

THE WORK
OF
REVEREND FATHER J. M. R. LE JEUNE, O. M. I.

by

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ABSTRACT

Reverend Father Jean Marie Raphael Le Jeune, O. M. I., was born at Pleybert-Christ, Department of Finisterre, France, on April 12, 1855. He attended the schools of his native village and the neighbouring town of St. Pol de Leon. His theological studies were taken in the college at Autun, Burgundy.

Ordained in 1879, he left shortly afterwards for the Indian missions of British Columbia in company with Bishop Durieu of that province. Stationed first at New Westminster, and later at St. Mary's Mission, he ministered to the Indians of the Fraser Canyon and to the Roman Catholics among the workmen engaged in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1882 he was transferred to St. Louis Mission at Kamloops.

Kamloops, founded by David Stuart as a fur trading post in 1812, had been an important point of the Hudson's Bay Company on its fur brigade trail. The first missionary to visit the Indians of this district had been Rev. Modeste Demers in 1842. Irregular visits were made to the vicinity by the Oblate Fathers after the establishment of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception on Lake Okanagan in 1859, and a resident Oblate missionary had been established at Kamloops in 1878.

From his headquarters at Kamloops Father Le Jeune travelled a circuit of some six hundred miles visiting three or four times a year the Indian camps of Shuswap, Nicola,

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Douglas Lake, Bonaparte, Deadman's Creek, North Thompson, and Kamloops. A few days were spent at each centre during which time religious exercises and instruction were carried on according to a strict schedule. The liquor traffic among the Indians was fought by the organization among them of Temperance Societies. Under Father Le Jeune's guidance many churches were built by the Indians throughout the district and furnished with taste and discrimination. Occasionally, large gatherings were held at central points, when hundreds of Indians would gather for the enactment of such religious scenes as the Passion Play. The steadfast devotion of Father Le Jeune to his task was such that he achieved outstanding success as a missionary.

Early in his career Father Le Jeune set out to master the various Interior Salish dialects in his district and eventually he was able to preach to and converse with the Indians in their own languages. In addition, he gained great facility in the use of the Chinook jargon, a means of communication among the various Indian tribes and the white settlers. In 1890 he adapted the Duployan system of shorthand to Chinook and began to teach his method to the Indians. His brightest students in turn became teachers and within a few years he claimed that there were in his district at least two thousand Indians reading and writing shorthand.

The necessity of stimulating and maintaining interest among his Indian students and of providing instructional

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material for them led to the establishment of the Kamloops Wawa. This publication, often described as "the queerest newspaper in the world" was first issued on May 2, 1891, and continued until 1904. It was published in turn weekly, monthly, and quarterly. From a circulation of one hundred mimeographed copies at the outset Father Le Jeune raised it to over three thousand copies a month with world-wide coverage. Written in shorthand and Chinook, its material consisted of Bible history, prayers, hymns, news of the various Indian bands, and announcements of the priest's forthcoming visits.

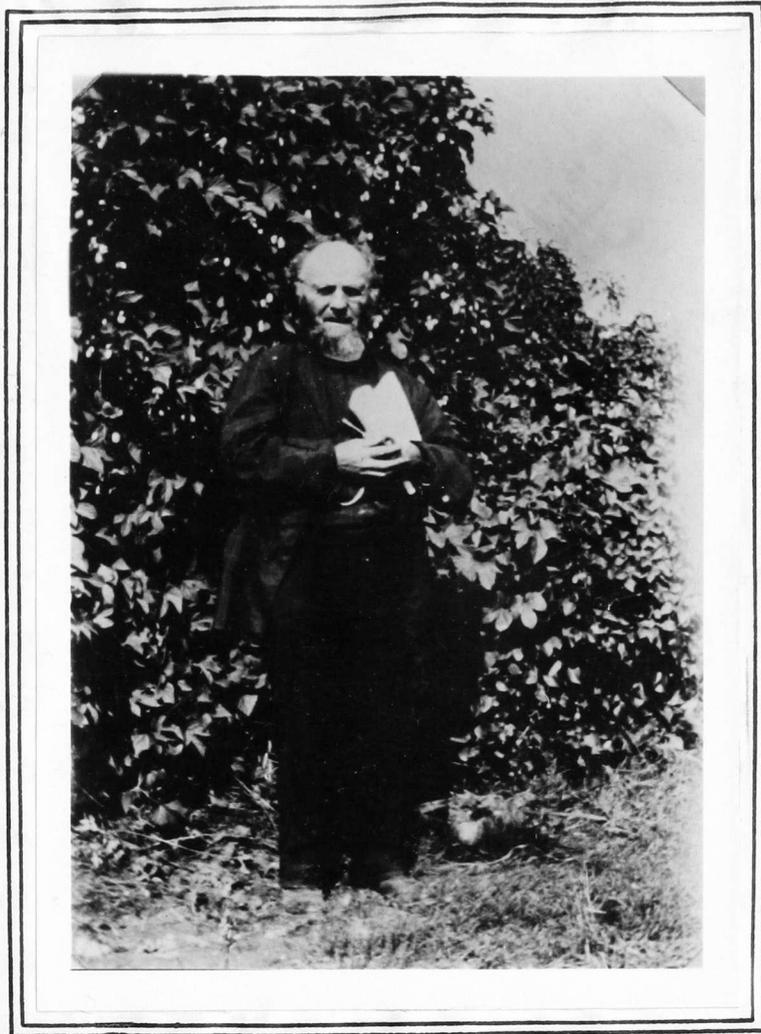
Father Le Jeune retired from his mission in the summer of 1929, and died at New Westminster on November 21, 1930. He is buried in the Oblate cemetery at Mission City.

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A late photograph of Father Le Jeune.

THE WORK OF REVEREND FATHER J. M. R. LE JEUNE, O. M. I.

CHAPTER I. THE YEARS OF PREPARATION

"Two more young missionaries for our Indians! It is 'Deo Gratias' all day long," exclaimed Bishop D'Herbomez as he greeted Fathers Le Jeune and Chirouse at New Westminster on October 17, 1879. (1) Immediately behind the young priests lay a journey of several thousand miles. Families, friends, and the settled, ordered existence of school days in distant France were now but memories. Before each stretched an apostolic career of half a century among the Indians of British Columbia. This thesis is concerned with the first of these young men--Father Le Jeune. He was to give to his Indian charges the benefit of a brilliant intellect, a steady enthusiasm for his cause, and a life-time of devoted loyalty. He was destined to serve his Church, his Order, and humanity with dignity and distinction.

Rev. Father Jean Marie Raphael Le Jeune, O. M. I., was born at the village of Pleybert-Christ, in the Department of Finisterre, France, on April 12, 1855, and was baptized on the following day. His father's name was Pierre Le Jeune, and his

(1) Notices necrologiques des membres de la congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée, Rome, Maison Generale, O. M. I. Tome Huitième, 1939, p. 136.

mother's maiden name was Marie Breton. (2)

His early education was gained in the village of his birth and at the neighbouring town of St. Pol de Leon. (3)
 At the age of eighteen he started upon his theological studies at Autun where, after a course distinguished by exceptional brilliance, he was ordained priest by Bishop Perraud, later a Cardinal of the Church, on June 7, 1879. Autun, in Burgundy, is the "Augustodunum" or Fort August of the Romans, who have left there quite a number of monuments and ruins. These include two magnificent gateways as well as the remains of a temple, a theatre and city walls. (4)

Soon after his ordination Father Le Jeune applied to his religious Superiors for permission to enter the missionary field. His request was granted and he was assigned to the Indian missions of British Columbia. Bishop Durieu, of that province, was in France at the time, and met his young recruit at the Mother House of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Paris on September 1, 1879. The next day the Bishop and Father Le Jeune went together to Montmartre, where they recommended their forthcoming journey and their entire missionary lives to the Sacred Heart. The two days remaining to Father Le Jeune in Paris were spent in preparing for his journey, and in purchasing and assembling certain indispensable articles that would

(2) Autobiographical note by Father Le Jeune, in possession of Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.

(3) Kamloops Sentinel, 14 June, 1929, p. 1.

(4) Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., abridged memoirs of, by D. L. S., Fifty years in western Canada, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1930, p. 9.

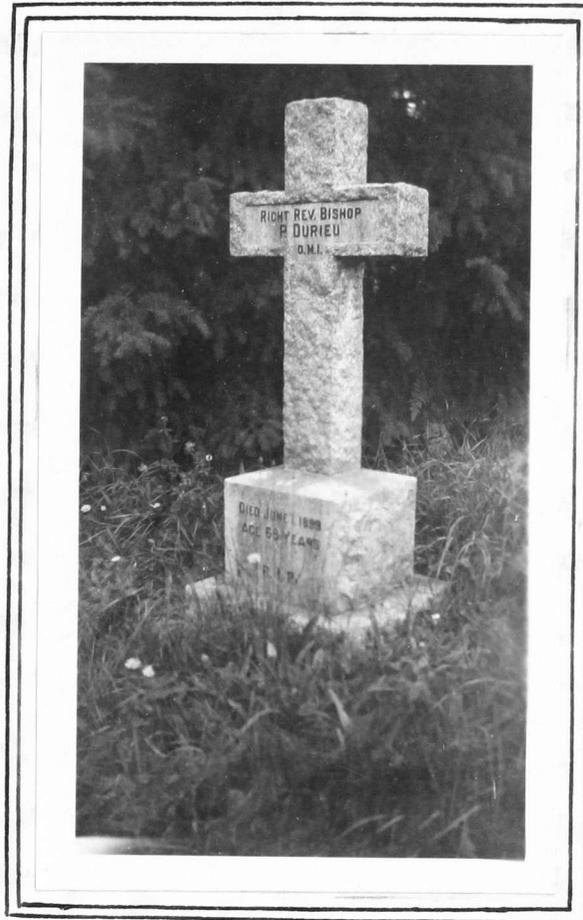
in all probability be difficult to obtain in British Columbia. Included in the latter category was a small printing press which Father Le Jeune was to use later in the production of the first copies of his famous Kamloops Wawa.

In company with His Lordship Bishop Durieu, Father E. C. Chirouse, and a lay postulant, Father Le Jeune left Paris on Friday morning, September 5, 1879. The party arrived at Le Havre about noon of the same day. Here the Bishop was met at the station by a brother, who took him to his residence on the outskirts of the city. The three remaining members of the party remained in the city, where they visited the Curate of the Bretons. Owing to the kindness of this reverend gentleman the party was able to celebrate Holy Mass on the following morning--the day of their departure from France. (5)

The travellers went on board the "Pereyre," of the French Transatlantic Company, towards noon on Saturday, September 6, and left port about 1:00 P. M. Their steamer, one of the fastest on the Atlantic, could have made the voyage to New York in seven days, but was held down to eleven days because of the speed of the other vessels of the line. "The voyage was rough," stated Father Le Jeune many years later, (6) "and one passenger had been heard to curse the man who discovered America, between his tributes to the ocean."

(5) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, vol. 9, no. 3, March, 1900.

(6) "Rev. Father Le Jeune gives reminiscences at Rotary," Kamloops Sentinel, Friday, September 17, 1926, p. 1.



Right Rev. Bishop Durieu is buried in St. Mary's cemetery, Mission City, B. C.

Soon after they lost sight of land, Fathers Le Jeune and Chirouse went to Bishop Durieu to ask him to give them a lesson in the Indian language. His Lordship had already prepared for them the first of a series of flying sheets, containing about thirty Chinook words. The two ambitious young priests took much pleasure in reading that first lesson over and over again. They were quite decided to continue their studies steadily during the whole passage, but that same evening they began to experience the nausea of sea-sickness themselves, and for three days could not think of their Chinook. After their recovery they resumed their studies, His Lordship passing them a new sheet of vocabulary every day. In this manner they had a good start on the Chinook vocabulary by the time they reached New York.

In the year 1886 Father Le Jeune printed a few copies of Durieu's original vocabulary on his small printing press, and reproduced the list again in his Chinook Rudiments published on May 3, 1924. Bishop Durieu's list was divided into sections, the first of which began with the numerals "iht"--one, "moxt"--two, "tloon"--three, "laket"--four, etc. The last or eighteenth section covered Chinook terms for the Deity and various holy days throughout the year.

The "Pereyre" arrived at New York in the early morning hours of September 17, 1879, but the passengers were compelled to remain on board until their baggage was ready to be landed with them. Shortly after lunch they finally got on the wharf,

where they still had to wait a considerable time before the customs' officers cleared their effects. The Bishop's first care was to secure transportation for his party from New York to San Francisco. After this matter was arranged, Father Le Jeune and his companions had a few hours in which to see the city.

They left New York the same evening for Buffalo, travelling all that night and the next forenoon in a very crowded railway car. The fatiguing journey was brightened for the group by the very hearty welcome they received in Buffalo from Fathers Guillard and Barber, who were residing there at the Church of the Holy Angels. The travellers had just left the train when the Bishop received a telegram calling him to Montreal, from which point four Sisters of St. Ann, destined for British Columbia, wanted to make the trip under the direction of His Lordship.

The Bishop left that same evening for Montreal, while the remaining members of the party stayed in Buffalo. Under Father Barber's guidance, they visited many points of interest in Buffalo and the surrounding district. Advantage was even taken of reduced excursion rates to make a trip to Niagara Falls.

Finally, on the 30th of September, Father Le Jeune and his two companions left to rejoin the Bishop at Detroit, and the party, increased by the addition of the four Sisters of St. Ann, travelled to Chicago and on across the plains. On the

train Fathers Le Jeune and Chirouse resumed their study of Chinook and were soon at the end of the vocabulary.

"I went to the Bishop for the next lesson," said Father Le Jeune, in relating the story. (7)

"There is no more," was the answer.

"Bless your Lordship," said Father Le Jeune, "Give us then the grammar."

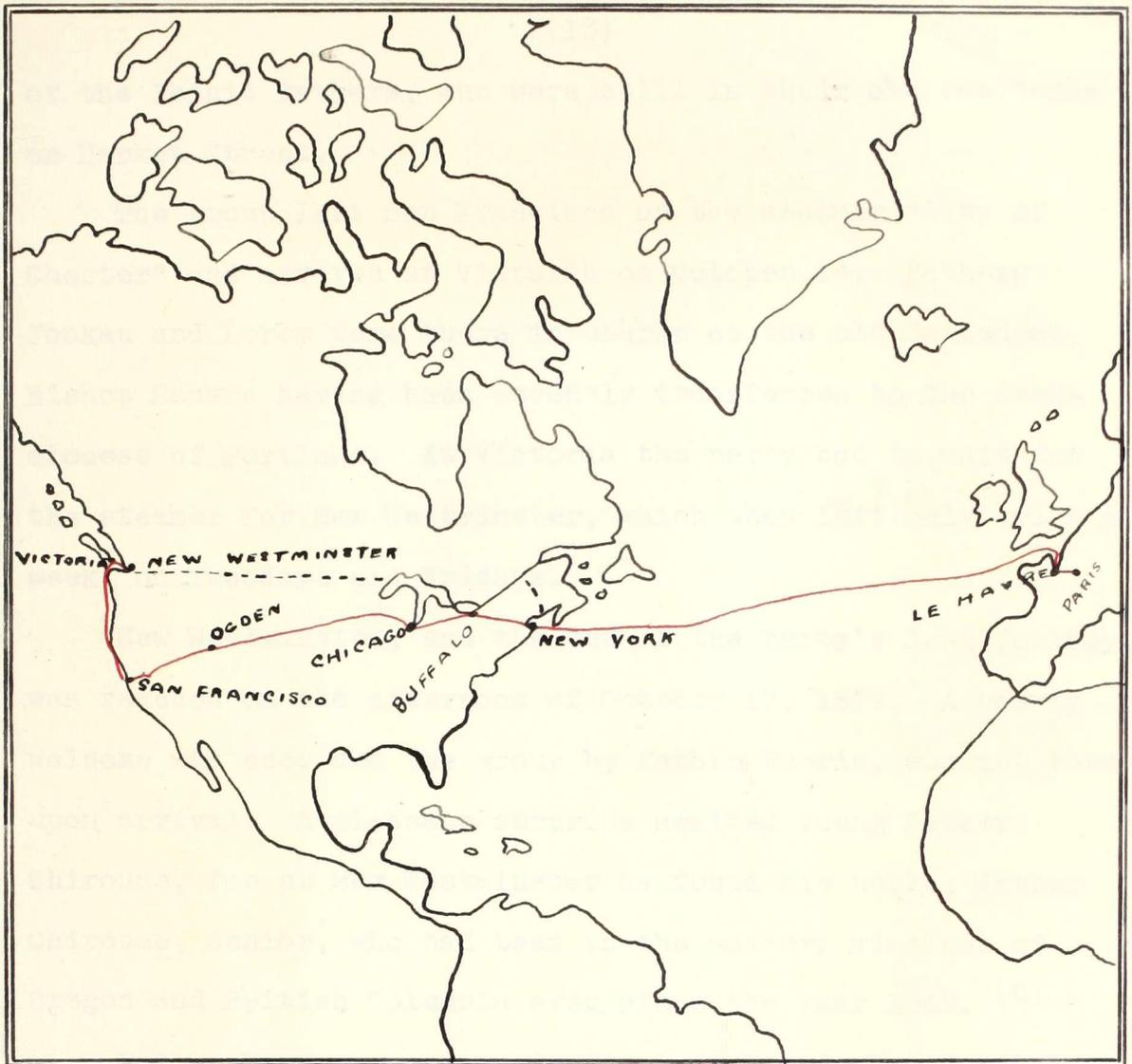
"There is no grammar," replied the Bishop. "You have got all the words. Go on now and speak the language. You will get used to it soon!"

Bishop Durieu went on to explain to the two young priests that they had learned in the vocabulary enough words to express all the ideas that they would want to convey to the Indians. He recounted the experience of Father Marchal, who preached to the Indians in Chinook just three days after his arrival at New Westminster in the year 1867. (8)

San Francisco was reached on October 6, and here the party remained until October 10, when the steamer for Victoria was due to leave. At the time there were only three boats a month from San Francisco to Victoria, leaving the former city on the 10th, 20th, and 30th. During their stay in San Francisco, Bishop Durieu and his companions enjoyed the hospitality

(7) McKelvie, B. A., Vancouver Daily Province, 6 September, 1924.

(8) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, vol. 9, no. 4, April, 1900.



Father Le Jeune's route from France to New Westminister, September 5--October 17, 1879.

of the Jesuit Fathers, who were still in their old residence on Market Street.

The group left San Francisco on the steamer "City of Chester" and arrived at Victoria on October 14. Fathers Jonkau and Leroy were there in charge at the old Cathedral, Bishop Sehers having been recently transferred to the Archdiocese of Portland. At Victoria the party had to wait for the steamer for New Westminster, which then left only twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays.

New Westminster, and the end of the party's long journey, was reached on the afternoon of October 17, 1879. A hearty welcome was accorded the group by Father Horris, who met them upon arrival. A pleasant surprise awaited young Father Chirouse, for at New Westminster he found his uncle, Father Chirouse, Senior, who had been in the western missions of Oregon and British Columbia ever since the year 1847. (9)

Father Le Jeune spent his first winter in British Columbia at New Westminster. In the spring of the year 1880, he was asked by Bishop Durieu to begin his missionary work among the Indians of the Fraser Canyon. He was also to minister to the religious needs of the many Roman Catholics among the thousands of workmen who were being brought into the country for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Stirring events were in formation, and the quiet of the

(9) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, vol. 9, no. 5, May, 1900.

Fraser River valley was soon to be shattered as these workmen blasted and hacked their way through the canyon in the construction of the railway.

The syndicate headed by Andrew Onderdonk and D. O. Mills, of San Francisco, was in the year 1879 awarded the contract for construction of the new line from Emory's Bar to Savona's Ferry--one hundred and twenty-eight miles of the most difficult and expensive work in the whole system. In the year 1882, this syndicate was awarded a second contract for completion of the line from Emory's Bar to Port Moody on Burrard Inlet.

Construction headquarters of the syndicate were established at Yale, and included general offices, powder and acid works, and construction and repair shops of all kinds. Yale, which had already experienced one "boom" twenty years before in the gold rush, was again a busy centre with an influx of some nine thousand workmen on railway construction. By February, 1883, the rails had been laid from Emory to beyond North Bend, and by June 30, 1885, the line was completed from Port Moody to beyond Sicamous. (10)

Leaving New Westminster on June 10, Father Le Jeune proceeded up the valley to Yale, where a strange novitiate indeed opened up to him. In Yale there were already two Catholic churches, one for the whites and one for the Indians. Both churches were, however, little better than hovels--simply

(10) Howay, Judge F. W., British Columbia, the making of a province, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1928, p. 219.

shelters for the saying of Mass. They had no heat for the reason that they did not need it--they were used only in the summer.

The "white" church had a room behind the rude altar. Its only furnishings consisted of a bed with a straw mattress--a bed which Father Le Jeune remarked "had not had acquaintance with anything for a long time except mice and rats." (11) Fortunately, the priest had brought with him from New Westminster a pair of blankets and managed reasonably well with the resources at hand. In the middle of the night, however, it began to rain in earnest, and soon the whole roof of the room became transformed into a watering-pot, with the outcome a severe drenching for the occupant below. This was the first and last time that Father Le Jeune slept in that bed.

The following day, Sunday, he said Mass in the church before a group of about twenty persons. Then he went to make the acquaintance of the Indians and ~~to~~ say Mass in their church, where the attendance was considerably larger than it had been in the case of the whites.

Father Le Jeune soon became friendly with the Indian captain of the district--Michel, and his wife Agnes. Michel was a truly pious man, who never forgot his prayers, morning or evening, and who could say them perfectly, without help. He observed Sunday, Friday, and all the fast days as he had

(11) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, no. 157, December, 1915.

been taught. He knew how to act as interpreter for the priest and could even preach to the Indians himself when the priest was not there. He had the appearance of a man of fifty years of age when Father Le Jeune first met him. Possibly he was about forty years old, for appearances can be deceptive, especially among Indians, because of the comparatively hard life which causes them to mature early.

Early in their acquaintanceship Michel proposed a question which rather took Father Le Jeune aback. He asked the priest's opinion as to which he thought a person would succumb from first--hunger or thirst. In subsequent conversation, it was brought out by Father Le Jeune that Michel, being of an extremely inquisitive nature, had experimented upon himself and had answered the question to his entire satisfaction. He had gone without food or drink for a period of five days. At the end of that time, not being able to endure his discomfort any longer, he had thrown himself into the water and had not eaten until after he had drunk!

Having gained the friendship of Michel, Father Le Jeune began with him the study of the Thompson Indian language. He soon found that it was a more difficult undertaking than the mastery of Chinook, with its fixed vocabulary of a few hundred words, had been. Michel intimated the complexity of the study with his statement that "our language has as many words as there are leaves on the trees or stones on the road." They began with the numerals, "one," "two," "three; "--"paia,"

"shaia," "kalhlaj." That was satisfactory enough, but for one, two and three persons it was necessary to say "papia," "shishaia," "kakalhlaj;" for fruits, "piouja," "shiouju," "kalhouja;" for sticks, "piaiokr," "shiaiokr," "kalhaiokr." In fact, there were hundreds of ways to count. Father Le Jeune tersely summed up the matter by saying, "It was not encouraging at all." (12)

After spending several days among the Indians at Yale, Father Le Jeune left on a railway construction car for Spuzzum, ten miles to the north. Proceeding to an Indian home that Michel had recommended, he found there an old woman busily engaged in weaving a basket from reeds, while her husband was repairing some fishing gear. Father Le Jeune held out his hand to greet the old Indian in the customary fashion.

"Hello," said the Indian, "but I do not shake hands with a Protestant minister."

"I am not a Protestant minister," replied Father Le Jeune. "I come on behalf of Monseigneur Durieu."

"Oh, you are with Mgr. Durieu," said the Indian. "Then I will shake hands with you, and so will my wife."

After this exchange of greetings, Father Le Jeune was installed in their house, and was soon proceeding with his study of the Thompson language under the tutelage of the old lady--Marie Ta-hwi-nak by name. She was extremely willing to help the young priest, and gradually his vocabulary of the

(12) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, no. 157, December, 1915.

most necessary words began to take shape. It was frequently necessary for Father Le Jeune to have things explained by signs as they proceeded with words like the following--"dog," "ska'ha;" "cow," "stomalt;" "horse," "n'k'isa-skaha;" "hair," "kaouten;" "eyes," "n-kot-kot-tloushten;" "feet," "skoh'kwa't." The priest often remarked in later years of what a ludicrous picture he and the old lady must have made as they gesticulated and worked out their words for certain signs.

