

SAINT MARY'S MISSION,
(MISSION CITY, BRITISH COLUMBIA)

1861 TO 1900

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the pre-1900 relationship between the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a French order of Roman Catholic priests, and the Sto:lo of the Fraser Valley. It considers the effects of the strict and inflexible Oblate system on the Sto:lo. Primary sources for this study were found at the Oblate Archives, the Archives of the Sisters of St. Ann, and from various oral testimonies.

Under a regime called the "Durieu System", the Oblates encouraged the creation of segregated, self-sufficient agricultural villages on Sto:lo reserves. Ecclesiastically appointed watchmen recorded the names of transgressors against the Oblate "norms" of behaviour. No deviation was tolerated under this regime of surveillance and segregation.

The thesis focuses on the Sto:lo children sent to the residential school at St. Mary's Mission; Sister Mary Lume-na's diaries and the reminiscences of a Metis student, Cornelius Kelleher, were the main sources of information. There were two schools on the site; the boys' under Oblate control, the girls' under the supervision of the Sisters of St. Ann. The schools were residential because the Oblates sought to isolate the children from Sto:lo elders who adhered to the "old ways". At school, children spoke only English and learned by rote-recitation. Sto:lo cosmology was replaced with the Roman Catholic religion. To prevent

"immorality", the Oblates segregated the pupils from outsiders and the opposite sex; even their parent's visits were supervised. The school was self-sufficient so as to keep contact with the outside world at a minimum.

The Oblates held a utopian vision of a docile, pious, capable, Roman Catholic peasantry. They hoped former pupils would return to their village and educate others or settle in agricultural villages under Oblate control. However, as this study shows, most pupils were orphans or Metis and did not have much influence in their village.

This thesis suggests that the small numbers who attended St. Mary's found the transition between the Oblate and Sto:lo worlds difficult to make. Present-day informants described their reactions (which ranged from negative to ambivalent) to the residential school system and the effects of cultural confusion on their lives.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In 1861, on the banks of the Fraser River, thirty miles up-river from New Westminster, Father Leon Fouquet, a French missionary belonging to the order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, founded a mission that was to serve the religious and secular needs of the Natives of the Fraser Valley. He named it "St. Mary's" after a reformed prostitute of ancient Egypt, the name a symbol of the Oblate's struggle against "immorality" in the Fraser Valley region. A chapel and priest's quarters were built on the site as well as two schools: a boys' school in 1863 and a girls' school in 1868. The schools were intended to inculcate Native children with a utopian, Christian vision of Western agriculture. Educated children could either return to their villages and teach others, or settle on agricultural land across the river, south of the mission. Meanwhile, the school would remove children from the pernicious influences of the immoral Europeans.

St. Mary's Mission was part of the much larger attempt of a handful of Oblate priests to superimpose a rigid system of missionization on the Native settlements of British Columbia. Under the priests' guidance, and often with government cooperation, new systems of law, marriage, religion, inheritance, subsistence, education and settlement were implemented in the Native villages. These systems were maintained even in the absence of the priests by a hierarchy

of "spies" who watched the villagers and reported any misdemeanours to the priest during his next visit. Preaching during the absence of the priest was done by members of the village; this "informal" missionizing was a major component of a highly formalized plan to spread a web of religious control over the secular and spiritual lives of British Columbian Natives. In particular, the Oblates focussed their efforts on Native children; they were thought to be largely uninfluenced by village elders who clung to "the old ways" and thus to be prime candidates for a complete and successful conversion to the Oblates' vision of a Christian Native. Children could be removed from village life, placed in the unfamiliar world of the boarding school, and only released when they were considered to approximate the Oblate ideal of a Native, Roman Catholic peasant. From St. Mary's Mission, and nearby St. Charles in New Westminster, priests visited and administered the reserves along the lower Fraser River. Converted Natives responded by visiting St. Mary's for retreats and Passion Plays, and by sending their children there for an education.

The Fraser Valley, St. Mary's Mission and the schools thus provide a setting for a study in miniature of the Oblate agenda for the province as a whole. The Oblates, the Sisters of St. Ann, who ran the girls' school, and the Sto:lo (the Halkomelem-speaking Natives who lived in the region), along with white settlers, various government

officials and rival Protestant missionaries, make up the cast of principal characters who acted out the clash of cultures and lifeworlds on the extraordinary stage of the lower Fraser Valley in the late nineteenth century.

Charles de Mazenod founded the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in France in 1816 to "stir up the faith that was dying among the poor," to improve the quality of the priesthood, and to reform morally unworthy priests (Whitehead 1988, 6). De Mazenod was searching for an elite group of men to serve under him. These men, who all took a vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, had to be committed to de Mazenod's conservative ideals, since De Mazenod did not believe that the role of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic church was to come to terms with "modern men and modern institutions" (Whitehead 1988, 6). On February 17th, 1826, Pope Leo XII approved de Mazenod's order as well as his choice of name and objectives, and bestowed a motto: "To preach the Gospel to the poor, he hath sent me" (Kennedy 1969, 17).

The focus of the missions in France was the rural poor of Provence; each mission was based upon a set formula of preaching and prayer over a certain number of days or weeks (Whitehead 1988, 6). The chief objective of these French missions and thus the foreign ones that de Mazenod encouraged was to teach the basic tenets of the Roman Catholic religion. By 1859, the Oblates had spread from Provence throughout France to Switzerland, England, Corsica, Ceylon,

Mexico, Ireland, Algeria, Natal, the U.S.A., and Canada (Whitehead 1988, 7).

Many of their contemporaries viewed the Oblates as heroic; they were lauded as hardworking and self-sacrificing. It was this reputation that, in 1846, prompted the Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet of Oregon City to travel to Europe and appeal personally for Oblates to work in his ecclesiastical province, founded in July of that year. The territory administered by Blanchet, twelve Jesuits, two diocesan priests, and six nuns, consisted of the present states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana, as well as Vancouver Island, mainland British Columbia, and the Yukon. The area was divided into three dioceses: Oregon City, Walla Walla (Eastern Washington, Idaho and Montana), and Vancouver Island (British Columbia and the Yukon) (Cronin 1960, 3).

At first, Blanchet's requests for help were refused, primarily because de Mazenod did not have priests available for another mission. Blanchet's brother Magloire, the Bishop of Walla Walla, travelled to Montreal and appealed to Father Guiges, the Oblate Superior there for men. Father Guiges promptly promised him three Oblates, a promise that de Mazenod honoured despite the shortage of available priests.

In 1847, four priests and one lay brother were sent from France to Oregon (Cronin 1960, 4). Father Pascal Ricard, by all accounts a frail man, headed the party. The

three scholastic priests, who had not completed their training, were Eugene Chirouse, George Blanchet, and Charles Pandosy. The lay brother was Celestin Verney. They arrived at Walla Walla, a fortified trading post surrounded by a few Indian dwellings, on September 5th, 1847.

The Oblates' eleven years in the Old Oregon territory were not very successful. While a number of missions were established, five men were not adequate for the huge task of establishing, building and maintaining missions to the Natives. In October 1847, the Oblates established the first mission, St. Rose, near Fort Walla Walla (Cronin 1960, 11). Barely six weeks later, on November 29th, fourteen of their Presbyterian rivals at Walla Walla were murdered by the Cayuse Indians in what came to be known as the Whitman massacre. Subsequent warfare, coupled with Protestant allegations that the Oblates had assisted the Natives in the Yakima Wars, meant that future missions to the Natives were nearly impossible. Nevertheless, a second party of Oblates arrived in the Oregon territory in 1850.

The missionaries preached to the Natives of Oregon using a cloth chart or stick that depicted the religious history and the growth of the Catholic faith (Kennedy 1969, 21). It had been developed by F.N. Blanchet for use in his missions to the Indians at Cowlitz (Whitehead 1981, 14). The "sahale" stick, or "stick from above" as the Natives called it (Kennedy 1969, 21), resembled a miniature totem

pole. At the bottom of the stick, were representations of the creation of the world and the fall from grace of Adam and Eve. The top of the stick showed Blanchet ministering to the Natives. A cloth chart replaced the carved stick and was distributed to chiefs willing to act as catechists amongst the Native bands (Whitehead 1981, 14). Thus, the Oblates hoped to teach Natives the basic tenets and history of the Roman Catholic church long before they actually met a priest (Whitehead 1981, 14).

In March, 1857, Father D'herbomez became acting superior of missions; Father Ricard, in poor health, had been recalled to Rome. As had Ricard before him, D'herbomez began pleading with de Mazenod for missions on the mainland of British Columbia. D'herbomez hoped that a speedy entry into British Columbia would forestall the efforts of the Protestant missionaries there (D'herbomez 1859a, 2235). The Oblates saw Protestantism as a very real threat to their work, not least because of the accusations of the Presbyterians during the Yakima Wars, and wanted to establish missions ahead, not after them, so as to avoid interdenominational conflict.

D'herbomez got his wish. The Yakima mission, which in eleven years had baptised only 160 people, mostly children, closed in March 1859. Previous to this, D'herbomez, a priest and two lay brothers had travelled to Vancouver Island, where a mission was established at Esquimalt.

Gradually, most of the other priests moved north from Oregon. Only Fathers Durieu and Chirouse remained at the newly - established mission of St. Francis Xavier to administer to the Snohomish Indians.

Although the centre of missionary activity had been transferred from Olympia to Esquimalt, D'herbomez continued his pleas to de Mazenod for the establishment of permanent missions on the British Columbia mainland. He wrote:

I believe I have spoken in other letters of the importance, the necessity and the advantages of the missions which we might establish in British Columbia. It is urgent, for the English Church have already an episcopal see, the ministers are travelling in all directions, and they will know how to chose the best places as well as we do.

(D'herbomez 1859a, 2235).

Internal conflict regarding the mission in the Snohomish territory was also taking its toll; in June, 1859, D'herbomez wrote to de Mazenod that "our relations with the Bishop of Nesqually [Blanchet] are becoming more and more strained" and that Bishop Demers of Vancouver Island "on the contrary, shows himself very well disposed towards the Oblates"

(D'herbomez 1859b, 2236). Eventually, De Mazenod gave his permission for the establishment of the first mission on the mainland of British Columbia, and D'herbomez selected Father Charles Pandosy to found it.

On October 9th, 1859, Pandosy selected a (temporary) site for the mission: L'Anse au Sable on the shore of Lake Okanagan. He wrote:

Nous sommes arrivés hier soir à la place que nous avons choisie pour notre Mission. C'est une grande vallée située sur le bord de Lac Okanagan...le terrain cultivable est immense...nous avons une famille blanche auprès de nous; au printemps prochain un autre viendra de Colville nous rejoindre.

(Pandosy 1862, 139).

The first Euro-Canadian to claim farmland in the area was Cyprian Laurence, the French-Canadian who had accompanied Pandosy north from Colville. On the 15th of December, 1859, he took claim of 160 acres in a document that was witnessed by Fathers Pandosy and Richard.

The site for the permanent Okanagan mission was chosen in 1860; it was located near Mission Creek in what is now Kelowna. Mission buildings were erected on the site. The first Oblate school for Native children was begun at the Kelowna Mission, but attendance was sporadic and the pupils, when they did attend, were often late to arrive. In addition, the Oblate fathers felt that anything learned at the school was quickly forgotten when students returned home in the evening to the "pagan" influences of home (Whitehead 1988, 56).

In 1860, there were still only ten Oblates at the Tulalip, Kelowna, Esquimalt and Olympia missions. Two more priests were sent out from France in 1862, bringing the total number of Oblates to twelve. However, the shortage of priests did not prevent either the establishment of permanent missions on the mainland or the performance of shorter

missions to the Natives in British Columbia. There were missions to the Natives of the east coast of Vancouver Island, across to the mid-coast mainland camps, and northwards to Bella Bella. Southwards, the Oblate jurisdiction extended to the border. Oblates travelled throughout this vast area by canoe, horse, or on foot. In addition to relying on Native hospitality for food, many of the fathers learned traditional Native methods of hunting, fishing and food preservation.

In 1875, Father Paul Durieu became coadjutor bishop of mainland British Columbia. He later became Vicar of Missions and assumed the position of the head of the Oblates in British Columbia after the death of D'herbomez in 1890. Durieu is credited with introducing a new system of missionization into British Columbia (Chapter 2), a system that was used by the Oblates throughout British Columbia until Durieu's death on June 1st, 1899. Thereafter, it was used in modified form until its eventual abandonment when Oblates of Euro-Canadian extraction became more numerous (Lemert 1954, 27).

In addition to the Oblates, the children at St. Mary's came under the care of the Sisters of Saint Ann (S.S.A.) . The first language of both the priests and nuns was French. However, the S.S.A. originated in Canada, not France. Their founder, Marie Esther Sureau-Blondin was born in Terrebonne, Quebec, in 1809. Early in her life, Sureau-Blondin recog-

nized the need for strong teachers who would help the poor and needy, and she dreamed of founding a religious order dedicated to the teaching of the children of these people (St. Ann's Academy n.d., n.p.). On September 8th, 1850, the congregation of St. Ann came into existence and Sureau-Blondin became Sister Mary Ann. In 1858, the order founded an academy for girls in Victoria, B.C., and from there the S.S.A. served the Natives and poor of British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska. In the patriarchal, male world of the church, the nuns did not, however, play a role in policy decisions regarding the care, education and missionization of Natives.

The majority of Natives who came under the influence of the Oblates from St. Mary's Mission were Sto:lo, a Halkomelem speaking group who lived from New Westminster to Yale along the Fraser River and some of its tributaries. Sto:lo life was characterised by a high degree of mobility; people gathered into large winter villages for the dance season when resources were scarce, and dispersed into smaller groups when food resources were more plentiful. These small groups gathered food, preserved it, and then returned to the larger village. Only the very young and the very old remained in the village year-round. Because of this fact, the bond between the grandparent and grandchild was stronger than that between child and parent. It was this bond that the Oblates sought to break with their system of residential

schools; they saw the Sto:lo child as a blank slate that had to be removed from the environs of the village and the pernicious influence of Native elders.

The Oblates frowned upon mobility as Natives that did not stay in one place for long periods were hard to control, more likely to come into contact with European settlers, and did not, by definition, make good agriculturalists. The Oblates encouraged the Sto:lo to give up their mobile form of subsistence, farm the good soils of the Fraser Valley, and to send their children to school. At school, children were uprooted from a familiar world in which they learned by example and from tales told by their grandparents, in which physical punishment was unheard of, in which time was measured by seasons and the passage through life, and in which the major physical boundaries were formed by the river and the forest, and found themselves in clearly defined compartmentalized spaces where each hour of the day was filled with a task in a strictly regimented religious environment.

In the years before 1900, the fur trade, epidemic diseases, the gold rushes, the reserve system and increasing Euro-Canadian settlement in the area probably had more influence on the Sto:lo lifeworld than the school at St. Marys. However, it is probably not correct to suggest, as Redford did, that before attendance was made mandatory at residential schools in 1920, pupils were not seriously alienated from their families and cultures (Redford 1979,

54). Not all Sto:lo children were affected, but individual children were torn from known worlds and forced into a vastly different one. The children's families and friends who remained in the village felt the effects of the children's absence for the ten months they were at school, and noticed the different patterns of behaviour exhibited by pupils when they returned.

It is difficult to assess the Oblate impact on Sto:lo village life and on the children who attended St. Mary's school. There are no Native survivors of the Oblate system and early residential schools, and no priests or nuns who worked at St. Mary's are still alive. Hence, one is dependent upon written documents for source material; the Sto:lo voice is rarely heard in these Euro-Canadian documents. In addition, the priests and nuns did not record their pupils' individual achievements and very little is written about individual pupils after they returned to their villages. However, as this thesis shows, it is possible to reach some understanding of the impact of the mission and school at St. Mary's on traditional Native lifeworlds and on the transition that children made from one world to another - worlds so disparate that even perceptions of time and space were irrevocably altered.

CHAPTER TWO: THE OBLATE SYSTEM

There were clear Oblate strategies for converting Natives and maintaining piety. Initially, priests had to travel large distances through unfamiliar territory in order to meet and convert Natives. Because of their superior knowledge of the land and their survival skills, Native guides were often employed in the search for likely converts. The Oblates encouraged the imposition of a new pattern of Native settlement on the landscape of British Columbia, for as part of the conversion process, the Oblates created Christian villages or enclaves. Natives were discouraged from continuing their pattern of seasonal mobility and taught basic agricultural skills, so that they would be "tied" to the village. In addition, the Oblates required Natives to attend church daily; this restricted further the movement of the Natives. Within each enclave, an elaborate spy system under the control of often-absent priests was intended to maintain Oblate standards of piety and morality. Space became the buffer that protected the enclaves' inhabitants from the influences of non-Native miners and settlers. The geography of British Columbia was both friend and foe to the priests, and a factor that definitely influenced the Oblate system of missionization.

Paul Durieu was credited by both Bishop Emile Bunozy, one of his disciples and a successor to the Bishopry, and Father A.G. Morice with beginning this new system of mis-

sionization, dubbed "the Durieu System" (Bunoz 1942, 193-209). According to Bunoz, Durieu's System involved the "application of the proper ways and means to protect an Indian against himself and against evil-doers and to confirm him [sic] in christian [sic] life" (Bunoz 1942, 193). Durieu saw the system as both destructive and formative; first the priest had to destroy sin by "repressing and punishing it relentlessly as an evil, horrible and degrading thing" and then create a new person by "moulding the inner man [sic] by instruction, preaching and the reception of the sacraments" (Whitehead 1981, 19).

Jacqueline Gresko, however, considers "Durieu's System" to have had clear antecedents in the thoughts of D'herbomez, the missionary efforts of Jesuits in Paraguay, the Oblates in Manitoba, Fathers Demers and Blanchet in British Columbia in 1841, and in the use of the Catholic Ladder by Blanchet in Oregon (Gresko 1982, 52). Certainly, as early as 1862, D'Herbomez wrote that his goal was the creation of:

Une reduction modèle pour les meilleurs de nos sauvages, afin de les initier à toutes les vertus du christianisme, et à tous les avantages d'une civilisation chretienne.

(Kennedy 1969, 26).

These ideas were based in part on a directive from De Mazenod, issued in 1853:

Every means should therefore be taken to bring the nomadic tribes to abandon their wandering life and to build houses, cultivate fields and practise the elementary crafts of civilized life.

(Whitehead 1981, 18).

These ideas were echoed in later years by Durieu's methods. By 1861, a Temperance Society, missions and cathedral sessions, watchmen, Native courts under the priest's guidance etc. had been established, and the use of agricultural practices encouraged in Sto:lo villages along the Fraser River (Gresko 1982, 54). To safeguard Natives from the evils of the Euro-Canadian society, Durieu created "reductions"; isolated agricultural enclaves in which Natives would live:

an Indian state, ruled by the Indians, for the Indians, with the Indians, under the direct authority of the bishop and the local priests as supervisors. The administration consisted of the chief, the sub-chief, watchmen, catechists, even policemen, chanters and sextons. The laws of that community were all the commandments of God, the precepts of the Church, the laws of the state, when [emphasis mine] in accordance with the laws of the Church, the Indian Act, the by-laws enacted by the local Indian government etc.

(Bunoz 1942, 194).

