>
<td>Catechism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dictation - Tuesday and Friday</td>
<td>Singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30-12:00</td>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
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<td>Time</td>
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<td>A.M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:00-6:00</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:00-8:00</td>
<td>Outdoor work, trade and cash accounts</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00-8:30</td>
<td>Family prayers</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:30-9:00</td>
<td>Breakfast and reading</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00-10:00</td>
<td>Household duties and general work</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-12:00</td>
<td>School for children</td>
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<td>P.M.</td>
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<td>1:00-2:00</td>
<td>Private</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00-4:00</td>
<td>School for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-6:00</td>
<td>Seeing sick, mourners, offenders, debtors, promise breakers, backsliders, doubters, domestic quarrels, non-church attenders, non-tax payers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00-7:00</td>
<td>Dinner and reading</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:00-9:00</td>
<td>Adult school and evening prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00-10:00</td>
<td>Study or letter writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 to -</td>
<td>Journal and register up</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
To be remembered in discoursing to the Indians

1. Their superstitious trust in signs and papers.
2. Giving away property for pride and display.
3. Blaming others for evils, punishing the unfortunate rather than the guilty.
4. Breaking their promises almost constantly.
5. Their sorrowing as those without hope - and crying but not for help.
6. Their troubling other people when they can help themselves, when told exertion on their part necessary are angry at them for not helping them.
7. Their not being able to wait for anything. Soon angry if not attended to.
8. Their thinking people are speaking falsely if they deny a favour.
9. Their thinking it excusable in them to do evil if prompted by any determined person.
10. Their thinking lightly of secret sin if accomplished without coming to ears of Christian brothers.
11. Their not being united in action or feeling after anything good but only for evil.
12. Easily being excited to rebellion and dissatisfaction.
13. Their not feeling any concern about paying their debts.
14. Their great untruthfulness in trade.
15. Their not using the same diligence as when heathen.
16. Their becoming proud and less civil when renouncing heathenism.
17. Taking advantage when anyone in their power i.e. when one wants their work, services.
18. Never coming to say they are well after being supplied with
19. If rebuked for sin, angrily resolve to be worse.
20. Seldom if ever thanking anyone for doing anything for them.
21. Their lack of interest in the welfare of others or in the place they live as shown in their unwillingness to engage in any public duty.
22. Their disregard for other peoples property and heartlessness in labor and their hireling spirit.
Metlakatla: General View II
NOTE

New Metlakatla

Duncan left British Columbia in 1887, but lived until his death in 1918 at his new utopia on Annette Island. A few of the Tsimshian who had originally accompanied him there returned to British Columbia, but the majority remained to establish a thriving community which incorporated many of the principles established at 'Old' Metlakatla. A sawmill and cannery were quickly constructed, and every attempt was made to reproduce the physical and social facilities of the old village. The Metlakatla Church remained an independent native institution, largely self-supporting and administered by Duncan and a group of elected elders. Eventually a modified Communion service was celebrated three times a year in the village. This service was in the form of a memorial, the bread and wine being distributed among the congregation by lay elders, as Duncan read the Lord's commands from the Scriptures.

New Metlakatla was undoubtedly the prosperous Christian Indian community which Duncan had hoped to create. Yet this second half of his missionary career was no less turbulent than his years in British Columbia, for the New Metlakatla Indians were involved in several legal and political
conflicts over their lands and over their system of education. Just before Duncan's death, the community was again divided by a religious dispute initiated by the conversion to Presbyterianism of Edward Marsden, the son of Samuel Marsden, Duncan's first convert. Duncan had been particularly fond of Edward's mother, Catherine, and in the early days at 'Old' Metlakatla had considered marrying her. After the death of Samuel Marsden, she became Duncan's housekeeper and her son was brought up in the Mission House almost as Duncan's son. He received a high school education under the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, and was later the first Metlakatlan to attend college, spending four years at Marietta Presbyterian College in Ohio. On his return to New Metlakatla he attempted to introduce Presbyterianism but after much acrimony was forced to withdraw. Although Duncan had faced many setbacks and disappointments in his missionary life, this must have been the most cruel blow of all.