Occasionally Marie would become impatient with Father Le Jeune and say, "But leave now the horses and the cows and teach us our prayers."

"Wait," he would reply to her, "that will come later, when I have learned enough of your language."

Father Le Jeune established his headquarters at Spuzzum for several weeks, while he gained the friendship and confidence of the Indians of the neighbourhood. He said Mass every morning, and the Indians said their prayers. Every evening, also, they said their evening prayers, and one of Father Le Jeune's first cares, after having composed a vocabulary, was to write out as well as he could the prayers and catechism that these people had learned.

All through the summer of the year 1880 Father Le Jeune moved up and down the Fraser Canyon between Yale and Lytton, making the acquaintance of the Indian bands and orienting himself to the requirements of missionary work in the new land. At the same time calls were made by the priest upon the

various camps of railway workers in order to attend to the religious needs of the Roman Catholics among them. In the fall of the year, Father Le Jeune went down the valley to St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser, where he was to make his headquarters during the next two years.

This Mission, established by the Oblates in the year 1861 with an accompanying industrial school for Indian girls and boys two years later, was the centre of missionary activities among the natives of the Lower Fraser Valley. Father Morice describes St. Mary's as a locality famous among the early missionaries for the poverty and discomfort its inmates had to endure. He himself arrived there in the summer of the year 1880, just a few months after Father Le Jeune reached British Columbia. His description of the place at that time follows:

Saint Mary's Mission was the most peaceful and least pretentious of places, a quiet oasis of very restricted size on the skirt of the primeval forest, with only two incipient farms, those of a Mr. Perkins and a Mr. Wells, as satellites, to which might be added the little clearing of a French half-breed, Gabriel Lacroix. The establishment consisted of a fairly large church with a white-washed interior, the unusual size of which was required by occasional Indian gatherings, or series of predications. This stood on the lower reach, where the railway line now passes, and had for immediate companions, right and left, a rather primitive house of rough, unplanned boards for the priests and a slightly better finished convent for the Sisters, who conducted a school for Indian girls, while the Fathers had, directly under Brother Henry, an Industrial School for boys. Just east of the building belonging to that institution was a tiny creek, at the mouth

of which stood a grist mill the property of the Mission, but operated by a Mr. Threataway. (13)

It was during the summer of the year 1881 that the paths of Father Le Jeune and Brother Morice (he was not ordained until July 2, 1882) first crossed. Some ten years before, a Father Denis Lamure who was later accidentally killed in a hunting mishap, had gathered together at St. Mary's a number of brass band instruments. These had not been used for years, but Brother Morice dragged them out from their layer of dust, made necessary repairs here and there, and soon had a band of Indian boys up to quite a high degree of efficiency.

An organ was required for the local church and no funds were available for its acquisition. Brother Morice and Father Le Jeune seized upon an ingenious plan to raise the necessary money. Piloted by the latter, Brother Morice and his band went up the river to Yale, where a regular concert was given, and then above, where the Canadian Pacific Railway workmen were tearing a way for the future line along the Canyon walls.

In describing this tour, Morice says:

In the evening after supper the boys would 'discourse sweet music' to the camps of workingmen, and a collection was taken up by Father Le Jeune. The men were generally lost in admiration of the ability of the performers, some of whom seemed to them so young that they were inclined to imagine they were there only for sake of number. They would even offer them money to hear

(13) Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., abridged memoirs of, by D. L. S., Fifty years in western Canada, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1930.

them play separately their own instruments and make sure they were not dummies. Practically everywhere people showed themselves generous to the troupe, and when the youngsters returned to St. Mary's, they had amassed more than was necessary to defray the cost of a good organ. (14)

Father Le Jeune always looked back with pride upon his association with the men and events connected with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. At a Rotary Club luncheon held at Kamloops on Wednesday, December 27, 1922, in honour of the pioneers of the city and district, the old-timers were asked to write down salient features of their life and work. Two items relating to his earliest days in British Columbia are significant in Father Le Jeune's reply to the questionnaire. First, "In New Westminster when Mr. Onderdonk came up river to turn first sod for C. P. R.," and second, "In 1884 at opening of Cisco Bridge, C. P. R." (15)

Three years after his arrival in British Columbia, Father Le Jeune was ordered by his Superiors to proceed to Kamloops, to be attached to the St. Louis Mission of that centre. On October 17, 1882, he arrived at Kamloops, which was to remain his headquarters during the remainder of his entire missionary life.

(14) Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., abridged memoirs of, by D. L. S., Fifty years in western Canada, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1930.

(15) "Pioneers of city and district honoured," Kamloops Sentinel, 29 December, 1922.



Indian village, Kamloops, in the afternoon sun
of a winter day.

CHAPTER II. THE OBLATES COME TO THE PACIFIC COAST

Father Le Jeune belonged to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, an Order of the Roman Catholic Church founded in the year 1816 at Aix, France, by Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles. Born of noble family at Aix-en-Provence, France, On August 1, 1782, young de Mazenod received his early education in Italy, to which country his family fled in order to escape the persecutions of the French Revolution.

Returning to the country of his birth in the year 1802, de Mazenod decided to enter upon ecclesiastical studies and was ordained in the year 1811. From this time on, Father de Mazenod devoted himself with unflagging energy to the salvation of souls. In the year 1816 he formed the Congregation of the Missionaries of Provence, a group to which Pope Leo XII gave the title "Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate" when he granted formal approval to their Rules and Constitutions ten years later. (16)

Appointed Bishop of Marseilles in the year 1837, de Mazenod continued as Superior-General of the Oblates until his death in 1861. Throughout his life-time he worked unceasingly for the religious and social regeneration of France. At the same time, the sons of his Order extended their missionary activities throughout several European countries and as far distant as

(16) "An apostle of the poor, Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod," Oblate Missions, September, 1946, pp. 2--4.

Ceylon, South Africa, and Canada.

The Oblates excelled as missionaries, and in the history of the extension of Christian principles to the native people of British Columbia, they hold an honoured place. They were not, however, the first missionaries on the Pacific Coast. Spain's short-lived colony on Nootka Sound, under Martinez, was the cradle of the Roman Catholic Church on the North Pacific Coast. A Father Magin Catala was there in the years 1793--94; and he was succeeded by a Father Gomez. (17) These men were Franciscans, from California.

The first missionary to cover the mainland sections of present day British Columbia is generally considered to have been Rev. Modeste Demers, a secular priest. Born on October 12, 1809, at St. Nicolas, Lower Canada, he was ordained on February 7, 1836. After a fourteen month assistantship to the parish priest of Trois Pistoles, he embarked for the west at Lachine on April 27, 1837, and, in company with Rev. Norbert F. Blanchet, reached the eastern limits of what is now British Columbia in October of the same year. Here the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up by this priest at Boat Encampment on the Big Bend of the Upper Columbia, the first time that this act of worship was carried out on the mainland of what was to become British Columbia.

From his missionary station on the Lower Columbia, Father

(17) Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., History of the Catholic Church in western Canada, Toronto, Musson Book Co., Ltd., vol. 2, 1910.

Demers travelled to Fort Langley in August, 1841, where he was well received by the factor of the day, James M. Yale. (18)

After baptizing several hundred children, and preaching the gospel to a crowd of natives numbering up into the thousands, he returned to the Columbia in September, 1841.

The following June, Demers left for the north with a Hudson Bay Company caravan under the personal supervision of Peter Skene Ogden. The party arrived at Thompson's River Post (Kamloops) on August 10, 1842, where no minister of the gospel had so far reached, and where the priest was received with open arms by crowds of natives. During his two-day stay here, Father Demers baptized a number of children. Visits to Forts Alexandria and St. James, together with a sixteen-day mission at William's Lake, completed his northern tour.

At the time of Father Demers' visit, Thompson's River Post was a well-established station of the Hudson's Bay Company. It owed its foundation to David Stuart, a partner of the Pacific Fur Company, who first visited the Thompson River district in the late autumn of the year 1811. (19) Proceeding northward from Fort Okanagan, at the junction of the Okanagan and Columbia Rivers, Stuart blazed the way for the future fur brigades by following Okanagan River and Lake, crossing the height of land, and descending into the valley of the Thompson

(18) Nelson, Denys, Fort Langley, a century of settlement, Vancouver, B. C., Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, 1927, p. 15.

(19) Howay, Judge F. W., op. cit., p. 69.

River. Here he made the acquaintance of the She Waps (Shuswap Indians), noted that fur trading prospects seemed good, and actually spent the winter when an unusually heavy fall of snow blocked his return journey.

Going back during August of the next year, Stuart set up a trading post near the junction of the North and South Thompson Rivers. This event marked the beginning of Kamloops, a point variously known through the years of its history as Cumcloups, the She Waps, Thompson's River Post, The Forks, Fort Thompson, and Fort Kamloops. (20)

Shortly after Stuart's arrival, an opposition post was established in this section by Joseph La Roque, on behalf of the North-West Company. The two companies, although rivals, remained on friendly terms in this section until the absorption of the Pacific Fur Company by the Nor' Westers late in the year 1813. Eight years later the North-West Company was in turn merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, under the latter name.

Kamloops became an important point of the company on its fur brigade trail which linked Fort Vancouver with the northern posts of New Caledonia. Large bands of horses were kept at Kamloops and used for the transportation of furs and supplies, particularly in the part of the brigade trail between Forts Okanagan and Alexandria. After the Treaty of Washington was

(20) Harvey, A. G., "David Stuart: Okanagan pathfinder-- founder of Kamloops," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, vol. 9, no. 4, October, 1945, p. 285.

signed in the year 1846, a new route for the fur brigade trail was sought. By the year 1849, the usual trade route from the Coast into the Interior was from Fort Hope to Kamloops.

September 5, 1847, marked the arrival at Walla Walla after a strenuous trip across the plains of the first Oblate missionaries in the west. They came as the direct result of appeals to Bishop de Mazenod at Marseilles by Archbishop N. F. Blanchet of Oregon City. In this party of pioneer missionaries were Rev. Pascal Ricard, Eugene Casimir Chirouse, Charles Marie Pandosy, and Georges Blanchet. All the last three were aspirants to the priesthood, but at the time were not yet even subdeacons.

The first station of the Oblates in the Diocese of Vancouver Island was at Esquimalt, where construction of a house and a small church was begun in the year 1857. This Esquimalt post became the official residence of Rev. Louis J. D'Herbomez, the Vicar of the Oblate missions on the Pacific Coast.

From Esquimalt, Father Chirouse turned north to work with the natives of Vancouver Island. On the mainland, Father Peter Richard and Brother Surel, outfitted with horses at Kamloops by the Indian chief, Lolo, proceeded south to the plain east of Okanagan Lake known as L'Anse au Sable. Here they met Father Pandosy coming north from Colville, and here the party founded, on October 8, 1859, the Mission of the Immaculate Conception on the eastern shore of Lake Okanagan, near the

point where the city of Kelowna now stands. (21)

The next few years were busy ones for the Oblate Fathers. Their ranks were strengthened by the arrival of young and enthusiastic recruits--such men as Rev. Pierre P. Durieu and Rev. Léon Fouquet in the year 1859, Fathers Baudre, Le Jacq, and Gendre in the year 1862, and others in the following years. We have already noted the establishment of St. Mary's Mission in the year 1861. The important House of St. Charles was started in New Westminster, and churches were built at Fort Hope and in various Indian villages. St. Louis Mission at Kamloops, destined to be the future home of Father Le Jeune, was founded in the year 1878, with Father Chirouse coming from the Indian school at Tulalip, Washington, to take charge.

Increased missionary activity called for changes in the administration of the huge territory taken over by the Oblates. In the year 1864, the mainland of British Columbia was made into a Vicariate-apostolic, with Rt. Rev. L. J. D'Herbomez in charge. Two years later, the Oblates were recalled from Vancouver Island and their energies in the future were to be concentrated on the mainland. In the year 1875, Bishop D'Herbomez applied for a coadjutor and the post was awarded to Father Pierre Paul Durieu, who was preconised Bishop of Marcopolis in June, 1875, and consecrated at New Westminster on October 24 of the same year.

(21) Nelson, Denys, "Yakima Days," Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 19, no. 3, July, 1928, p. 189.



Headstone marking the grave of Right Rev. Bishop L. O'Herbomez at St. Mary's Mission, Mission City, B. C.

At the time of Father Le Jeune's arrival in Kamloops, the Superior of St. Louis Mission was the veteran missionary, Father Le Jacq, who had established and conducted the Stewart Lake Mission for thirteen years before he came to Kamloops in the year 1880. His assessors at the outset were Fathers Grandidier and Peytavin. In the year 1881 Father Grandidier was replaced by Father Coccola, and in the following year Father Peytavin was succeeded by Father Le Jeune. The mission buildings were located on the Thompson River about two and one-half miles west of the present city centre.

There was no further change in the personnel of this Mission until the year 1887, when Bishop D'Herbomez, upon his return from the Chapter-General, left Father J. A. Bédard at Kamloops in the place of Father Coccola. The latter was then sent to take charge of St. Eugene's Mission in the Kootenay country.

Rev. Father Le Jacq attended to the Shuswap Indians of the district for twelve years, from the time of his arrival in the year 1880 until 1892. In the latter year he left to organize an industrial school for Indian boys and girls at St. Joseph's Mission, William's Lake.

During his tenure of office at Kamloops, St. Louis Mission was moved from its original location to a site which is bounded to-day by Nicola Street, Battle Street, First Avenue and Second Avenue within the city of Kamloops. The Church, with the vocable of the Sacred Heart, was built in the year 1887, and

the house two years later. Situated on an elevation close behind the growing town and looking northward, the site afforded a striking view of the forks of the Thompson River, of the Indian village and reserve on the opposite side of the river, and of the Mountains Paul and Peter in the background.

Upon Father Le Jacq's departure in the year 1892, Father Bédard became Superior of the Mission, with Fathers Le Jeune and Guertin as assessors. At this time Father Le Jeune was assigned to attend to all the Indians of the whole district, while to Father Guertin fell the task of visiting the Roman Catholics along the Canadian Pacific Railway line from Kamloops east to the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

This last named charge, known to the missionaries as the railroad district, had been attended in turn by various priests as follows: Father Fay, 1884; Father Le Jeune, 1885; Father Coccola, 1886; Father Le Jeune again, 1887; and Father Bédard, 1888. It was not a particularly popular district with the missionaries, involving as it did tremendous distances and a scattered population. Religious services in each of the three largest centres--Revelstoke, Donald and Golden--could be held only one Sunday a month. The fourth Sunday required attendance at the Okanagan Lake Church, further south. Weekdays were spent in visiting scores of intermediate places and people residing at or near the different stations and section houses along the line. Father Le Jeune estimated that a thorough visit throughout the whole territory of the railroad district,

giving one night to each little place or house along the road, would take no less than three or four months. (22) The life of continually moving from house to house was beset with innumerable hardships, especially in the winter months when the snow reached a depth of several feet in the mountains.

In November, 1893, Father Le Jeune was appointed Superior of St. Louis, with Father Guertin as Procurator. Early in the following year Rev. Father Carion arrived at Kamloops to take over the direction of the Indian Industrial School. Rev. Father Edmund Peytavin also was attached to the St. Louis Mission during these years. (23)

A directory published by Father Le Jeune in December, 1895, gave the personnel of all the Roman Catholic Missions of British Columbia at that time. (24) Those at the House of St. Louis were as follows: (The number in front of each name is the number in the Order of the O. M. I., by order of Professions; the first number following the name is the date of birth; the second, the date of Profession in the O. M. I.; the third, the date of Ordination.)

(22) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, January, 1898, vol. 7, no. 1, p. 3.

(23) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, May, 1895, vol. 4, no. 5, p. 66.

(24) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, December, 1895, vol. 4, no. 12, pp. 178, 179.

<u>No.</u>		<u>Birth</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Ord.</u>
898	Rev. Father Le Jeune, John Mary (Superior).....	1855	1875	1879
805	Rev. Father Carion, Alphonsus Mary (Dir. Indian School)....	1848	1871	1872
916	Rev. Father Guertin, Frederic..	1846	1876	1877
762	Rev. Father Peytavin, Edmund...	1849	1870	1872
<u>Lay Brothers</u>				
183	Bro. Surel, Philip.....	1819	1848	----
1562	Bro. Mulvaney, John.....	1851	1892	----

Old Brother Surel, as he was affectionately known, was born January 1, 1819, and had been at Kamloops since the year 1883. As late as March, 1901, he was still strong and healthy, notwithstanding his age. He had come to the Missions of Oregon in the year 1854 with Father D'Herbomez and Brother Janin. Always a cheerful and willing worker, he had taken part in the establishment of several of the Catholic Missions in the west. He often told of the time he was a witness to a near tragedy on the Columbia River, not far from the Dalles. Fathers Ricard and Pandosy, along with Brother Verney, wanted to cross the Columbia. No boat being available at the time, they made a primitive raft from some driftwood they found lining the shore. In the middle of the river the raft broke up and its passengers were thrown into the swirling water. Helpless to assist, Brother Surel and Father Richard watched from the bank. Fortunately, the occupants of the raft were each able to secure hold of a log, to which they clung

tenaciously until washed up on a point three miles down the stream. (25)

Up to February, 1898, there was little change in the membership of St. Louis Mission. Father Le Jeune's directory of that date (26) mentions only one replacement--Rev. Father Olivarius Cornellier instead of Father Guertin. By June, 1903, however, Father Le Jeune was the only original incumbent of the 1890's, with the exception of Father Carion. His directory at that time (27) lists the following members in addition to himself: Rev. Fathers C. Marchal, A. Michels, and P. Conan. Father Carion was still in charge of the Industrial School.

Father Charles Marchal had formerly been attached to the Okanagan Mission, attending the Indians at Penticton and in the southern part of the province. During his visit to the Osoyoos Indian Reserve late in June, 1896, he found that the house reserved for him while in the camp was already inhabited--by rattlesnakes. During the night the priest was somewhat perturbed to find the snakes crawling from under the floor and gliding across the room. The next day the Father went hunting for snakes and managed to kill two, each of which measured four feet in length. (28)

(25) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, March, 1901, vol. 10, no. 1.

(26) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, February, 1898, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 18.

(27) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, June, 1903, vol. 12, no. 6, p. 35.

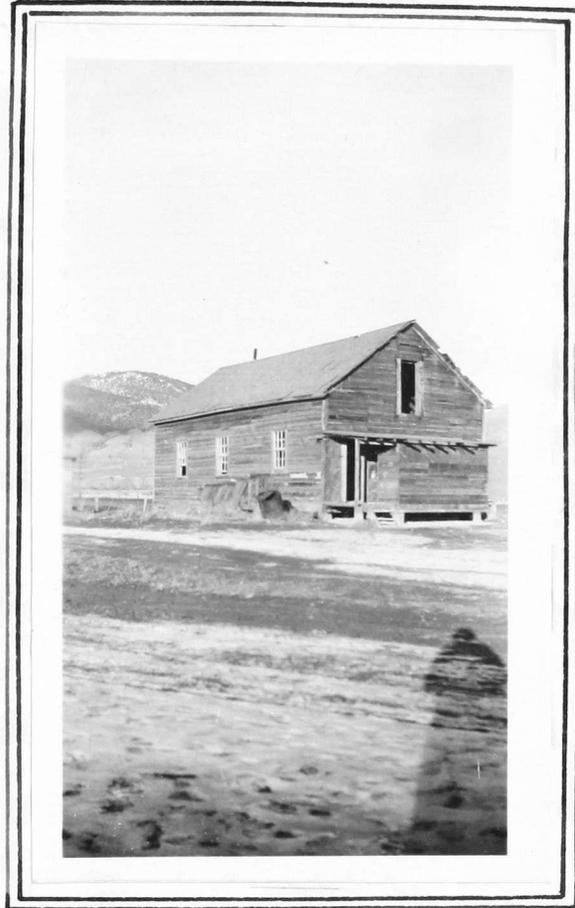
(28) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, July, 1896, vol. 5, no. 7, p. 147.

The organization of the Indians of British Columbia for religious purposes by the Oblates followed a well defined plan originated by Bishop Durieu and based on the famous Reductions of Paraguay. (29) Each camp or small band of Indians recognized a chief, whom the members were supposed to obey. Although in earlier times the position had been hereditary, the custom had gradually arisen of electing a chief by the votes of the band. The influence and authority of the chiefs varied with the men themselves and in the different bands. Some were extremely careless and led disorderly lives, their discipline with the group suffering accordingly. Others exercised considerable authority over their bands and were a great help to Father Le Jeune and the other missionaries in inculcating morality and good order among their people.

In most places the chief was assisted by a captain and some watchmen, proportioned in number to the importance of the reserve to which they were attached. The general duties of the chief and his assistants, from a religious standpoint, were to have the laws of the Church observed by the members of the tribe. In case of public infraction, the culprit was brought before this elected court and if found guilty was sentenced to a whipping, to a fine, or merely to the recitation of a few prayers, according to the severity of the offence.

The choice of captain usually fell upon the most influential

(29) Donze, Jean, O. M. I., "The Indians at the crossroads," Oblate Missions, December, 1946, p. 7.



The meeting house on Kamloops reserve.

man in the band, after the chief. His particular duties were to act for the chief in the latter's absence, to carry the chief's orders to the members of the band, and to see that they were put into execution. The watchmen were the Indian policemen, usually appointed by the Indian Agent. Their duties were to assemble the members of the band for meetings and to keep order and good conduct on the reserves. "They will also," said Father Le Jeune, "see that the Indians are attentive at the meeting, and will awake those who have a tendency to sleep." (30)

The "Durieu system" of evangelization had several advantages. It tended to avoid conflicts between the white and Indian mentalities, it kept the Indians for the most part in the practice of religion, it lessened the bad influences from without, and it strengthened the priest's authority with his Indian charges. (31)

Several factors combined, however, to offset the effectiveness of the work of the missionaries to a degree--to make men like Father Le Jeune doubt in moments of despondency "whether the bad is not going to exceed the good, and if faith is not liable to become extinct among these Indians after a certain number of years." (32)

(30) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, May, 1898, vol. 7, no. 5, p. 68.

(31) Donze, Jean, O. M. I., "The Indians at the crossroads," Oblate Missions, December, 1946, p. 7.

(32) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, April, 1898, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 51.