Durieu's Indian state included a court in which the chief and priest were the judge, and punishments ranged from lashings, to fines, prayers or fasting (Bunoz 1942, 194). All of these developments, which Bunoz treated as Durieu's ideas, clearly originated with his predecessors.

During his years in Oregon, Durieu had been influenced by the Jesuit priests at Colville, with whom he had taken refuge during the Yakima Wars. Their system of missionizing was based on the "reduction" or model of a self-supporting

agricultural, Christian village developed by Spanish Jesuits in Latin America (Whitehead 1988, 15). Spanish Jesuits isolated Paraguayan natives from the negative influences of European society, and then worked to break down traditional social structures and practices, including polygamy (Whitehead 1988, 15).

Although, as Gresko suggests, Durieu should not be credited with creating a new form of missionization, since the methods that made up his system were not "his autonomous creation" (Gresko 1982, 55), it is fair to credit him with formalizing earlier programs. Starting in 1875, Durieu formalized the programs begun by D'herbomez, and added refinements, such as the Honour Guard of the Sacred Heart and Passion Plays (Gresko 1982, 55). Durieu was responsible for the creation of a Catholic Indian state in every willing Indian village (Whitehead 1981, 18). The priests under his authority created an "instituted tribal theocracy" (Lemert 1954, 24). In the village, every aspect of life was carried out under puritanical restrictions (Whitehead 1981, 19); the Oblate system was rigid and inflexible.

Whether or not it is appropriate to label the missionizing practiced by the Oblates in British Columbia before 1900 the "Durieu System", Oblate missionary activity involved activities that can be divided into five parts (Fiske 1981, 11). The system, which is described in detail below, was designed and adapted from earlier systems so that a

handful of priests could control many Natives over a vast, geographically disparate area.

Initial Contact: Conversion through Baptism and Preaching, and the Changing of Native Religious, Inheritance and Ceremonial Practices:

Missionaries canoed, rode, or walked great distances to visit the local bands in the area that came under the jurisdiction of a local permanent mission. Word of Roman Catholicism had usually spread throughout the Native communities along trade routes, and often a priest would arrive in an area and find that the Natives already practiced a form of Western religion (Suttles 1954, 39) that was the legacy of much earlier missions or of contact with the Métis employees of the fur companies. During the early years of Oblate activity in British Columbia, Native "prophets" often preached a mixture of traditional Native beliefs and European Christianity in areas where the priests operated. Jason Allard, a Métis and a Hudson's Bay Company factor, told of one prophet Quitz-ka-nums, who created a "spiritual revival" among the Natives in the Fraser Valley (McKelvie 1945, 244). Quitz-ka-nums, whose teachings were a mixture of Christian doctrines, Indian mythology and common sense, had a parchment which he claimed to have found on a mountain back of Katz Landing and from which he quoted various teach-

ings (McKelvie 1945, 251). These included:

Indolence is the cause of a great many evils.

Do not be called a thief.

In accepting gifts from neighbours, exchange the gift with profit.

Be kind to the aged and those beneath you.
(McKelvie 1945, 251).

Although Quitz-ka-nums was among the "finest Indians [Allard] ever met" and "was an intelligent man among his people" (McKelvie 1945, 251), his preaching aroused the ire of the Oblate missionary, Leon Fouquet, who was also active in the area. Fouquet took the parchment from Quitz-ka-nums, spat upon it, and cast it into the fire. He berated the prophet and told him that he was an imposter. After this treatment, Allard records that Quitz-ka-nums "wasted away in distress, refused to eat and died" (McKlevie 1945, 251).

Neither were the Oblate missionaries entirely ignorant of the language and cultures of the Natives to whom they were sent to convert and civilize. In 1861, D'herbomez encouraged his missionaries to learn a Native language before they began their work of christianization (D'herbomez, 1861: 2214); to what extent languages were learned is not known, but certainly Father Lejeune, who published the Kamloops Wawa, a Chinook newspaper, and Father Fouquet, who in his retirement helped nuns and priests at St. Mary's Residential School talk to their new (presumably Halkomelem speaking) pupils, were able to communicate in either the

Native language or in the Chinook jargon. In particular, those missionaries under Durieu's control had a grounding in Chinook, as well as having read the reports of other missionaries in the "Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée".

Native groups in British Columbia had different traditional cosmologies and ceremonial practices. However, one common link between them all was the belief in an animating spirit present in all lifeforms (Suttles 1954, 48). These lifeforms all "cooperated" in the web of their ecosystem. Thus, an animal that was slain by a hunter had allowed itself to be caught. The hunter had to pay his respects to the departing spirit of the slain animal. Failure to do so would result in famine or catastrophe; the Nisga'a believe that a volcanic eruption in the late 1700s was caused by the salmon people after some boys mocked the fish and stuck stone chips through their backs. These beliefs strongly contrasted with the Judeo-Christian perception of God having created animals for the use of humans. In addition, Native cosmology often included animals that also had human forms; the change from animal to animal-human was celebrated in their transformation dances. Because of these beliefs, many northern nations are still divided into clans, each of which is named after a mythical or real entity from whom they claim descent. However, the Oblates attempted to remove these characteristics of Native religions and to replace

them with one uniform, unchanging and inflexible European religion based on the holy trinity.

To what extent and for what reasons, the Natives allowed this substitution to occur are the subjects of much debate. It may well have been that Natives perceived the whites as being sources of power; Lummi Indians equated the whites with "sk'ɛ'ləqəm", a being with supernatural power (Suttles 1954, 70). An acceptance of the white's power may have been seen by the Native as a way to gain access to that power (Suttles 1954, 70). Another factor that probably influenced the Native decision to adopt or at least consider a non-Native religion, was that, confused and beleaguered by white diseases, social systems, alcohol, and settlement, they felt abandoned by their traditional cosmology and methods of healing (Whitehead 1988, 18).

The first stage in the missionary effort also involved changing the social systems of the Natives, in an attempt to create a patriarchal European society on the reserve. Many British Columbian Natives were polygynous; multiple marriages were made by men of high social status. The Oblates did not tolerate multiple marriages; men had to choose one of their wives and "forsake all others". Father LeJacq, who ministered to the Okanagan Indians, told of the chief Kalamalka who kept four aged wives (Cronin 1960, 132-134). Le Jacq refused to baptize the chief until he had only one wife. Eventually, under repeated threats to his

immortal soul, the chief complied - he replaced all four wives with a beautiful young one and Le Jacq baptised him. In this case, the former wives were released of their duties and were also provided for by their former husband. However, many former wives were not so fortunate; they were abandoned and shunned by both their husband's and their own families.

Inheritance among Natives was often matrilineal, although the southern coastal Natives often inherited through the line deemed most advantageous. Matrilineity was frowned upon by the Oblate Morice as a degraded state that was "the outcome of looseness of morals and absence of social restraint" (Fiske 1981, 32). Tribes governed by paternal right were thought to be more partial to the patriarchal, male-dominated, Christian religion (Fiske 1981, 32). Presumably, the Oblates believed that lineage was traced through the mother's line because no one was sure who the father of a child was - in fact, the system of matrilineal inheritance was not the result of trying to cover up "habitual infidelity", but one way of making sure that ties were established between the family into which a woman married and her family before marriage. Women were held in esteem for whose daughter, wife and mother they were. Women lost their traditional status and power in the Oblate system.

After the initial conversion and baptism, the teachings of the local priest were reinforced every six months when

Father Durieu called pious Natives together in order to receive instruction in religion. In 1887, Father LeJacq was special preacher at a gathering of three thousand Natives at St. Mary's Mission at Mission City (Cronin 1960, 164). Some of these Natives had travelled from Williams Lake to take part in the religious retreat. The Natives often performed a passion play recounting the death of Christ in eight scenes; this was a very solemn event which ended with a waxen "Christ" being nailed to the cross, a weeping and blood-splattered Mary Magdalen at his feet (Cronin 1960, 166). An individual's failure to comply with the teachings of the Oblates at these gatherings resulted in punishment for the whole group. In 1877, an "Indian medicine man" attended the retreat; one Native, resenting the Catholic attitude towards the medicine man, struck Durieu (St. Mary's Mission School Monograph 1950, 7). Durieu locked the church at St. Mary's and held masses outside for the next seven days. Finally, after much begging and pleading from the Natives, he allowed them to re-enter the church.

Although Durieu was adamant that the Natives' traditional feasts and ceremonies be abandoned because they "contained some traces of paganism and superstition" (Bunoz 1942, 206), Durieu realized that by removing important segments from the Natives' social system, his priests were "badly fracturing" the Native way of life (Lemert 1954, 25). Something had to replace the traditional ceremonies. The

passion plays and pageants performed this function (Lemert 1954, 25). Feasts were held at villages, in which neighbours were invited to share the villager's pride in their church (Kennedy 1969, 61). Sharing pride replaced the traditional gift-giving of the Native potlatch. Military drills and music by Indian brass bands were performed at these meetings (Kennedy 1969, 61). The traditional spirit dancing garb was confiscated and replaced by the costumes and uniforms of the Oblate brass bands, choirs, and schools (Suttles 1954, 70). It was felt that these celebrations "helped in no small measure to make the Indians forget their old-fashioned and superstitious beliefs" (Bunoz 1942, 208).

The Establishment of an Ecclesiastically Controlled Political Hierarchy (Fiske 1981, 11):

De Mazenod warned the Oblates that they "should never take upon themselves the government of the tribes" and urged them to promote those capable of "governing according to the dictates of Religion and Justice" (Whitehead 1988, 15). However, under the Durieu System, something like local "Indian states" were created. Under the authority of the the Bishop and with local priests as supervisors, an administration consisting of the chief, sub-chief, watchmen, catechists, policemen, chantmen, and bell men (Cronin 1960, 162) was set up. The Oblate system usually strengthened the power of the existing chiefs (Knight 1978, 245); the tradi-

tional hierarchy was maintained, except for the fact that status now descended through the male line, not the female. Sometimes, two chiefs presided over the tribe; one, selected by the Oblate priests, was the "Eucharist Chief" in charge of anything pertaining to religion, and the other a "mere figurehead", the chief appointed by the Department of Indian Affairs (Bunoz 1942, 196).

The creation of this administration was part of the Oblates' geographic strategy; the administration maintained control of the village, even when the Oblate priest was on a mission elsewhere. The watchmen were very important to the maintenance of order; a "good watchman [was] a precious aid to the priest, for without him the priest may not even know the evil that is rampant next to his door" (Bunoz 1942, 195). The priests appointed the watchmen in an attempt to ensure that the Natives attended religious instruction and did not return to their "pagan", immoral ways (Whitehead 1981, 18). They also stood by the church door and inspected the churchgoers. If any smelled of perfume, hair cream or face lotion, they were punished by having to stand in front of the altar with their arms out to the side (Whitehead 1988, 16). Policemen carried out the punishments on those who resorted to the "old ways"; fines were collected and repeat offenders were whipped (Whitehead 1981, 18). Catechists taught religious instruction, and the bell men summoned the Natives to church, three times a day (Whitehead

1981, 19). Even "commissaires secrets" were established; these Natives "spied" on the other authorities and reported their transgressions to the priest on his bi-monthly visit (Kennedy 1969, 63). The Oblates imposed a system on the reserves that tried to ensure that each individual was watched by another; because of the continual observation and the threat of being reported to the priests, it was hoped that the Natives would "behave" when the priest was not present. The system was built on fear of reprisal for transgressions - one cannot claim that Natives who behaved in a manner pleasing to the priests did so solely out of love for the European lifestyle rather than out of fear of punishment.

The new hierarchy embodied in the Oblate system tended to bestow power on the emerging elite: Natives who had benefitted financially from dealings with white traders and farmers (Knight 1978, 245). It did not favour women. One consequence of Oblate interference in the traditional patterns of inheritance and marriage was to render women almost completely powerless. While one could argue that the traditional system only saw women as the mothers of sons and status-bearing daughters and as the status-bringing wives of those sons, under the Oblate system, women were further devalued: status was dependent on a person's father, not the mother. Women became mere wives and labourers.

The Creation of an Independent Agricultural Economy (Fiske 1981, 11):

Like the Jesuits in Latin America and the Oregon Territory, the Oblates were committed to developing autonomous Native settlements (Knight 1978, 246). Converted Natives would remain pious if removed from the negative influences of Euro-Canadians and of unconverted Natives. Natives often received alcohol, which the Oblates did not tolerate on the reserves, from Euro-Canadian traders (Suttles 1954, 45). Preventing access to traders meant removing the temptation of alcohol. Traders and settlers also formed liaisons with Native women that invariably were regarded as sinful (Suttles 1954, 47). It was believed that women could be kept chaste if they were guarded by the priest or his secular henchmen and hidden from white males. The Oblates also held a utopian vision of the pre-industrial peasant (Knight 1978, 246); therefore Natives were to be insulated from the industrial economy of British Columbia.

The removal of the Native "captive audience" to isolated agricultural enclaves meant that the villages had to be self-sufficient (Knight 1978, 246). Anything less entailed that some Natives would be in contact with Euro-Canadians for subsistence goods. Even mobility was discouraged, not only because crops would fail if ignored, but also because "outsiders" would be encountered. The traditional seasonal round, which used a variety of available resources, was,

therefore, to be discontinued. Although, in the contact years, Oblate priests had benefitted from the Native's ways of food gathering, under the Durieu system Natives were to learn Euro-Canadian ways of survival.

The Intervention of the Priest in all Judicial, Medical, Political and Educational Matters (Fiske 1981, 11):

Durieu wanted to create an "Indian state, ruled by the Indians, for the Indians, [and] with the Indians", under the supervision of the Roman Catholic church (Cronin 1960, 162). In order to accomplish this, the Oblates set up a court system presided over by the chief, under a priest's guidance. The court could mete out a series of punishments for transgressions of rules that were intended to govern most aspects of Native lives. All Natives under Durieu's control had to marry between the ages of eighteen and twenty (Bunoz 1942, 200). Parents did not "dare to oppose him", and all marriages were "successful" because separations were "not tolerated" by the Roman Catholic church (Bunoz 1942, 200). A woman was not allowed to travel alone to sell berries; she had to be accompanied by two or three other women (Bunoz 1942, 205). Even the time people arose was under ecclesiastical control; villagers had to rise upon the sounding of the first church bell and be in church by the second (Bunoz 1942, 205).

In order to encourage abstinence from the "old ways",

the Indian Total Abstinence Society was established by the Oblates on the reserves (Kennedy 1969, 64). A pledge was made to attend church for morning and evening prayers; five dollars was donated towards the repairs of the church if a Native failed the abstinence pledge (Kennedy 1969, 64). A public penance could also be imposed by the priest-delegated president or captain of the society to punish those who worked on Sundays, danced, gambled, or potlatched (Kennedy 1969, 64).

Among the Sto:lo Indians, Durieu established an Honour Guard of the Sacred Heart to honour the most pious Natives (Kennedy 1969, 64). The Oblates tried to enforce a system of reward and punishment based on the level of a person's adherence to the rules of the Roman Catholic church. Whole bands could suffer for insubordination to the church or priests. In 1887, the Hayamines of Sechelt were not allowed to attend a religious retreat at St. Mary's Mission because they had been disrespectful to Father Chirouse Jr. (Kennedy 1969, 62).

The Oblates were also involved in medical matters. Traditional methods of healing, often involving shamans to drive out "evil spirits", were discouraged by all missionaries, who viewed such methods as witchcraft. During the smallpox epidemic of 1862, the Natives had come to rely on the Oblate priests, who had nursed, vaccinated, and administered the last rites to thousands of stricken Natives; Father

Fouquet alone vaccinated more than 8 000 people (Cronin 1960, 95). This reliance on the Oblates was reinforced because many of the Natives were disillusioned by the inability of shamanistic medicine to cure measles and smallpox.

On occasion, the medical dependence of the Natives on the Oblates worked against the priests. Parents who felt that poor conditions at the mission schools encouraged disease often kept their children home from school (Fiske 1981, 16). In addition, whereas the successful treatment of a sick Native might result in his/her conversion, unsuccessful treatments had the opposite effect. If traditional methods of healing prevailed when European medicine had failed, whole bands sometimes left the Roman Catholic church. Such desertions imply that the conversion to Christianity was not as "complete" as the Oblate fathers wished to believe.

The Education of Native Children (Fiske 1981, 11):

Traditional Native education was not formal; no lessons were given. Children learned from observing their elders, from being shown how to perform tasks, from listening to stories and myths told to them, and as a result of their own experiences. This system of education was replaced in British Columbia in the late nineteenth century by a formal European method of schooling. Rote recitation became the main way of teaching Native pupils, partly because it was

felt that Natives were "blank sheets upon which civilization could be written, if its tenets were only repeated often enough" (Fiske 1981, 51).

The intervention of the Oblates in all secular matters increased the Federal government's reliance on the Order for the maintenance of law and order on the reserve. In addition, it meant that the Oblates were an obvious choice to provide education for the Native children. The Oblates and the Sisters of Saint Ann, the Sisters of Child Jesus and the Sisters of Providence, the teaching orders of nuns associated with them, represented an accessible and inexpensive source of teachers (Fiske 1981, 23). The federal government did not seem overly concerned with the type or quality of the education received by Native children in an Oblate school; economics tended to blind the administrative eye to the fact that the clergy were not trained teachers (Fiske 1981, 23).

Schools run by the Oblates under the auspices of the Federal government also fitted the wishes of the Oblate fathers. They knew that the education and training of Native children to mission standards would ensure the perpetuation of the Roman Catholic community, and established schools on many of the reserves. At these schools prayers and catechisms were repeated "until they were memorized by even the dullest" (Bunoz 1942, 197). As regards formal schooling, however, the Oblates had learned from the high

incidence of student truancy and tardiness at L'Anse au Sable day-school in the Okanagan, and believed that only a residential school would successfully prevent the transmission of the traditional culture to Indian children (Whitehead 1988, 56). The Oblates had established a residential school at St. Mary's Mission in Mission City in 1863, although, without government funding and with no way of making the children attend, it was soon floundering (Knight 1978, 253). However, after 1871, the Oblates successfully lobbied the Federal government for more schools; in 1874 the first funding of Oblate schools was provided on a per capita basis, and Indian parents were made to sign contracts confirming their child's attendance for three to five years (Redford 1979, 52). This contract was changed in 1895, so that attendance was mandatory until "such time as the Department [saw] fit to grant his/her discharge" (Redford 1979, 52). However, during this period, parents could refuse to permit their child to attend a residential school if a day school was available on the reserve (Redford 1979, 15). In 1920 mandatory attendance was enforced; attendance at a residential school was no longer a matter of choice for the parents and the police could be used to round up potential, or to return truant, students.

Eventually eight residential schools were operated by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, although only St. Mary's at Mission City (1863), St. Louis at Kamloops (1890), St.

Eugene's in Cranbrook (1890), Kuper Island (1890) and St. Joseph's at William's Lake (1869) were established by 1900. These schools represented a further "reduction of the reductions" established by the Oblates on the reserves. Each school was spatially segregated from the main community. Self-sufficiency was a goal. The fields around each school were tended, crops were raised, chickens provided eggs, vegetables were grown in kitchen gardens, and all the clothes were made and mended by the female students (Knight 1978, 254-255). Some surplus goods were sent to the Oblate school at Mission City. Pupil contact with outsiders was discouraged; even parental visits were conducted under the supervision of a priest or nun (Fiske 1981, 53). Starting as early as the 1870s, the school year lasted ten months so that children would be removed for most of the year from the negative influences of reserve life (Knight 1978, 253).