Duncan died at the age of 85 in January 1918. In his will he expressed a desire to be buried in the plot that had been prepared for him in Victoria next to Cridge, but the Indians refused to let his body leave New Metlakatla. He is buried there, in this still viable settlement, next to the church, now re-named the William Duncan Memorial Church.
ABBREVIATIONS

AHBC  -  Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company
C/DIA/ - Canada, Department of Indian Affairs
CMI  -  Church Missionary Intelligencer
CMS/A  -  Church Missionary Society Papers
PABC  -  Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.
PAC  -  Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
USFAS  -  United States Federal Archives (Seattle)
WD/C  -  William Duncan Papers
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d. Fort Simpson, Correspondence Outward, November 20, 1851 to
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**PERIODICAL ARTICLES**


THESES AND UNPUBLISHED ESSAYS


APPENDIX A

A clear, practical, and satisfactory Indian Policy is now undoubtedly called for and is of vital importance to the prosperity of the Province. The problem of Indian affairs too, is confessedly difficult and solemn, hence I feel in duty bound to tender my humble aid to the Government toward its right solution.

Not having any personal or party ends to serve, but simply a desire to promote the spiritual and temporal interests of the Indians with whom my lot is cast, I will open my mind freely, and trust that what I have to say will be received by the Government in a like spirit of candour.

Let me then first assure the Government, that I believe the present organization of the Indian Department of British Columbia can never work successfully, and that however sincerely desirous those who now exercise the management of Indian affairs may be to do their duty, to my mind so palpably defective and misdirected are their labours, that I fear when the Government and the public come to look for results, they will be sorely disappointed.

The first anomaly that strikes one, is the isolated existence of the Department from the influence and control of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.
Such an arrangement, however easy it may work in Provinces nearer Canada, will prove, I am fully persuaded, both perplexing and injurious to the Indians of British Columbia. Its tendency will be to lower the Lieutenant-Governor in their estimation; retard their loyalty; and engender toward the white race antagonism of interests.

The Governor of the whites being no longer regarded as the guardian of their welfare, they will cease to respect him; while the Indian Commissioner, though he may succeed in enlisting their friendship, yet, from having no authority among or over the whites, will fail to inspire them with that salutary reverence so necessary to their good government.

It is to be hoped that this impolitic state of things may soon be remedied, and that, with an Indian Commissioner by his side, the Lieutenant-Governor, as the representative of the Queen, may continue to be looked up to by the Indians as the head of all authority and public interests in the Province; and that though they may feel themselves inferior to the whites in political and social standing, yet, that at least they have one and the same Governor, who will administer their affairs as impartially, and guard their interests as sacrdly, as he does those of their otherwise more favored brethren.

I will now proceed with my suggestions for an Indian Policy which I propose to place under the heads of Surveillance, Reserves, and Gifts.

First, Surveillance.---This I conceive to be the proper starting point for commencing a right policy in Indian affairs; for without
surveillance no satisfactory relationship can ever exist between the Government and the Indians.

But in looking at this subject I would ask the Government to lose sight of the tribal divisions of the Indians, which are so numerous and perplexing, and regard only the natural division of languages, of which I suppose there are some ten or twelve in the Province; each language being spoken, judging roughly, by about four or five thousand persons.

To each of these languages I would recommend the Government to appoint a Superintendent, or more properly speaking, a Sub-agent, who should also be a Justice of the Peace. This Sub-Agent should of course reside among his Indians and identify himself with their interests. He should be a married man of good character and a total abstainer from intoxicating drink. He must be a man of courage, patience, of orderly and industrious habits, and one who could command the respect of his people. He should possess some knowledge of medicine and of building, and be of a practical turn of mind. It should be his aim, as soon as possible, to learn the language of his Indians, and acquaint himself with their country, their pursuits, wants, and difficulties; all which he should duly record and report upon to the Chief Commissioner in the Province. His duties for the Indians would consist in preserving the peace in their midst, helping any in sickness or distress, teaching and aiding the community to open up the resources of their country and to build themselves good houses, and thus lead the way to their becoming an industrious and prosperous people.

I would recommend that at first the Sub-Agent take up his quarters
pro tem. with the principle tribe in his district, but that as soon as he shall have become acquainted with the country he shall choose out a good central position for his station or head quarters, and erect his house on a site suitable for a future Native town. Before he moves he should make his plans fully known to his Indians and then encourage them to settle around him, without regard to tribal or sub-tribal distinctions.

As soon as possible after moving to the central station, I would recommend that he should choose out a Native constable or two, and gradually increase the staff until he has a corps sufficiently strong for all emergencies. Simultaneously I would recommend he should select a Native Council with whom he should deliberate upon all matters affecting the public weal within his district.

The expense of these two Native forces would be but trivial if the plan as at Metlakahtla be adopted. There the council have only a badge of office, which consists of a cape trimmed with scarlet, while the constables have each a simple uniform about every five years, and are remunerated for their services only when sent on special duty.