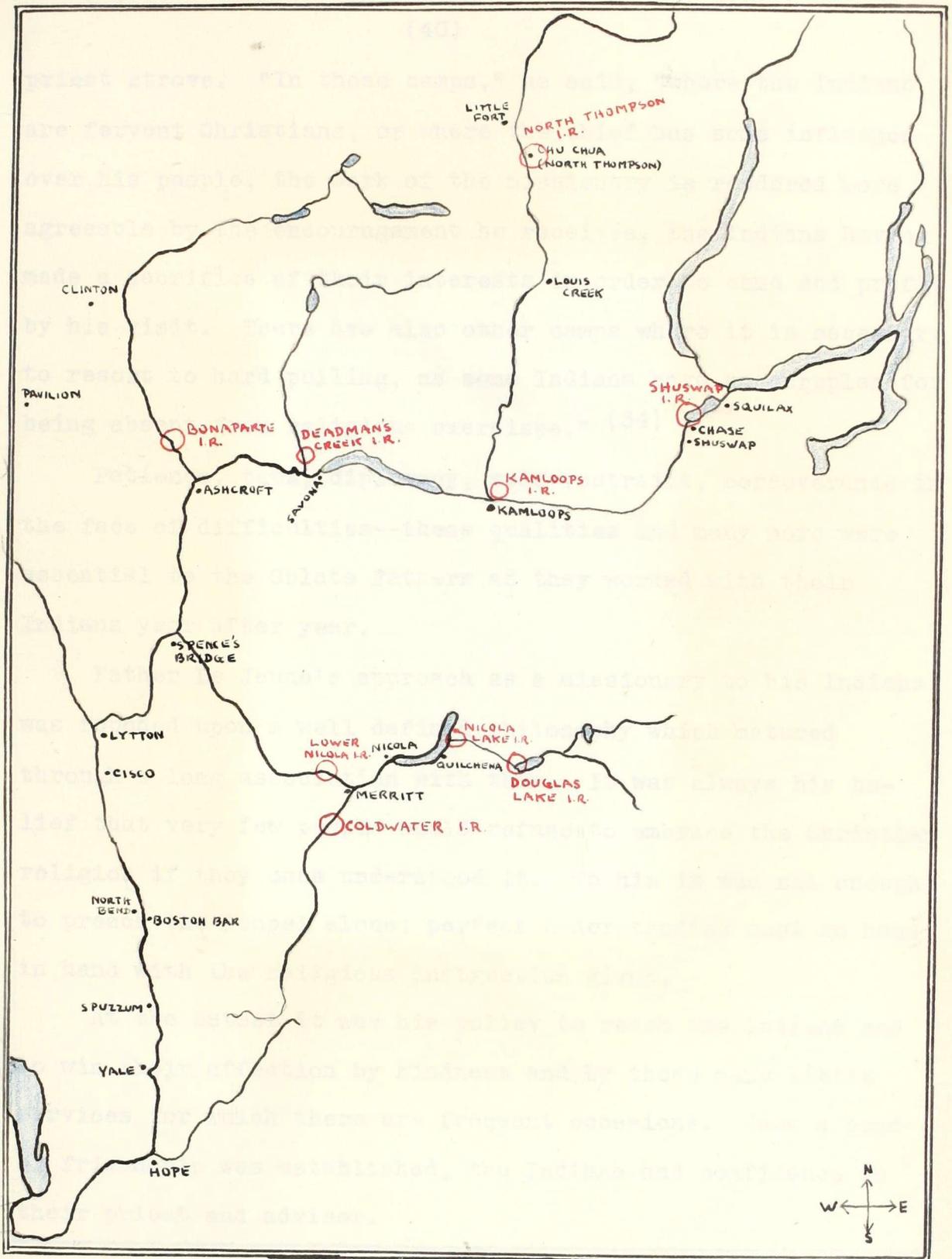
In the first place, the Indian economy was changing rapidly. When the white men first came to the Interior the Indians were hunters and fishermen. Having very little property other than their hunting and fishing outfits, they did not find it difficult to answer the missionary's call at his regular visit and to repair to the appointed place with all their earthly possessions. By Father Le Jeune's time, however, it was often difficult for them, and frequently impossible, to answer the call with the same promptness, engaged as they were in farming and stock raising at various points on the reserves, and in casual labour in the white settlements.

Then, too, the very size and extent of the missionary circuits militated against the greatest possible success in the work. In his early days on the missions Father Le Jeune was able to visit his charges only three or four times a year, due to the wide distribution of the Indian bands he contacted. As late as the summer of 1928, when he was over seventy years of age, Father Le Jeune had thirty-two missions to visit. (33)

Lastly, the demoralizing influence of a close contact with certain elements of the advancing white "civilization" tended to increase drunkenness, immorality and other vices among the Indians.

Thus we find that not all the bands in Father Le Jeune's district reached the degree of religious fervour for which the

(33) Forbes, Rev. George, O. M. I., letter to the author, 16 October, 1947.



Map of most important Indian reserves visited by Father Le Jeune from his missionary headquarters at Kamloops.

Scale: 20 miles to 1 inch

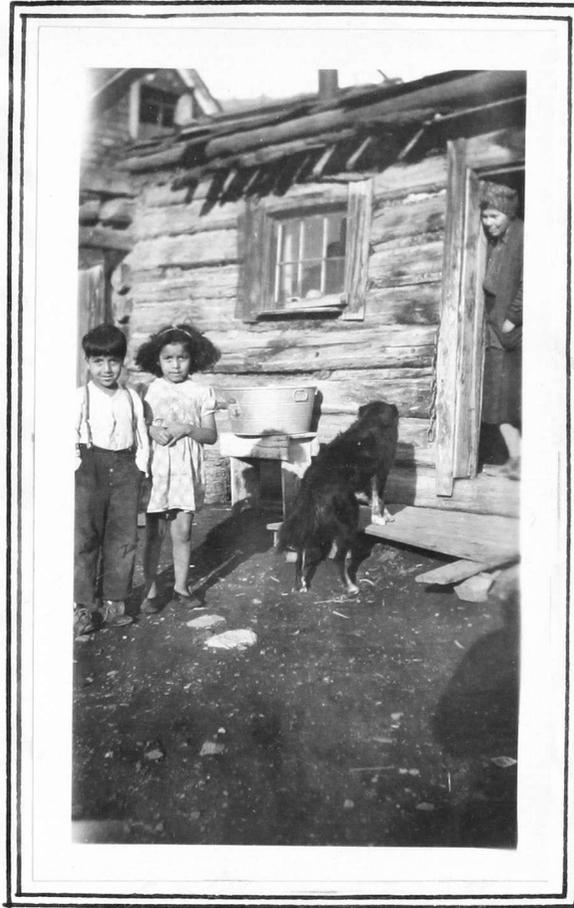
priest strove. "In those camps," he said, "where the Indians are fervent Christians, or where the chief has some influence over his people, the work of the missionary is rendered more agreeable by the encouragement he receives, the Indians having made a sacrifice of their interests in order to come and profit by his visit. There are also other camps where it is necessary to resort to hard pulling, as some Indians have no scruples for being absent from religious exercises." (34)

Patience, tact, diplomacy, self-restraint, perseverance in the face of difficulties--these qualities and many more were essential to the Oblate Fathers as they worked with their Indians year after year.

Father Le Jeune's approach as a missionary to his Indians was founded upon a well defined philosophy which matured through a long association with them. It was always his belief that very few people would refuse to embrace the Christian religion if they once understood it. To him it was not enough to preach the Gospel alone; perfect understanding must go hand in hand with the religious instruction given.

At the outset it was his policy to reach the Indians and to win their affection by kindness and by those many little services for which there are frequent occasions. Once a bond of friendship was established, the Indians had confidence in their priest and advisor.

(34) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., O. M. I., Kamloops Wawa, April, 1898, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 52.



Indians on the reserve at Deadman's Creek.

Above all, it was necessary to avoid offending or displeasing the Indians, especially in the initial stages of his approach to them. It was only natural for the Indians to question the motives behind the priest's interest in them. With the examples before them of so many working for earthly interests alone, it was difficult for them to understand that there could be people who would consecrate themselves to the service of God for the salvation of souls. This skepticism was likely to be expressed by diffidence or even outright rudeness to the priest. Father Le Jeune's counteracting force to this type of treatment was simply "to restrain one's self and wait for the time when the grace of God and a better understanding of one's intentions will bring them to a sense of the regard due to one's position." (35)

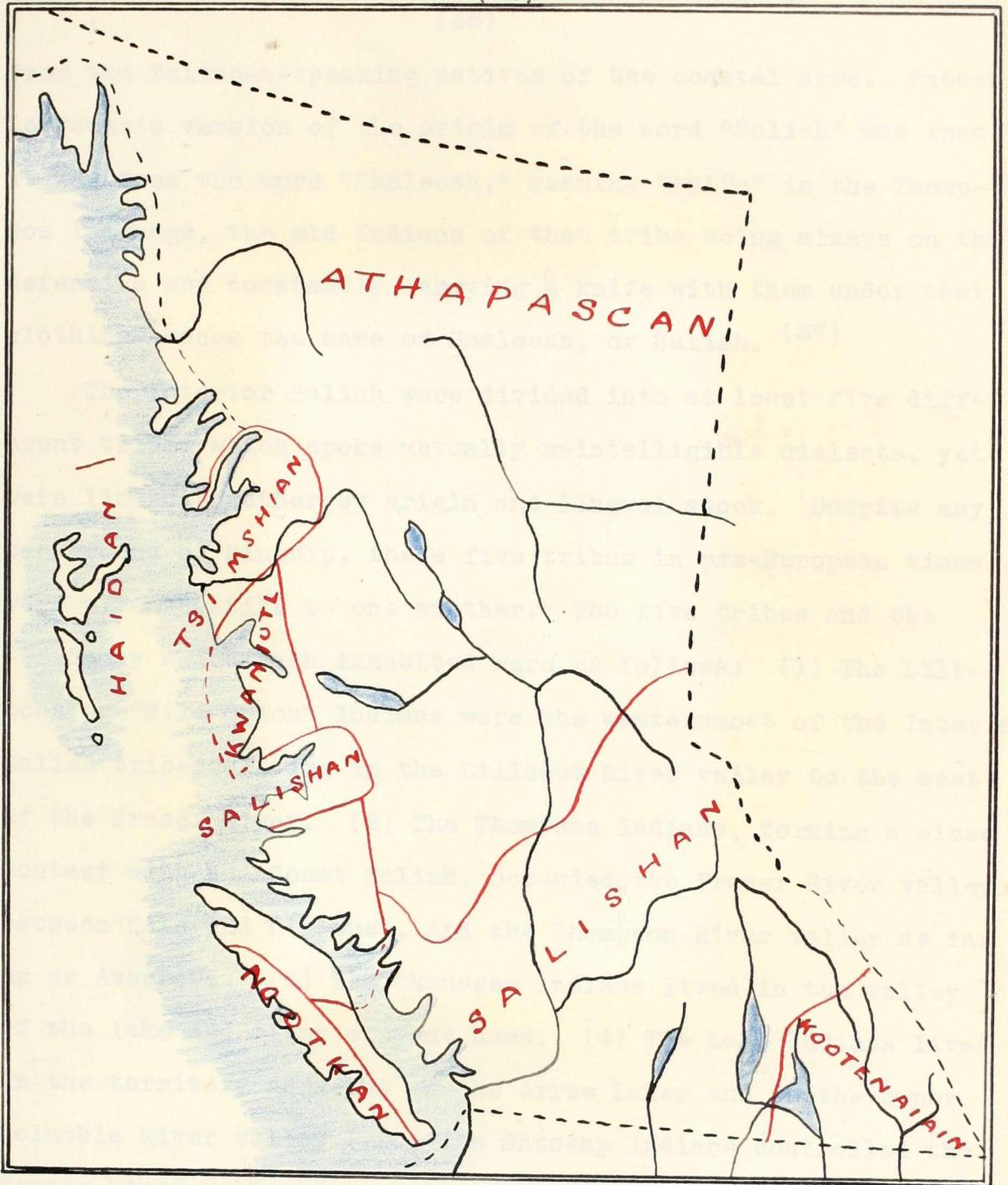
(35) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, May, 1898, vol. 7, no. 5, p. 68.

CHAPTER III. INDIAN LANGUAGES AND THE CHINOOK JARGON

The Indian languages and dialects of Canada, and particularly British Columbia, present a difficult and complicated problem. The Canadian authority on this matter, Diamond Jenness, lists eleven main linguistic stocks current in Canada, most of them subdivided into numerous dialects. Six of these main linguistic stocks are confined to British Columbia, as follows: (1) The Tsimshian language of the Skeena and Nass River valleys. (2) The Haida language of the Queen Charlotte Islands. (3) The Wakashan language of Vancouver Island. This linguistic stock divides into two dialects so divergent that they constitute almost distinct languages, viz., the Nootka dialect of the west coast, and the Kwakiutl dialect of the east coast. (4) The Salishan language of southern Vancouver Island, the Fraser river and tributary valleys as far up as Alexandria, Dean and Burke Channels, and the Okanagan Valley. (5) The Kootenay language of south-eastern British Columbia. (6) The Athapaskan language of the northern interior of British Columbia. (36)

The largest nation in the interior of British Columbia, and the one among whose people Father Le Jeune spent the greater part of his life, was the Interior Salish. This group differed widely in customs, dialect, and even physical appearance

(36) Jenness, Diamond, The Indians of Canada, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 2nd edition, 1934, p. 18.



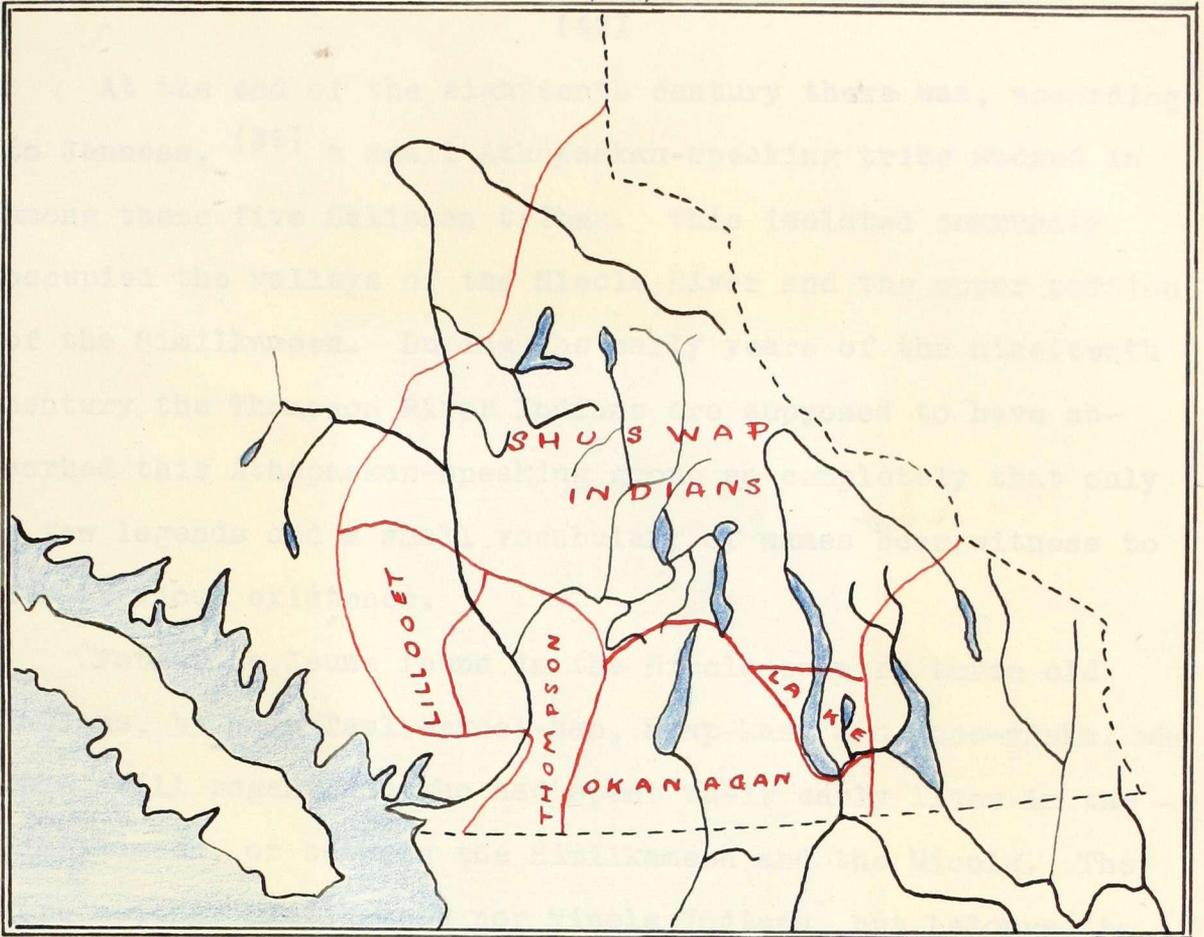
Map of main Indian languages of British Columbia

from the Salishan-speaking natives of the coastal area. Father Le Jeune's version of the origin of the word "Salish" was that it was from the word "Shaleesh," meaning "knife" in the Thompson language, the old Indians of that tribe being always on the defensive and constantly carrying a knife with them under their clothing--hence the name of Shaleesh, or Salish. (37)

The Interior Salish were divided into at least five different tribes which spoke mutually unintelligible dialects, yet were linked together by origin and lingual stock. Despite any background of kinship, these five tribes in pre-European times were often hostile to one another. The five tribes and the territory which each inhabited were as follows: (1) The Lillooet or "Wild Onion" Indians were the westernmost of the Interior Salish tribes, living in the Lillooet River valley to the west of the Fraser River. (2) The Thompson Indians, forming a close contact with the Coast Salish, occupied the Fraser River valley between Yale and Lillooet, and the Thompson River valley as far up as Ashcroft. (3) The Okanagan Indians lived in the valley of the lake and river of that name. (4) The Lake Indians lived in the territory adjacent to the Arrow Lakes and in the upper Columbia River valley. (5) The Shuswap Indians controlled the Fraser River valley from Lillooet to Alexandria and all the country eastward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. (38)

(37) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, May, 1895, vol. 4, no. 5, p. 66.

(38) Ravenhill, Alice, The native tribes of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C., King's Printer, 1938, pp. 21, 23.



Map of the Interior Salish dialects

(39) Fenner, Donald, The Indians of Canada, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 2nd edition, 1961, p. 101.
(40) De Jossy, Rev. J. M. S., Indians of the Pacific Coast, 1880, p. 101.

At the end of the eighteenth century there was, according to Jenness, (39) a small Athapaskan-speaking tribe wedged in among these five Salishan tribes. This isolated community occupied the valleys of the Nicola River and the upper portion of the Similkameen. During the early years of the nineteenth century the Thompson River Indians are supposed to have absorbed this Athapaskan-speaking group so completely that only a few legends and a small vocabulary of names bear witness to its previous existence.

Father Le Jeune found in the Nicola country three old Indians, by name Temlk-skool-han, Haap-kan, and Shoo-yaska, who were still pagans and who had spent their early lives in the Similkameen, or between the Similkameen and the Nicola. They were neither Similkameen nor Nicola Indians, but belonged to another family of which they were the only survivors. Temlk-skool-han still remembered a few words of his old language, which he was not allowed to speak by the Nicola Indians. These words, which he gave to Father Le Jeune, were: "sek-ha," "woman;" "shna-hlet sek-ha," "a lazy woman;" "rapentle'he rain tle'hen," "a lazy man;" "sh-ho," "horns;" "khee," "arrow;" "nalsisi," "arrow point;" "rosess," "soup olali;" "tenenn," "bearberry;" "tloolh," "strap" or "band for packing;" "roroltooty," "small fish;" "tkentkshin," "another kind of fish;" "selh-ka-ke," "groundhog;" "skowm," "to-morrow;" "a we k'ha," "come child." (40)

(39) Jenness, Diamond, The Indians of Canada, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 2nd edition, 1934, p. 351.

(40) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, July, 1895, vol. 4, no. 7, p. 98.



Indian children on the reserve at Kamloops.

The language situation among the Indians of British Columbia is well summed up by Jenness when he says, "British Columbia, therefore, like the Pacific Coast of the United States, was a babel of conflicting tongues, suggesting that it had been a cul-de-sac from which neither invader nor invader could escape. In pre-European times contact between the tribes was so frequently hostile that no one language gained the ascendancy." (41)

However, the coming of white explorers and traders to the lands bordering upon the Pacific Ocean--the present Oregon, Washington and British Columbia--gradually brought into existence a common medium of intercourse. This was the famous Chinook jargon, or Oregon Trade language, which became for a century the international language of the Pacific Coast region from northern California to Alaska, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. Gradually taking shape between the years 1790 and 1810, it became the common denominator of language among natives of at least two dozen different tribes speaking as many different tongues, as well as among natives, whites and Orientals.

The Chinook jargon is a curiously composite form of speech, being partly Chinook language, partly Nootka language, partly French, partly English, and to some extent the result of onomatopoeia. It is possible that some form of common trading

(41) Jenness, Diamond, The Indians of Canada, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 2nd edition, p. 18.

language existed among the Indians on the Pacific Coast before the coming of the whites. However, the Chinook jargon really began when the early traders at Nootka, in the course of their dealings with the Indians, acquired a number of words of the Nootkan tongue. The Indians in turn began to use occasional English words.

Later on, when traders began to frequent the Columbia River, they used words learned at Nootka in their attempts to communicate with the Chinook Indians there. The Chinooks added Nootka and English words to their own vocabulary, and a foundation was laid for what eventually became the Chinook jargon. The jargon was enlarged by contributions from the Nor'West, Astor, and Hudson's Bay Company servants. An early visitor to the Coast, Horatio Hale, listed 250 words in fairly common use in the jargon. Of these, 18 were recognizable as of Nootka origin, 41 of English source, 34 were French, and 111 formed the Chinook foundation. By the year 1863, when the Smithsonian Institute published its dictionary of the language, the number of words had grown to around 500. Of these, 221 were considered Chinook, 94 French, 67 English, and 39 were from Indian languages other than Chinook.

The number of words current in the jargon has been variously stated. This is because many of the original words gradually became obsolete and disappeared, while others were introduced from time to time to fill the requirements of local needs. Despite its comparatively small vocabulary, and its

absence of grammatical forms, Chinook had a surprising flexibility and power of expression. The very smallness of its word lists made it easy of acquisition; so much so that few Europeans took the trouble to learn the original Indian languages themselves.

The early missionaries introduced many religious words into the jargon. Rev. Modeste Demers, who arrived at Fort Vancouver on November 24, 1838, mastered the existing jargon within a few weeks of his arrival, and was soon able to preach in Chinook. He organized and arranged a vocabulary of the jargon, which succeeding missionaries found very useful. He also composed several canticles in Chinook, and translated many prayers into the jargon.

Father Le Jeune became extremely proficient in Chinook and used it as his chief means of written communication with the Indians of his district. When he began his shorthand teaching among the Indians, it was to Chinook that the shorthand was first adapted. The pages of the Kamloops Wawa containing his instructions, messages and stories for the Indians are written in shorthand characters applied to the Chinook jargon.

The very novelty of the jargon itself, as well as its historical interest, led Father Le Jeune to a desire to instruct his English readers in the subject. The Kamloops Wawa has many references to the Chinook jargon, its background, and present status. A complete list of these references follows:

- (1) Early title page, reproduction of the first number, volume 1, number 1, May 2, 1891, on page 150, September, 1894.

- (2) Title page, September, 1894, to September, 1895, inclusive.
- (3) Title page, October, 1895, and on through years 1896 and 1897.
- (4) Second page of cover from September, 1894, on.
- (5) Elements of phonography, in a rudimentary way in the first four numbers, May, June, July, August, 1891, and reproduced on pages 4, 5, and 6, January, 1895.
- (6) A condensed Chinook vocabulary in one page, February, 1895, page 30.
- (7) Origin of the Chinook, pages 50 and 51, April, 1895.
- (8) What is Chinook, anyhow? Page 66, May, 1895.
- (9) Chinook--French vocabulary, all in shorthand, fourth page of cover, June, 1895.
- (10) First lesson in Chinook, June, 1895, pages 82 and 83.
- (11) French--Chinook method, all in stenography, third page of cover, June, 1895.
- (12) A clipping from the Montreal Gazette of November 29, 1894, copied in the Wawa of July, 1895, pages 98 and 99.
- (13) November, 1895, page 161, an introduction to a Chinook--English condensed vocabulary which appears in full on page 162 of the same number.
- (14) Page 165 of November, 1895, a miniature reproduction of 5,000 Chinook words, equal to 7,500 English words, all in a post-card space, $3\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- (15) A reproduction of the first numbers of the Wawa (May to August, 1891) complete in two pages (photo-engraved), pages 90 and 91, April, 1896.
- (16) The Wawa shorthand instructor, reproduced in full, a few pages each number, January to July, 1896.
- (17) Chinook--French vocabulary and method, pages 92 and 93, April, 1896.
- (18) Chinook condensed vocabulary in one page, May, 1896, page 118.

In addition to these references to the Chinook jargon, published at intervals in the pages of the Kamloops Wawa, Father Le Jeune compiled a 36--page monograph entitled Chinook Rudiments. This was issued in the year 1924, and to a great extent summarized his earlier research on the subject.

His vocabularies list a total of 552 words in the jargon, divided as follows: (a) 163 original Chinook words. (b) 56 Chinook words more or less in common use. (c) 36 Hudson's Bay French words. (d) 26 words which are the result of onomatopoeia. (e) 38 religious words. (f) 233 English words.

A consolidation of the Chinook words under (a) and (b), coupled with the sound words under (d), give the following Chinook--English vocabulary used by Father Le Jeune. It will be noted that Father Le Jeune, being French - speaking, used French rather than English sounds as the basis for his phonetic system.