Within the school, the clergy exerted almost complete control. The priests were responsible for the whole life of the school; they established the forms of discipline, provided religious instruction, taught classes, and treated sick students. Every hour of the day was accounted for, from 6:00 in the morning to 8:00 at night. The student's day began with morning prayers followed by breakfast. Then there were three to four hours of lessons (in arithmetic, reading and writing, and religion) and chores (Fiske 1981, 33). Every hour of the day was taken up with some task -

even playing was done at prescribed times. A constant surveillance of the students by the nuns and priests was carried out twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week (Fiske 1981, 38).

English was the only language spoken at the residential schools; both French clergy and students had to learn to speak this unfamiliar tongue. The insistence on English meant that speaking "Indian" became a form of student resistance to Oblate rule (Fiske 1981, 40). Students were punished for their resistance; usually by public shaming, which was a Native form of punishment, but in extreme cases, whipping was used to chastise the pupil, despite the fact that the physical punishment of children was anathema to Native groups (Ashworth 1979, 15).

Sexual morality was to be accomplished by sexually segregating male and female students (Fiske 1981, 21). Boys and girls had separate sleeping, dining, teaching and playing areas to discourage any licentious behaviour. The body itself was ignored or treated as shameful. Adolescent girls were bound with tight cloths so that their breasts would not show (Persson 1986, 152). Baths were taken in a cotton shift - at no time was a person to see his/her own body, let alone someone else's (Persson 1986, 152). Girls were encouraged to stay at the school long after the final grade was finished, until they left to get married (Fiske 1981, 29). In this way young women would be kept away from the

lewd influences of men.

The skills necessary to live the life of a European peasant were taught at the Oblate schools. Boys learned agricultural techniques in the fields that surrounded the schools. Although the education given Natives about animal husbandry and agriculture was superior to any given the white settlers, Native boys were not taught how to use or care for machines like tractors (Knight 1978, 254). Girls learned domestic skills such as cooking, cleaning, laundering, preserving foodstuffs, raising hens, tending a garden and handcrafts: sewing, knitting, and mending (Fiske 1981, 42). Basically, the products of the school's education were supposed to be men who could plow and till fields, and women indoctrinated with the idea of a clean home and hearth, who would make excellent wives. It was hoped that former pupils would settle in villages around the mission or school, and live as devout, pre-industrial (albeit nominally educated) peasants (D'herbomez 1879, 2246).

* * *

Such were the Oblate plans for British Columbia. The Oblates' achievements are, however, a different matter and cannot be assessed provincially. St. Mary's Mission was the second permanent mission founded in the Fraser Valley region, and home of British Columbia's first residential school for Native children. It was to serve the Natives in the valley, to give them a religious centre, and a locus

around which Natives could settle in an agricultural way of life. It is a logical candidate for a closer examination.

CHAPTER THREE: THE LIFEWORLD of the STO:LO CHILD

In 1861, Native society was rapidly changing as Natives tried to adapt to new forces around them. Traditional areas of settlement had changed; Fort Langley had been founded in 1827, and the Kwantlen, who intermarried with the Hudson's Bay people, had moved close to the fort (Suttles 1955, 12). The 1858 gold rush had brought many new Europeans to the Fraser Valley. The miners had brought with them disease, alcohol and "loose morals" from which the Oblates wished to protect the Natives. The priests missionized Native adults in situ, but the children of willing parents were sent to the residential schools at St. Mary's. In order to assess the impact of the priests on the Native population in general, and, in particular, on the Sto:lo children, who were removed from this known environment and "inserted" into the unknown world of the priests for ten months of the year, it is important to understand something of Sto:lo culture and of the Sto:lo child's lifeworld during this period of change.

The majority of children taught at St. Mary's Mission were Halkomelem-speaking Sto:lo, drawn from between New Westminster and Hope. The Kwantlen, who in pre-contact years had lived near New Westminster, but moved upriver to live near Fort Langley after its founding in 1827; the Katzie who lived on Pitt River and Pitt Lake near Port Hammond; the Matsqui and Sumas who lived on the prairie

across the Fraser River from St. Mary's Mission; the Scowlitz at the confluence of the Harrison and Fraser Rivers; the Cheam, Peters, and Ohamill near Seabird Island; and the Chehalis who lived on Harrison River below Harrison Lake were all influenced by the priests at St. Mary's and sent some children to the school [see Map 1]. In addition, Thompson children also attended the school (Whitehead 1988, 61).

The pattern of a Sto:lo child's life was influenced by the actions of the adults who surrounded them. While not full participants in the seasonal round of hunting, gathering and fishing, they learned from observing their elders while the elders carried out the activities involved in resource exploitation. In addition, games, such as "hunter and prey" helped the children learn to hunt, while "potlatch and feast" games helped the children learn about important social customs. Young children learned about their physical environment from the elders' tales and the older ones from their own observations and experiences as they followed their elders from place to place. Social customs were absorbed by the children through tales and observations; language, cosmology, medical practices, kinship affiliations and the sharing of wealth formed a cultural framework within which thought and consciousness existed. The experiences of childhood coloured lifetimes.

The Sto:lo traced kinship bonds through space and time

(Duff 1952, 76). Since marriages could be either patrilocal or matrilineal, and since descent was bilateral, a fine web of relations was spread between villages and could be followed back through either the mother's or father's line (Suttles 1955, 28). Each child learned who his/her relatives were and where they lived. They also learned in which villages "friends" could be found who would cooperate in times of need. Unlike other Northwest Coast groups, the Coast Salish did not have social units that were based on linked descent from a mythical ancestor; all kinship related to the child was real (Duff 1952, 76). The names given to children helped to strengthen these ties by linking the child to another specific person, either living or dead.

The socio-political world of the Sto:lo was divided into two units. The smallest of these was the extended family, within which the child lived and was educated until he/she left to be married (Duff 1952, 86). The extended family group was strictly exogamous; marriages between first and second cousins were forbidden. The village was the next socio-political group; usually it consisted of a few extended families, although it was sometimes made up of only one (Duff 1952, 86). The villages were small, often impermanent and not always exogamous (Duff 1952, 86). A further socio-political unit, the tribe, was defined by ethnographers but Duff states that the concept of a tribe was not clearly defined by the Sto:lo, nor was it an important idea to them

(Duff 1952, 86).

Young Sto:lo children rarely accompanied their parents to the fishing, hunting and gathering grounds. Rather, they remained in the village with their grandparents. Thus, the village was the backdrop against which most of the children's activities were carried out. Sto:lo villages consisted of one or more cedar-plank longhouses often built facing the river. Surrounding the house was a large midden or refuse dump, where salmon bones, shells, fire-cracked rocks, and broken implements were thrown from the entrance of each house. Village elders mended nets or processed foods on the banks of the river, near the houses. Spinning, weaving and manufacturing took place in or near the houses. During this time, stories were told to the youngsters. At night, the family entered the house, whose only source of light and heat was a central fire. It was at night that tales were told to the children, tales that taught of the morals and ethics of the Sto:lo.

The Sto:lo world probably appeared chaotic to western eyes, but it was no more so than any other space where humans live. Refuse in the middens was available for re-use by other village members. The activities carried out by the elders in and around the village made up part of the Sto:lo child's informal education. Nor were the villages lacking boundaries; rather than the walls of a European village, the Sto:lo village was bounded by the river in front and in

behind, the forest, where children dared not tread lest (the mythical) Thookia eat them.

Leadership of the village was given to those who had earned the respect of the inhabitants. There were no chiefs in Sto:lo villages; one person usually assumed leadership as the occasion demanded, such as in times of war (Duff 1952, 81). Rank was also measured by respect; high-born and self-made leaders were called siε'm. Siε'm possessed many qualities: wisdom, ability, industry, generosity, humility, pacifism, age, supernatural powers and wealth (Duff 1952, 80). The latter was measured by the number of potlatches, feasts and dances the person had hosted, and also by the number of wives he was able to support (Duff 1952, 80). The siε'm evidenced humility by a mock denial of their status. They sought marriage with high ranking people in other villages, which helped to strengthen inter-village ties. Divorce, common among the lower ranks, was not allowed in the higher (Duff 1952, 79), presumably because important inter-village ties would be dissolved. Polygyny was common among the richer men in the village, but women never had more than one husband (Duff 1952, 79).

Ownership of land or resources was not strictly defined in Stalo culture. Rather, the attitude that "anything to eat is for everybody" prevailed (Duff 1952, 77). However, each group's definition of ownership varied. The Chilliwack shot intruders on their hunting grounds (Duff 1952, 77) and

salmon dip netting stations were owned by families. Ownership was customarily associated with habitual use rather than with laying claims to specific lands and resources.

The pre-contact cosmology of the Coast Salish can only be inferred; long before missionaries entered the area, facets of Christianity, such as the belief in one supreme being that lived in the sky outside of the world, appear to have trickled into Coast Salish cosmology. Thus, there is confusion as to how old the belief in a supreme being is, with some Native informants stating that it was recent whilst others claim it to be much more ancient (Jenness 1955, 35; 88). According to ethnographers, the Katzie believed in a "God-like" being who, rather than creating the world, sent Khaals, who may be likened to Jesus, to transform the earth's people and the world into its present shape (Jenness 1955, 35). Everything had been human before Khaals transformed people into rocks and animals (Jenness 1955, 50).

The Sto:lo in general prayed to the supreme being $\check{c}i'\check{c}əl$ $siε'm$; during the first salmon ceremony they prayed for plentiful salmon to be sent up the river (Duff 1952, 120). The supreme being revealed his will only to the prophets (a'lia) before the priests came. These prophets heard the word of the deity and preached it to the people. Although the Sto:lo did have the concept of a supreme being before the arrival of the missionaries, Duff considers it

likely that prophets borrowed this concept from early Euro-Canadians and integrated it into previous beliefs (Duff 1952, 122); this early syncretization is one factor that contributed to the adoption of Christianity by the mainland Coast Salish.

Ceremonial winter dances and feasts were important in Sto:lo religious life. Although food was supplied by a host and incidental gift-giving did occur at these dances, they served a religious function that was clearly differentiated from the secular functions, such as the naming of children or the paying back of debts, of the potlatch (Duff 1952, 87). Most people acquired a spirit song which had been sought, dreamed, heard emanating from a natural object or had arrived completely unsolicited (Duff 1952, 103). The spirit gave the person powers, such as prowess at hunting (from the black bear spirit) and the ability to dry fish and spin wool (from the mole and sandhill crane spirits) (Jenness 1955, 50), and re-possessed the dancer during the winter dancing season, forcing that person to break into song and to dance at the winter dances or smitla (Jenness 1955, 41). The secrecy that surrounded the identity of each person's guardian spirit was usually broken at these dances; others present could identify the spirit from the song and dance. Throughout the season for dancing, which varied according to where the group lived (eg. the season started in October and ended in January at Chehalis and Yale),

groups of various sizes gathered to feast and dance (Duff 1952, 108). Children heard these songs and stories of the spirits and this too formed part of their education.

Although a rigorous quest was not necessary to obtain a guardian spirit, some people underwent prolonged fasting and purification in an effort to gain the power to heal (Jenness 1950, 65). Shamans could cause or cure an illness in another person, although the powers given to each shaman varied greatly. Sickness was seen to happen in one of three ways. A person's soul or vitality could be missing, the person could have been infected with an impurity from a supernatural force, or a shaman could have implanted some evil into the person (Jenness 1955, 68). The methods by which the person could be cured also varied. The purely psychological treatment could include massage or sucking at the site of infection (Jenness 1955, 68). Some shamans used a cluster of deer hooves on a loop as a rattle or else pounded a stick on the floor and chanted to create an intense atmosphere that drove evil from the afflicted person (Jenness 1955, 68). Others used herbal medicines while some cured by grasping the evil in their hands and casting it upon the fire (Kelleher n.d., transcript). Sweatbaths and herb tea were thought by one medicine woman to be the cure for smallpox, although the dream in which she received this "cure" came after the epidemic (Kelleher [a] n.d., n.p.).

The Sto:lo were generally pacifistic; however, their

need to retaliate against raiding parties meant that some members of the society were skilled in warfare. Clubs and slings were the chosen weapons of war (Duff 1952, 60). The Lekwiltok (from southern Johnstone Strait) and the occupants of the lower Fraser River delta were also known to raid the mid-river Salish for slaves (Duff 1952, 84). The Thompson raided the Nooksack and Skagit for women (Kelleher [a] n.d., n.p.). The Sto:lo owned slaves (the Kwantlen, for instance, kept Coquitlam slaves), so some of these raids were paid back in kind. The raiding on the river was finally brought to a halt by the presence of Fort Langley (Lerman 1976, 114), whose officials were concerned that the warring Natives spent too much time on "the care of their families" and too little time hunting for furs for trade (Duff 1952, 96). Although these raids were halted before the founding of St. Mary's School in 1863, and thus were not part of the life experiences of the children attending the school, earlier raiding and long term enmity with other groups undoubtedly formed part of the oral histories that were repeated to the children.

The social life of the Sto:lo was carried out against a background of fishing, hunting and gathering. Each season, different resources were exploited as Sto:lo adults moved to places where resources were seasonally available (since young children rarely participated in this effort, a complete description of the seasonal round of resource exploitation

is not given here; see Duff 1952, 62-74). Only during the winter, when they subsisted on resources gathered and preserved during other seasons, did all the Sto:lo live in villages. The winter season was marked with dancing and spirit singing. Once fresh fish became available, the people of the village dispersed, leaving only the very old and the very young at the winter village. In this way, the Sto:lo moved in harmony with the seasons, their moves dictated by the changing availability of resources and by their ability to use a variety of resources over a wide region.

The Sto:lo measured time using a lunar calendar with twelve months in one year and thirteen in the next (Jenness 1955, 87). The seasonal change was also used to mark time (Jenness 1955, 87). This yearly cycle of seasons in which the Sto:lo hunted, fished and gathered, and in which the children observed and learned from the adults around them, was repetitive in nature. Time was measured as it went around from winter to winter. However, the progression of years was not recorded as an endless cycle of changing seasons but as knots on a string (Duff 1952, 128). In later years, this method was used by Christian Natives to record the days of the week, so that they would not miss Sundays (Duff 1955, 128). Time was also marked by a person's passage through life, from birth to death.

During the birth of the child, the mother was assisted by a midwife, who fed the prospective mother infusions of

herbs and leaves (Duff 1952, 90). After birth, the child's legs were bound, the infant was wrapped tightly and placed in a basketry cradle. Except for bathing, which once the child was several days old was always done in cold water, the child remained bound to the cradle. The binding was supposed to keep the baby's limbs straight (Duff 1952, 90). Only when able to walk, was the child allowed to leave the cradle permanently. Babies firmly bound in the cradle until they walked caused a minimum amount of disturbance to a nursing woman. The child was constantly with the mother, she did not have to worry that s/he would crawl into danger, and nursing could be accomplished by swinging the cradle from the mother's back to her front, without the mother having to stop whatever tasks she was performing. In addition, the child's informal education in village and subsistence activities began immediately; physically "tied" to his/her mother, the child was always able to observe what she and the others around her were doing.

Right from birth, the child began to learn a distinctive way to live (Dimen-Schein 1977, 3). His/her mother was the primary care-giver at this stage of life. At certain times of the year, specific subsistence activities were carried out by the mother; the child knew (before knowing s/he knew) what tasks were performed by women in the village. In addition, the differing treatments afforded boys and girls also "educated" the child about gender differ-

ences. The child was beginning to learn language during this period. More so than any other phenomenon, language forms the basis for thought and perception. Gradually, the child came to recognize that s/he was part of a social and physical universe which was "localized in space and objectified in things" (Piaget and Inhelder 1969, 13). During this period of childhood, the child assimilated the building blocks that were the basis for subsequent intellectual and perceptive development (Piaget and Inhelder 1969, 3).

Usually, children were not named for some time after birth; the Katzie gave their children nicknames until they were eight or ten years old, for it was thought that giving children ancestral names too early in life would cause their death (Jenness 1955, 75). The name conferred certain rights and privileges, as well as giving the child a sense of his/her history and relations - a place in the social and temporal web of Sto:lo life, past and present. The reception of the ancestral name was the first momentous institutional event in a child's life. Before contact with the Euro-Canadians, richer Natives conferred names on boys during a potlatch ceremony, but in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the name was probably given to the child at a winter dance (Jenness 1955, 76). The Kwantlen and Chilliwack called the winter dance for naming notable's sons "sqoiagi" (Hill-Tout 1978, 74).

Children were taught by their grandparents, the boys by

their grandfather, the girls by their grandmother (Lerman 1976, 113). They were drilled in matters regarding subsistence, the history and myths of the Sto:lo people (Lerman 1976, 113) and in the identity of their relatives in their own and other villages (Duff 1952, 76). The si'la (grandparent) and the young child spent more time together than parents and child, since the young and the elderly were often left at the winter village site when the older children and adults went fishing, hunting or berry-picking (Duff 1952, 91).

In the mornings, the grandfather would rouse his grandsons and make them swim in the water, telling them that the practice would make them "well-to-do" when they grew up (Duff 1952, 91). The day also ended with a swim. During the day, the grandfather would talk to the boys about the skills needed for hunting and fishing. Sometimes boys would be whipped by their grandfather, so that they would learn fortitude and courage (Duff 1952, 91). Occasionally, girls were whipped by their grandmothers. Girls learned the skills of weaving, basketry, gathering and preserving foods from their grandmothers. Children held mock battles and mock potlatches (Suttles 1955, 9). In the evenings, the elders would tell stories about Sto:lo history and the children's relatives; along with the observations the child made of their elders activities, these stories gave the children a grounding in their setting - the history, the

taboos and the geography of the village. In addition, stories of Sasquatch, the hairy boogeyman, and Thookia, a cannibal who gathered up children to eat them, could be told to scare the children into being well-behaved (Lerman 1976, 122; 123).

The bond between grandparent and child was very strong, as one tale of Khaals, the transformer, illustrates:

Khaals travelled from Spuzzum to Yale and then to Point Roberts, turning people into rocks. He met an old man at Point Roberts [probably Nooksack] who was teaching his grandson how to fish. Khaals turned the boy into a rock and himself into the boy. The old man realised the trick, so, after saving "the boy" from choking to death on a flounder bone, the old man asked to be transformed into a rock, so that he could keep his grandson company.
(Lerman 1952, 87).

The love of the old man for his grandson is obvious; the grandfather preferred to become a rock, rather than to leave the boy. Not only does the story affirm the love that the grandparent had for the child, but also, along with other transformer tales, helped to interpret the local geography. Rocks and other features of the landscape could be pointed to, and a story told about the people they had been. Thus, physical geographical features would become familiar to the child and their names remembered because of a tale told about them.