For the protection and encouragement of the Sub-Agent I would recommend that his station be visited once annually by the Governor or Chief Commissioner, and that his salary be not less than fifteen hundred dollars ($1500) a year, with allowances for medicine and canoe hire.

Next as to Reserves:---

Here again I would ask the Government to lose sight of scattered tribes, and rather be prepared when the time comes to grant a large district for the
use and benefit of all the Indians of one language; that is, I would recommend one large Reserve for each tongue as the principle to be kept in view, and as opposed to having some ten or fifteen smaller reserves for each language if tribal divisions were followed.

But in practice this recommendation might require modifying in some cases, as where the Indians of the same tongue are very much scattered, or are divided by natural barriers which render their pursuits and means of living so dissimilar that their coming all on one reserve is impracticable. In such cases two, or at most three, reserves might be required.

In addition to the reserve for each tongue, I would earnestly beg the Government to hold in trust for the benefit of each tribe its respective fishing station, though it may not come on the reserve and be only occupied (of course) part of the year. To allow the whites to pre-empt or occupy such clearings would not only be a great injustice but would, I am sure, be a fruitful source of trouble to the Province.

As the question of Reserves is one of vital importance both to the Indians and the Government, and serious evils may result from precipitancy, I would propose that the subject wherever possible should lie over until the Government Agent before alluded to has taken up his position in each district; and after he has learnt the number, wants, and pursuits of the Indians under his charge, and the nature of their country, he should duly advise the Government accordingly, thus pointing out the most suitable locality and the quantity of land required by his particular Indians.
Without such advice I cannot see how the Government can be expected to act fairly or wisely in dealing with the subject.

Further, I would suggest as matter for caution that whatever system be adopted in granting reserves, that the Government will not sanction the establishing of an Indian Settlement on or near the border of a reserve where it might at once or at some future day be in proximity to a White Settlement, but rather order that all new and permanent Indian towns or villages shall be built as far from the settlement of the whites, or where such settlements are likely to arise, as the reserve in each case will allow.

Further I look to the reserve question if rightly settled greatly to aid in remedying the present scattered condition of the Indians, and thus rendering them accessible to the Christian Missionary and Schoolmaster: for unless they become more collected it would seem impossible that education or civilization should ever reach them as a whole.

Next as to Gifts:---

In no matter affecting the Indians can the Government do more good or harm than in the matter of gifts.

Money may be spent to a large amount upon the Indians and yet tend only to alienate, dissatisfy, and impoverish them if wrongly applied; whereas a small sum rightly administered will yield much good both to the Indians and the country at large.

The policy of dealing out gifts to individual Indians I consider
cannot be too strongly deprecated, as it is both degrading and demoralizing. To treat the Indians as paupers is to perpetuate their baby-hood and burdensomeness. To treat them as savages, whom we fear and who must be tamed and kept in good temper by presents, will perpetuate their barbarism and increase their insolence. I would therefore strongly urge the Government to set their faces against such a policy.

The Indians of British Columbia are by no means poor in the usual meaning of the word, i.e. they are not poor as to resources, but are ignorant, indolent, and improvident, and hence need a guiding and friendly hand before they can become a prosperous people. Thus may I recommend the Government in making pecuniary grants for Indian use to lose sight of individuals altogether, even chiefs not excepted, and rather spend the money on Public Works which shall benefit the community as a whole and be a palpable and lasting evidence of the interest the Government take in their welfare.

Of course such openings for thus helping the whole community would be set before the Government, from time to time, by the Agent, with the consent and approbation of the Native Council, and each proposition or call for help would stand or fall on its own merits; but, speaking generally, pecuniary aid might be well applied in opening up roads, helping all who built at the Government Station to erect good houses, by providing, say, windows, nails, &c.; also assisting Indians in companies to open up any new industry: making this, however, a fundamental rule, only to assist those who are endeavouring to rise higher in social life and are law-abiding subjects to Her Majesty.
Thus I would have the Government to employ their money grants, and the Agent his energies principally to build up a good and substantial Native town for each language, and as central as possible for all the tribes of the same tongue.

These central Government Stations being started, a Government School might be established in each, and good openings would thus be made for Religious Societies to step in with their aid, and no doubt a Minister would soon be provided for each such station and thus for each tongue in the Province.

The three gentlemen—the Agent, the Minister, and the Schoolmaster---thus severally employed, and aiding and encouraging each other, might reasonably be expected to bring about such a state of things as would warrant the town at no very distant date being incorporated and have its own Native Magistrate, and thus cease to belong to the Indian Department or need an Indian policy.

Extract from letter of W. Duncan to the Honourable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, May, 1875.