<u>A</u>	<u>A</u>
al'ke-----later on	a na!-----displeasure
al'ta-----now	a nana!-----pain
an'kate or	a!-----ah!
ans'kuttie or	ankechim-----handkerchief
ans'kutie or	ats-----younger sister
ahn'kutte-----in time past	
a'yak-----quick	<u>B</u>
a'yaz-----great	bloo-----blue
a'yoo-----many	be'be----- a kiss
a ha!-----yes, so	bit or
a la!-----surprise	mit-----dime

P

pa'ya-----fire
 papoos-----child
 pasis'si-----blankets
 patl-----full
 pel-----red
 pa'tlach-----to give
 pe'lpel-----blood
 pelh'ten-----insane
 pi-----and
 poo-----shot
 poos-----if
 poos'poos-----wild cat
 poola'kle-----night
 poo'lale-----powder
 pelh'te-----thick
 poo'li-----rotten
 pa'pa-----father
 pata'k-----potatoes

R

rat'rat-----geese

S

sa'hale or
 seg'halie-----above
 sa'ya-----far
 saka'loox-----pants
 sa'lix-----angry

S

saple'l-----bread
 se'le-----soul
 senmox-----seven
 sia'hoos-----face
 sie'sem-----to tell
 sit'kom-----half
 skoo'koom-----strong
 sna'z-----rain
 snow-----snow or year
 sta'lo-----river
 sti'wilh-----to pray
 shem-----ashamed
 sik-----sick
 sa'waz-----sour
 sa'hale taye----God
 sia'pool-----hat
 siks-----friend
 sit'kom tala----half a dollar
 so'pena-----to jump

T

ta'ham-----six
 takmo'nak-----one hundred
 tamano'az-----magic
 tana'z-----small
 tan'ke son-----yesterday
 ta'tilam-----ten

T

ta'tilam pi moxst--twelve
 ta'tilam pi iht----eleven
 ta'ye or tyee-----chief
 te'ke-----to like
 teko'p-----white
 tel-----tired
 te'likom-----people
 tep'so-----grass
 tik'tik-----watch
 tin'tin-----bell
 tlap-----to get
 tla'wa-----slowly
 tlem'en-----broken
 tlementlemen-----smashed
 tlemenooit-----tell a lie
 tlep-----deep
 tlil-----black
 tloon-----three
 tloon ta'tilam----thirty
 tloos-----good
 tsem-----writing
 tse'pe-----mistaken
 tsi-----sweet
 tsik'tsik-----carriage
 tsil'tsil-----stars
 tema'lo-----untamed

T

tom'tom or
 tum tum-----to think, heart
 to'lo-----to win
 tal'ke son-----yesterday
 tal'ke wam-----last summer
 tal'ke snow-----last winter
 ta-----no
 ta'la-----dollar
 ta'lapos-----silver fox
 tamoo'letj-----barrel
 tetoo'sh-----milk
 tia'wit-----legs
 mamook tia'wit--to walk
 toma'lo-----to-morrow
 to'to-----toy
 too'too-----a pet cat
 tseh-----to split

W

wah-----pour out
 wa'wa-----to speak
 weht-----again
 wek-----no
 wam-----warm
 wahpoos-----snake
 wap'toes-----potatoes

Y

yoot'l-----glad
 yool'kat-----long
 ya'ka-----he, she
 yah'soot-----hair
 ya'kwa-----here
 ya'wa-----there
 ya'yem-----to talk

The religious words in the jargon listed by Father Le Jeune as being in common use are as follows:

Bliss chok-----Holy water
 Catholic stiwilh-----Catholic Church
 Jesu-kri-----Jesus Christ
 Klis'mas-----Christmas
 La confirmasio-----confirmation
 La kroa'-----Cross
 La Kroa' o'ihat-----Way of the Cross
 La Mass-----Holy Mass
 La Noel-----Nativity
 La pelitas-----penance
 Le Batem-----baptism
 Le chapelet-----rosary
 Le kalisti-----Holy Eucharist
 Le kateta-----Ember days
 Le carem-----Lent
 Legliz-----the church
 Le maliaj-----Matrimony

L'autel-----	the altar
Le Pape-----	the Pope
Le peche-----	sin
Le plet-----	the priest
Les anges-----	angels
Les apot-----	the Apostles
Les evek-----	the Bishop
L'estlem-osio-----	Extreme Unction
L'ord-----	Holy Orders
Mali-----	medal
Misteli-----	mystery
Pak or paska-----	Easter
Sakramenta-----	Sacraments
Ste. Trinite-----	Holy Trinity
Tloos Mari-----	Holy Mary
Le vijil-----	Vigils
Ayas son-----	Feast day

In order to give the reader an idea of the amazing flexibility and power of expression of the Chinook jargon, an adaptation of the first and second chapters of Genesis follows, with English translation. (42)

Ankate Long ago	Sahale Taye Heaven's Lord	mamook made	sahale the above	elehe land		
pi and	ookook this	elehe; earth;	kopet only	chok water	pi and	poolakle darkness
mitlait were	kopa on	ookook this	elehe; earth;	pi and	Sahale Taye God	

(42) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Chinook rudiments, May 3, 1924, pp. 21, 22.

wawa: "Tloos chako light!" Ayak chako
 said: "Let come light!" At once came

light kopa elehe. Sahale Taye mamook kakwa
 light on the earth. God made that

kopa iht son. Moxt son Sahale Taye
 on the first day. The second day God

mamook ookook sky nsaika nanich kopa
 made the sky which we see up

sahale. Yawa nsaika chako komtax tloos
 above. There we come to know good

sky, bloo sky. Pi chako wind, sahale
 sky, blue sky. Then comes wind, smoke-

smoke, snaz, snow, ayaz snaz, pi ookook
 like clouds, rain, snow, hail, and that

haha paya kopa sahale, pi skookoom
 awful lightning up above, and terrible

wawa kakwa poos poo ayoo ayaz musket.
 noise as if the shooting of many big guns.

Tloon son Sahale Taye mamook klatwa
 The third day God made go

chok kanawe kanamoxt pi chako dlai
 the waters all together and come out the dry

elehe; kakwa nsaika tlap sal chok, pi
 land; so we have the ocean, and

ayoo lek, stalo, kooli chok, tom wata, pi
 the lakes, rivers, streams, waterfalls, and

chako chok klahane kopa elehe; weht ayaz
 springing water out of the ground; also the con-

elehe, ainam elehe, stones, la motai.
 tinent, the islands, stones, mountains.

Kopa elehe yaka mamook chako tepso,
 From the earth He made grow herbs

stik, mitocit stik, olali stik, pi kanawe tloos
 woods, standing trees, fruit trees, and all kinds of good

spakram pi tloos olali.
 flowers and good fruit.

Laket	son	Sahale	Taye	mamook	sun,	moon,
The	fourth	God		made	the	sun, moon,
pi	tsiltsil.	Kakwa	nsaika	tlap	tanaz	son,
and	stars.	So	we	have	morning,	
sitkom	son,	memloos	son,	poolakle,	sitkom	poolakle.
noon,		sunset,		night,	midnight.	

A clear and definite means of communication with the Indians was essential if a missionary hoped to win and to hold their esteem and affection. Knowing that their work was likely to be largely ineffective without easy communication, most of the early missionaries set about learning the Chinook jargon. We have seen how Bishop Durieu provided his two young recruits, Fathers Le Jeune and Chirouse, with a Chinook vocabulary before they arrived in this country.

Even with a thorough knowledge of Chinook, however, many pitfalls beset the missionary in preaching to the Indians. A common procedure was for the priest to speak to an interpreter in Chinook, and the latter would then attempt to put the message into the Indian dialect. Under this method there was always the risk that the interpreter could not or would not translate the priest's message properly. Rather than appear not to have grasped the meaning, the interpreter would frequently tell his listeners something not pertinent to the sermon at all. Also, the translation of Chinook word for word gave a queer, mechanical meaning carrying very little sense to the listeners.

Father Le Jeune collected several anecdotes of embarrassing situations in which some of his fellow-priests found

themselves when dependent entirely upon the services of an interpreter. One wanted to make the Indians understand that our Lord lived many years in Nazareth with Mary and Joseph. The Chinook word for "year" is "snow," which word has two meanings in the jargon. The interpreter took one meaning for the other and told the Indians that there was plenty of snow at Nazareth!

Another said that he was very much obliged to a Captain John for some valuable services and that he was going to give him a "chapelet," which means "prayer beads." The interpreter mistook the word "chapelet" for "saplel" and told the Indians that the priest was going to give Captain John a sack of flour!

A third missionary wanted to give the Indians an idea of the triumphal entry of our Lord into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Our Lord sat on an ass; but what was that? The Indians had never seen such an animal; the nearest thing to it they knew of was a horse, so the priest said that our Lord sat upon something that resembled a horse, yet was not a horse. The interpreter said to the Indians: "He sat on something like a horse, but not a horse; it must have been a mare then!"

Father Le Jeune's timely advice for the avoidance of such situations as the above was the simple one of having the priest always spend a few minutes with the interpreter before the sermon or instruction in order to make sure that the latter understood beforehand what he was going to interpret. (43)

(43) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, vol. 7, no. 6, June, 1898, p. 84.

The fact that Father Le Jeune was extremely distrustful of the reliability of interpreters may have been one incentive for him to become a master of Indian dialects. Right from the outset of his missionary career he held to the belief that in order to become thoroughly conversant with Indian ways and manners, it was necessary for the missionary to learn the Indian language itself. His success in the linguistic field was noteworthy, and he became one of the few missionaries (Father Morice was another) who could preach from the pulpit in the various Indian dialects. Late in his life he humourously told the Kamloops Rotary Club how "he could swear in twenty-two languages," and went on to "bewilder his listeners with a treatise on etymology which backed up his reputation as a man of parts." (44)

In any event, Father Le Jeune was entrusted with the compilation and editing of the prayers and catechism in at least eight different Indian dialects--Shuswap, Stalo, Squamish, Sechelt, Slayamen, Lillooet, Thompson, and Okanagan. This work took all his free time for a year and resulted in 550 pages of phonetic script, the equivalent of 2,200 pages in longhand. A Chinook and English translation, along with the Latin prayers for Mass, completed the Polyglot manual of prayers in eleven languages, published in the year 1896.

This manual was compiled by Father Le Jeune to fit into a plan drawn up by Bishop Durieu. Among the latter's papers could

(44) "Pioneers of city and district honoured," Kamloops Sentinel, 29 December, 1922, p. 1.

be found a prayer in the Stalo language, a chapter of catechism in Sechelt, and a hymn in Squamish. It was a big undertaking to find and classify the material. Bishop Durieu gave every assistance in the work, sending to Father Le Jeune Indians from each tribe who were the most proficient in their prayers and catechism.

Father Le Jeune tells of some of the work in his own words:

I arrived at New Westminster one evening in the month of March, 1896, to do the work in the Stalo language. The Bishop had brought two or three Indians of that tribe who knew their prayers and catechism, and lodged and fed them all the time that I needed them. The first day was employed in learning all they knew; I made them recite their prayers one after the other--for instance the 'Our Father.' While they recited I took it down in shorthand; if I missed some words I left spaces and then I made them repeat the prayer from the beginning because you could not stop them in the middle--they would only get all mixed up. At the end of the day I had the text of their prayers and the catechism. Two or three more days were spent in revising and perfecting the text; I could then stop them wherever it was necessary, because I had the written text from the first day. They were very much surprised to hear me read and pronounce their language accurately. (45)

Later that same year Father Le Jeune went to different parts of the country--to Squamish, to Sechelt and to Lillooet--to do the same work in the other languages. At the end of the year the manual of prayers in eleven languages was completed. Each of the 550 pages was then written in indelible ink in large phonetic script, which was reproduced by photogravure and reduced by half for the printing plates. This work cost about

(45) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, March, 1916, pp. 205, 206.

one thousand dollars. (46)

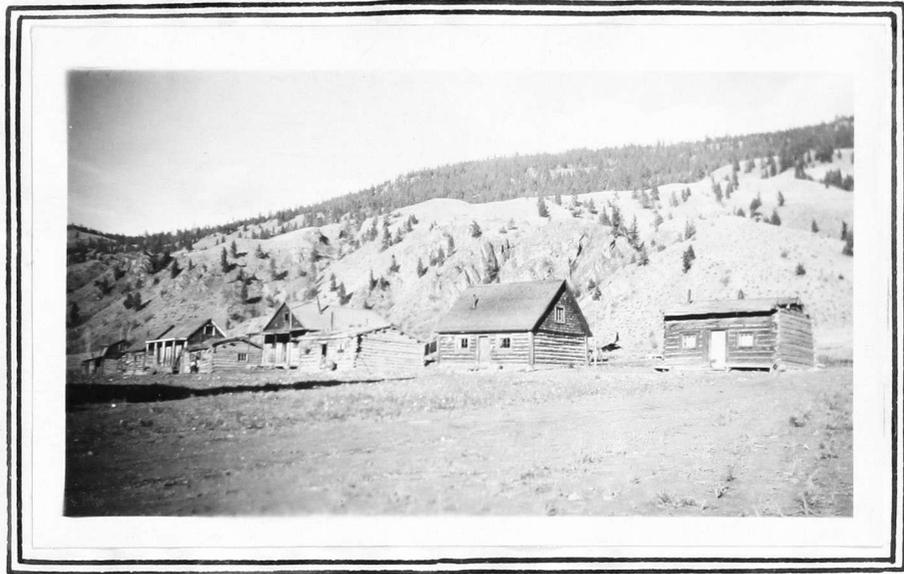
Father George Forbes, O. M. I., who knew Father Le Jeune intimately, and who was associated with him on the missions for a year during 1928, says: "Father Le Jeune was a very apt student and a genius. When something interested him, he would not give up until he had mastered it." (47) This was true particularly of Father Le Jeune's linguistic studies and achievements. In support of his statement Father Forbes cites the interest taken by Father Le Jeune when the latter discovered that several Shuswap and Hebrew words had a similar sound and meaning. At that time he knew little Hebrew and so, in order to pursue his investigations further, he set to work to learn that language. As a result of his studies, Father Le Jeune claimed that he found in the first three pages of the Bible at least seventy-two Hebrew words alike or almost alike Indian words of the same meaning. (48)

(46) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, March, 1916, pp. 205, 206, 207.

(47) Forbes, Rev. George, O. M. I., letter to writer, 16 October, 1947.

(48) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, August, 1915, p. 37.

(67)



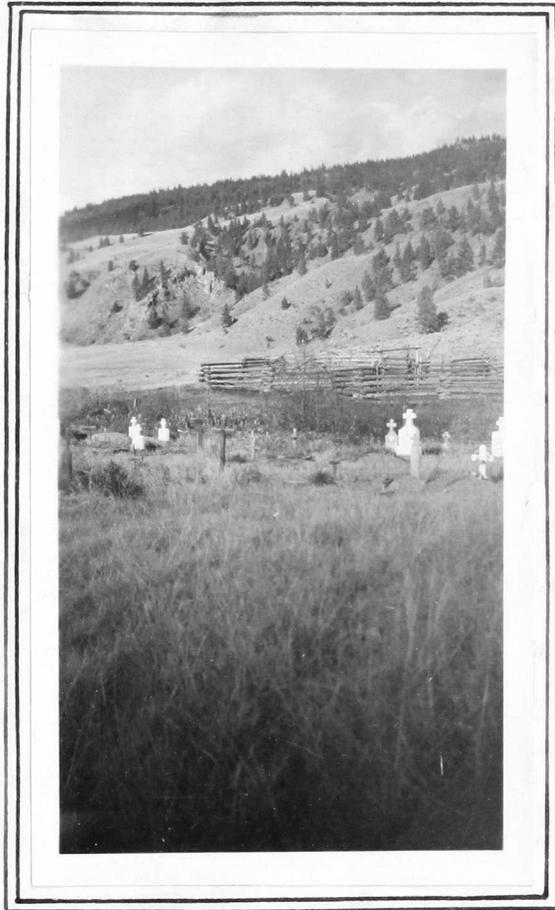
Section of Indian village on Deadman's Creek reserve.

CHAPTER IV. FATHER LE JEUNE AS A MISSIONARY

From his headquarters at Kamloops Father Le Jeune travelled thousands of miles over all kinds of roads and trails to carry on his missionary activities. In the heat of summer and the cold of winter visitations were made regularly to the various Indian bands of his district. In addition to the regular circuit calls, special visits to scattered points were frequently made upon the occasions of sickness and death. A study of his itinerary for the first quarter of the year 1893 shows some of the places he visited regularly and indicates the amount of doubling back necessary to keep his stated appointments. (49)

January 1--8-----Douglas Lake
 January 9-----Quilchena
 January 10--13-----Mamette Lake
 January 14--22-----Coldwater
 January 23-----Coutlie
 January 24-----Spence's Bridge
 January 25--27-----Kamloops
 January 28--February 2---Spuzzum
 February 3--7-----North Bend
 February 8--10-----Kamloops
 February 11--12-----Lytton
 February 13--25-----Kamloops
 February 26--March 5-----North Thompson

(49) See map p. 39.



Indian cemetery at Deadman's Creek.

March 6--14-----Kamloops

March 15--19-----Savona

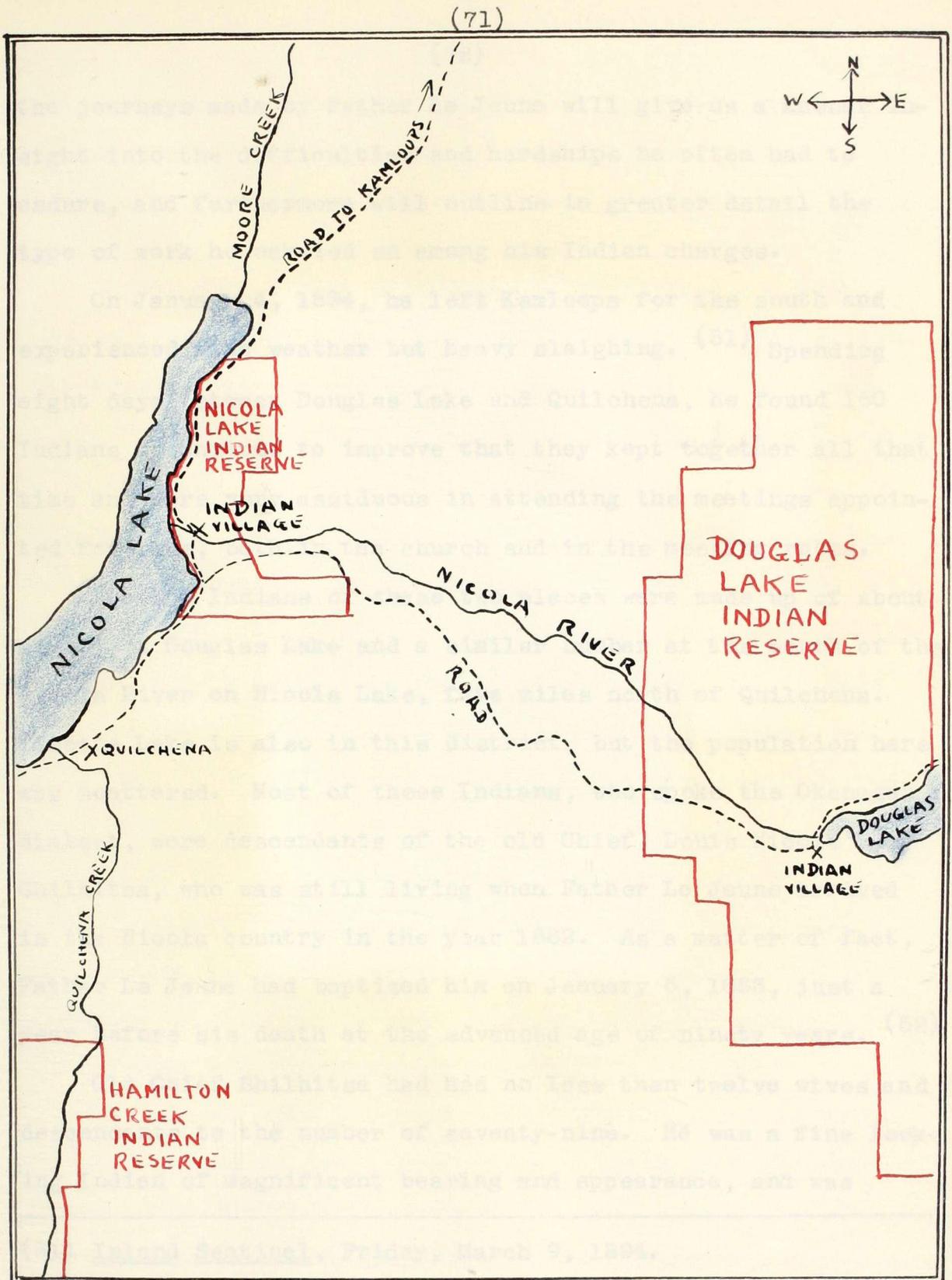
March 20--23-----Kamloops

March 24--31-----Shuswap

Several of the places mentioned above are on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway and transportation between them is relatively easy. Others involved trips of many miles by road or trail. Shuswap is located thirty-five miles east of Kamloops and the three Indian reserves attended by Father Le Jeune in that vicinity were located within eight or ten miles of the station. The North Thompson camp was located fifty miles north of Kamloops and was reached successively through the years by trail, waggon road and Canadian National Railway.

From Kamloops a waggon road went south to Quilchena, fifty miles, thence eastward to Douglas Lake, fifteen miles. (50) Twenty-five miles west of Quilchena lay the Coldwater reserve. From Coldwater the distance by road to Spence's Bridge was fifty miles and to Savona sixty miles. The journey west from Kamloops to Savona by rail is twenty-five miles. From Savona a trail or rough waggon road led to the Deadman's Creek Indian camp, ten miles away. Ten miles north of Ashcroft, on the Bonaparte River, there was a settlement of Indians which was also regularly visited by Father Le Jeune. His trips in this neighbourhood also took him to Clinton and High Bar, the latter place twenty-five miles west of Clinton. A consideration of some of

(50) See map p. 39.



Map of Nicola and Douglas Lake Indian reserves
 Scale: 2 miles to 1 inch

the journeys made by Father Le Jeune will give us a keener insight into the difficulties and hardships he often had to endure, and furthermore will outline in greater detail the type of work he carried on among his Indian charges.

On January 4, 1894, he left Kamloops for the south and experienced fine weather but heavy sleighing. (51) Spending eight days between Douglas Lake and Quilchena, he found 160 Indians so anxious to improve that they kept together all that time and were very assiduous in attending the meetings appointed for them, both in the church and in the meeting rooms.

The 160 Indians of these two places were made up of about eighty at Douglas Lake and a similar number at the mouth of the Nicola River on Nicola Lake, five miles north of Quilchena. Mamette Lake is also in this district, but the population here was scattered. Most of these Indians, who spoke the Okanagan dialect, were descendants of the old Chief, Louis Nicola Shilhitsa, who was still living when Father Le Jeune arrived in the Nicola country in the year 1882. As a matter of fact, Father Le Jeune had baptized him on January 6, 1883, just a year before his death at the advanced age of ninety years. (52)

Old Chief Shilhitsa had had no less than twelve wives and descendants to the number of seventy-nine. He was a fine looking Indian of magnificent bearing and appearance, and was

(51) Inland Sentinel, Friday, March 9, 1894.