Other aspects of the environment, such as certain animal characteristics, were also explained in folktales. For instance, the rumble that grouse make was thought to

have been a gift from Thunder, with whom the animals were warring (Lerman 1952, 97). After receiving this gift, the war was halted and the animals, who had climbed up to the sky on a ladder of arrows, returned to the earth in peace. Most of the animals in the folktales bridged the gap between animal and human; they could talk but acted with the characteristics of the animal they represented. Mink was a foolish character (Lerman 1952, 65), who ran hither and thither, without a thought in his head, rather like the mink the children saw darting around the woods. Raven was loud, brash and a cunning trickster, like a real raven, but was often used to teach a valuable lesson in tales.

Sto:lo tales taught children that people who disturbed the equilibrium of the village by breaking taboos or committing crimes would be punished. These people could be exiled, deserted or killed (Duff 1952, 89). The story of Wren tells how Black Bear was punished for stealing food, a very serious offence:

Wren lived with his grandmother Caterpillar. He discovered that Black Bear had been stealing fish from his fish trap, so Wren killed Black Bear. Mrs. Bear was very upset about her husband's death and asked the others to help punish Wren. But Wren and Caterpillar could not be punished, so the people gave up trying to hurt them. Wren was later asked to lead the people in a war, so he became a hero.

(Lerman 1952, 97).

To a western mind, murder would seem to be the greater crime in this story, yet Wren and Caterpillar could not be pun-

ished for their crime. Stealing food, which could lead to starvation, was a crime that left the perpetrator no honour and Black Bear was punished accordingly. Tales in which the food thief was punished by death are common in Sto:lo mythology. Laziness was also frowned upon; Black Bear was punished for being too lazy to set his own traps.

Humility was another virtue prized by the Sto:lo people. Raven lacked humility, and was punished accordingly by being made a laughing-stock:

Seal invited Raven to his house for food. When Raven arrived, Seal held his arms out to the fire and fed Raven with the fat that dripped out of them. Raven, who did not think that anyone could do things better than he, asked Seal to his house. He held his wings out to the fire. No fat came - Raven's wings were burned black and useless.

(Lerman 1952, 50).

Virtues would also be rewarded and could even help to erase dishonour if an otherwise virtuous person broke a taboo:

A boy in training ate some fern roots, which were forbidden to youths during this time. As punishment, he was abandoned by the village. Before he was left, however, his grandmother hid a bow and arrow and a glowing coal for him. The boys hunted birds for food, and made a blanket out of their skins. An old man (probably Sun) appeared and offered to trade a mountain goat blanket for the feather blanket. The mountain goat blanket was magic - if the fringes were placed in water, and fish were wished for, they appeared. The boy wished for herring, which he captured and cured. Raven appeared and told the boy that the village was starving. The boy returned to the village and fed the people with the herring.

(Lerman 1952, 30).

In this tale, the boy's diligence and industry were rewarded

by Sun, who wiped out the stain of his disgrace and enabled him to return to the village a hero.

The diligence of another child wiped out the stain of his parents' sins:

A young woman discovered that her lover was her close kin. Since she was pregnant, the young lovers exiled themselves. They and their son lived at the base of a mountain, where they hunted deer for subsistence. The boy returned to his parent's village, where he saved them from starving with food from his magic sack. He donned an eagle's skin and flew to the sky, where he married Sun's daughter. The hero made the rainbow and silver trouts before he returned to the village with his new wife.

(Lerman 1952, 130).

In this tale, everybody behaved in the ways prescribed by the Stalo culture. The incestuous couple exiled themselves so as not to bring shame upon their families and the village. Their son was raised to be a great and industrious hunter, and he returned to his parents' village a hero. The village accepted him despite his parents' sins, and for this they were rewarded with [the creation of] two important fish species.

As with many other cultures, puberty was seen by the Sto:lo as the end of childhood. With girls, this event was signalled by the onset of menstruation; boys were watched closely for less obvious signs, such as hardening of the nipples and the deepening of the voice (Jenness 1955, 79). Since illness during later life was often attributed to improper feeding or to a failure to dispel the "old life"

(childhood) during the four days of puberty, the treatment of the youths, girls in particular, during this period was very strict (Jenness 1955, 79).

In some Sto:lo villages, the progression of a boy from childhood to manhood was not marked in any special manner. However, at the first sign of the boy's nipples hardening, the Katzie placed a bone tube around the boy's neck, through which he had to drink for the next nine months (Jenness 1955, 79). This tube restricted the amount of liquid the boy could drink; liquids were believed to make him "heavy". Throughout the four days that marked the actual change into manhood, the boy was forbidden to drink at all (Jenness 1955, 79). He was allowed to eat only tiny pieces of dried fish and meat. Berries and hot foods were forbidden, because they might cause the boy's teeth to rot or cause him intestinal distress (Jenness 1955, 79). Frequent baths were taken; after them, the boy scrubbed himself clean with spruce boughs and squeezed his nipples between two rocks until they burst and the old life flowed out of him (Jenness 1955, 79). The boy roamed the woods, spitting towards the sun and large trees, praying to them for strength. When the four days were complete, a shaman came to the boy. He painted four patterns on the boy's forehead, erasing each one as it was completed. The youth bit off pieces of food, spat them into his hands, and then threw them away, praying as he did so for a long and good life (Jenness 1955, 79).

After this ceremony was completed, the youth returned to the village. He was not allowed to eat berries or drink except through his tube for several more months (Jeness 1955, 79).

The puberty rites for girls also varied from group to group, but all included a period of seclusion. The Kwantlen and Chilliwack secluded their girls for a period of four days from the first onset of the menses (Hill-Tout 1978, 55). During those days, the girl was kept busy making yarn, so that she would not be lazy in later life. Her food and water intake was also restricted; water was drunk only through a hollow bone tube (Duff 1952, 92). After four days, four dancers, each holding a salmon in his hands, danced around the girl (Hill-Tout 1978, 55). The Chehalis secluded their menstruating girls in a hut from the time of their first period until after their second. During this time, she was also kept busy, and was only allowed to eat dried meat and fish (Hill-Tout 1978, 104). Chehalis women habitually secluded themselves during their menstrual periods (Hill-Tout 1978, 105).

Usually, marriage quickly followed puberty for women, although boys married later (Duff 1952, 92), after they had "proved" themselves. Puberty and marriage marked the end of childhood; now the person was able to take on the adult responsibilities of subsistence and raising a family. They were also able to put into effect the training given to them by their elders during the childhood years and to use the

knowledge imparted to them during that time to enable them to be productive members of their society.

* * *

As thought, perception and development all relate back to the early years of life, the Sto:lo child was not "a blank sheet of paper" upon which the Oblates could write a foreign culture. The first language of the children was not English; concepts such as the use of minutes and hours to measure time were not ingrained in the children's subconsciousness. The regimented day of the school must have been shocking to children accustomed to falling asleep in smokey longhouses whilst listening to tales spun by their grandparents. Sto:lo children learned that different places and environments were the sources of food and materials and that mobility was necessary for survival; at school, the dormitories, church, schoolroom and yard formed the boundaries of a narrow physical environment. In addition, Sto:lo children learned by observation and example and were often peripheral to the actual quest for subsistence; at the school they were expected to be fully functioning members of a self-sufficient agricultural settlement. Yet, the priests and many Natives saw the Oblates as champions of the Natives, protecting their children's rights, lives and souls against the encroachment of "evil" Euro-Canadian society. Other Natives saw the priests as part of a grand scheme to eradicate the Natives. Both parties were to some extent correct.

CHAPTER FOUR: ST. MARY'S MISSION: OMI MISSIONARY

ACTIVITIES in the FRASER VALLEY

The school at St. Mary's Mission did not operate in a vacuum; from there, and from New Westminster priests missionized the Natives of the Fraser Valley. The priests who travelled to the Native villages ensured that the parents of prospective pupils had been exposed to Oblate teachings. Without this missionary effort, it would have been impossible for the Oblates to attract children to their school in the days before attendance at such schools was made mandatory. In addition, Oblate observations of the behaviour of the Sto:lo, European settlers, and Protestant missionaries, served as constant reminders to the Bishop in New Westminster of the need for residential schools for Native children. Converted Natives also travelled to St. Mary's for semi-annual religious retreats; these retreats were public evidence of the "success" of the Oblates in engendering Native piety and helped focus government attention on missions, Native concerns, and the school.

The Sto:lo first met a Roman Catholic missionary when Father Modeste Demers, worried about Protestant missionary activity in the area, visited Fort Langley in 1841 (Gresco 1973, 144; 149). Fort Langley had been founded in 1827 and was a locus of Native settlement. Some Sto:lo had moved there for protection from the "Yuculta" (the Lekwiltok from Johnstone Strait) and Cowichan; others, such as the Kwantlen

had moved closer to the fort so to control its supply of furs (Kennedy 1969; 14). Thus the fort was a logical place from which to conduct a mission; many Natives lived nearby and Demers, in effect, had a "captive audience" during his six week stay. Fifteen hundred Sto:lo and their summer visitors listened to Demers preach, heard him explain the Catholic Ladder or "sahale stick" to them, sang hymns, and learned the sign of the cross. Demers baptized four hundred Sto:lo children. Chief Factor Yale, a Protestant, kept the Natives peaceful and helped the Roman Catholic priest carry out his mission, for which Demers was extremely grateful. However, Demers claimed to be disappointed with the state in which he found the Natives, and wrote, in a statement that served his purpose of encouraging future missionization of the area, that:

[They were] in a pitiable state, corrupted and debauched by fur-traders...diseased, barbarous,...improvident, indolent and threatened with starvation. It is obvious that besides, if not before, being Christianized, they would have to be civilized and prepared to adapt themselves to a new order.

(Forbes 1948, 11).

In order to accomplish this latter goal, missionaries were needed to preach the "new order" to the Natives. By 1860, Demers was Bishop of Vancouver Island and largely responsible for the movement of the Oblate fathers from Oregon to British Columbia. On September 13, 1860, he authorized the founding of a mission at New Westminster, called St. Charles after the Oblate's founder (Cronin 1960,

80). The mission at New Westminster was described as "une place qui soit comme la clef de la British Columbia afin de pouvoir se conformer aux vues de nôtre...fondateur" (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1860, 33) and the need for urgency in its founding was recognized by D'herbomez, Pandy and Fouquet; "les ministres Protestants invahissent ces parayes il y en a à New Westminster, Port Douglas, Fort Hope etc., il est urgent de contrebalancer leur action" (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1860, 33). St. Charles' Mission was to serve the numerous "sauvages" in the hope of protecting them from the corruption that was invading the country and also to serve the few Euro-Canadian Roman Catholics whom it was important not to "laisser à l'abandon" (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1860, 33). Two chapels were built: St. Peter's for the Euro-Canadians; St. Charles' for the Natives.

In 1861, "dans la même but d'intérêt sprituel et temporal des Indians" (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1861, 36) as had prompted the founding of the mission at New Westminster, Father Leon Fouquet ascended the Fraser River with twelve Native canoemen in order to found a mission entirely for the Natives in the district. Fouquet paddled to Yale in his search for a likely spot, but settled on a small hill with a creek running through it, thirty miles upriver from New Westminster. Flat land of agricultural potential lay across from it on the south bank of the Fraser

(Orchard 1983, 22). The new mission was named St. Mary's.

Although St. Mary's Mission was built to serve the Natives of the Fraser Valley and was the focus of Native religious retreats, the mission at New Westminster was the centre of all Oblate missionary activity in mainland British Columbia. It was from there that priests usually left to perform missions to the Natives of the Fraser Valley. The baptismal record for this time shows that priests travelled widely from New Westminster; baptisms of Natives who lived in Mount Currie, Spuzzum, Lillooet, Yale, Hope, Langley, Chilliwack, Agassiz, and Matsqui are recorded in the New Westminster baptismal book. Early Oblate baptisms were of Natives "en danger de mort" (Mission City Baptismal Record 1863, n.p.), and children. Differentiations were made between the innocent and dying, and those adults who wished to be baptised. Whilst the former received absolution readily, the latter had to live a pious life, renounce all sins, keep a pledge of abstinence, and follow the catechism lessons and daily prayers for a year before being baptised (Casey 1982, 13). D'herbomez ordered prayer books and hymns translated into the Native dialects to facilitate the conversion of adults (Casey 1982, 13). Mass baptisms, such as the one conducted by Demers at Fort Langley in 1841, were often carried out: in 1861, Father Charles Grandidier baptised eighteen children between the ages of two months and six years at Fort Yale on February 26th; fifteen children at

TABLE 1: NATIVE BAPTISMS and MARRIAGES PERFORMED in the
FRASER

VALLEY
1863-1884

YEAR	BAPTISMS	MARRIAGES
1863	19	4
1864	76	4
1865	47	6
1866	97	30
1867	213	79
1868	98	12
1869	151	20
1870	143	21
1871	116	27
1872	152	26
1873	119	19
1874	125	28
1875	88	23
1876	57	19
1877	80	26
1878	34	15
1879	24	20
1880	10	2
1881	78	19
1882	130	44
1883	73	29
1884	106	48

(Mission City Baptismal Record n.d., n.p.)

Isiham (I'yem, a small permanent village, four kilometres above Yale [Duff 1952, 30]) on March 1st; and fourteen children at Tseness (apparently nearby) on March 2nd. Altogether, between February 26th and April 2nd, 1861, Grandidier baptised eighty seven children in the Fraser Valley and Canyon; as of July 12th of that year, two hundred and sixty-seven Native children had been baptised (Mission City Baptismal Record n.d., n.p.).

During baptism, French names were assigned to Native children. Thus, names such as Leon and Jean replaced Native names such as Tsikautlac and Ikolrimeltou (Mission City Baptismal Record 1861, n.p.). Victor, Joseph and Virginie were the children of Skoukssettow and Siamyat, Chelassenchet and Chauvislat, and Chalayesseto and Sirotatko respectively (Mission City Baptismal Record 1863, n.p.). Whether the French names were subsequently used by the Natives in their villages was probably dependent on a number of factors including the extent to which the teachings of the Oblates were adopted in the band and the frequency with which the priest visited that particular village. The names given to the children by the Oblates appear in the records of marriages performed by the priests; usually a French first name was followed by the former Native name in these records.

Missionary reports during the years between 1861 and 1900, help to illustrate the important role that the permanent missions in the Fraser Valley played in the evangeliza-

tion of the Natives in the Fraser Valley and Fraser Canyon. In 1871, Father Marchal wrote to Durieu of his missions to these Natives (Marchal 1874, 310-11). In the first week of November, 1870, Marchal left New Westminster in order to go to St. Mary's Mission (310). From there, he embarked on a trip to "les sauvages du Fraser" (310). He visited the Nekawel (Nicomen), the Sumass (Sumas), the Skoyola (Swaya or Skwahla), and the Squa (Skwah), as well as the villages of Skaoukrene (Skulkayn?), Jokoweous (Yakweakwioose), and Tsoualy (Soowahlie). In the village of the Squa, he found that the methodist minister had already visited there (310). His next stop was the Tsiams (Cheam), "les meilleurs de la rivière", where he stayed for two days. Marchal then visited the Papeoum (Popkum). The Papeoum were "tout compose de protestants ou infideles" and Marchal was shocked to find them dancing, clapping and eating beef on a Friday (311). On Saturday, Marchal visited the Shouamel (Ohamill), with whom he stayed two days. Taking advantage of the frozen river, he walked to Fort Hope and from there made it to Yale for Christmas. On his return voyage to St. Mary's, Marchal visited the Shaonits' (?) village; in this village the elders adhered strictly to their "pratiques superstitieuses" and all of the inhabitants were infidels (311). Still, Marchal told them that "sooner or later, you will find God in your hearts". Marchal returned to St. Mary's on January 4th, 1871.

In 1887, Father Peytavin wrote a lengthy report in the "Missions" about his experiences in 1886 with the Natives of the Fraser Valley [Map 1] [Table 2] (Peytavin 1887, 258 - 361). Upon leaving New Westminster, he travelled five miles to visit the Quiquittums (Coquitlams), and then a further six miles to visit the Ketsies (Katzies) (238). The Ketsies had one hundred and eight band members and Peytavin considered them the worst Native camp on the river (239). Peytavin says that, with only a few exceptions, the adults "nagent dans la boisson", and that even the children, whom Chirouse Jr. had tried to help on previous missions, had become just like their parents. Peytavin, as the missionaries before him, could "do nothing with the Ketsies" (239).

Peytavin next visited the village of the Qwantlen (Kwantlen), which was located six miles from the Katzie village. Once again, he found that alcohol had decimated the population, which stood in 1886, at only forty one persons (240). Peytavin recognized that before the coming of the Europeans, the Qwantlen had been a proud race; they had kept Quiquittum slaves. A small church, erected as the result of Father Chirouse's work in the Qwantlen village, was still present although not much used (240). Five miles above Langley, Peytavin found the village of the Whonnocks. He describes the thirty eight people there as "ignorante et paresseuse" and thought them too much under the influence of the Qwantlen (240).

TABLE 2: FATHER E. PEYTAVIN'S MISSION to the FRASER VALLEY
NATIVES, 1886.

VILLAGE (Peytavin)	VILLAGE (Sto:lo)	POPULATION
Quiquittum	Coquitlam	-
Ketsie	Katsie	108
Qwantlen	Kwantlen	41
Whonnock	Whonnock	38
Matsqui	Matsqui	44
Sumass	Sumas	60
Larhoue	Lackaway	-
Scouyam	Skweahm	76
Sroyala	Swaya or Skwahla	
Skcohye	Skwali or Skway	83
Kokwapult	Kwawkwawapilt	
Youkyoukiweous	Yakweakwioose	100
Sqwah	Skwah	72
Scocolits	Scowlitz	46
Tselles	Chehalis	127
Cheam	Cheam	133
Squatash	Peters	51
Chamills	Ohamill	70?
Skwolog	Skalwahlook	-
Rubrey Creek	Ruby Creek	23
Emaheux	Iwoves	48
Pocoholsen	Pegwcholthel	49

(after Peytavin 1887, 238-361 and Sto:lo Nation 1892, map).