(52) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, August, 1915, p. 39.

favourably looked upon and respected by the early settlers in the country. He was very intelligent and knew how to guard his rights and those of the other Indians. "The whites are looking for the slightest excuse to seize our lands," he used to say.⁽⁵³⁾

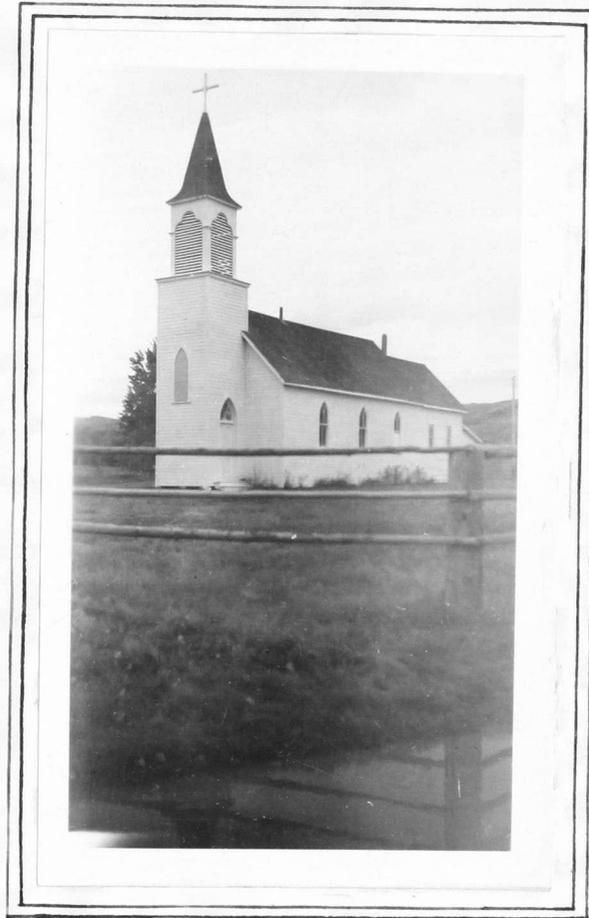
Chief Louis Nicola was succeeded by Basile, one of his younger sons. Basile was, however, killed in a drunken brawl just a year after he was elevated to the position of chief. An election was then held in the band, and the resulting choice for chief fell upon Johnny Shilhitsa, otherwise known as Celestin. The latter embarked upon a programme of improvements on both the Douglas Lake and Quilchena reserves.

The first thing Celestin undertook after his appointment as chief was to build a church at Douglas Lake, and in less than two years a neat little chapel stood at a distance of fifty yards from his house. A steeple was soon added to the church and a four hundred pound bell placed in it.

One of Father Le Jeune's most enduring monuments in his district is the large number of little chapels where the Indians meet for divine worship. He was instrumental in encouraging the Indians to erect many of these churches and to furnish them with taste and discrimination.

In the year 1894 a second church was completed by Celestin and his band on their lower reserve north of Quilchena. This was the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, a neat little building twenty feet by forty feet, costing nearly two thousand dollars, with a six hundred pound bell in the steeple and a very

(53) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, August, 1915, p. 41.



Indian church, Quilchena, B. C.

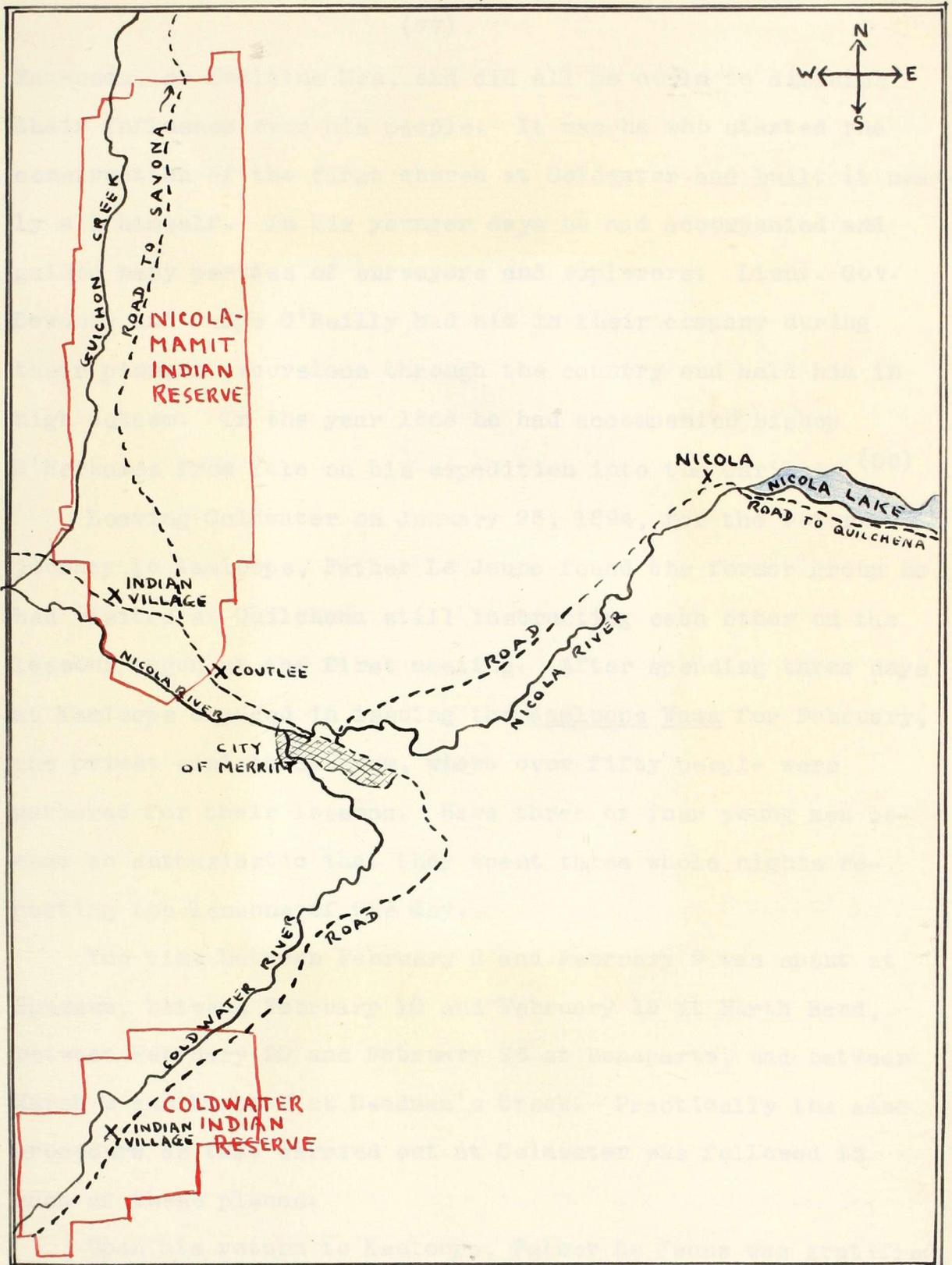
expressive statue of Our Lady of Lourdes above the altar. (54)

On January 15, 1894, Father Le Jeune left Quilchena and went to Coldwater, where eight more days were spent among 120 natives. Their routine called for rising at 6 A. M. for morning services at 7 and 8 o'clock; then time was given for household work until 11 o'clock, when the bell called them to the meeting house for a three-hour session. This period was opened with singing and was followed by the reading of a chapter of Chinook and the reading and explaining of the same in the native language. Then came a lesson of Catechism in the native language, and the gathering ended in settling any disputes that may have arisen among the Indians. At 2 P. M. time was given for dinner until 5 P. M. when there was evening service until 6 o'clock. At 8 o'clock another general session was held for the same purposes as the one at 11 o'clock. (55)

Twenty years before this, Coldwater had been merely a hunting ground. It was first settled by an Indian, Paul Satchie, who came there with his family from Boston Bar for the purpose of rearing horses, tilling the soil, and procuring a more certain means of livelihood than the fish and game on which they formerly had to rely for sustenance. Paul had another object in view, too, which was to make Christians of those people who accompanied him. He set a splendid example of good living to his people. He was always opposed to the

(54) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, June, 1901, p. 19.

(55) Inland Sentinel, Friday, March 9, 1894.



Map of the Coldwater and Nicola--Mamit Indian reserves
Scale: 2 miles to 1 inch

Tamanoaz, or Medicine Men, and did all he could to diminish their influence over his people. It was he who started the construction of the first church at Coldwater and built it nearly all himself. In his younger days he had accompanied and guided many parties of surveyors and explorers. Lieut. Gov. Dewdney and Judge O'Reilly had him in their company during their pioneer excursions through the country and held him in high esteem. In the year 1868 he had accompanied Bishop D'Herbomez from Yale on his expedition into the Cariboo. (56)

Leaving Coldwater on January 23, 1894, for the return journey to Kamloops, Father Le Jeune found the former group he had visited at Quilchena still instructing each other on the lessons begun at the first meeting. After spending three days at Kamloops engaged in issuing the Kamloops Wawa for February, the priest went to Spuzzum, where over fifty people were gathered for their lessons. Here three or four young men became so enthusiastic that they spent three whole nights repeating the lessons of the day.

The time between February 2 and February 9 was spent at Spuzzum, between February 10 and February 15 at North Bend, between February 20 and February 26 at Bonaparte, and between March 2 and March 7 at Deadman's Creek. Practically the same procedure as that carried out at Coldwater was followed in each of these places.

Upon his return to Kamloops, Father Le Jeune was gratified

(56) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, July, 1895, p. 97.

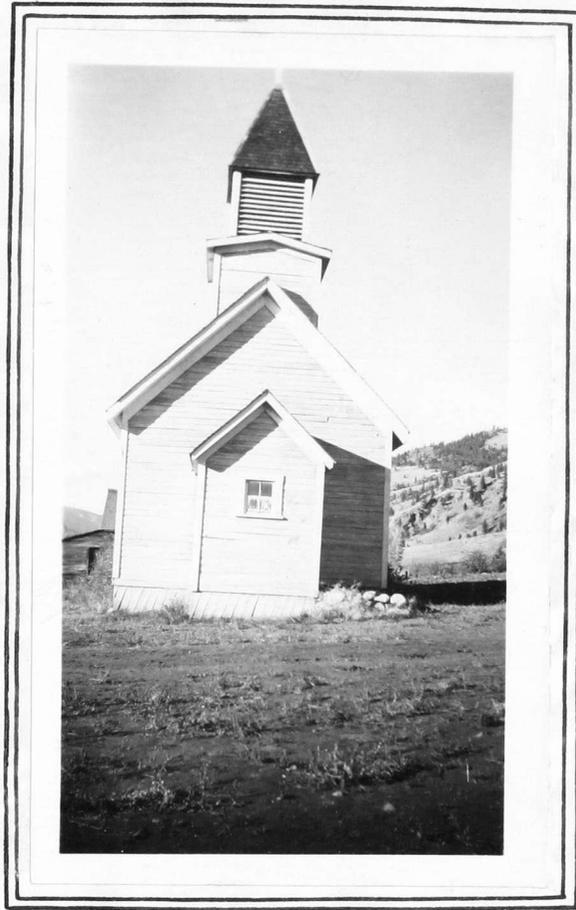
to find that the chief there had his Indians assembled every night from 7 to 10 o'clock as a regular school. Here some had made such progress as to be able to correspond in the English language among themselves and with people of the other bands. (57)

Bonaparte Indian village was considered by Father Le Jeune as "perhaps the most miserable village in the whole country, at least in the whole of this district." (58) He had viewed the Bonaparte camp for the first time in February, 1883, and it had changed very little in the intervening years. The houses or huts of the 180 inhabitants were built on a slide of sand and rocks washed down from a mountain by one of those torrential rainstorms which carry all before them in their passage, and which cover the landscape with a thick layer of gravel and stones. Most of the houses of the village consisted of old cabins belonging to the early miners.

Father Le Jeune had seen the Bonaparte Indian village two or three times in passing during the years 1883, 1885, and 1890. It fell to his lot to visit it regularly from the year 1895 on. In the early days and up to the year 1900, the people had a very primitive type of church. It was simply a cabin similar to the houses of the Indians, complete with dirt roof, and patched here and there with old timbers. In the year 1900, at Father Le Jeune's instigation, the inhabitants built a new church fairly suitable for the village. But they failed to

(57) Inland Sentinel, Friday, March 9, 1894.

(58) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, April, 1916, p. 212.



Indian church at Deadman's Creek reserve.

provide any room for the priest, who was forced to accommodate himself for twelve years in a part of the old church, now reduced in size to a space about three yards square with just room for a bed, table, stove and three visitors, more or less.

Upon the occasion of one of Father Le Jeune's visits to Bonaparte in the year 1896, most of the villagers were assembled in the largest house (that of the chief) for a lesson in Catechism. An Indian came running to tell the priest that a big rattlesnake was in the next house coiled beside a young child who was reaching out to try to grasp the snake by the neck. The Catechism meeting broke up in some disorder when everybody ran to see the snake, which someone had by this time pulled away from the child and outside.

"What shall we do with the snake?" the Indians asked Father Le Jeune.

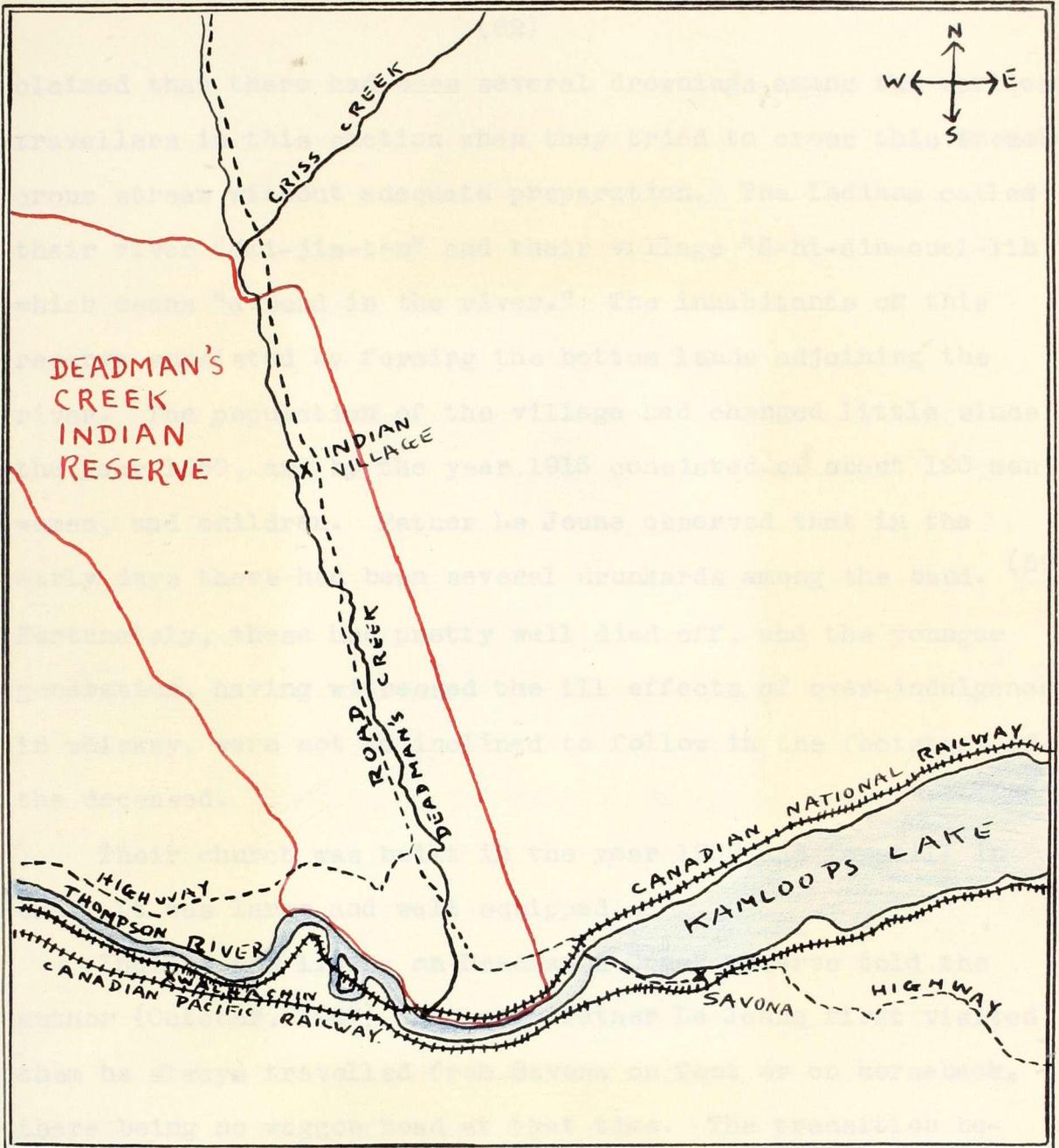
"Kill it, of course," he replied.

"But Father Le Jacq told us that it was not good to kill a rattlesnake--that its mate would always return to avenge its death."

"Very well," responded Father Le Jeune, "if its mate comes, you will kill it also."

Strange to say, the next day the Indians killed another snake which was crawling behind the same house.

Due east of Bonaparte, and ten miles north of Savona, lay the Deadman's Creek Indian reserve. Deadman's Creek, or the "River of the Dead," owed its name to the fact that tradition



Map of Deadman's Creek Indian reserve

Scale: 2 miles to 1 inch

(83) De Joux, G. J. R., *Plains and Prairie Provinces*, July, 1910, p. 20.

claimed that there had been several drownings among the earliest travellers in this section when they tried to cross this treacherous stream without adequate preparation. The Indians called their river "Ski-jis-ten" and their village "S-hi-ain-ouel-lih," which means "a bend in the river." The inhabitants of this reserve subsisted by farming the bottom lands adjoining the river. The population of the village had changed little since the year 1880, and by the year 1915 consisted of about 120 men, women, and children. Father Le Jeune observed that in the early days there had been several drunkards among the band. (59) Fortunately, these had pretty well died off, and the younger generation, having witnessed the ill effects of over-indulgence in whiskey, were not so inclined to follow in the footsteps of the deceased.

Their church was built in the year 1909 and is still in use. It was large and well equipped.

Indians now living on Deadman's Creek reserve told the author (October, 1947) that when Father Le Jeune first visited them he always travelled from Savona on foot or on horseback, there being no waggon road at that time. The transition between the old and the new in transportation methods came in the month of June, 1915. On this particular trip Father Le Jeune was met at Savona on Thursday, June 11, by old Chief Thomas, who came by waggon to transport him to the village. On Monday,

(59) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, July, 1915, p. 26.

June 14, when the priest was ready to leave he had a pleasant surprise. An automobile arrived from Savona to get him. This first car to travel over the Deadman's Creek road was driven by Mr. George Tunstall, a son of Judge Tunstall of Kamloops. (60)

The North Thompson Indian reserve, with a population of approximately 150, was situated fifty miles north of Kamloops. On December 1, 1898, two young Indians from that district came to Kamloops to take Father Le Jeune up to their reserve. They started on Friday morning, December 2, and a cold sleigh ride it was from morning to night, for they arrived there at 9 P. M. Three days were busily spent by the priest, the result being ninety-five confessions and fifty-five communions. Another cold sleigh ride of fifty miles in eight hours brought the priest back to Kamloops on December 6, to spend the Feast of the Immaculate Conception at the Indian reserve there. (61)

One year later, on November 30, 1899, Chief Andrew, of the North Thompson reserve, came to Kamloops for the priest--this time with horses and buggy. They started out the next morning about 10 o'clock, hoping to reach Louis Creek the same day, a distance of thirty-six miles. But their horses proved to be slow, and the road very soft, so they were overtaken by dusk ten miles from their intended destination. Finally they came to a very muddy place in the road and were tempted to get down from

(60) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, July, 1915, p. 26.

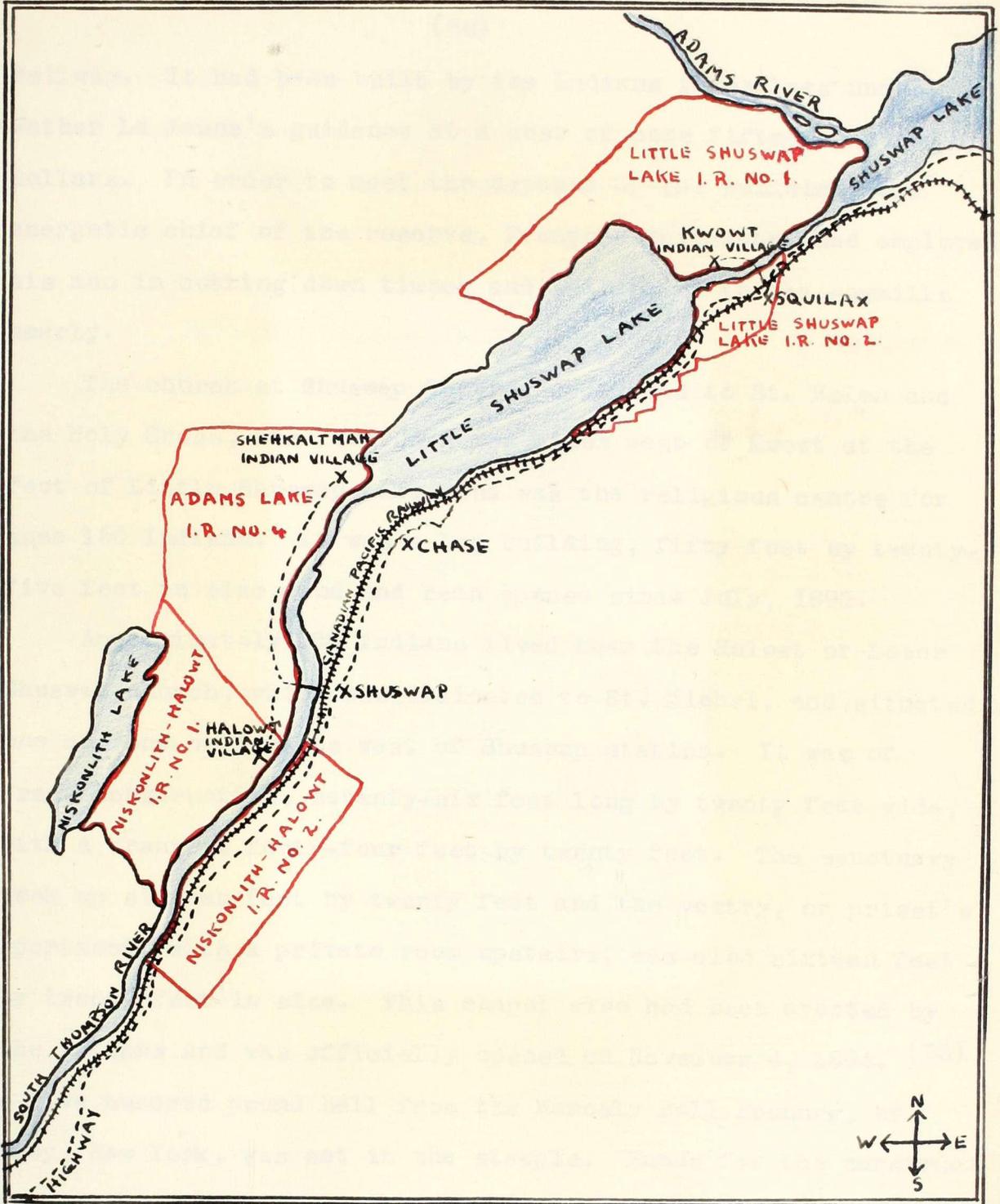
(61) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, December, 1898, p. 3.

the buggy to look for the road. But it was so muddy that they could not have drawn their shoes back if they had attempted to walk in that mud. By urging on their horses they travelled an additional two miles, hardly knowing whether they were on or off the road. Finally, some lights began to show up in the distance and these proved to be the fires of a few Indians who were on a hunting expedition. The travellers were glad to stay with them for the night. There were four tents touching each other and pitched around a square which served as a common fireplace. The weather was not very cold, so they were able to sleep without much difficulty. In the morning the Indians set up an altar with boxes, and Mass was celebrated in the open spaces before their tents. Proceeding on their journey, the priest and Chief Andrew reached Louis Creek about noon and the North Thompson Indian reserve, twelve miles further on, about three o'clock. (62)

The Shuswap reserves were reached from Shuswap station on the Canadian Pacific Railway, thirty-five miles east of Kamloops. There were here three bands, the Upper Shuswap or Kwowt Indians, the Shuswap Centre or Shehkaltkmah Indians, and the Lower Shuswap or Halowt Indians.

The Kwowt band was composed of about seventy-five persons. Their little church, dedicated to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, was situated about half a mile above the head of Little Shuswap Lake and directly opposite Squilax Siding on the

(62) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, December, 1899, pp. 129--132.



Map of the Shuswap Indian reserves

Scale: 2 miles to 1 inch

railway. It had been built by the Indians themselves under Father Le Jeune's guidance at a cost of some fifteen hundred dollars. In order to meet the expense of the building, the energetic chief of the reserve, François Shilpahan, had employed his men in cutting down timber and selling it to the sawmills nearby.

The church at Shuswap Centre, dedicated to St. Helen and the Holy Cross, was located a few miles west of Kwowt at the foot of Little Shuswap Lake, and was the religious centre for some 150 Indians. It was a log building, fifty feet by twenty-five feet in size, and had been opened since July, 1892.

Approximately 150 Indians lived near the Halowt or Lower Shuswap church, which was dedicated to St. Michel, and situated one and one-half miles west of Shuswap station. It was of frame construction, seventy-six feet long by twenty feet wide, with a transept forty-four feet by twenty feet. The sanctuary took up sixteen feet by twenty feet and the vestry, or priest's apartment, with a private room upstairs, was also sixteen feet by twenty feet in size. This chapel also had been erected by the Indians and was officially opened on November 4, 1894. (63) A five hundred pound bell from the Meneely Bell Foundry, of Troy, New York, was set in the steeple. Funds for the construction of this church were raised by the Indians, who sold firewood in the city of Kamloops. A mutual agreement was reached among the able bodied men of the band that each would make up

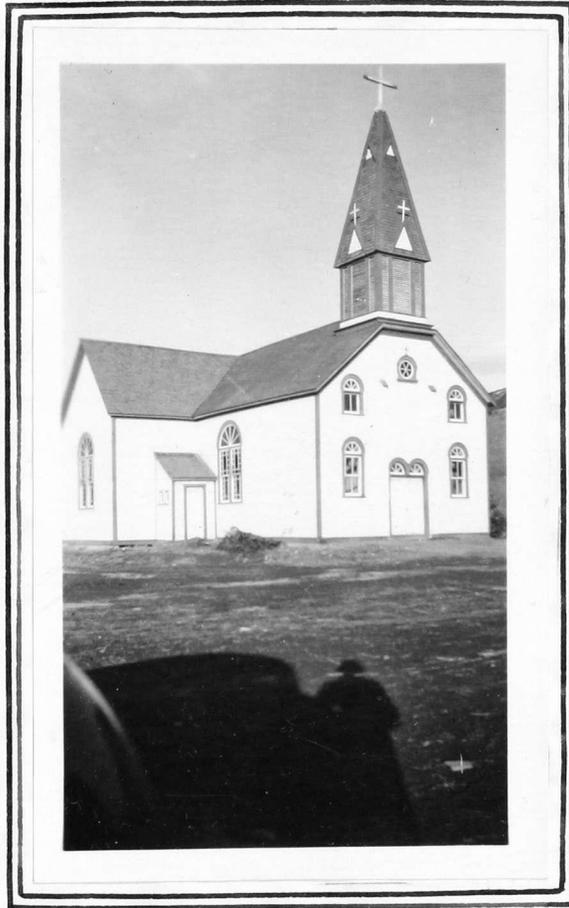
(63) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, May, 1895, p. 65.

five cords of wood for this purpose.

It was Father Le Jeune's usual custom to arrange his itinerary in such a way that the interval between Christmas and New Year would be spent at the Kamloops Indian reserve. This was his procedure during that period in the year 1894, when about 350 Indians gathered at Kamloops for religious instruction. The population of the Kamloops reserve numbered about 250, but on this occasion several visitors from neighbouring reserves had arrived for the holiday season. Those taking part in the religious instruction were kept to a strict schedule as follows: at 6 A. M., rising; from 7 to 8, morning prayers, Holy Mass and instruction; from 8 to 10:30, breakfast and household work; from 10:30 A. M. to 1:30 P. M., meeting in the Catechism house; 1:30 to 5, leisure hour for dinner and out-door work; from 5 to 6:30, Rosary, night prayers, Benediction and sermon; 6:30 to 8, supper time; 8 to 10:30, second meeting in the Catechism house; 11, bed time.

The time at the meetings in the Catechism house was spent in the following manner: in a revision or repetition of the instruction; reading, translating and explaining a chapter of the Old or New Testament published in the Kamloops Wawa; studying, in groups of two, three, or four, another chapter or two from the Kamloops Wawa; explaining a few questions of Catechism; practising some kind of chant or music; writing or copying some portions of the materials revised during the meeting. (64)

(64) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, vol. 4, no. 3, March, 1895, p. 33.



Close view of church, Kamloops Indian reserve.

Up to the year 1900 the Indians on the Kamloops reserve used an old log church as their place of worship. In that year this building was torn down and construction begun on a large frame church. The services of a good carpenter were secured by Father Le Jeune, and the Indians worked along under his direction. At times there were as many as fifty Indians working on the new church. By November 10 the building was finished on the outside, the windows and doors were in their places, and the ceiling was completed on the inside. At this point construction halted for the time being, since the Indians did not want to miss their fall hunt ~~of~~ deer for meat. Upon their return a few days' work completed the new church, and opening services were held on Sunday morning, December 23. (65)

In the course of his missionary activities it was Father Le Jeune's experience to live through the famous high water of the year 1894, an event remembered for a generation throughout the Interior and the lower Fraser Valley for the inconvenience and devastation it caused. While the annual recurrence of spring freshets on the Fraser River and its tributaries often play havoc with rail and road transportation throughout British Columbia, conditions were much worse in the earlier days of settlement, when road beds and grades were not as well established as they are to-day.

There had been previous years of extremely high water, notably those of 1876 and 1882. During Father Le Jeune's early

(65) Inland Sentinel, Friday, Dec. 28, 1900.

travels on the Cariboo Road he was often amazed to see, high above his head, the marks of the high water of the 16th of July, 1876. While travelling from Yale to Lytton during the first days of June, 1882, in company with Indian Jack, of Skuzzy, near Boston Bar, the two remarked upon those high water marks of 1876. Little did they think that upon their return journey from Lytton a week later the water would be several feet higher than those same marks. Yet such was the case, and on June 11, 1882, the water reached its peak--the highest point ever known to white or Indian up to that time. That same year coincided with one of the largest salmon runs ever witnessed in British Columbia. The Fraser River was literally filled with salmon, thousands of them crowding at the sides of the river as if trying to push each other out of the water. It was even remarked that one could almost ford the river on salmon backs.

Twelve years later, in 1894, the high water of 1882 was again exceeded. In a normal year the rivers of British Columbia begin their annual rise during the first warm days of May. A few cooler days and nights generally follow, having the effect of checking the rise. Thus with alternate hot and cool spells of weather the snow water reaches the ocean without serious freshets. In the year 1894, however, the weather during the spring remained very cool until past the middle of May. Then an extremely hot spell ensued for some weeks, causing a sudden and continuous melting of the snow in the mountains. The result was that by June 2 the Fraser and its tributaries had already surpassed the high water mark of 1882, with a

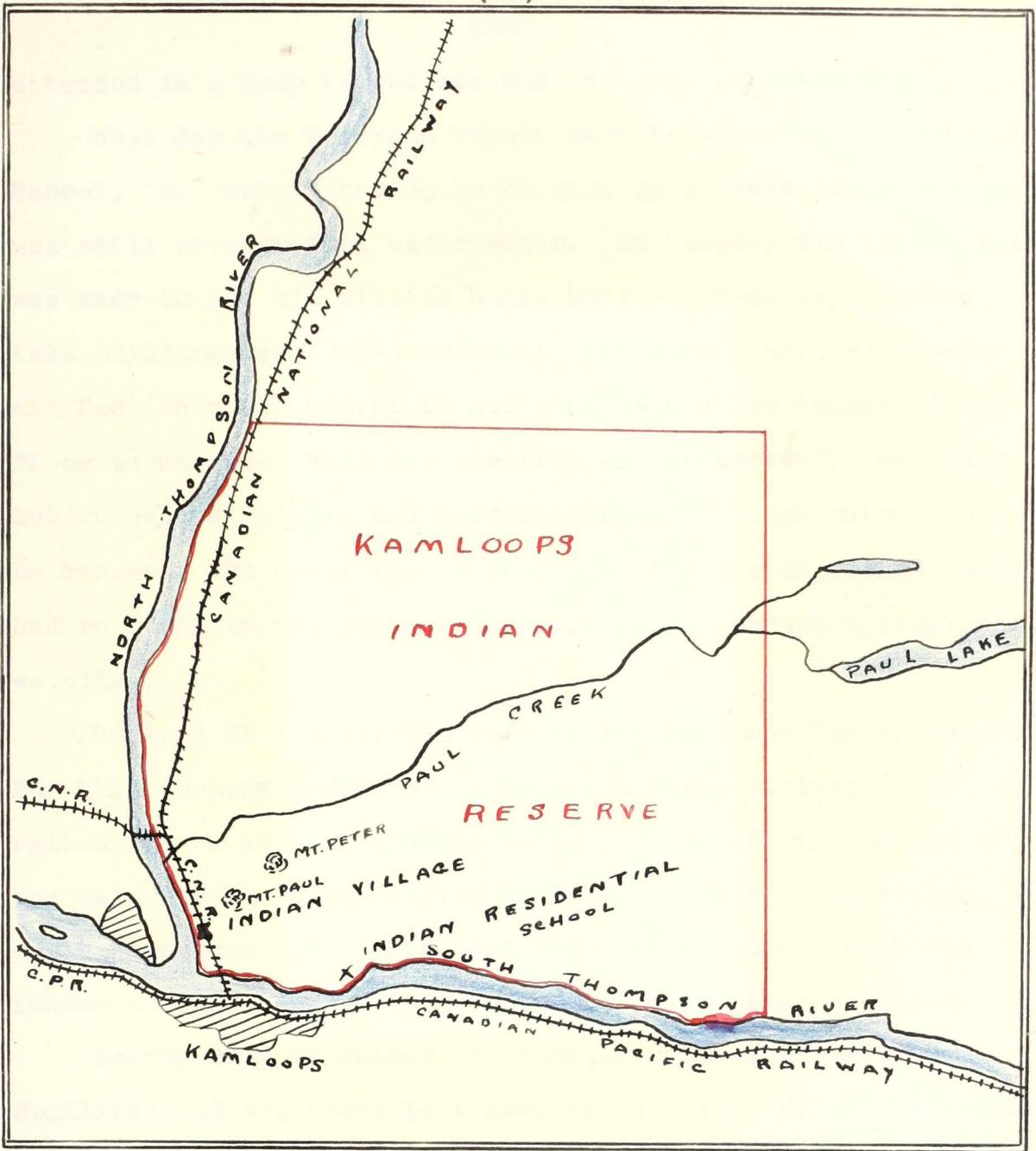
continual rise even above this point for several days following.

The Canadian Pacific Railway suffered severely on its main line all the way from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. Bridges were carried away, embankments caved in, tracks were several feet under water in places, so that transportation was seriously affected throughout the whole system. In addition, four bridges on the Thompson River were carried away--those at Savona, Ashcroft, Spence's Bridge and Lytton. Thousands of acres in the lower Fraser Valley were inundated, and the farming areas of Chilliwack, Sumas and Matsqui were one vast lake.

The high water of 1894 coincided with the visit to the British Columbia missions of the Very Reverend Father Souillier, Superior-General of the O. M. I. What the distinguished visitor found upon his arrival must have opened his eyes to the difficulties sometimes encountered by his missionaries in this province.

A letter from the Very Reverend Father reached Kamloops on June 2, announcing his arrival for the 16th of the same month. That was the last mail received at Kamloops until the eve of his arrival, and little did the personnel at Kamloops believe that their guest would be with them as scheduled.

However, by this time the trains were beginning to get through, and the Reverend Superior-General did arrive on June 17, only a few hours late, accompanied by Reverend Father Antoine, Assistant-General of the Order, and Rev. Father Lacombe. The Indians of Kamloops, having been warned of his coming,



Map of Kamloops Indian reserve

Scale: 2 miles to 1 inch

attended in a body to welcome him the same afternoon.

Next day the Reverend Father went to visit the Industrial School, the journey having to be made in a canoe since the road was still several feet under water. On Tuesday the 19th a visit was made to the old mission house nearby. Some days before, this building had looked somewhat like Noah's Ark, with water six feet deep all around it and with even a few inches of the floor submerged. This day the trip was attempted by carriage, but in several places and particularly one slough which had to be crossed, the water was so deep that the distinguished guest had to stand on the seat of the carriage to escape a complete wetting.

On June 21 a visit was made to the Kamloops Indian reserve, For this purpose a boat was taken at a short distance from the railway track in town and the party paddled off to the end of the main street in the Indian village. A week earlier they could have gone with their boat through the main street and landed on the steps at the front door of the Indian church.

Accompanied by Father Le Jeune, Very Reverend Father Souillier and his party left Kamloops at 11 P. M. on the evening of June 21, connections with the west having been opened by the railway. They arrived at North Bend on time the next morning at 7 A. M. There a delay of some hours was experienced, but they reached Yale by noon and Cat's Landing (now Katz, B. C.) by 2 P. M. At this point they were obliged to leave the train and continue their journey by steamer, arriving at St. Mary's Mission about 7 o'clock in the evening. From the steamer they

could view the Indian churches and the houses on the bank as they approached. These buildings, located then on the lower reaches, had all been partially submerged a few days earlier by the high water.

Upon landing, the party was informed that at the Tselez Indian village a few Sundays before, the Indians had gone to church in their canoes. There they had been compelled to kneel in six inches of water while they chanted their service, as their brass band played the tunes from the canoes outside the windows. (66)

A journey undertaken by Father Le Jeune during the summer of the following year, 1895, took him through the wild uncharted country between Kamloops and William's Lake. He left Kamloops on June 28, and reached Louis Creek the same evening. The next day he arrived at the North Thompson Indian reserve, where the whole band was assembled for Sunday. On Monday, July 1, he started out on horseback, accompanied by Chief Andrew and two dozen of his people, and rode about ten miles north to a place called Little Ford (Little Fort), sixty miles north of Kamloops.

There the whole afternoon was spent in putting the horses across the river, which was very high and swift, it being the time of high water. They camped for the night on the west side of the North Thompson, at a Mr. Lemieux's place. Next morning they began the difficult climb up the mountains on the west side. Fallen timber all along their way and the precipitous

(66) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, August, 1896, vol. 5, no. 8, p. 171.

rise made it impossible to proceed otherwise than at a snail's pace, and the top was not reached until noon after about ten miles' travel.

In the afternoon the route became more level, and better time was made, the party covering about twenty-five miles before nightfall. They were now on a plateau-like country dotted here and there with low hills, sparsely timbered. Many beautiful lakes were passed, and abundant grass provided feed for the horses. At sunset the party pitched its tents in this park-like land, and next morning, a rustic altar having been built by the young men, the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ was offered for the first time on those lonely hills.

That day, July 3, was one of hard riding for Father Le Jeune and his companions. They covered some fifty-five or sixty miles, reaching the Canim Lake Indian village, three miles from the west end of Canim Lake, by evening. After remaining a day and two nights at this village, the party left on July 5, and arrived next day at St. Joseph Mission, William's Lake. Here the party joined His Lordship Bishop Durieu and nearly one thousand Indians in the ceremonies connected with the opening of a new church at St. Joseph's. (67)

Such a journey, under delightful summer skies, provided a refreshing interlude, and Father Le Jeune looked back upon it as a holiday. During the late fall of the year 1896 a trip in the Lillooet country was carried out under contrasting

(67) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, September, 1895, vol. 4, no. 9, p. 130.

conditions. Fathers Le Jeune and Thomas had been at the Seton Lake Mission from November 6 to November 12, carrying on religious exercises and writing down the vocabulary of the Lillooet language.

On their return to Lillooet, snow began to fall heavily, with a severe wind prevailing all during the night of the 12th. On the morning of November 13 the main street was full of drifts three and four feet high. They left on the stage that morning in the company of Captain Tatlow of Victoria. At the start they had a brisk north wind blowing the snow into their faces for three miles; then they had to deal with drifts which delayed them for nearly an hour. Their progress was very slow, the snow and wind storm continuing unabated.

The snow was nearly two feet deep when they came to the foot of Pavilion mountain, where an exchange was made of the express waggon for a bob-sleigh. A fresh team of horses replaced the weary ones, and thus they succeeded in reaching Carson's place after a continuous ascent of seven or eight miles. They arrived at supper time instead of for dinner, and spent a comfortable night's rest, thanks to the hospitality of Mrs. Carson and her family.

Next morning they found their bob-sleigh covered with twelve inches of fresh snow. Two more horses were added, and thus with four-in-hand, their driver, Eddie Bell, was able to pull them over Pavilion mountain. It took three hours to reach the top, about five and one-half miles from Carson's. The

descent was made at a more lively speed, but along the shore of Kelly's Lake they met a couple of snow slides and were delayed three hours. At last Clinton was reached about five o'clock in the evening, twenty-four hours behind schedule. That night it was thirty-five degrees below zero in Clinton. (68)

But the problems of transportation, foul weather and the like were trivial in relation to one that constantly faced Father Le Jeune and other missionaries. This was the devastating effect of liquor upon their Indian charges. The lowering of morale and the long list of crimes attributable directly or indirectly to the excessive use of liquor form a sorry picture through the years. Despite the fact that the law prohibited the selling or giving of intoxicants to Indians, there were always unprincipled whites to be found who made a practice of obtaining liquor for them. This was a particularly lucrative game for the suppliers, since the Indians were ready to pay them well. The close proximity of many of the Indian reserves to the white settlements did not help matters any, either.

The illegal manner in which it was necessary for an Indian to obtain liquor did not tend to produce moderation in his drinking. One or two drinks at the time were not sufficient; the usual procedure was to keep on until an entire bottle had been consumed, with subsequent events left to the imagination.

"Whiskey has been the cause," said Father Le Jeune, "of premature death to scores of our young Indians, and yet they continue

(68) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, December, 1896, vol. 5, no. 12, p. 249.

madly craving for it, no matter under what circumstances." (69)

This craving for liquor was not universal among the Indians by any means. As in any general cross section of the population, there was often a small group of young men who would go to any extremes to obtain liquor. These were the desperate cases--the ones whose names appeared in the court records of the neighbouring towns with monotonous regularity. Drunkenness, fighting, making public nuisances of themselves--the usual punishment, especially if the case was a second or third offence, was a few months' imprisonment or a fine.

After two or three days' imprisonment the friends of the convicted Indian would often succeed in selling sufficient of his property to meet the fine and he would be released. Sometimes scarcely a week elapsed before he would be found drinking again, brought up before the magistrate, and sent back to prison. Here again a fine would have redeemed him and set him waiting for another occasion to obtain liquor. This method of punishment was generally found wanting and resulted only in punishing innocent people for the guilty ones, since wives and children often had to suffer privation for the sake of paying the fines.

Father Le Jeune and his compatriots fought the liquor problem among the Indians by organizing Temperance or Total Abstinence Societies. These were local organizations set up in all districts where the need arose, under the control of the

(69) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, March, 1898, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 33.

Bishop of the diocese, but administered by local officers. While the aim of these societies included the inculcation of good citizenship generally, the primary objective was to check the craving for intoxicating drinks existing among certain sections of the Indian population.

A prominent feature of these temperance societies was the initiation of the new members, which always took place in a general meeting and in the presence of the existing subscribers, who thus became witnesses of each new member's vows. On his initiation each member pledged himself to certain undertakings, signing his name or making his mark in a register provided for the purpose. These undertakings were as follows:

- (a) I pledge myself and promise to abstain from every kind of liquor and of fermented beverage for life.
- (b) I pledge myself and promise to observe faithfully the rules and regulations of the Society, and to follow the directions given by the grand president or his delegates.
- (c) I pledge myself and promise to perform a public penance, to be designated by the grand president, his delegate, or even by the local president of the Council of the Society, every time I be found guilty of immorality, gambling, assisting at a potlach, at a tamanoaz feast, or at any meeting or ceremony forbidden by the Society.
- (d) I pledge myself and promise to pay to the repairs or decoration of the church of my village, each time I break my pledge of total abstinence, according to the following scale adopted in this Council--\$1.00 for an unbaptized; \$2.00 for a Christian; \$3.00 for a communicant; \$5.00 for the president and watchmen

of the Council, or the chief and watchmen of the village. (70)

Father Le Jeune saw many tragedies arising from the use of liquor by the Indians. None touched him more deeply than an event which occurred in the spring of the year 1899. A young Indian of the Kamloops band named Casimir, while under the influence of liquor, shot and killed a respected citizen of Kamloops, Philip Walker, while the latter was sitting on the front porch of his home within the town limits. Caught after a chase which lasted several days, tried for murder and convicted, Casimir was hanged at Kamloops Gaol on the morning of June 2, 1899. Despite the fact that public feeling ran high against the condemned man, Father Le Jeune never once faltered in what he considered was his duty to him. As he talked quietly and calmly to the young man in his cell all the wild recklessness departed from his spirit, and Casimir died anxious that his fate should be a warning to all his Indian friends. After the execution, Father Le Jeune issued the following statement to the press:

Indian Casimir died penitent. Since my first visit to him in gaol, April 28, he realized his position, and set himself to prepare for the end. He spent most of his time reading all the Chinook papers he could obtain, especially the life of Christ and His sufferings. He was very cool to the end, and repeatedly told the Indians that came to visit him that he was in strong spirits and prepared to die; he told them and the Chief in particular that it was reckless life and drinking that brought him to his end; and asked the Chief to warn the other Indians and deter them from following his example. He accused himself before the Sheriff and several

(70) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, August, 1895, vol. 4, no. 8, p. 115.

others of being guilty of the murder of Philip Walker, and was now very sorry for what he had done. When asked what was his motive, he said he did not know why; he had always been on friendly terms with Walker, for whom he had been working for a couple of years. He had been drinking that day and the day before, did not know even to what extent, and it was some time before he realized what he had done. His last words, repeated after me in Chinook before he dropped down from the scaffold, were: 'I am sorry for the bad I have done, I accept death as an atonement. I ask forgiveness from Almighty God. God, Thou lovest me so much, and I love Thee with my whole heart. I throw myself into the hands of Thy mercy.'

The Indians were much impressed with Casimir's fate. A number of his cousins and other relatives came to bid him farewell yesterday and the day before. All of them are satisfied of the justice of his sentence. Yesterday morning nearly fifty of them received Holy Communion for Casimir's Intention, and this morning as early as five they were again in Church, assisting at the funeral service for the repose of Bishop Durieu who died yesterday, and fifty again received Communion. At half-past seven the bell at the Indian reserve was heard again, the Indians coming to church to intercede for Casimir, and to recommend his soul to his Maker at the very moment that the execution took place. (71)

Pageantry and display, as a means of arousing and maintaining an interest in religion, were frequently used by the Oblate missionaries in British Columbia. One of the largest and most successful Indian celebrations ever held in the Interior was that at Kamloops during June, 1901. It was arranged by Father Le Jeune for the purpose of giving his Indians the exercises of an annual Retreat, and also of initiating them into the ceremonies customary in Indian celebrations, especially the Passion Tableaux. He was assisted by his old friend, Father

(71) "The penalty paid, Indian Casimir hanged this morning," Inland Sentinel, 2 June, 1899, p. 1.

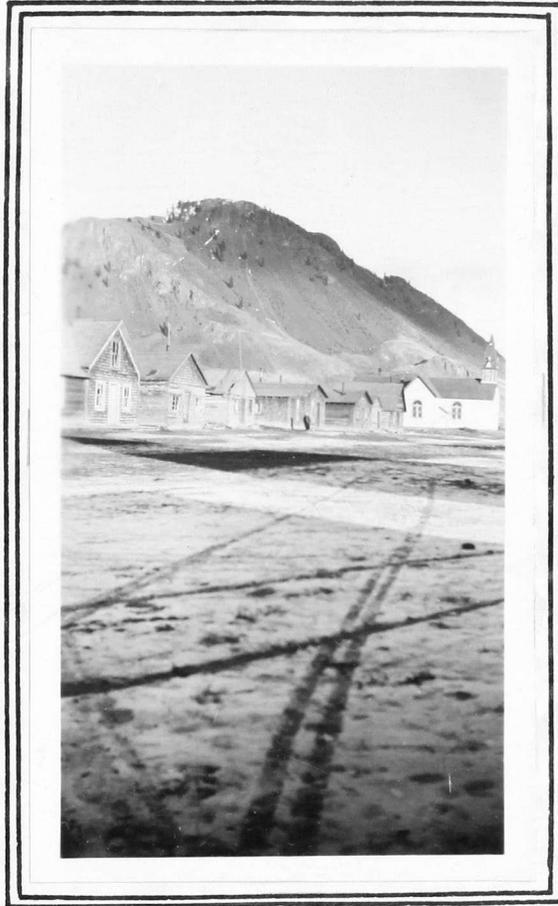
Chirouse, and by Father Rohr and a Squamish Indian, Laket Joe, all three of whom had had previous experience in organizing and conducting such celebrations on the Coast.