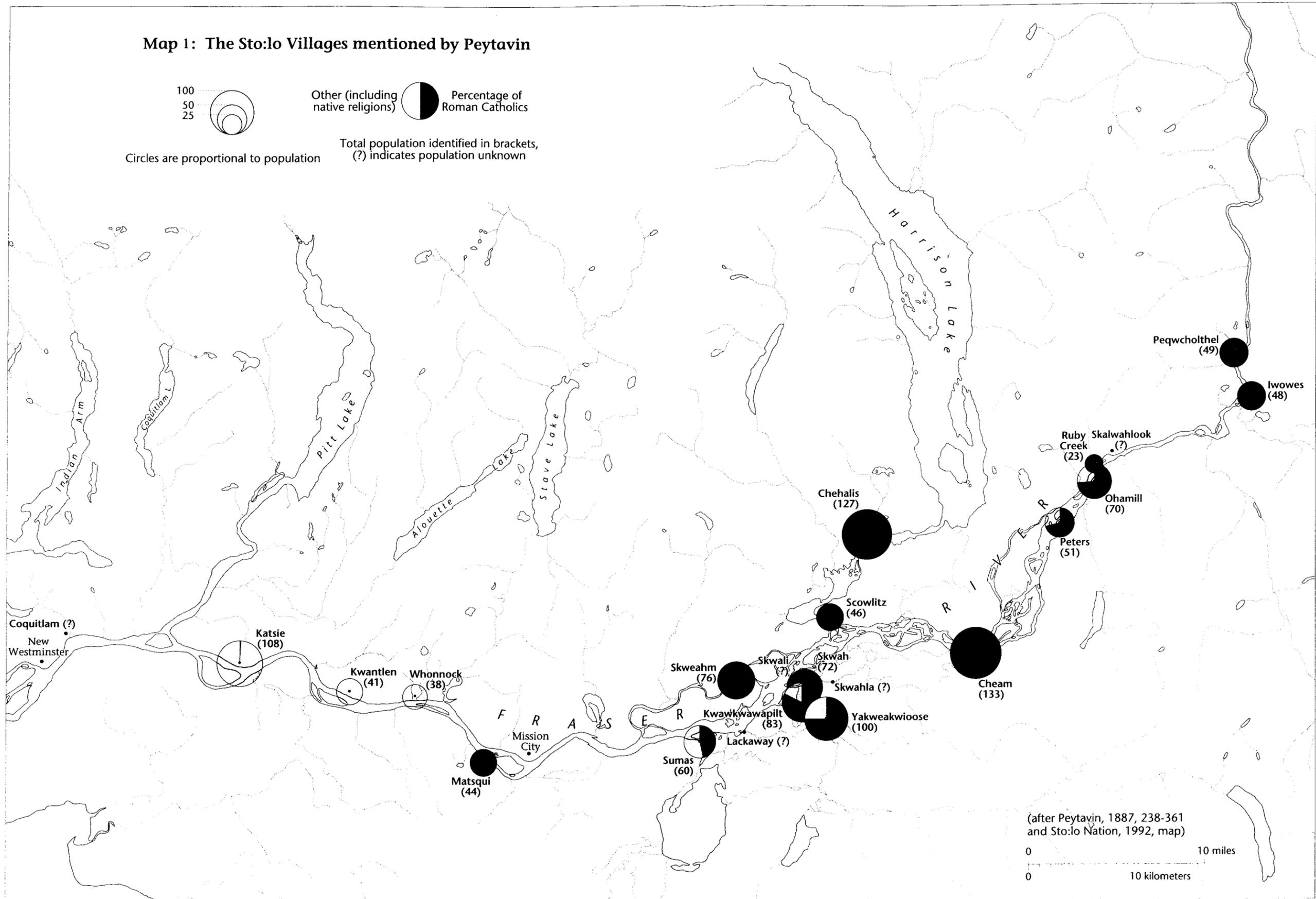
Map 1: The Sto:lo Villages mentioned by Peytavin

100
50
25

Circles are proportional to population

Other (including native religions)  Percentage of Roman Catholics

Total population identified in brackets, (?) indicates population unknown



Seven miles further upriver lived the Matsqui Natives. The forty-four Natives were only three miles away from St. Mary's mission and, not suprisingly, Peytavin found that their "submission to the priest was exemplary" (241). At the Sumass village, nine miles further east from Matsqui, Peytavin encountered his first Protestant Natives; of sixty inhabitants only twenty-eight were Catholic (241). However, Peytavin found that the twenty-eight Catholics in the village were very feverent. More protestant Natives lived at Larhoue (Lackaway), two miles further upstream.

Peytavin then travelled north into the interior (242). At the Scouyams (Skweahm) village, five miles north of Sumas, he found that all seventy-six "souls" were pious Catholics. Six miles away, Peytavin met with the Sroyalas (Swaha or Skwahla), the Skcohyes (Skwali or Skwah) and the Kokwapults (Kwawkwawapilt) at the Kokwapults village (243). Out of the eighty-three inhabitants of these three villages, sixty-nine were Catholic; the Anglicans had two families and the Methodists one (243). Previous missions to these villages had been made by Durieu, without whom Peytavin feels that all of the Natives would be Protestant. The Youkyoukiweous (Yakweakwioose), who lived six miles east, had resisted completely the "propaganda and ruses" of the Protestant ministers; seventy-four of the one hundred inhabitants were Roman Catholic (244).

All the Sqwahs (Skwah) and the Scocolits (Scowlitz)

were practicing Roman Catholics. The Sqwahs, who lived on the fertile Chilliwack plain, had "une spacieuse Église" where all seventy-two inhabitants worshipped (245). The Scocolits' village at the mouth of the Harrison River had a population of forty-six (246). The Tselles (Chehalis) lived ten miles from the Scocolits camp. The one hundred and twenty-seven people lived in two camps; one situated on the bad ground near the river, and the other on higher, drier ground (247). The Tselles chief was inconsistent in his ideas and his conduct, and many superstitious ways were still present in the village (247).

Sixteen miles from the start of the Harrison River, on the banks of the Fraser River, lived the Cheams (248). Peytavin found that the one hundred and thirty-three souls there, all of whom were Catholic, no longer possessed their predecessors' fevour for the Roman Catholic religion. He blamed the younger generation for its debauched ways that "retardent beaucoup la reforme" (248). At Squatash (Peters), ten miles from the Cheam village, Peytavin found a situation which he described as "fait rire blancs et sauvages" (249). The chief there was Episcopalian, although the majority of the fifty-one people were Catholic. The Methodist minister had appointed a Methodist chief to look after the few Methodist Natives. Not to be out-done, Peytavin also appointed his own Catholic chief (249). Presumably, the Squatash village suffered greatly from this divi-

sion of power, although Peytavin offered no comment as to how the presence of three chiefs affected the daily lives of the Natives.

The Chamills (Ohamill) lived four miles from the Squatash and were mostly of the Catholic faith. Only four or five families were Anglicans (250). Peytavin also met the Rubrey Creek (Ruby Creek) and Skwolog (Skalwahlook) Natives, and was impressed by the piety of both villages. To the Rubrey Creek, who lived by cultivating the soil on the river banks, he promised the money for a bell for the church that the twenty-three Native inhabitants were building. The forty-eight Emaheux (Iwoves), who lived two miles north of Fort Hope, were all Catholic, although the forty-nine Pocholsens (Pegwcholthel), who lived four miles away, were "ignorant but energetic" (353).

Altogether, Peytavin visited 1318 Catholics in the Native villages between New Westminster and Yale. During his 1886 missions, Peytavin heard these Natives give 8000 confessions, baptized thirty-three adults and ninety-three children, and witnessed twenty-five conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism (361). He also blessed or regularized thirty-nine marriages. In all, ten churches were being built in Native villages at this time, four of which had been blessed. Eight cemeteries were also being built and half of these had been blessed.

In 1887, Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse Junior was the

priest responsible for conducting missions to the Natives in the Fraser Valley area (Chirouse 1887, 1-17). On March 1st, 1887, Chirouse left New Westminster to visit the Semiamoo and urge them to "remplace leur ancienne église delabrée par une neuve plus conforme à la majestie du Dieu" (2). Chirouse was in Chowassen (Tsawwassen) on March 8th, where, upon his arrival, he was secretly informed by Native watchmen about the activities of the Natives in his absence. With sadness he learned that the all "les belles promesses" that were made to him on his last journey to the Tsawwassen in the preceding autumn had been broken (2). While in the area, Chirouse also visited the white Catholic families; he performed two baptisms, heard confessions in Ladner, distributed six communions and promised to bring next fall the money necessary to build a small church for the Euro-Canadian Catholics (2). Chirouse then returned to New Westminster, which he left again on March 28th, in order to conduct missions to the Natives in the Douglas, Lillooet, and Fountain areas (3).

Although not at the centre of travelling missionary activity, St. Mary's Mission served as a gathering place for the semi-annual retreats that were important to the success of the Durieu System in British Columbia. Natives from as far away as William's Lake came to partake in the celebrations of Christ's life and to receive religious instruction. In 1887, 3000 Natives attended a retreat that took place

from June 7th to 14th (Chirouse 1887, 10). As they arrived in their canoes, the Natives "chantant dans quatre langues differentes les louanges du Dieu de l'Euchariste" (Chirouse 1887, 10). On June 9th, Durieu welcomed new arrivals, and in the afternoon, confessions were heard (Chirouse 1887, 11). On June 10th, general communion was performed. Saturday, June 12th, services for the dead were held, and in the afternoon, a steamer arrived from New Westminster carrying pupils from the girls' school and St. Louis' College there (Chirouse 1887, 12). On June 12th, Mgr. Lootens sang mass for the Euro-Canadians who had come to assist in the procession of the sacraments. One thousand holy communions for Natives were given on Monday, June 13th (Chirouse 1887, 13). In the evening, a procession was held. The Guard of Honour headed the procession, carrying their insignia and candles in their hands. Two bands of musicians and the all the Native school children followed. They also carried banners and streamers. Hymns were sung in six Native languages. The return procession was lit by 1200 lanterns and the statues of the Sacred Heart of the Virgin and St. Joseph were carried (Chirouse 1887, 14). On June 14th, the Natives reboarded the trains and returned to their reserves. This retreat was typical of these gatherings, although the Passion Play was not performed at it.

As the Oblates attempted to re-shape the lifeworlds of the Natives in the Fraser Valley, they became embroiled

almost immediately in controversy over the question of Native pre-emption and land claims. Father Fouquet wrote to D'herbomez in the early 1860s:

It seems to me that this question of Indian lands requires that we become actively involved. I feel keenly that we must protect the rights of the poor Indians who are daily being deprived of their best lands...

(Fouquet n.d., Oblate Archives Series One+, Box 34, File 01).

Previous to the 1866 legislation that prevented Natives from pre-empting land, Moody complained that:

the Roman Catholic priests have moved the Indians to pre-empt as freely as any other persons.

(Cherrington 1974, 5)

Almost a decade later, Paul Durieu worried that:

Everything possible is being done to deprive the natives [sic] of their lands. [Chief] Snatt has had to strive not to lose the land on which we have built the church...I was obliged to run around for ten days, finding the judge and then the policemen, and then drafting a petition...

(Durieu n.d., Oblate Archives Series One+, Box 34, File 01).

The Oblate's decisions to "spare no effort that justice be done to [the Natives]" (Grandidier 1874, Oblate Archives Series One+, Box 34, File 01) and to "defend the Indian whenever [we] have reason to do so" (D'herbomez 1863, Oblate Archives Series One+, Box 34, File 01) angered the provincial government.

Although the policy to encourage pre-emption and favourable land-claim settlements worked to the detriment of Oblate institutions, which suffered from a lack of funding because of government anger over this policy (Cherrington

1974, 5), the priests lost no opportunity to focus the attention of the federal and provincial governments upon the plight of the Natives. In 1873, Durieu used the Queen's Day Celebrations as a forum for land issues when he brought a delegation of Natives to see Dr. I.W. Powell, provincial commissioner of Indian Affairs. Hearing the Natives' plea that "the white [man has] taken our land, and no compensation has been given us", Powell reassured the Natives of their rights (Cherrington 1974, 6). Durieu returned with Powell to his boat and pressed his advantage by further demanding Native land rights. In 1891, Bishop Durieu warned Chief Harry Joseph of the Cheam band that unless Seabird Island was used by Natives immediately one half of it would be taken over legally by Euro-Canadian settlers who had complained to the government that this prime land, which had been allocated by Sproat for Native use in 1879, was as yet unused (Casey 1982, 16). The Natives moved to the island, and it remained a reserve. However, the involvement of the Oblates in this issue was not motivated by concern for the Natives' loss of traditional lands and livelihoods; rather, access to land upon which Natives could settle, plant crops, and build European houses and churches was a fundamental requirement for the success of the Durieu System.

* * *

In 1898, of the the 3185 Natives in the valley, 2708 were nominally Roman Catholics (Missions 36 1898, 253). One

hundred and ninety-four Natives were Protestant and 178 were pagan (Missions 36 1898, 253). How deeply Oblate teaching penetrated the everyday lives of the Natives is another matter.

The Rev. C.M. Tate, a Methodist minister in the Fraser Valley, took delight in relating in his diaries the stories of those Natives who either rejected the Oblates' teachings outright or converted to Protestantism (Tate 1874-1877, n.p.). Jim, a "Squihala [Skwahla] Indian", told Tate that he had been visited by a "Romish priest" who, thinking Jim still a member of the Roman Catholic church, took supper from Jim and "would have staid [sic] all night", except that he soon discovered Jim had become a Methodist. Without "saying any more to [Jim , he] took up his satchel and left, much to the amusement of Jim and his friends" (Tate 1874, n.p.). Other Natives, while baptized in the Roman Catholic church, did not, according to Tate, live as good Christians. Upon finding Natives horseracing on a Sunday Tate lamented:

Oh, these worse than heathen Roman Catholics,
when will they cease? After their being among
the Indians for near 30 years, the fruits of
their labors are yet to be seen.

(Tate 1875, n.p.).

The Native acceptance of Protestantism was not necessarily wholehearted either, and was often hampered by the activities of Euro-Canadian settlers. Tate told how he came upon a white man teaching the Natives to horse-race. He decried those who professed to belong to his church, yet

hampered the task of "leading the poor creatures" away from vices such as horseracing (Tate 1874, n.p.) Conversion to Protestantism also appears to have often been based on a rejection of Roman Catholicism rather than a belief in Protestant teachings. For example, Tate related a story in which "an old Indian doctor" of the Popkum village told him that "he was strongly opposed to the R.C.s and [was] trying every way he [could] to injure them" (Tate 1877, n.p.) To that end, Tate was informed that "the Methodist Church was the right kind of [church] and [that the doctor wished] to unite his religion with ours and make one church" (Tate 1877, n.p.). However, Tate rejected this mixture of religion and "superstition" as forcibly as the Roman Catholic priests had before him; the Popkums became equally angry with him and his church.

Another facet of Oblate teaching, the creation of self-sufficient agricultural enclaves, failed in the Fraser Valley. The Oblate vision was not based on a realistic view of the European peasant, but rather on a utopian vision that would probably have failed in a European application, let alone in a place where the people were not peasants and the land was not France. In addition, small plots of land rarely allowed for much more than subsistence farming (Fiske 1981, 49); within the land tenure system of reserves imposed upon Natives and within the Oblate ideal of pastoralism, mechanization was not encouraged and probably not possible.

The farms in the villages established by the Oblates were too small to net the Native farmer a cash return, although cash was becoming increasingly necessary in the developing economy of British Columbia (Knight 1978, 245; 255). Native farms could not compete with larger white farms nearby, which used modern technology. With few visible results, there was little in the agricultural lifestyle to hold Native interest.

Even in Matsqui, where the soil and climate were generally favourable for agriculture, the Natives continued their seasonal round of work and resource exploitation (Kennedy 1969, 77). The Sto:lo were paid cash for their labours in the canneries and for berry and hop picking (Kennedy 1969, 70). Seasonal migration further discouraged successful agriculture, since the Natives rarely stayed in place long enough to tend the fields; sedentism often occurred as a result of continuous employment in the canneries and saw-mills, not from a desire to till fields. So, although some elements of the Oblate vision were put in place at places such as Matsqui and Cheam, they did not survive long, and the Oblate goal of recreating "an idealised" pre-industrial France was not realised in the Fraser Valley, nor for long, in any other region of British Columbia.

The Oblate priests were not blind to the discrepancy between their vision and the reality of Native life in the Fraser Valley. They considered the elders to be most at-

tached to traditional lifeways; to counter this, the Oblates focussed their efforts on Native children and encouraged their attendance at St. Mary's Mission school.

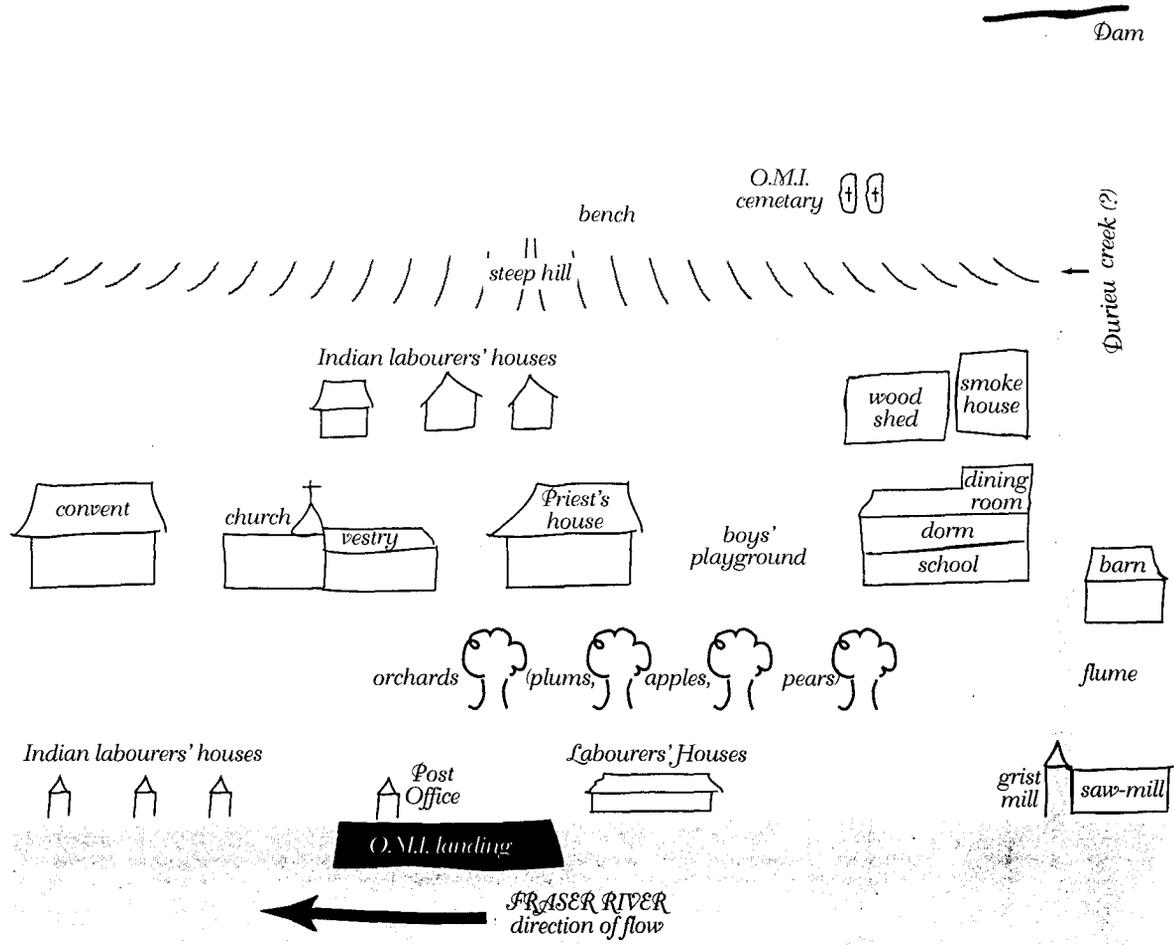
CHAPTER FIVE: SCHOOL DAYS

St. Mary's Indian Residential School was established because the Oblates considered the younger generation malleable and receptive to their ideas. In addition, they felt that the school should be residential because their experience with dayschools on the reserves showed that student tardiness and the high rate of truancy interfered with their education. At a boarding school children could be kept away from the influences of their elders for an extended period. In this way, the Oblates hoped to maximize the effect of their teachings on the minds of Native children.