On Saturday, June 15, Indians from all parts of the district converged on Kamloops. Down the Thompson River from Shuswap they came--some by steamer and some in their own canoes. Over the dusty roads from the south and west they came in light and heavy waggons or on horseback. In all a total of more than seven hundred gathered on the Kamloops Indian reserve.

Sunday, June 16, opened with the celebration of High Mass at 7 A. M., Father Chirouse officiating. After Mass a short instruction period was given on the text "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul?" Illustrations from the lives of Mary Magdalen and St. Francis Xavier were used to clarify the text.

At ten o'clock the Indians were again in the church for the recitation of the Rosary and the prayers for Holy Communion. Father Chirouse then addressed them, explaining the object of the exercises, the regulations to be followed during the week, and exhorting them to the greatest fidelity during the whole time.

Between three and five o'clock in the afternoon selection was begun of the persons who were to act in the Passion Tableaux. At eight o'clock the crowd assembled in the church for night prayers, followed by a sermon by Father Chirouse, with Louis Falardeau as interpreter. After the sermon the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given, and exercises for the day



The long main street of the Indian village,
Kamloops, with Mount Paul in the background.

were ended.

Monday, June 17, and Tuesday, June 18, were fully occupied with religious exercises, meetings, further selection of actors, distribution of costumes, and rehearsals. On Wednesday morning, June 19, an important meeting was called at nine o'clock. All the Indian chiefs present gathered around the Fathers with their flags of temperance, and the priests read before the whole assembly the regulations which the people had already promised to observe, but on which there had been too much relaxation at times. These laws were: to abstain from all intoxicating drinks; to be punctual at all exercises in the church and Catechism house; not to idle around town; to be careful not to miss the priest's visits to their special camps; chiefs and watchmen were to see to the observance of these rules and to the punishment of those who broke them.

Every one of the chiefs present rose in turn and spoke to the assembly about the observance of these regulations. At the last all the chiefs came and knelt in turn before the priests, holding the temperance flag in one hand, the other hand on the crucifix and sacred books, and promising to do all they could to ensure the carrying out of these rules by their people. Then the whole assembly was pledged to obey the chiefs and to aid them in keeping their promises.

Finally, on Friday evening the time arrived for the performance of the Passion Tableaux. The roads and avenues of the village had all been cleaned and swept, and lined with decorations of evergreens brought in from the hills. While the

procession started and wound its way slowly around the cemetery, the actors went to dress and to pose in their different groups along the main avenue of the Indian village. Then began the enactment of those various sacred scenes which go to make up the Passion Tableaux. Interpreters commented on each as the procession stopped before it. (72) The commentary on only the first and last tableau are outlined in detail below.

First Tableau:--In the Garden of Gethsemane. "See our Saviour kneeling in the Garden. He sees in spirit everything that is going to happen to Him, everything that He is going to suffer. He sees the numberless sins of all mankind for which He is going to suffer, your own in the number. He sees how many miserable creatures are going to everlasting perdition, notwithstanding his sufferings to save them. He is overwhelmed with sadness, and says to the Apostles, 'Watch and pray. Do you not see Judas, how he does not sleep, and how he exerts himself to betray me?' How is the case with yourselves? Often sleepy for good, eager for evil, slothful and careless for your salvation, wakeful whole nights when after evil?"

Second Tableau:--The Betrayal.

Third Tableau:--Christ before the High Priest.

Fourth Tableau:--Christ before Pilate.

Fifth Tableau:--The Scourging of Our Lord.

Sixth Tableau:--The Crowning with Thorns.

Seventh Tableau:--Christ overburdened with the Cross.

(72) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, September, 1901, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 35--43.

Eighth Tableau:--Christ meeting his Mother.

Ninth Tableau:--Simon, the Cyrenean, helps Jesus to carry His Cross.

Tenth Tableau:--Veronica wipes the Face of Jesus.

Eleventh Tableau:--Jesus speaks to the Women of Jerusalem.

Twelfth Tableau:--Jesus is stripped of His Garments.

Thirteenth Tableau:--Jesus is nailed to the Cross.

Fourteenth Tableau:--Christ dying on the Cross. "See Christ on the cross. He suffers in all His body. His head is crowned with thorns. His hands and feet are pierced with the nails. His skin all cut from the scourges, His blood all run out, His whole body burning with pain, and He endures besides the most tormenting thirst. See that woman at the foot of the cross. It is Mary Magdalen. She weeps for her sins which have caused so great sufferings to the Son of God. Follow her example, kneel at the foot of the cross, weep for all your past sins, and make a resolution forever not to sin any more."

The procession, after winding its way around the tableaux, gathered at the last before the Calvary that had been erected at the east end of the village. Everybody knelt down and sang the "O Crux Ave." The large crucifix then began trickling blood from all the wounds of the figure of Christ. The whole group was deeply moved. One of the priests arose and addressed a few words, exciting to Contrition, especially of those sins to which the Indians were most inclined.

The two remaining days of the Indian celebrations were spent in further instruction and religious exercises. Finally,

late Sunday afternoon or early Monday morning the activities were over and the Indians started on their homeward journeys.

Father Le Jeune loved his missionary work and his Indians. He did not spare himself in ministering to his charges and they in turn were quick to sense the fact that he was working wholeheartedly for them. On several reserves the author asked older Indians if they remembered Father Le Jeune. Invariably their faces lighted up with pleasure as they replied, "Yes, we remember him well. He was a great and good man." A simple tribute, perhaps, but it was the kind that Father Le Jeune himself would have appreciated most of all.

CHAPTER V. FATHER LE JEUNE AS A TEACHER.

When Father Le Jeune arrived at New Westminster in the year 1879, he found both Mgr. Durieu and Mgr. D'Herbomez strongly inclined towards the adoption of a form of syllabic writing for recording the Indian languages of the country. (73) As a matter of fact, there were already filed at New Westminster several hundred small books of syllabic characters in which the early missionaries had tried to put down several of the twenty-six or twenty-seven Indian dialects of the province.

This syllabic writing consisted in writing a syllable with a single character. There were, therefore, as many signs or characters as there were consonants multiplied by the vowels to the number of four--A E I OU, or perhaps five--A E I O OU. In using a syllabic writing, then, one had to find signs for each of the following sounds:--

PA	PE	PI	PO	POU
TA	TE	TI	TO	TOU
KA	KE	KI	KO	KOU
LA	LE	LI	LO	LOU
MA	ME	MI	MO	MOU
NA	NE	NI	NO	NOU
SHA	SHE	SHI	SHO	SHOU
SA	SE	SI	SO	SOU
WA	WE	WI	WO	WOU
YA	YE	YI	YO	YOU, etc.

(73) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, no. 260, March, 1916, p. 197.

This writing is of a type which is apparently well adapted to the Cree and other languages with syllables corresponding to the sounds given above. Rev. Arthur Bilodeau, O. M. I., is to-day using such a system among the Cree Indians at Moosonee, Ontario. (74) His symbols used to represent the Cree sound values are reproduced below:--

e	▽	i	△	o	▽	a	▽
pe	▽	pi	^	po	>	pa	<
te	∪	ti	∩	to	∩	ta	<
ke	9	ki	p	ko	d	ka	b
tche	∩	tchi	f	tcho	∩	tcha	∪
ne	∩	ni	∩	no	∩	na	∩
se	∩	si	∩	so	∩	sa	∩
she	∩	shi	∩	sho	∩	sha	∩
re	∩	ri	∩	ro	∩	ra	∩
le	∩	li	∩	lo	∩	la	∩
me	∩	mi	∩	mo	∩	ma	∩
pne	∩	pni	∩	pno	∩	pna	∩

p | t / k \ tch - n > m < ch ∪ r ∩ l ∩

Toronto----- > p > ∩

During the first two or three years that he was in the province, Father Le Jeune tried to make some headway with the syllabic method favoured by Bishop Durieu. But he found that certain difficulties arose in its use with the British Columbia Indian dialects. When a certain syllable ended in a consonant

(74) Letter to the author from Mr. Fred Jarrett, Canadian manager of Gregg Publishing Company, September 10, 1946.

it was necessary to add an additional sign. To make a word like "mokst" three additional signs had to be added after the first syllable. The difficulties of the system became almost insurmountable when one was confronted with a Shuswap word like "t-kwa-koul-tk-sht'n." So Father Le Jeune finally arrived at the conclusion that it was simpler and easier to use ordinary English letters in attempting to write down the Indian sounds. This is what he tried to do during his first twelve years on the missions for writing the prayers and catechism for the Indians.

Father Le Jeune had learned the Duployan system of shorthand in the year 1871, while still a youth of sixteen and engaged in his secondary school studies. He had used it extensively during his later education, especially at the Scholasticate of Autun, where it proved extremely useful for recording lecture notes. He had also used it in his personal correspondence during his early years in British Columbia.

This shorthand system which Father Le Jeune mastered and used was the original French system of Abbé Emile Duployé. (75) It may be regarded as of distinctively French origin, although it was later adapted to English by Mr. John M. Sloan in the British Isles and by Mr. H. M. Pernin in the United States. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Duployan system of shorthand and its adaptations were energetically advertised and promoted, and exercised considerable influence

(75) Letter to the author from Mr. J. D. Sloan, secretary of the Sloan-Duployan shorthand society, England, January 9, 1947.

upon the development of the art of shorthand generally.

Dr. John Robert Gregg, perhaps the greatest authority on the history of shorthand systems, summarizes the leading features of Duployé's shorthand as follows: (a) It is geometric. (b) It has simple stroke signs for consonants, arranged in pairs and distinguished by length or by diacritical marks. (c) There is freedom from shading and "position" writing. (d) It employs joined vowels, expressed by circles, hooks, and quadrants, with diacritical marks to denote the precise vowel sounds in a few cases. (e) It has minute curves written in all directions to express the nasal sounds of "an," "in," "un," with diacritical marks to denote the exact sounds when necessary. (f) It has a simple alphabet, and practically nothing beyond the alphabet, as the system was intended to be a fluent writing, capable of being acquired and used even by children in the elementary schools. Consequently the forms for many words are very long. (76)

Strangely enough, the idea of using his shorthand knowledge for putting down the Indian languages did not occur to Father Le Jeune until the summer of the year 1890. It came about in the following manner. A number of Oblate Fathers were gathered at New Westminster during the month of July for the exercises of their annual retreat. During a recreation period one afternoon several of the priests were discussing the syllabic writing mentioned above. The almost universal

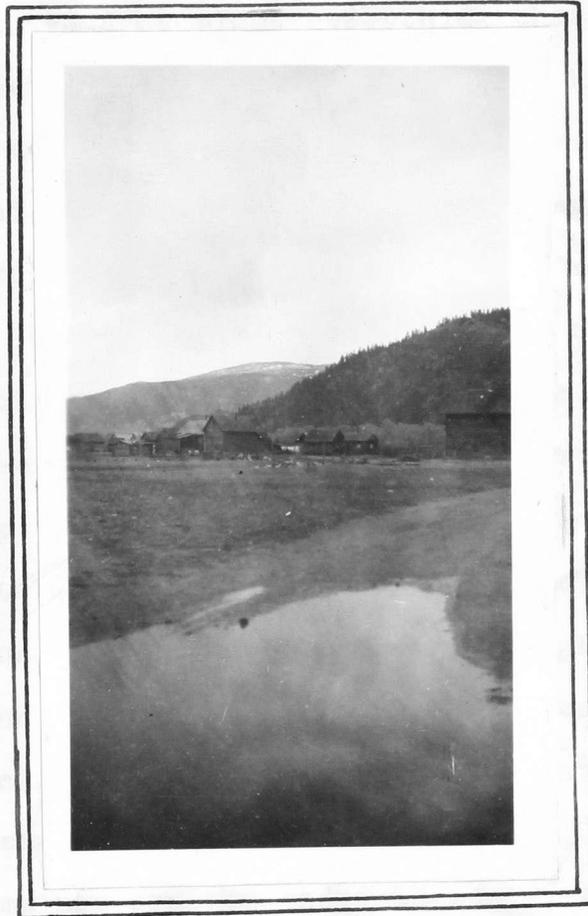
(76) Gregg, John Robert, Selections from the story of shorthand, New York, The Gregg Publishing Company, 1941, p. 100.

opinion among them was that it could never be adapted successfully to the Indian languages of British Columbia such as the Shuswap, Thompson, and Lillooet. In the course of the conversation Father Chiappini casually expressed the thought that stenographic characters might furnish a simple and natural alphabet that the Indians could easily learn.

Instantly an idea flashed through Father Le Jeune's mind. Right then and there he began to imagine some easy and graduated lessons in the Thompson language based on the following sounds: A AA AH AHHA HA HAHA PA PAPA TA TATA, etc. (77) Upon his return among the Thompson Indians, Father Le Jeune tried out his first easy lessons. Failure marked this attempt. The Indians were lukewarm about the whole thing and practically no progress was made. Nevertheless, Father Le Jeune continued his experiments with shorthand applied to the Indian sounds, writing out several exercises and prayers in the Thompson dialect.

In September of the year 1890 Father Le Jeune was at the Coldwater reserve in the course of his regular duties as priest. A young crippled Indian, whose name was Charlie Alexis Mayous, happened to be visiting the Coldwater camp. The priest showed his first lesson to Mayous, who pondered over it for a few minutes and then remarked, "That's very easy." Father Le Jeune loaned him a little scribbler in which the priest had written a dozen pages or so of prayers in the Thompson language.

(77) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, no. 260, March, 1916, p. 199.



Indian village, Lower Nicola, B. C.

Charlie Mayous appears to have been a young man of more than ordinary intelligence because two months later, when Father Le Jeune met him again, he was able to read everything in his scribbler and had learned it all by heart. Not only that, but Mayous read at sight everything that Father Le Jeune wrote in Thompson. The priest completed for him the book of prayers and he memorized it very quickly.

Proud of his accomplishment, and encouraged by Father Le Jeune, Mayous began to communicate his learning to his friends and relatives. He accompanied the priest to Coldwater and to Douglas Lake; at both places the Indians were definitely interested and wanted to keep him to teach them to read. The stage was being set for a great experiment in mass education.

Mayous settled down for the winter at Coldwater and spent his time instructing a dozen young boys and girls and a number of older persons as well. When Father Le Jeune arrived for his Easter visit he found a large number of Indians who could read anything written in shorthand. They profited during his visit by learning some new prayers and some songs, the priest writing them in shorthand and the Indians reading them back and memorizing them.

One morning at Coldwater a Basque from the country of the Pyrenees, who had been farming in the Nicola country for some years, came to chat with Father Le Jeune. The priest was standing before his pupils, having just written on the blackboard a couplet of song.

"What is that?" asked the Basque.

"That is shorthand," replied the priest.

"But if the Indians are not capable of learning the alphabet, how do you think you can teach them shorthand?" responded the visitor.

In reply Father Le Jeune wrote some shorthand words on the board and a little girl read back the following fluently, "Monsieur Castillan, comment allez-vous?" He wrote another sentence and a second little girl read, "Signor Castillan, como esta usted?"

When Father Le Jeune had completed his visit at Coldwater two young Indians took him on to the camp at Quilchena. On the way they stopped at the store in Nicola. The merchant, who had already heard of the new writing, started to criticize it, calling it a "savage writing," useless for any practical purposes. The priest wrote some shorthand words on a sheet of manilla paper which lay on the counter and one of his young companions read them back in English without error. "Don't you see," the Indian said to the merchant, "I can read English as well as Chinook or Indian. I do not need to go to school for two or three years to know how to read or write."

Two months later there was a reunion at Kamloops. A good number of Indians came from Coldwater as well as some from Douglas Lake. These people were not slow in airing their new knowledge to copy the songs and prayers that were being taken up. The Shuswap Indians noted what was going on and they, in turn, became envious of their friends' abilities in reading and writing.

Towards the middle of July, 1891, Father Le Jeune visited the Indians at Shuswap Centre. Here nearly five hundred Indians had assembled. Prayers were not forgotten, but it is safe to say that desire to learn the new writing was the drawing card on this occasion. Lessons were held twice a day, and fair progress was made by the Indians.

In all the camps that Father Le Jeune visited during that year of 1891--at Deadman's Creek, the North Thompson, Kamloops--there was the same eagerness to learn the Chinook writing, a term the Indians themselves used for the phonetic writing. Pencils and scribblers became standard equipment to be carried each time to the meeting house. Using a blackboard or a large sheet of manilla paper tacked to the wall for his illustrations, the missionary began: "Now I will make known to you our A B C's. Here you see sixteen marks or signs, all different.

ah oh oo ow wa e u h p t k l sh z
 o o o o o o c l . | - / / ^ ^

n m. When you come to know the names of all these letters,
) (

and how to write them on paper, and how to connect them together, then you will know this writing."

These seven vowel sounds and nine consonants formed the nucleus of Father Le Jeune's shorthand system. Couched in simple language for his Indian students, the instructions proceeded slowly, step by step.

I. oooooooo "This first letter is called 'ah.' Write a small circle, like a small eye. Make it very small. I fear

only one thing, lest you make it too large, so as to resemble the following letter which is called 'oh.' Write this letter 'ah' a few times on paper, in order to learn to make it correctly. Again I say to make it very small, only a white dot inside. As long as it is not a black eye it will be all right."

II. ○ ○ ○ ○ "This letter's name is 'oh.' Write down a pretty large circle, same size as you see on this paper."

III. ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ "The third letter is named 'oo.' Write down a circle, same size as 'oh' with a tail inside, same as you see oh this paper."

IV. ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ "The fourth letter is 'ow.' Write a large circle, same size as 'oh,' with a small dot inside."

V. ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ "Our fifth letter is 'wa.' Write down 'oh' and write 'ah' inside. When your pencil comes to where 'oh' finishes write the letter 'ah' inside, without lifting off the pencil from the paper."

VI. ◐ ◐ ◐ ◐ "Our sixth letter is called 'e.' Write down half a circle, like half our first letter 'ah.'"

VII. ◑ ◑ ◑ ◑ "The seventh letter is 'u.' Write down a quarter of a circle, pretty large, same as you see on this paper."

VIII. . . . "This little dot, like a little black eye, is called 'h.' You will not have much to do, to learn to write it down."

IX. | — / / "Here you see four letters; one stands up, one lies down, and two are half standing."

| | | | "The one that stands up is 'P.' If you want to write it down, apply your pen or pencil to the paper and draw it down. Make the mark perpendicular and very short, as you see."

X. — — — — "This letter, horizontal, is called 'T.' Apply your pen to the paper, draw a line to the right, and you have this letter."

XI. / / / / "Of these two letters which half stand up, one is called 'K.' If you want to write it down, apply your pen or pencil to the paper and draw it downwards and to the left as you see."

XII. // // // "The other letter is called 'L.' If you wish to write it down apply your pen to the paper and draw a line upwards and to the right. These two letters seem to be alike and yet they are perfectly distinct. When you write 'K' your pen always runs downwards, and when you write 'L' it always runs upwards."

XIII.)))) ("Here you see four other letters.)))) This one, like a hat, is 'J.' Draw half a circle, same size as you see on this paper."

XIV.)))) "This, like a cup, is called 'S.'"

XV.)))) "This other, like a sickle, is called 'N.'"

XVI. (((("The last, like a moon, is called 'M.' Be careful to make these four letters pretty large, same size as on this paper." (78)

Then began the exercises, so familiar to all shorthand students, of joining vowels and consonants together. Vowels following consonants came first--"pa," "po," "poo," "pow;" vowels preceding consonants came next with "ap," "op," "oop," "owp."

Needless to say, the sixteen steps outlined above were not covered in one lesson. Progress was very slow at first. Father Peytavin, an associate of Father Le Jeune's, organized classes in every camp and gave a great impetus to the Chinook writing. He even had the blind, who were not able to take part in the writing, follow the lessons and learn the words by heart. At Kamloops he started with a class of 250 persons. But at the first lesson he was able to teach them only two words in two and a half hours--one letter after another. In the second lesson three more words were mastered in three hours. However, with the foundation laid securely, it was not long before the whole gathering could read Chinook from the shorthand with a fair degree of facility. (79)

In every group some made faster progress than others. These brighter students were entrusted with the job of carrying on classes until the priests returned. Charlie Mayous was prevailed upon to spend a winter at Kamloops and gave considerable assistance to the cause. The names of Father Le Jeune's other assistants are legion. Noting only a few, we have Damien, the first Chinook scholar at Kamloops, John Jackson and Peter Kwal

(79) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, no. 260, March, 1916, pp. 203, 204.

of Lillooet, Morice Sazy of Pavilion, and Francis Joseph of the Fountain.

The question of texts and supplementary reading material to satisfy so many students became an immediate problem. At Douglas Lake on one occasion in the early stages of instruction Father Le Jeune had to copy some pages of phrases up to sixty times to satisfy the desire of all those who wished to learn. Gradually the idea evolved in his mind of a mimeographed publication such as the Kamloops Wawa eventually became. It was founded upon the twin necessity first of stimulating and maintaining interest among his Indian students, and secondly of providing instructional material for them.

As the Indians advanced in their ability to write shorthand, a unique correspondence was started, both among themselves, and with "pen pals" in eastern Canada, United States, and Europe. It was reported in April, 1896, that Charley Fry, of North Bend, had received a post card in Chinook and shorthand from Liege, Belgium. One week later he received another post card in shorthand and very fair Chinook from Rome. (80)

Contacts were made by Father Le Jeune with the Scholasticate of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at Liege, and with their College at Rome. Over thirty ecclesiastical students at the first institution and a half-dozen at the latter took up the study of Chinook through shorthand, delighted in reading the Wawa, and entered into correspondence with the Indians.

(80) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, April, 1896, p. 73.

On New Year's Day, 1896, over 130 letters in Chinook and shorthand were sent from Kamloops to Rome, and an equal number to Liege. Shortly afterwards the North Bend Indians sent a collection of some forty-five letters to Rome, and the same number to Liege.

Contests for speed in writing Chinook were also encouraged by Father Le Jeune as a means of stimulating the shorthand art. In one test at Spuzzum, candidates in their teens wrote at speeds of thirty-five, thirty-six and forty Chinook words per minute. More able students reached speeds of fifty and even sixty words per minute. When one considers that Chinook words on the average are double and treble the size of common English words, the performance of these Indian shorthand artists becomes all the more remarkable.

While the greatest success in mastering shorthand was naturally attained by the younger Indians, age did not deter some of the older ones from trying. Chief Andrew from the North Thompson, aged sixty and with failing eyesight, started the study of shorthand as soon as he saw his young men progressing in the knowledge of the Chinook writing. He had to procure a pair of spectacles to begin with, and even then had to read from a special edition written out in large characters by some of his men. After a few days' study he found out that he was not too old to master the shorthand and was so pleased with his success that he wrote at once to Chief Louis at Kamloops: "If you are not quite blind yet, you had better start

in to learn the Chinook writing; you see, I am nearly blind, yet I am learning the Wawa shorthand." (81) The old chief succeeded so well that he was eventually able to read anything in Chinook.

Mr. John F. Smith, (82) one of the first settlers in the North Thompson Valley, relates how he received a note from an Indian written in shorthand. Unable to decipher the note, he called upon Chief Andrew for assistance. Andrew drew out his spectacles, read the letter, explained the contents to Mr. Smith, and concluded with the remark that previously the Indians had to go to their civilized friends for the reading of their correspondence; now the contrary was taking place. (83)

International recognition for outstanding accomplishments in the field of shorthand was accorded to Father Le Jeune and his Indian students upon several occasions. From samples placed in a shorthand exhibition held at Montlhery, France, in May, 1896, the following awards came to British Columbia-- a gold medal to the editor of the Wawa (Father Le Jeune), a

(81) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, June, 1896, p. 121.

(82) John F. Smith, of negro origin, was born in the British West Indies and came to this province as a boy. He became active in ranching and mining circles and served for some years as Indian Agent, with headquarters in Kamloops. In the latter capacity he was closely associated with Father Le Jeune. In fact, they were life-long friends. Mr. Smith commanded the respect of all in the community and ranks high among those pioneers who developed this section of the province. In his later years he often amused listeners by telling them that he was the first white man to settle in the North Thompson valley.