The first buildings on the mission site, a chapel and the priest's quarters, were built of logs by Brothers Janin and Guillet in 1861. A sawmill and gristmill were placed near the mouth of the creek; machinery for both had been ordered from France. The mills provided the Oblates with much needed income as they milled flour and lumber for Euro-Canadian settlers in the area. Father Grandidier preempted 160 acres of land across the river from the mission in 1869. New and better buildings were added in 1873. A map of the mission drawn from memory by a Métis boy who attended the school in the 1880s shows the mission buildings just before the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the subsequent removal of the mission to the top of the hill behind the original site [Map 2] (Kelleher [b] n.d., n.p.).

To the east of the creek, the Oblates erected a barn to

Map 2: Rough Sketch of St. Mary's Mission circa 1880



(after Kelleher, n.d.: n.p.)

house cattle. Hay for the cattle was harvested from the prairie across the river. The gristmill and sawmill were at the confluence of the creek and the Fraser River; a flume was built and the creek dammed so that the creek flow was regulated. Houses for the Native labourers who helped the priests in the mills were on the north shore of the Fraser, as was a post office and a landing for boats. Directly behind them were the orchards that Fouquet had grown from stock sent from France. Adjacent to the creek were the boys' school and dormitory; a dining room was attached to the back of the building. A woodshed and smokehouse were built behind the boys' quarters. The boys' playground separated these quarters from the priests' house. A church was erected to the west of the priests' house and it separated the male world of the priests and the schoolboys from the convent, the westernmost building on the site. A road from the convent led up the hill to the Oblate cemetery; new buildings were built adjacent to and west of the existing cemetery when the mission was moved to make way for the railroad in 1883.

A boys and girls school were built on the new site; each building had three storeys with two wings, and measured sixty by thirty-five feet. The old church near the river was demolished in 1890, and a new one was built between the new boys' and girls' schools. Sewage was disposed of in septic tanks, and fresh water was pumped in from Mission

Creek. Also present on the site was a small grotto or shrine to the Virgin Mary. In 1890, D'herbomez had made a promise that he would build a shrine in her honour; Father Cornellier was commissioned to construct it. He built a hexagonal building with a silver-domed sanctuary, all the while intending to replace this structure with another larger shrine to the east (St. Mary's Mission School Monograph 1950, n.p.). Cornellier was transferred before he could carry out this plan and the grotto remained in its original form until it burned down in 1965.

Twenty years before the move uphill, on the original site of St. Mary's, Father Gendre and Brothers Guillet and Janin erected the first building of the boys' school in 1862. While Janin and Guillet built log cabins to house the boys, as well as a small church, Gendre cooked and studied Native languages (Cronin 1960, 98). At Christmas, when Gendre had despaired of ever finishing the church in time to hold mass, more than a 1000 Natives arrived at the site and raised the roof on the church (St. Mary's Mission School Monograph 1950, 3). In addition, fields were laid out and planted by the Oblates for their "provisions pour la prochaine année scolaire"; these fields were also to be used to teach boys the agricultural techniques deemed necessary for a civilized life (Kennedy 1969, 50). During the 1863 school year, forty-two boys attended the school (Kennedy 1969, 51).

The girl's school at St. Mary's was founded in 1868.

Although there was a girl's school at St. Charles' Mission in New Westminster, D'herbomez had recognized the need to remove the Native children from the pernicious influences of that city to the more secluded location at Mission City. He requested that the Sisters of Saint Ann (S.S.A.) help him in attaining this goal by sending two sisters to Mission; they would be granted two hundred dollars a year for their services and given an additional four hundred dollars when they began to furnish their house (St. Mary's Mission Monograph 1950, 5). However, the Oblates were unable to raise the money necessary to fulfill this agreement. For the years 1867, 1868 and 1869, the Sister Vicar of the S.S.A. in British Columbia, Sister Mary Providence, who believed that the girls' school was a necessity that transcended simple matters of money, lent the Oblates the money required for the sisters' upkeep (St. Mary's Mission Monograph 1950, 5). On November 25th, 1868, Sisters Mary Lumena and Bonsecours left New Westminster for Mission City. They were accompanied by Fathers D'herbomez, Marchal and Lamure, who had recently arrived from France, two other sisters who would return to New Westminster, and seven Native boarders for the school (de Pathmos 1961, 147-148). As the fathers at St. Mary's were not expecting them until 1869, no provisions for them had been made (St. Mary's Mission Monograph 1950, 5).

The S.S.A. were accomplished, resourceful women. When they arrived at St. Mary's to find that no provisions had

been made for them, Sister Mary Lumena began to furnish the fifty by eighteen foot lumber convent (Down 1966, 63) with furniture of her own making. She made five tables and five dressers immediately upon her arrival at the mission, so that the seventeen students who were attending the school would be comfortable (Brasseur 1927, 4). Sister Mary Lumena continued her tradition of carpentry in 1871, when she made tables, chairs, desks, washstands and beds from trees that she had previously felled (St. Mary's Mission Monograph 1950, 6). At the new convent, in 1885, Sister Mary Lumena made forty-two beds for the pupils, as well as new table-like desks for the classroom (Brasseur 1927, 55).

Funding for the two schools at St. Mary's was obtained from a variety of sources. First the vicariate assigned certain funds to the schools per year. In 1868, the vicariate gave 3000 dollars to the mission; this money included funds for the S.S.A. and for the construction of a schoolhouse for the "jeunes sauvagesses" (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1868, 55). In future years, funds for the mission were always in the range of \$1000 - 2000, although certain loans were made to the mission so that the priests there could purchase land and erect buildings. Four hundred dollars per year were assigned for the upkeep of the sisters at the mission; in 1887, this sum was increased to \$600 (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1887, 146). The monies set aside for the administration of the schools are

not differentiated in the Oblate records from the money used to run the mission in general. All that can be said is that the vicariate funding for the entire mission, including the schools but excluding the S.S.A. pension, was \$600 to 1400 per year between 1868 and 1892.

In 1865, Governor Seymour had allocated fifty pounds sterling to the school at Mission; the involvement of the Oblate fathers in encouraging Natives to pre-empt land in the valley, however, angered the government so that no more money was forthcoming from them (Cherrington 1974, 5). In 1871, with the entry of British Columbia into federation, the federally administrated Department of Indian Affairs assumed responsibility for Native education. However, the first government grant to the schools at St. Mary's was not made until 1874, when a sum of \$350 was received (Kennedy 1969, 57). Previous to that date, all the money for the schools had come from the proceeds from the mission farm, the congregation, contributions from the Propagation of the Faith (Kennedy 1969, 57) and from the profits made at a supply store that the S.S.A. had set up in 1869 to sell cloth, thread and other supplies to the Natives (Brasseur 1927, 14).

In 1893, the schools received \$500 from the federal government (Missions 31 1893, 396). This amount was based on a quota of fifty students at the boys' school. However, as the "Rapport de Vicariate" for this year explains, this

quota had not been met:

Le government federal ne nous a alloué jusqu'ici que 500 dollars par an...Nous n'avons actuellement que 50 enfants, nos moyens ne nous permettant pas d'en recevoir davantage. Nous nous voyons forces d'en augmenter le nombre jusqu'à la centaine, parce que les ministres protestantes font cette année des pieds et des mains pour attirer à leurs écoles gratuites les enfants de nos neophytes indigenes.

(Missons 31 1893, 396).

At no time during the period 1863 to 1900 did the mission fulfill its quota of one hundred students; in 1898, only eighty-five students attended the school (forty-one boys and forty-four girls) although this fifteen student shortage cost the mission money, since the government would only make a minimal allocation to a school that fell short of its quota (Missions 36 1898, 253). Paradoxically, the school at St. Mary's Mission had to refuse pupils because, as Father Chirouse's report to the Department of Indian Affairs for 1896 states, the school was always short of funds (Atkinson et al. 1973, 7). Problems with a rather fluid population of students, some of whom would go truant and return to help their parents and grandparents carry out subsistence activities, meant difficulties in obtaining funding that was allocated on a "per head" basis. These comings and goings are also responsible for the discrepancies that exist between the numbers of students attending the school cited in this and other work on St. Mary's Mission.

Funding was also received from the parents of the pupils attending the school; boys' fees being higher than

the girls, presumably because girls were less valued economically by Natives and their families unlikely to pay much for their education. The parents of the girls gave five dollars a year in order to offset the cost of soap, thread, needles etc. in 1868 (Brasseur 1927, 5). In 1869, this fee was raised to nine dollars a year, four dollars for tea and sugar having been added to the previous five (Brasseur 1927, 10). Obviously, not all parents could afford to pay, and since the school also taught orphans and abandoned children who had no parents to pay, the reception of nine dollars per girl per year was by no means guaranteed. In fact, as the following chart shows, orphans (which included children abandoned by their parents) made up a large percentage of the pupils at the girls' school:

Year	Orphans	Total Attendance	Percent
1871	1	15	6
1874	10	38	26
1887	23	36	63
1888	28	36	78
1889	26	36	72

(In 1881, the convent reached a permanent register of thirty-six pupils, so the numbers given for years after that date represent a maximum number in attendance, not the actual number)

(Brasseur 1927, 21; 34; 35; 66; 72).

Since orphans were often sent to the school because they represented a drain on the economy (Redford 1979, 48; 55), the surviving members of their families would be unlikely to contribute anything towards the costs of their education.

The parents of the boys were also expected to provide some funding for their sons' education. The Oblate fathers noted that Euro-Canadians had to pay for schooling, and thought that, as funding and resources at St. Mary's were very small, it would be only fair to have the Natives pay for the education of their youths (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1884, 117). However, they recognized the reluctance or inability of many Natives to pay. The Oblates' solution to this problem was to encourage:

les villages Indiens...à y envoyer deux de leur enfans de plus capables, tout le village se côtitant pour leur fournier la vêtément et payer la petit pension de cinq dollars par mois.

(Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1884, 117).

The Oblates hoped that the Natives who paid for the education of the two boys would eventually have their expenses compensated for by the boys themselves, who would teach the rest of the village upon their return from the school. No further reference is made to this plan in council deliberations, and financial hardships continued.

The lack of funding presented a problem for the priests and nuns running the school. In order to avoid additional expenses, the school was supposed to be self-sufficient; grain was procured in payment for the use of the gristmill, fruit was grown in the orchards, hay was grown on the prairie across the river to feed the cattle, and beef and pork were raised at the mission. However, the amount of

food produced was small, and the diet that the nuns and priests fed to the boys and girls at the school was monotonous and unnutritious.

In 1864, the Oblates granted a three week hiatus from school to the forty-two boarders at the boys school so that they could help plant 4000 cabbages on the land across the river (Aicher 1971, 3). The priests chose cabbages because they cost little to produce and because the "boys [were] so fond of cabbage soup" (Forbes 1962, 28). It seems unlikely that this fondness for cabbage soup continued much beyond the 1865 school year, when that vegetable formed the basis of the boys' diet. In 1868, Sister Mary Lumena wrote that the diet available to the students consisted of fish with a ration of potatoes (Brasseur 1927, 11). There was no bread, meat, vegetables, or cereals available (Brasseur 1927, 12). The potatoes were strictly rationed and when Sister Mary Bonsecours used up her ration too quickly in 1868, the Oblates held an inquiry into the matter. It was discovered that the scale at the convent was underweighing the rations and that the nun had not knowingly increased the rations. Still, potato rations at the convent were reduced to make up this shortfall and the girls went hungry (Brasseur 1927, 13).

At Christmas and New Year's, a treat was served; each pupil received a dish of rice sweetened with molasses. Generally, however, the "allowance for children fresh from

free out-door Indian life was not over-abundant" and even the fish "was served in pitifully small pieces" (Brasseur 1927, 12; 14). In 1869, conditions at the schools improved marginally; some pork was available to augment the ubiquitous potato soup (Pineault n.d., 2). The nuns and priests did not fare much better than the children either, although they did have flour for bread (Brasseur 1927, 14).

By the time that Cornelius Kelleher, a half-Irish, half-Nooksack orphan, attended the school in 1879, more foods were available. The gristmill was in operation, so that the children occasionally had bread to eat, as well as the corn and peas that were ground at the mill for soup (Orchard 1983, 23). The male pupils often helped out in the mill; Kelleher remembers being asked by Father Martin to help fix the leather straps that had been chewed by rats. The mill was sold soon after the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railroad; James Tretheway, who had originally helped to build the water-powered mill, carted it away to Chilliwack (Kelleher [a] n.d., n.p.). Thereafter, flour was brought in by steamer. Boys from the school hauled the fifty pound bags of flour up the hill, either using an ox and sled, or sharing the load of one sack between two boys (Kelleher [a] n.d., n.p.). Each sack of flour was then split evenly between the boys' school and the convent.

Milk was never served at the mission. Cattle raised were kept only for beef; in the fall some of the animals

were slaughtered and the meat salted so that it would keep over the following winter (Orchard 1983, 23). Care for the livestock was also shared by the boys at the school who helped cut and "scow" hay across the river for the animals to eat in the winter (Orchard 1983, 24). Pork was also raised at the mission; pigs were allowed to roam free and scavenge until 1883, when the largest building on the older mission site was converted into a pigpen (Kelleher n.d., transcript). Salmon was served roasted over a fire or in a soup with vegetables and potatoes (Orchard 1983, 23). The food prepared had to be cooked in the large brass kettles that the Oblates had brought with them to the mission in 1862; a cookstove was not initially part of the mission's accoutrements, although Sister Mary Lumena procured one for the convent in 1887 (Brasseur 1927, 67). In the orchards, the pear, plum and apples trees that Fouquet had brought from France and Oregon produced fruit for the mission (Kelleher n.d., transcript). However, the amount of food served must have been quite small; Kelleher related that the boys used to sneak out of the dormitory at night and raid the orchard for apples to supplement their diet (Orchard 1983, 24).

The poor diet, coupled with the intense physical labour demanded of the children and the fact that all of the children (of one sex) slept in large dormitories that were inadequately heated, probably accounted for the spread of

diseases throughout the school. Cornellius Kelleher's younger sister died of a "cold", soon after she began she began attending the convent (Kelleher n.d., transcript). She was only seven years old. In May 1883, a measles epidemic broke out at the school, and almost all the children contracted the disease (Brasseur 1927, n.p.).

Parents tended to associate St. Mary's with illness, and often were reluctant to send their children to the school. Chief Johnnie of the Harrison River explained that his band did not want children to attend the school because:

A good many of the children when they leave the Mission school they are very unhealthy. I sent two of my boys to that school. They were very strong when they went there. But after they came home, they both died...I think they were worked too hard at the school and got consumption...
(Haig-Brown 1990, 17).

Chief Joe Hall of the Scowlitz band concurred with this finding:

We have had complaints about that school and a great many other children come out sickly... there is no partitions to the rooms and all the children sleep in one room...I was in that school myself when I was a boy...[others] took consumption and died...that is why I know the school is not safe...during all the time I was at Mission, I only saw a doctor once...
(Haig-Brown 1990, 17).

Parents controlled their childrens' attendance at school; only after 1920 could the authorities enforce attendance at a residential school (Redford 1979, 52). Because of the reluctance of the parents to send away their children, based both on fears for their children's health and because older children contributed valuable labour to the village group,

St. Mary's school taught mostly orphans and those children whose parents were strongly under the influence of the Roman Catholic faith and/or believed that the inevitable changes the Euro-Canadian culture would force in the Native world meant that a white education was a practical means of survival in the new world.

Many pupils who attended St. Mary's found the transition from the Native way of life to the cloistered world of the nuns and priests difficult to make. The seventeen girls that made up the first class at the convent were:

homesick and showed it by giving way to sadness and sulkiness. When one was missing she was found crying under the table or in as secret a place as was thought safe.

(Brasseur 1927, 8).

Any change in procedures or personnel also produced a terrified response. One night the nuns at the convent had to go to New Westminster and a strange nun was left in charge of the girls. Upon awakening, the girls found themselves with a stranger who spoke no language that they could understand. The Native children cried at being left with the nun; Sister Mary Lumena saw this as an expression of devotion to the nuns who normally cared for the girls (Brasseur 1927, 8), but it seems more likely that the children were terrified at being with an unfamiliar person.

The language barrier also presented inevitable problems. The nuns and priests spoke French as their first language, and the Sto:lo spoke Halkomelem. Often the Chi-

nook Jargon was used to bridge the gap between the two languages outside of the school, but during the ten months of the year when school was in session, the only language that could be spoken was English. Kelleher remembered his teachers as "mostly French teachers trying to teach us English" (Orchard 1983, 24). By 1869, only one year after the girls' school had opened, Sister Mary Lumena reported that "our seventeen pupils are happy and docile; they can read [and] write [in English]" (de Pathmos 1961, 148). Apparently, the language barrier had been overcome, and the transition from a Native lifeway to life in the convent had begun. However, the Native girls were taught some prayers in their own language (Brasseur 1927, 80), presumably so they could share these with the non-English speaking members of their villages.

Besides English, the pupils at the schools also learned a variety of other subjects. Their academic courses included arithmetic, geography, history, reading, writing, and grammar. Lessons were taught by rote recitation. Examinations in each subject were done orally at the end of the school year before an audience that consisted of the parents and the priest (Brasseur 1927, 24). At these occasions, good conduct and lessons were rewarded by public recognition of the student's achievements. Although some children remained at the mission until they left to be married, a high-school education was not offered to Native students.

Each student learned a basic grounding in the "Three Rs"; anything further was not encouraged. St. Mary's school did not have a high school graduate until 1952 (St. Ann's Academy n.d., n.p.).

As well as religion and the "three Rs", the mission schools were intended to inculcate the children with the basics of European peasant ways. To that end, the priests put the boys to work clearing and planting fields, helping in the grist and carding mills, mowing hay for the animals, caring for livestock, tending a vegetable garden, making furniture, cleaning pots and pans, baking bread and whatever other jobs were required to make the mission as self-sufficient as possible. Father Gendre, the first principal at the boy' school, considered putting Native children to work, rather than academic achievement, to be the true measure of success at St. Mary's. To overcome the "natural indolence of the children" (Forbes 1948, 17), he "made use of their vanity and love of authority" (Forbes 1962, 29) and created posts and titles for them. Thus were the Captain of the Canoes, Chief of the Pots and Pans, Head Cook's Helper and Garden Manager made (Forbes 1962, 29). Titles were lost if a boy was lazy. In 1868, Father Jolivet wrote:

I congratulate you on having founded a flourishing agricultural institution...[however], as, after religion, work and study are the principal means of civilizing the Indians, I should have preferred to see the Indians work more...you must try to get them to work for approximately four hours a day...
(Forbes 1948, 17).

Manual labour was not restricted to the boys at the school. The girls' school also had a vegetable plot that needed tending. Although Sister Mary Lumena stated that the boys did the heavy work for the convent, such as "felling trees, cutting firewood, plowing" etc. (Brasseur 1927, 47), it was not unknown for the older girls to perform tasks normally reserved for boys. In 1889, the girls raised a twenty foot extension to a shed, shingled the roof, levelled the kitchen garden, removed brush, filled ruts and holes, and dug potatoes, which they then stored for the winter (Pineault n.d., 7). All this was in addition to the already "heavy programme" that included training:

in the use of brooms, dusters, floor-scrubbing, window washing - all unknown arts in their Indian homes...the use of the needle, sewing machine, cutting and making clothes [for the boys, girls, and priests]...mending, as well as washing and ironing for the two households.
(Brasseur 1927, 46-47).

In the convent, day succeeded day according to a strict schedule of chapel devotions, school hours, domestic duties, laundry, gardening, and needle accomplishments (Pineault n.d., 6). Kelleher indicates how the "daily grind" began in the boys' school:

[We] only had a basin or two to wash in in the mornings, so we decided, us boys, we'd go down to the creek to wash. We'd take our towel and soap and go down to the creek...then we got daring one or another to get into the water... ice was on top of the water. Then we had to go up there and go into the chapel...[which had] no fire in it at all and stay there for a quarter of an hour or half an hour. Boy it was cold...

if you didn't go down into the creek and dump in the water, you felt the cold more when you got into the chapel...

(Kelleher n.d., transcript).

Chapel was followed by an eight hour work day; four hours each were devoted to academic/religious instruction and manual labour, interspersed with regular religious devotions and prayers. Academic work was split into two two-hour periods, following the recommendation of Jolivet that students must "never [be] in the classroom for more than two consecutive hours" (Forbes 1948, 17). On the other hand, recreation appears to have been rather informal at St. Mary's, although that went against the rigid rules outlined for schools in the Durieu system. Boys would ride the ox sleigh down the hill in the winter, jumping off just before it crashed into the mission fence (Kelleher n.d., transcript), and swim in the Fraser River when the weather was hot (Orchard 1983, 24). Despite the twenty-four hour presence of the priests, the boys' play seems to have been largely unsupervised; perhaps the priests did not know of all these activities. Some recreation was supervised however; Bishop Lootens used to take Kelleher fishing at Hatzic Slough, even though Kelleher did not "like to be with him [and would rather] be out playing with the boys" (Orchard 1983, 26).

Music was also taught at the mission schools. According to the Missions, Father Pandosy began a brass band at St. Mary's, which was subsequently under the direction of

Father Lamure (Gresko 1983, 13), who was principal of the boys' school from 1869 until his death in a shooting accident in 1870. Lamure taught singing and instrumental music to the boys for an hour and a half each day (Gresko 1983, 12). The musical instruments had been sent from France by a schoolmate of D'herbomez (Gresko 1983, 13), and consisted of traditional European brass instruments (Mattison 1981, 11). The band played publicly at such events as the Queen's Birthday in 1867, to welcome the provincial Commissioner of Indian Affairs Israel Powell to St. Mary's and at the 1891 Mission land auction held by J. W. Horne (Mattison 1981, 11). The band declined in the late 1870s because of a lack of teaching staff, but by the 1880s, under the direction of Father A.G. Morice, it was once again a good band. Morice took his pupils on a tour of the Canadian Pacific Railroad construction camps in 1881, and managed to raise the money necessary to purchase a small harmonium (Gresko 1983, 13). In 1891, the Vancouver World newspaper described the Native brass band as "unquestionably the best Indian band in the Province, or for that matter in the Dominion" (Mattison 1981, 11).

Discipline at St. Mary's Mission school was carried out in a variety of ways. Upon arriving at the school, the Native children were issued a school uniform; the nuns and priests thought this served not only to counteract the Native "love of extravagance" (Pineault n.d., 2), but also

to remove the differences between pupils, so that they were treated as equals. The girls' uniform was, in the words of one Native woman, "very homely and we did not like to wear it" (Pineault n.d., 2), and consisted of a lilac calico shirt, a brown linsay blouse and a white cambric headpiece. Both the boys' and girls' uniforms were sewn by the female students at the school.

Punishment came in the form of public humiliation. At the beginning of the school year, each child was assigned seven "good notes" (Brasseur 1927, 25). Notes could be taken away if the pupil were bad; no one teacher could, however, remove a note, but rather a miniature court judged the child and determined if the note should be lost (Brasseur 1927, 25). At the distribution of prizes in June, it was made manifest to the public those who had kept their notes all year and those who had lost some. Although the errant pupils were not singled out for exposure to the public, they felt the sting of being ignored and embarrassed when their names were not made public as having been good students all year. Public humiliation had been chosen as the form of punishment most likely to elicit the correct response in the Natives, because of their hatred of public ignomy (Brasseur 1927, 25). Indeed, it was felt that this method was successful because "even before these poor children of the woods learned English, they knew the value of the notes" (Brasseur 1927, 25).

Punishments at St. Mary's were not corporal; whippings, which were anathma to the Natives, were not officially given at this school (Forbes 1962, 29). However, Cornelius Kelleher certainly felt the blows of physical punishment while he attended there. Kelleher's first teacher, a German boat captain who had been hired by the Oblates, often dealt his troublesome pupils a hard blow with a rod across the back of the knuckles (Orchard 1983, 24). This punishment was incurred when a boy did not know the correct answer to a problem and was therefore unable to "go up to the blackboard" (Orchard 1983, 24). In addition, boys that were found out of their beds after lights out were dealt a "whack" with a switch by the priest. Still, the blows did not seem to temper the boys' spirits; upon occasion they would hit the dormitory supervisor across the back with their pillows, and when the first tie cars came past the mission, the boys played truant from school, in order to "ride the rails", with little regard for any punishment they would receive (Orchard 1983, 26). Indeed, the misdeeds of the boys seemed to be regarded with good humour by the priests; after Kelleher was married and settled on his land, Father Martin would visit to reminisce about the mission, and to laugh "until the tears ran down his face" about the pranks the boys used to play (Orchard 1983, 24).

The punishment for a repeated or serious offense was expulsion from the school. At vacation time, after the 1868

school year, the nuns asked one of the girls "who was sulky, obstinate and hard to manage and [was] a bad influence...to take her featherbed along" with her on her vacation (Brasseur 1927, 9). The girl apparently understood that she was no longer wanted at the school and began to cry. However, the nuns did not relent, and the girl did not return to the school in August. On one occasion, a girl was expelled from the school, and the nuns clearly did not think that she should have been. An older girl, who had always been "good and pious" was told to leave the school because she had told her parents something that the director of the school, presumably Durieu who was in charge from 1870 to 1873, did not like (Brasseur 1927, 29). In addition to being expelled, the girl also had to perform a public penance and have her upcoming marriage postponed. The secrecy regarding the exact nature of her "crime" led to a great deal of confusion on the part of Sister Mary Lumena, who appears to have thought the punishment was too harsh. However, the nuns did not question the judgements of the priests on this or other matters.

The school year lasted ten months; during the vacation period of two months, the nuns returned to Victoria and the children returned to the camps from which they had come. Only in 1886 was there a nun present at the mission for the whole year; the nun that did not travel to Victoria remained to care for the numerous orphans who were the sole responsi-

bility of the convent (Brasseur 1927, 59). The priests kept the mission running, but school was not in session during this period.

The return of the students to the villages often precipitated a clash with the culture of the Natives who lived there all year. Upon their return to the mission schools, the teachers were appalled to find their former neat and clean charges filthy and unkempt. Even when they were sent home with soap and a comb, the children continued to return unwashed (Pineault n.d., 7). When asked for an explanation, the children replied, "the old Indians [probably the childrens' grandparents, with whom, traditionally, they spent most of their childhood] laugh at us, and say we are whites" (Pineault n.d., 7). The missionaries decided that while "the ancients lived", nothing could be done about the children's cleanliness at home. Rather they waited until the elders died; according to the missionaries, only after 1910, was a "degree of civilization becoming evident in their dwellings" (Pineault n.d., 7).

The years spent at the St. Mary's Mission school tended to leave graduating students without a culture into which they fitted. The goal of the Oblates was to acculturate Natives, not to assimilate them into Euro-Canadian society. Therefore, settlement in the white community was frowned upon. However, former pupils did not always fit into Native lifeways either. Thus it was left to the Oblates to create

a niche into which the these students could fit. In 1879, three mission boys married three mission girls, all of them wearing clothes made by the girls at the mission. Land was granted to the young men so that they could settle near the mission and begin life as agriculturalists (Pineault n.d., 4). In 1883, the Oblates formalized these aims for settlement of former pupils on Oblate-owned land near the mission with a lengthy legal document that left no room for any deviation from the norm as defined by the Oblates:

To every boy (who has been educated in the school of St. Mary's Mission and who has obtained a good report for conduct and morality)...the Superior of St. Mary's will let at a nominal rate the following property:

- I) 10 acres of land belonging to the Mission and outside of the dyke on the left side of the Fraser River
- II) One lot of land 60 feet front by 250 feet from front to rear, on the right-hand side of said river
- III) One frame [house] 32 by 16 feet with side walls 10 feet high and shingle roof. The outside shall be weatherboarded and white-washed, the inside lined with rough lumber, cotton and paper [and] divided so as to make 4 apartments on the ground floor
- IV) Furniture - one cooking stove with... utensils...dining room utensils for 3... 3 chairs, one table, one bedstead and bedding and a few pictures.

Each person occupying [the land] shall be obliged to give up quite [sic] and peaceable possession and in good order in receiving legal notice to quit. Such person must leave whole and entire all improvements and fixtures...without having any right to claim compensation for same...[Boys wishing to pre-empt may do so and Superior of St. Mary's will deed all above except the let ten acres, plus give the boy a cow

which he must] keep...as well as any other stock he may possess on the right-hand side of the Fraser River.

(Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1883, 105-106).

Further restrictions stated that the boys who settled on the land would not be employed by the mission, except as day labourers, that they could only be evicted from the above property for bad conduct of which the Bishop would be sole judge, and that their widows would enjoy the same rights as the original leasee, providing that "she conducts herself well or remarries a good catholic man" (Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations 1883, 106). An unknown number of former students, including Kelleher, who was deeded eighty acres at fifty dollars per acre by the Oblates in 1892 and who built a two-bedroom, two-storey western-style house upon it (Kelleher [a] n.d., n.p.), did settle on the prairie across from the mission, but the project was doomed because the land was frequently flooded. In 1894, Kelleher had to use a canoe to get to the stairs and thus gain access to the second floor of his house (Kelleher [a] n.d., n.p.). Eventually, the Oblates sold the land to the diocese.

Another aim of the Oblates was that the former students would return to their villages and influence the villagers in the ways of the church and agricultural life. The extent to which this aim was realised had more to do with the atmosphere in the particular village than with the training given at the schools. At Cheam village Chief Alexis readily adopted the Oblate sanctioned way of life. In 1879, when

Father Chirouse visited, he was met by a salute of gunfire upon his arrival (Casey 1982, 13). The camp showed "progress [with] beautiful houses, cultivated fields and cattle in abundance" (Casey 1982, 13). Alexis' daughter, a former student at St. Mary's, had set up a day school in the village and was teaching religion and English to the inhabitants. According to Chirouse, to be among the Cheam was to be "among a wonderful group of Christians" (Casey 1982, 13). Certainly, this former student of St. Mary's was carrying out the aims expressed by the Oblates. However, the two orphaned daughters of a convicted murderer who were ordered returned home to teach the women in their village Brussels lace making probably fared less well at educating other Natives since they had been unwanted by the villagers during the seven years they lived at the convent (Brasseur 1927, 77). Presumably Brussels lace making was not a valued skill in the late nineteenth century world of the Sto:lo; learning to speak English and how to save one's soul were more valuable.

* * *

The Oblates did not record individual achievements at the school, nor did they follow the progress of the pupils after they had returned to their villages. It is difficult, therefore, to assess the effect of schooling of Native children on the villages from which they came. Previous to 1900, a maximum of eighty-five (Gresko [1986, 98] has

eighty-eight attending in this year) students attended St. Mary's school at one time (1898), out of a population of 2000 Natives in the Fraser Valley area (Gresko 1986, 98). This fact, coupled with the large number of orphans, abandoned children and Metis that attended the school, suggests that the effects were less than the priests had hoped when they founded the schools in 1863 and 1868. However, the effects of schooling on individual children and their immediate families were large.

Children were removed from a known environment and placed in the custody of strangers for ten months of the year. Their parents were affected, by sadness at losing a child to the school, fear at the health risks encountered at the school, or even perhaps relief that a non-productive member of the family was being looked after elsewhere during the uncertain times immediately following increased Euro-Canadian settlement in the area. And the legacies left by this separation, the alienation of the children from the known, and the type of education given at the school were also manifold and confusing; they deserve further consideration.

CHAPTER 6: INFLUENCES AND LEGACIES

The Oblates sought to teach the Sto:lo a new religion, subsistence farming, a new language, a new mode of settlement, and new perceptions of time and space. They intended to reform the Sto:lo into a real version of their utopian vision of a pious, Roman Catholic peasant. To a large extent, they failed. Natives on the reserves took advantage of the new industrialized economy emerging in British Columbia and resisted Oblate pressures for them to farm. The children sent to the mission school at St. Mary's were usually not valued members of the society from which they came, since the majority of pupils were orphans or the offspring of white men and Native women. The cultural influence of school children returning to the reserve was less than the Oblates had hoped.

Yet, Natives are very bitter about the missionaries and their impact on Native cultures. While it can be argued that the effect was greater after 1900, Oblate activities in the nineteenth century certainly altered the Sto:lo life-world. Even by removing only a few, largely unwanted children, the residential schools left gaps in Sto:lo society.

Oblate activities among the Sto:lo can be viewed from a Foucauldian perspective. The main elements of disciplinary strategy, segregation and surveillance were used by the Oblates to implement this spiritual agenda (Driver 1984, 12). According to Foucault, discipline proceeds: "from the

distribution of individuals in space...[which] sometimes requires enclosure, [and] the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself" (Foucault 1977, 141). The residential school and the agricultural settlement were both planned to be such places: there Natives would live isolated from non-Natives and under the guidance of the church. A homogeneous Native culture was sought; Natives were all to practise the same religion, speak the same language, and follow the same daily pattern of chores and church going. At the schools, individuality was further eroded by bland uniforms and short haircuts designed to eradicate personal vanity and pride. No permanent note was made of individual academic achievements. Gender was managed as much as possible and, in a sense, denied; the children were sexually segregated and the genitals and breasts kept covered while bathing. The result was to be an almost "robotic" Native that performed its functions in an agricultural settlement much as did other Natives of the same sex. Future generations, born into these settlements, would be born into the discipline, without knowing of the "strict powers" that gripped their parent's minds and bodies, thus imposing upon them the "constraints, prohibitions and obligations" (Foucault 1977, 136) of the Roman Catholic religion.

The exercise of discipline "presupposes a mechanism that coerces by the means of observation" (Foucault 1977,

172). The power of "surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action" (Foucault 1977, 201). In the Panopticon, officials used architecture and a series of blinds to observe miscreants who could not see their observer (Driver 1984, 5). Instead of architecture, the Oblates used new patterns of settlement to keep "watch over" the Natives. Natives were encouraged to settle in agricultural villages and the Oblates attempted to impose a system of spying that maintained surveillance even during the priests' absence. Watchmen, officials, and policemen, "relays of the disciplinary gaze" (Foucault 1977, 174) in the political hierarchy set up by the priests, reported any "non-conformists" to the priests. Non-conformity was punishable under Oblate law, and punishment was meted out publicly under the control of the priest. Public punishments ranged from whippings to standing outside the church with arms outstretched. At St. Mary's school, examinations were carried out in front of one's classmates and parents; punishments were also public and sometimes involved expulsion from the school. Public punishment meant that other would-be offenders understood the consequences of their actions.

Examination "combines the elements of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalising judgement"; it is a "surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish" (Foucault 1977, 184; 186). Native life

on the reserves was constantly examined by the priests and the local government. Church-goers were examined by the watch-men for any lapses from the "norm" as defined by the Oblates. Pious Natives were rewarded with honours such as the admission to the Honour of the Sacred Heart or with repairs to the village church.

In "discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen... power is invisible" (Foucault 1977, 187). In the Oblate system, the ultimate power to judge and then to punish or reward lay with an invisible God. Faith and strict adherence to the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion were rewarded visibly on earth and invisibly after death. The double system of discipline, "gratification-punishment" (Foucault 1977, 180) was clearly evident in the settlements and the residential schools.

Mettray was an agricultural reformatory colony for juvenile delinquent boys established near Tours, France in 1839. In it, Foucault saw the "model in which are concentrated all the the coercive technologies" of discipline and punishment (Foucault 1977, 293). There were no boundary walls at Mettray; the reformatory was surrounded by fields in which the boys worked. They were subject to constant supervision and surveillance, and every task was carried out according to schedule in an ordered manner. Military discipline was taught in marching exercises and brass bands. Justice was meted out in the parlour. On the walls of the

cells were written the words "God Sees You" (Foucault 1977, 294).

St. Mary's school and the institution at Mettray share many similarities, perhaps because both reflected French thinking about institutions in the nineteenth century. The physical boundaries of St. Mary's were Durieu Creek to the east, the Fraser River to the south, and empty space to the north and west of the mission. The boys worked planting vegetables and harvesting hay in the fields across the Fraser. Every hour at the school was accounted for; working, playing and praying were carried out according to a strict schedule. St. Mary's imposed another way of perceiving space on the Sto:lo children. Some of them had already observed the establishment of an agricultural village on their home reserves, and the school was a further reduction of the self-sufficient, segregated reduction.

Space at the school was divided into areas for work, play, prayer, learning, eating and sleeping. In the traditional village, people ate, slept, learned and entertained in the long houses. Children played at imitating their elders in the workplaces. Elders told stories while they mended nets or cleaned fish. At the school, no overlap of spatial function occurred. Part of the regimentation involved establishing strict use of spaces and not varying it, not, at least, officially. The children themselves used space more flexibly, often conversing in Halkomelem in the

fields, playing in the dorms at night, and sneaking out to steal apples after bedtime. The four or five teachers could not exert continuous control and the children took advantage of gaps in surveillance.

The Oblates also controlled private space and references to their attempts to control the body have already been made. They sought humility before God and to that end, tried to destroy vanity and a sense of individuality that breeds pride. Hence, homogeneous haircuts and uniforms, reports that recorded the achievements of the class as a whole, not of the individual child, and curricula that made no attempt to tailor education to a child's particular abilities. In the traditional village, a child's particular prowess was noted, and those with special talents, such as carving, were encouraged to expand them. By attacking individuality and pride, the Oblates attacked the most private of spaces, that used to define oneself.

To counter the "negative effects of parental influence", the Oblates did not allow parents to visit unsupervised children. Parents visited their children in the parlour of the school under the gaze of a nun or priest. The presence in the parlour of the observing authority interfered in the visit, preventing children and their parents from interacting freely. Again, the Oblates established control over a space so as to manage and minimize the bond between parent and child. Contagion from the

reserves and reversion to the "old ways" was thus prevented, at least for the ten months that school was in session. At St. Mary's, the task was to "produce bodies that were both docile and capable" (Foucault, 1977: 294), at whatever cost to the individual.

As well as controlling space, discipline involves the control of time; the most basic way to do this is to impose a timetable. As with other religious orders, the Oblates were masters of a discipline that took the form of established rhythms, imposed activities and regulated cycles of repetition (Foucault 1977, 149). Even the priests were expected to follow a regular daily schedule of prayer and learning. A mission in France followed the same schedule as did missions in Algeria, Ceylon and Canada; in this way, priests in France controlled the daily activities of missionaries scattered world-wide.

The priests in British Columbia kept control over a large area by imposing a timetable on activities in the villages. Several times a day, the church bell was rung so that the faithful could pray together. Watchmen reported those that did not attend to the priests during his next visit; the offenders were punished. At St. Mary's, all activities were performed at an allocated hour and, with the exception of Sunday, there was little to differentiate one day from the next. Every hour in St. Mary's school was accounted for: dull chores, instruction in reading, writing

and arithmetic, religious teachings, play, eating, sleeping and washing were all carried out at prescribed times of the day. The beginning and end of activities were generally signalled by time allocated for prayer. There was some concession to the passage of seasons (in spring when the crops were planted across the river, and in fall when they were harvested) but time was generally represented in a way that was in sharp contrast to the Native perception of time flowing through activities, seasons, and the years of a person's life.

The rigid control and management of time - out of which come phrases such as "wasting time" - were concepts foreign to the Sto:lo. Traditionally, activities were not bounded in short, measurable intervals, but carried out when they needed to be, for as long as they took. Stopping fishing to pray or because it was "bedtime" made no sense in the traditional Sto:lo world, whereas stopping fishing because there were no more fish, or one had enough, or one was sleepy did. Stories, a major component of traditional education, were usually told at night, or in the winter, when not many other tasks could be carried out. Formal lessons or prayers during day-light hours when there were other tasks to perform was nonsensical. However, the priests used time-discipline to keep the Sto:lo in line; Natives had to remain close to the village to attend church and could not carry out their traditional subsistence rounds.

Rigid control was also exerted over the language spoken at the school. The children at St. Mary's were forced from an oral culture to a literate one, and the English language was substituted for Halkomelem. Language, the system of sounds that each culture strings together in a logical way in order to communicate (Dimen-Schein 1977, 34), forms the basis for thought and perception. Certain concepts, such as the past and future tenses, may not be important to all cultures. Replacing one language with another entails learning new cultural concepts and replacing many elements of one's former culture. At St. Mary's, Sto:lo children were to forget Halkomelem and as much as possible of the concepts and culture encoded in the language. Instead, the pupils learned a new way of representing the world, communicating, and relating history. As Halkomelem was forbidden at the school, and as children rarely spoke it except as a form of protest while working in the fields, they were effectively rendered mute until they learned English. Even then, rudimentary English would not allow them to express concepts and feelings that they could have expressed in Halkomelem. It was probably years before the pupils could communicate adequately to the priests and nuns at the mission.

Both the village enclaves and the school were intended to be self-sufficient. All food was to be grown there, and all clothing and furniture made there. The traditional

round of seasonal subsistence practised by the Sto:lo meant that they were usually well-fed, since there was an abundance of diverse food in the Fraser Valley. Since the traditional round did not allow for regular, daily church going, and facilitated contact with the outside world, the Oblates encouraged the Sto:lo to farm. Because the farmland in the Fraser Valley was subject to flooding, and because a variety of other economic opportunities were available, the Sto:lo on the reserves practised little agriculture. However, the children at the school were easier to control and farmed the land across the river to the south of the mission. School dinners thus consisted of what was harvested: a bland diet of cabbage and potatoes, supplemented with very little fish. In effect, the Oblate programme of self-sufficiency created a "famine" amid plenty.

Individual recollections of St. Mary's reflected the personal experiences there. Cornellius Kelleher, whose reminiscences paint the most complete and lively picture of St. Mary's, apparently enjoyed his years at the school. However, he did not send his daughter to the school, presumably because he felt the education received there had been too focussed on religion, and not enough on more practical matters (Gresko 1986, 101). As well, the death of his sister at the school probably discouraged him from sending his child to St. Mary's. Generally speaking, the response to residential schools was more positive from women than

from men (Fiske 1981, 2). Women learned skills, such as sewing, teaching, nursing, knitting, and cooking, that enabled them to participate in the Euro-Canadian world, whereas men learned agricultural skills that were based on the European experience, not on the realities of local climates, soils and topography (Fiske 1981, 46; 49). Women gained power because of the residential school system, and some of them became chiefs and village leaders; men lost their former positions of power and leadership (Fiske 1981, 2).

It is important to realise that the Sto:lo responses to the Oblates (and the missionary activities among them) had close counterparts elsewhere. All Native bands were affected by missionaries of some denomination. Beverly Bird, a Carrier woman, attended a residential school, and blames it for a myriad of Native problems such as unemployment, alcoholism and the sense of "not belonging" (Bird 1990, personal communication). In her personal life, the education she received made her feel dissatisfied with Native life; she married a non-Native, and feels that the subsequent failure of that marriage can also be blamed upon the fact that she did not belong either to the Carrier or non-Native culture. Kate Greenall, a Gitksan, attended LeJacq School during the 1960s (Greenall 1993, personal communication). She hated the school, and dismisses the church because of the harm that was done her culture in the name of religion. Like

Bird, Greenall does not feel that she belongs properly to either the Gitksan or Euro-Canadian culture. Yet Greenall is also ambivalent, feeling that she "would have gone nowhere" without the residential school. Whereas, she is now a liaison between the Gitksan and Northwest Community College, she feels that, unschooled, she would have ended up "fat and married" to the wrong type of person.

A story told by Dorothy Robinson, a Nisga'a elder, illustrates the effect of residential schools on Native languages. Just after World War I, she was sent against her will to residential school (Robinson 1992, personal communication). While there, she was taught English and forgot her first language, Nisga'a. After seven years, she returned home to her family, all of whom still spoke Nisga'a. Her father told her one day to cook "saak" (oolican) for dinner. Confused, she carried a gunny sack to her auntie and asked how to cook it. Her auntie laughed, which hurt Robinsons' feelings. Soon after, her father asked for some "ax" (water). Finding a hatchet in the backyard, Robinson gave it to her father. Her father grabbed her hand, dragged her to the water faucet and held her hand under the running water, all the while berating her: " You bad Indian. What kind of Indian are you, that you can't speak your own language?". Robinson cried and asked her father repeatedly why he had let her be sent to the school, if what he wanted was an "Indian daughter".

The primary and most damaging legacy of the residential school system appears to be cultural confusion (which may lead to cultural genocide). By removing children from Native settings, teaching them elements of another culture and then letting them return to people and places that were no longer theirs, the residential school system created an adult who did not feel part of either culture. Native cultures in British Columbia were irrevocably altered and many almost destroyed.

Two positive legacies of the residential school system have been postulated by Whitehead (1988) and Haig-Brown (1988). Whitehead feels that the results of the imposition of English and a set curriculum created a "pan-Indian Identity" by breaking down the barriers between bands and giving Natives a common enemy to fight (Whitehead 1988, 62). On a surface level, this "pan-Indian Identity" exists and is thus beneficial to Native concerns. Vocal activists for Native rights to self-government and their lands were often educated in the residential school system and their ability to interact with two cultures probably aids their fight for rights that are long overdue. However, individuals report that the pan-Indian identity does not always exist in day to day contacts: a Nisga'a child reported being persecuted by Sto:lo children at school in Vancouver because she "was a different kind of Indian" (Stephens 1991, personal communication); the Nisga'a and Gityanow are fighting over rights

to the upper Nass River rather than fighting the provincial government for the right to decide the land claims amongst themselves. While the visible and public pan-Indian identity is a positive result of the residential school system, Whitehead ignores the negative, divisive legacy which has even resulted in Natives within nations being divided: those (politically incorrect) who enjoyed their experiences versus those who did not; those who attended a residential school versus those who attended a day school on the reserve.

Haig-Brown suggests that Native bands are taking control of education partly in reaction to the residential school system (Haig-Brown 1988, 117). By 1987, 184 of the 196 bands in British Columbia had decided to assume a measure of control over the education of their children (Atleo 1990, 10). School District #92 (Nisga'a) is the first Native-controlled public school district in British Columbia. The Superintendent and several other administrators are the products of the residential school system. Overwhelmingly, their response to that system was negative, yet their school is essentially Euro-Canadian in organization and curriculum. However, Nisga'a is the "second" language taught at the school, and teachers are expected to relate their curriculum material to the Nisga'a culture. The secondary school in New Aiyansh was built with a number of "group homes" surrounding it to house students from Kincolith. Each house is under the control of a "group parent";

the day is structured into schooltime, mealtimes, chore-times, homework and bedtime. Essentially, the Nisga'a have built their own residential school although, because of the negative connotations of the term, they prefer not to use it (Anthony 1992, personal communication). In the past year, Kincolith parents have removed their children from this school, preferring to send them to nearby Prince Rupert, so that the parent-child bond is less disrupted. Native education still has a "long way to go" in British Columbia but past survivors of the residential school system are using their knowledge to regain control of Native learning.

The official response of the Oblates to the cultural destruction that occurred in the Fraser Valley (and elsewhere in British Columbia) during the latter half of the nineteenth century is that they were motivated by a sincere concern for the Natives, and that they did the best to ensure the spiritual and physical survival of the Natives in a rapidly changing world (Lascelles, 1991: personal communication). Yet their vision of a utopian lifeworld for the Sto:lo was naive; a medieval French peasantry could not be reproduced in the Lower Fraser Valley. Students at their schools were not "blank sheets" upon which Roman Catholicism and western thought could be stamped, but children who had already learned a Native culture. The Oblates tried to prevent the interaction between the Sto:lo and non-Native instead of working within the societal and economic context

of late nineteenth century British Columbia. The Oblates should have realised that cross-cultural contact would occur because the need for cash in British Columbia's changing economy was growing and because the number of non-Natives in the area was rapidly increasing. In addition, farming did not offer a viable alternative to the Sto:lo subsistence round, whereas fishing, hop picking and labouring did. For such reasons, the Oblate vision was both detrimental to the Sto:lo and doomed. Despite protestations to the contrary, it is clear that the Oblates meant to fracture Native culture and then rebuild it; however, the Oblates did protect certain Metis children who fell between the Sto:lo and white cultures, and did educate and feed unwanted orphans. In addition, their push for the Sto:lo to have land upon which agricultural enclaves could be built around a church meant that Seabird Island was protected as a Native reserve and not made available to non-Natives.

In 1858, when he was first formulating the ideas for his harsh and rigid system, Durieu felt "happy only in the midst of the Indians. Away from them, I languish; with them I fear neither fatigue nor any sufferance" (Cronin 1960, 57). Yet, despite these feelings, the agricultural enclaves and the schools at St. Mary's resembled the punitive and reform institutions of the same era. However honourably their motives may be judged, the Oblates created people who did not fit into either the white or the Native worlds.

Cultural confusion led to the almost complete eradication of Native cultures, but recent efforts on the part of Native educators and activists have led to a resurgence in Native identity and the regaining of control over their education. The legacy of the residential schools and other Oblate activities is mostly negative but Natives are building on their experiences as they seek to create a better future for their nations.

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APPENDIX 1: OBLATES of MARY IMMACULATE in
BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1895

HOUSE of ST. CHARLES, NEW WESTMINSTER (est. 1860)

Priests: Rt. Rev. Paul Durieu
Rev. Fr. John Mary Fayard
Francis John Mary Jayol
August Dontenwill
Norbert Ouellette
Benjamin Joseph Desroches
John Whelan
Francis Thomas

Scholastics: William Whelan
Andrew Michels

Lay Brothers: Patrick Allen
Edward MacStay
James Flynn
Louis Manceau
Georges Lajoie

Ecclesiastical Student: Henry Thayer

RESIDENCE of ST. MARY'S MISSION (est. 1861)

Priests: Emile Bunoz (director)
Eugene Casimir Chirouse
Peter Louis Richard
Peter Dommeau

Lay Brothers: Maurice Mansfield
Michael Cunningham
Patrick Collins

RESIDENCE of ST. EUGENE, KOOTENAY (est. 1876)

Priests: Nicolas Coccola (director)
Joseph Audic

Lay Brothers: John Burn
William Kenny

HOUSE of ST. JOSEPH, WILLIAMS LAKE (est. 1867)

Priests: John Mary LeJacq (supervisor)
John Dominic Chiappini
Julian Bedard
Charles DeVriendt

Lay Brothers: Patrick Harkins

RESIDENCE of OUR LADY of GOOD HOPE, STUART LAKE (est. 1873)

Priests: Georges Blanchet (director)
Adrian Gabriel Morice

HOUSE of ST. LOUIS, KAMLOOPS (est. 1878)
Priests: John Mary LeJeune (supervisor)
Alphonsus Mary Carion
Frederick Guertin
Edmund Peytavin
Lay Brothers: Philip Surel
John Mulvaney

RESIDENCE of the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (est. Okanagan, 1860)
Priests: Olivarius Cornellier (dir.)
Charles Marchal
James Walsh
Lay Brothers: Felix Guillet

Secular Priests of the Diocese:
H. Emmelin, Vancouver
A. Lemay, Nelson

(Kamloops Wawa 1895, Vol.iv, No. 12).

APPENDIX 2: ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY ASSOCIATED WITH ST. MARY'S
MISSION

I) O.M.I. at ST. MARY'S MISSION:

J. Audic	1893-1900
J. Bedard	1897-1900
E. Bunoz	1894-96
E.C. Chirouse Jr.	1879-1927
N. Coccola	1899-1900
O. Cornellier	1889-94
C. Desrocher	1890-92
P. Dommeau	1892-97
P. Durieu	1870-73
L. Fouquet	1861(founded mission), 1899-1912
F. Gendre	1862-66
C. Grandidier	1880
L. Gregoire	1874-75, 1878
M. Hetu	1874-75
F. Jayol	1866-67
D. Lamure	1868-70
J.M. LeJacq	1867-68
J.M. LeJeune	1880-82
C. Marchal	1868-72
A. Martin	1883-88
H. Meleux	1898-99
E. Peytavin	1874-79, 1886-93
Z. Picotte	1896-98
P. Plamondon	1898-?
P. Richard	1894-99
J. Tavernier	1899-1905
F. Thomas	1894-97
J. Wagner	1899-1901
J.J. Whelan	1897
F. Villemard	1865-67

II) BROTHERS at ST. MARY'S MISSION:

P. Collins	1888-1912
M. Cunningham	1889-1917
H. deVries	1870-71, 1876-81
F. Guillet	1862, 1897-99
Janin	1861-?
P. Harkins	1887-89
E. MacStay	1888-90
M. Mansfield	1895-99
P. Ryan	1869-?, 1877-85
C. Verney	1880-87

(Oblate Archives n.d., Series One+, Box 40, File 8).

III) SUPERIORS OF ST. MARY'S GIRLS' SCHOOL:

Sister Mary Lumena 1868-85
Sister Mary Stephen 1885-88
Sister Mary Flora 1891-94
Sister Mary Alexander 1894-99
Sister Mary Stanislaus Kostka 1899-1906

(St. Mary's Mission Monograph 1950, n.p.)

APPENDIX 3: OBLATES PERFORMING BAPTISMS in the FRASER VALLEY
1861-1900

1861: Grandidier

1862: None recorded.

1863: Gendre, Fouquet.

1864: Gendre, D'herbomez, Grandidier, Fouquet

1865: Gendre, Durieu, Villemard

1866: Horris, Jayol, D'herbomez, Grandidier

1867: Pandosy, Jayol, Durieu, Baudre, Horris, Lejacq, Fouquet

1868: Pandosy, LeJacq, D'herbomez, Durieu, Richard, Gendre, Chirouse, Marchal, Jolivet, Lamure

1869: Marchal, Lamure, Durieu

1870: Lamure, Marchal, Durieu

1871: Marchal, Durieu, Gendre, Pandosy

1872: Durieu, Pandosy, Marchal, Peytavin, Carion

1873: Pandosy, Jayol, Carion, Durieu, D'herbomez

1874: Durieu, Jayol, Carion, Peytavin, Gregoire, Hocktigre

1875: Carion, Gregoire, Peytavin, Jayol, Durieu, Marchal, Durieu

1876: Jayol, Carion, Peytavin

1877: Jayol, Carion, Peytavin, Durieu, Martin

1878: Jayol, Carion, Peytavin, Baudre

1879: Peytavin, Jayol, Carion, Gregoire

1880: Jayol, Carion

1881: Lejeune, Carion, Coccola, Morice

1882: Carion, Jayol, Lejeune, Pandosy, Horris, Chirouse

1883: Chirouse, Carion, Martin, Peytavin

1884: Chirouse, Peytavin, Martin, Lejeune, Durieu
1885: Martin, Peytavin, Coccola, Baudre
1886: Chirouse, Peytavin, Martin
1887: Martin, Chirouse, Peytavin, Chirouse Sr. (?)
1888: Martin, Peytavin, Chirouse Sr., Caron, Chirouse
1889: Chirouse Sr., Chirouse, Peytavin, Cornellier
1890: Peytavin, Cornellier, Chirouse, Durieu, Chirouse Sr.
1891: Cornellier, Peytavin, Chirouse, Hackett (not OMI?)
1892: Cornellier, Peytavin, Chirouse, Bunoz
1893: Cornellier, Bunoz, Chirouse, Dommeau, Peytavin, Audic
1894: Chirouse, Audic, Bunoz, Cornellier, Dommeau, Chiappi-
ni, Richard, Thomas
1895: Bunoz, Dommeau, Thomas, Chirouse, Richard
1896: Dommeau, Chirouse, Moyan (?), Thomas, Richard, Pi-
cotte, Whelan
1897: Chirouse, Picotte, Dommeau, Thomas, Whelan, Richard,
Audic
1898: Chirouse, Richard, Bedard, Meleux
1899: Bedard, Chirouse, Richard, Meleux, Rohr, Tavernier,
Fouquet, Wagner
1900: O'Neill, Rohr, Fouquet, Chirouse, Wagner, Peytavin,
Bedard, Tavernier, Conan

(Mission City Baptismal Record 1861-1900, n.p.).

APPENDIX 4: O.M.I. GRAVEYARD, MISSION CITY, BRITISH COLUMBIA

ROW 1 (O.M.I. only, from South to North):

N.B. The dates given are those written on the gravestone.

Lamure, Dennis	1838-1870
DeVries Bro. Henry	1828-1881
Janine, Bro. Gaspar	1798-1880
Durieu, Paul (gravestone has been knocked over and broken)	
D'herbomez, Louis	n.d.
Verney, Bro. Celestin	1814-1889
Baudre, Julian	1814-1890
Chirouse, E.C. Sr.	1821-1892
LeJacq, J.M.	1837-1899
Mansfield, Bro. Maurice	1836-1899
Guillet, Bro. Felix	1853-1908
Harkins, Bro. Patrick	1840-1907
LeJeune, J.M.	1855-1930

ROW 2 (O.M.I. only, from South to North):

McGuckin, James	1835-1903
Marchal, Charles	1841-1906
Jayol, Francis	1824-1907
Ouellette, Norbert	1837-1907
Fouquet, Leon	1831-1912
Richard, Peter	1826-1907
Surel, Philip	1819-1908
Flynn, Bro. James	1843-1908
Allen, Bro. Patrick	1832-1911
Cunningham, Bro. Michael	1832-1917
Carion, Alphonse	1848-1917
Peytavin, Edmund	1849-1918
Brockway, Tom	1865-1922
Chirouse, E.C. Jr.	d. February 3, 1927 age 73
O'Neill, J.O.	d. May 26, 1928, age 54