(83) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, June, 1896, p. 121.

silver palm to the first contributor of reading matter for its pages (Rt. Rev. P. Durieu), and bronze medals to Miss Caroline Falardeau of Kamloops and Jamie Michel of Quilchena. (84) Further honours came in October of the same year from a Shorthand Exposition at Nancy, France, in the form of a silver medal and diploma of honour for the editor of the Wawa, and another diploma for his Indian pupils.

For the great Shorthand Exposition and "Concours" held at Roubaix, Nord, France, from January to May, 1897, one hundred fifty Indians from Kamloops, Shuswap, and the surrounding districts sent compositions of their shorthand work. Sets of the Wawa for 1895 and 1896 were also exhibited. The result was a gold medal for the Wawa, and fifty diplomas of honour for those of the Indians whose work ranked the highest. (85)

Even Queen Victoria was acquainted with what was being accomplished among the Indians in one corner of her Empire. The Inland Sentinel of Friday, June 25, 1897, states: "Father Le Jeune has forwarded to the Queen through Sir Wilfrid Laurier several Jubilee post cards bearing inscriptions by Indian children in phonography. Translations and an explanation of the system accompany the cards."

Although the Indians called their shorthand "Chinook Pepa" or "Chinook Writing," Father Le Jeune popularized the method as the "Wawa Shorthand." However, he was always careful to

(84) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, February, 1897, p. 19.

(85) Inland Sentinel, Tuesday, December 7, 1897.

acknowledge his debt to Abbé Duployé. The chief instructional book in his whole system he entitled The Wawa shorthand instructor or The Duployan stenography adapted to English.

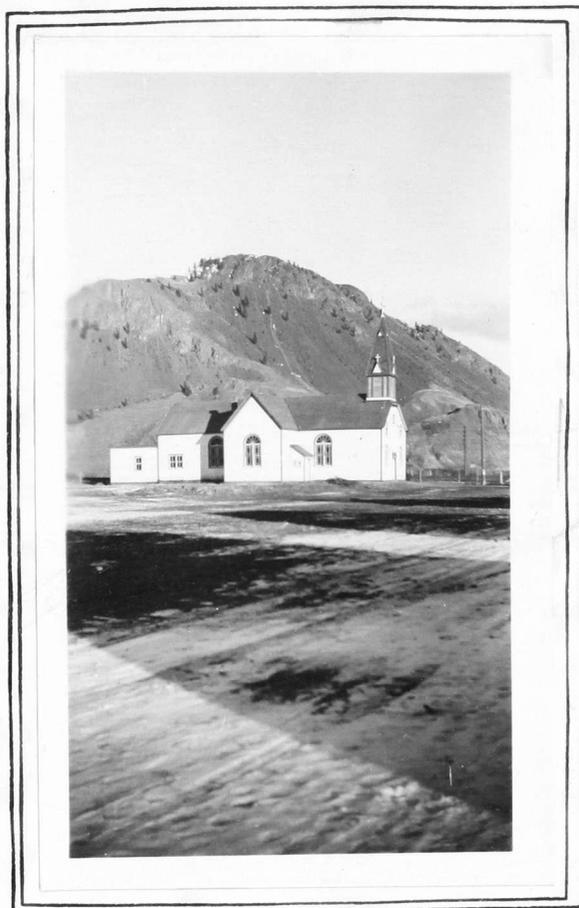
This little book of twenty-four pages was published at Kamloops by Father Le Jeune in the year 1896 and sold for fifteen cents. It outlined seventeen lessons for learning the system, gave clear explanations of possible difficulties the student might encounter, and closed with some practice writing and reading material. Further supplementary material was contained in a second publication of the same size as the Instructor, viz., The Wawa shorthand exercise book. This companion volume to the Instructor was issued a few months after the latter and also sold for fifteen cents.

The title pages of the Instructor and of many copies of the Wawa carried Father Le Jeune's assertion that the Wawa Shorthand was the simplest system of shorthand in the world, the easiest to learn, and a hundred times easier than the old writing. It was always his claim that he had two thousand Indians reading and writing phonography, a feat which seemed to him the plainest proof of the simplicity of his system.

He frequently made the claim that the Wawa Shorthand could be learned without a teacher in one to three hours. I accepted his challenge, fifty years after he made it, using his Wawa shorthand instructor as a guide. On July 17, 1947, after about three hours of intensive work, I found myself able to write and to decipher simple exercises in the system. I have a good working knowledge of another shorthand system, which may or may

not have given me an advantage. The principle of certain strokes representing sounds and not letters was already familiar to me, but I laboured under the disadvantage of confusing the strokes of the two systems.

What Father Le Jeune failed to point out in his prospectus was that, while the theory of the system might be mastered in a few hours, it would take a much longer time to acquire the necessary fluency to put the system into practical use.



The Indian church, Kamloops reserve, with Mount Paul in the background.

CHAPTER VI. FATHER LE JEUNE AS EDITOR, AUTHOR AND PUBLISHER

The first number of Father Le Jeune's famous publication, often described as "the queerest newspaper in the world," was issued on May 2, 1891. It was entitled the Kamloops Wawa and was written in Chinook, Duployan shorthand, and English. It began: "Ookook pepa iaka name Kamloops Wawa. Chi alta iaka chako tanaz. Msaika alke tlap iaka kanawe Sunday." (This paper is named Kamloops Wawa. It is born just now. You will receive it every Sunday).

"Iaka alke kwanesem lolo tlous wawa kopa msaika. Iaka help msaika pous ayak chako komtax pepa. Kaltash pous msaika tekop man, kaltash pous msaika sawaj telikom." (It will always carry good words to you. It will help you to learn to read. No matter if you be white people or Indians).

"Pous msaika kwanesem eskom ookook pepa, msaika dret ayak chako komtax mamook ookook tsem." (If you always take this paper, you will soon learn to write this Phonography).

"Wek ayaz makook ookook pepa, kopet iht tala kopa iht snow, iht kwata tloon moon." (This paper will not cost you very much, only one dollar a year, one quarter every three months).

"Elo Jâ Bone, kopet pous ilep msaika patlach chikmin, pi msaika tlap ookook pepa." (No credit, you have to pay cash, and then you will receive this paper).

"Poos wek msaika ayak eskom ookook pepa, msaika ayoo lost." (If you do not subscribe for this paper at once, you

No. 131.

50 Centimes.

10 Cents.

02 00.

Vol. IV. No. 8. KAMLOOPS WAWA. August, 1895.

The shortest way to learn the Shorthand is through the Chinook, and the shortest way to learn the Chinook is through the Shorthand.

On the cover of this paper you have all that is necessary for learning this System of Shorthand.

Take the Alphabet at the top of next page, and go on to decipher every word that comes along. You will hardly have deciphered all the matter on this cover, when you will be surprised to find yourself familiar with all the secrets of this shorthand.

This paper is now produced by Photo Engraving, a process which allows space for nearly five times as much reading as before. One page of this contains as much as five pages of the former numbers. By comparing the space occupied by English text in full type and the same in Phonography, as in next page it will be seen that one page in shorthand is equal to 8 or 10 pages ordinary type.

This paper issued monthly, at \$1.00 per annum. Post Stamps accepted. English, Canadian or U.S.

To our Readers,

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Apprenez la Sténographie à l'aide du Chinook et le Chinook à l'aide de la Sténographie.

Il n'y a pas de chemin plus court pour apprendre la Sténographie que par le Chinook, et il n'y a pas de chemin plus court pour apprendre le Chinook que par la Sténographie.

La Sténographie Duployé est une Sténographie universelle, s'adaptant aussi facilement à toutes les langues, mortes ou vivantes, barbares ou civilisées.

Le Chinook est aussi un langage universel, cent fois plus facile que le *Wapik*, et s'apprend mille fois plus vite. Des milliers de personnes de toutes nations s'en sont servies et s'en servent tous les jours.

L'abonnement à ce petit papier est de un Dollar, ou Cinq Francs par an. Numéro Specimen, Dix cents Cinquante Centimes.

Envoyez des Timbres Poste Français, Anglais, Canadien ou Américain. Adressez à l'Éditeur du Kamloops Wawa Kamloops, B. C. (Canada)

Cover page of Kamloops Wawa, August, 1895.

lose very much).

"Tloos nanich ookook pepa; wek iaka kaltash. Pous wek msaika tloos nanich ookook pepa, alke iaka chako sick msaika tomtom." (Take care of this paper; it is not a useless one. If you do not take care of this paper, you will afterwards be very sorry for it).

The Kamloops Wawa went through many ups and downs during its fourteen years of existence. It was largely a labour of love with Father Le Jeune--its originator, publisher, printer, business manager and stenographer. Single-handed he raised it from a circulation of one hundred copies at the outset to over three thousand copies a month with world-wide coverage. Even to-day, forty-four years after the publication of the last copy, enquiries still reach Kamloops as to how one may subscribe to the Wawa.

The term "Wawa" is a Chinook word meaning "talk," "speak," or "echo." Father Le Jeune issued volume 1, number 1 of his publication on May 2, 1891, at one hundred mimeographed copies. Indian women assisted in the mimeographing and mailing of the copies. Although it was evidently his intention to publish the Wawa weekly, as stated in his opening number, it was not until January 15, 1892, with number 9, that the publication began to appear weekly. The Wawa was then issued once a week until the December 31st copy, 1893, when monthly publication was begun. The monthly form was continued until December, 1900. From this time until cessation of publication in December, 1904, the Wawa was issued quarterly, the numbers coming out each March, June,

No. 153

50 Centimes.

10 Cents.



Vol. vi., No. 6.

KAMLOOPS WAWA.

June, 1897.

THE WAWA SHORTHAND!

The simplest system of Shorthand in the world. The easiest to learn. A hundred times easier than the old writing.

Two million people (2,000,000) throughout the world already using the same shorthand. It is adapted to over twenty different languages.

Can be learned without a teacher in one to three hours.

If you are a stranger to Shorthand, take this paper and become acquainted with this useful art.

If you have failed to learn Shorthand owing to the complication of the system you adopted, or from want of time, do not give up, but try this system, and wonder at its simplicity.

Time is precious. You will save time as soon as you are acquainted with this phonography.

THE KAMLOOPS WAWA!

SHORTHAND AMONG INDIANS

A Newspaper in Shorthand Circulating Among the Natives.

Two Thousand Indians reading and writing Phonography. . . .

The Plainest Proof of the Simplicity of the System. . . .

A NOVEL IDEA TO TEACH THE INDIANS SHORTHAND

HOW CAN INDIANS LEARN SHORTHAND?

Because Shorthand is a hundred, nay a thousand times simpler than the old writing. Any one can learn it in a few hours, and become expert in it in a few days. Many of our Indians learned it in two or three days.

If you are a lover of curious specimens, you must have this paper. It is

"The Queerest Newspaper in the World"

Subscribe for this paper, and help to civilize our Indians, to enlighten those who were sitting "in darkness and the shadow of death."

Your Subscription Solicited.

Only One Dollar per Annum.

ADDRESS: "EDITOR WAWA, KAMLOOPS, B.C."

Cover page of Kamloops Wawa, June, 1897.

September and December.

Circulation was held at one hundred copies until December, 1892, when it doubled. In March, 1893, the number of copies issued had to be increased to five hundred, in June, 1893, to one thousand, and later in the same year to twelve hundred. In January, 1895, two thousand copies were issued monthly, and peak circulation was reached during the years 1896, 1897, and 1898, when three thousand or more copies were distributed each month. (86)

Mention should be made at this time of certain special issues of the Wawa published by Father Le Jeune during the years 1915, 1916, and 1917. These were mimeographed in long-hand or typewritten with a hectograph ribbon and reproduced on a copying pad. These issues, all written in French, are rich in information and were doubtless intended by the author to be rather reminiscences than a newspaper, properly speaking. (87) The editorial of March, 1916, clearly indicates this: "This little paper is not issued by the million, not even by the thousand, not even by the hundred, but only two or three dozen copies, just enough to prevent the original from being lost by having a few copies stored up in case reference to it may be needed later on, when nothing else can be found concerning the subjects that are discussed in this little issue." (88)

(86) Inland Sentinel, Friday, Jan. 8, 1897, p. 8.

(87) "The queerest newspaper in the world," Oblate Missions, June, 1946, p. 15, author not given.

(88) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, March, 1916, p. 192.

The first mimeographed copies of the Wawa contained four pages, all in shorthand. The material consisted of Bible history in Chinook, Chinook prayers, news of the various Indian bands, and announcements of the priest's forthcoming visits. When publication went on a monthly basis in the year 1894, the volume of material per issue was much increased, and sixteen pages became the average number each month.

A forward step was taken in September, 1894, when the Wawa was first produced by the photo-engraving process. This enabled the editor to condense five times as much material into the same space as before. The subscription price at this time was one dollar per annum. The editor's announcement stated that postage stamps were acceptable for this--English, Canadian, or United States.

The first photograph appeared in the November, 1894, issue, and was one of the Very Rev. Father Louis Souillier, Superior-General of the O. M. I. This was followed from time to time by photographs of other distinguished members of the Order, and of local churches and Indian groups.

Father Le Jeune's superiors gave him every encouragement in his efforts with the Wawa. The Holy Father Pope Leo XIII bestowed on it a blessing through His Lordship Bishop Durieu. The latter, too, Father Le Jeune said, "helped its beginnings, enlightened its editing, and contributed to its pages a large amount of beautiful Chinook material." (89) He was referring

(89) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, January, 1895, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 1.

here to His Lordship's Chinook Bible history of the Old and New Testaments, which was published serially in the Wawa. Financial assistance was apparently forthcoming through the instigation of Very Rev. Father Souillier because Father Le Jeune said afterwards, "His encouraging visit last summer was quickly succeeded by the transformation of this paper from a poor production of a mimeograph to the most attractive form of photo-engraving." (90)

The financing of his paper was always a source of worry to Father Le Jeune. By May, 1895, it was costing between seven hundred and a thousand dollars a year to produce. Theoretically, receipts from subscriptions should have been ample to cover this expense. His Indian subscribers, however, were notoriously slow in paying and indeed the priest never pressed them for payment. It was always his ultimate objective to obtain money enough from his white subscribers, from donations, and from other sources to let his Indian charges have the paper for a purely nominal sum. By April, 1896, the Wawa was going to nearly five hundred subscribers outside of the Indians, including fifteen distinguished Prelates and three hundred of the Reverend Clergy throughout Canada and the United States. (91)

Some of the Kamloops' Indians paid their subscriptions to the Wawa in potatoes. Others paid with gloves and moccasins, at the manufacture of which some of the Indians became very adept.

(90) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, January, 1895, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 1.

(91) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, April, 1896, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 74.

With considerable diversity of taste among his subscribers, it was not easy for Father Le Jeune to please them all in the contents of the Wawa. Some complained that there was not sufficient English reading, while a number of the Indians did not find as much material in Chinook as they would have liked. Other subscribers wanted more illustrations, and still others wanted more matter published about shorthand.

In a letter to the editor of the Inland Sentinel Father Le Jeune told of some of the difficulties of his life as a publisher:

You would wonder if you saw how my life is spent in this country. I have to attend from two to three thousand Indians and other people scattered along a circuit of six hundred miles. I am continually on the go, and, of delicate health as I am, I am the first to wonder how I stand it. I have been this way now for seventeen years. So the Wawa occupies only a few of my leisure hours each month. About twelve hours of writing are sufficient for the making out of the copy. Another book, which has kept me busy for a whole year, is the Indian prayer book, in eleven languages, which has just been completed. So I feel somewhat relieved. But the hardest thing to contend with is the expense of publishing the paper and the books. Each page has to be written by hand with a special ink and then to be photo-engraved. For the first half of the work, each plate cost \$2.00. Happily now they are made for much less. Yet nobody should wonder at learning that \$1,000 will hardly cover the deficit. Of course a little encouragement would enable me to pursue the work begun and to issue forth essays or studies on the languages of several tribes of Indians in British Columbia, which should be considered of some importance. (92)

The list of business firms using the Kamloops Wawa as an advertising medium forms an interesting study.

The first and most consistent advertiser through its history was a Montreal publishing house, D. and J. Sadlier and Company. Using the Wawa columns for the first time in September, 1894, this company drew attention to its devotional, doctrinal and instructional books.

The newspapers of Kamloops advertised fairly consistently in the Wawa. The Inland Sentinel described itself as a newspaper in touch with the mining, ranching and commercial interests of the interior of British Columbia. Its rival, the Kamloops Standard, began advertising in the Wawa in October, 1897. This paper, whose manager was J. T. Robinson, described itself as the leading newspaper of the Inland Capital and the only paper that gave all the news.

Hotels of Kamloops and other interior points were always represented in the advertising columns of the Wawa. We note a few of these as follows. The Cosmopolitan Hotel, with Jos. Ratchford as proprietor, described itself as the oldest established house in Kamloops. The advertisement of this hotel appeared later with Russell and Herod as proprietors. It made a special feature of its free bus to all trains and its good stabling in connection.

The Quilchena Hotel was located, the copy said, "near the centre of Nicola Lake," fifty miles south of Kamloops. Its proprietor, Ed. O'Rourke, described his locality as a health and summer resort, with beautiful scenery and climate.

Marshall and Smith were proprietors of the Clinton Hotel, on the overland route to the Klondike.

The advertisement of the Montreal Hotel, Kamloops, B. C., redecorated and refurnished throughout, and under the proprietorship of N. Latremouille, appeared frequently.

The Grand Pacific Hotel, Kamloops, B. C., was described as the nearest house to the railway station and the only convenient hotel for railway travellers. Its proprietor, P. A. Barnhart, made a feature of its good rooms, good table, good liquors, and good stabling in connection.

Transportation companies using the Wawa columns as an advertising medium were the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the British Columbia Express Company. The former company, over the signature of its Kamloops' agent, J. N. Trickey, and its Vancouver district passenger agent, Geo. McL. Brown, advertised the Canadian Pacific Railway as the best and cheapest route to all eastern points with fewest changes and quickest time. In April, 1898, the advertisement of this company began appearing over the signatures of W. O. Miller, agent at Kamloops, and E. J. Coyle, district passenger agent at Vancouver.

The British Columbia Express Company, with head office at Ashcroft, gave a good deal of advertising space to the Wawa. Its manager and superintendent was S. Tingley, and its general agent was J. J. Mackay. This pioneer transportation company offered passage north from Ashcroft to Barkerville and all intermediate points and connections every Monday and Friday morning at 5:30 o'clock; returning stages arrived in Ashcroft every Tuesday and Saturday.

Other stages travelled between Ashcroft and Clinton, and

between Ashcroft and Lillooet via the Marble Canyon. Single fares between Ashcroft and Clinton were \$5.00, while return tickets, good for eight days, were sold for \$8.00. This company would also furnish extra stages or special rigs (buggies or light stages) at short notice. Attention was drawn to their feed stables and corral at Ashcroft, with water on the premises, where the best care would be given at moderate rates.

Merchandising firms were represented in the advertising columns of the Wawa by the following: James Vair, Kamloops, dealer and manufacturer in stoves, tinware, plumbing, hardware, paints, oil and glass; M. P. Gordon, Kamloops, furniture, carpets, window-shades, etc.; M. Gaglietto, Kamloops, general merchant; Jas. McMillan and Company, Minneapolis, Minn., dealer in raw furs; R. E. Smith, Kamloops, established 1883, dealer in dry goods, groceries, boots and shoes, clothing, millinery, carpets, house furnishings, etc.; E. G. Prior and Company, with offices in Victoria, Vancouver, and Kamloops, importers of iron, steel, general hardware, agricultural instruments, waggons, buggies, etc.; J. R. Hull and Company, Kamloops, established 1880, purveyors of meat, contractors, and general dealers in live stock; Hudson's Bay Company, Kamloops, the oldest fur traders, established 1670; Harvey and Bailey, Ashcroft, general merchants; Robert Charters, Quilchena, general merchant; McLennan and McFeely, Cordova Street, Vancouver, dealer in stoves and hardware; R. McLughan, Kamloops, dealer in stoves and tinware, all kinds of tin, sheet iron, plumbing and heating work done; D. P. Selby, Quilchena, general merchant; Mallery's

Drug Store, Main Street, Kamloops; and H. Steffens, Lytton, dealer in groceries, dry goods, confectionery, boots and shoes, tin goods, flour, fruit, etc., full miners' supplies, everything kept in stock, butcher shop in connection with fresh meat every day.

The Kamloops Wawa from its beginning was taken by the British Museum, London, by the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, by the Provincial Library of British Columbia, by the Astor Library, by the Library of the University of the State of New York, and by Laval University, Quebec. All these institutions, Father Le Jeune said, "remitted very willingly for the paper." (93)

In addition, a number of exchanges with other publications were entered into by the editor of the Wawa. (94) A complete list of these periodicals, with comments by Father Le Jeune, appears in Appendix A.

This wide-spread exchange of the Wawa with publications of several countries in two continents did much to publicize the work which Father Le Jeune was doing among the Indians. Many of the exchange publications printed accounts of the Wawa and of Father Le Jeune.

The Illustrated phonographic world for June, 1895, printed an article on the Kamloops Wawa along with a reproduction of the first page of the "Sugar Cane Tintin," an article in the

(93) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, April, 1895, vol. 4, no. 4, p. 66.

(94) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, May, 1895, p. 67; August, 1895, pp. 113, 114; November, 1895, p. 161.

March, 1895, Wawa. (95) The Chicago Sunday Herald of November 25, 1894, printed a long article by Miss Maibelle Justice covering the history of the Wawa and its editor.

Even thirty young students in a high school in Belgium learned Chinook, and the editor of a Paris newspaper applied to Father Le Jeune for lessons in the Chinook jargon. (96)

That Father Le Jeune was a most prolific writer is evidenced by the fact that in the year 1916 he estimated that he had written and compiled at least 3,500 pages of material. (97) Since a good deal of this writing was in shorthand characters, and therefore condensed, it is probable that his contributions would reach over ten thousand pages of ordinary typewriting. A list of Father Le Jeune's works, as complete as I have been able to ascertain, is given in Appendix B, along with a brief description of each.

(95) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, November, 1895, vol. 4, no. 11, p. 161.

(96) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, April, 1895, vol. 4, no. 4, p. 49.

(97) Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, December, 1916, p. 277.

CHAPTER VII. THE CLOSING YEARS.

Twice in the last decade of his career at Kamloops, Father Le Jeune was honoured by the Kamloops Rotary Club. At its luncheon on Wednesday, December 27, 1922, the club was host to Father Le Jeune and other pioneers of the city and district. Called upon to say a few words, the priest spoke in humorous vein, telling the gathering many incidents of his life and work among the Indians, but stressing the lighter side of events and minimizing the hardships which he had encountered. (98)

Again on Wednesday, September 15, 1926, Father Le Jeune was a guest and this time chief speaker at the Rotary luncheon. Introduced by another pioneer and friend of forty-four years' standing, Mr. John F. Smith, the priest was greeted by a spirited round of applause. Upon this occasion he spoke in more serious vein, giving the Rotarians an account of the visits to Kamloops and district of some of the early Catholic missionaries. He described the work done by Father Nobili among the Indians of this region during the years 1843--44. He also made reference to that strange Indian character, Lolo St. Paul, who exercised such an influence over his compatriots during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Mr. A. C. Taylor, Rotary president, thanked Father Le Jeune heartily on behalf of the club. (99)

(98) "Pioneers of city and district honoured," Kamloops Sentinel, Friday, 29 December, 1922, p. 1.

(99) "In Dominion for forty-seven years," Kamloops Sentinel, Friday, 17 September, 1926, p. 1.

Father Le Jeune remained active in his work until his retirement. During the summer of the year 1928 Father George Forbes, O. M. I., arrived at Kamloops to take over Chu Chua (North Thompson) and the missions east of Kamloops, but Father Le Jeune continued to visit the missions around Merritt, Kamloops, Deadman's Creek and Bonaparte. Every Friday or Saturday morning he went to one of these missions and returned usually on Monday or Tuesday. Sometimes he visited and said Mass in more than one mission during a trip.

Father Le Jeune had been a tireless worker all his life, but by the summer of 1928, he began to age rapidly. Symptoms of general fatigue increased as the year went on, and in addition he gradually became more and more forgetful. One day in the early spring of 1929, Father Forbes, upon returning from one of his missions, was told that Father Le Jeune had fallen down the stairs of the Kamloops Rectory and broken his arm. He hurried to the Rectory and found Father Le Jeune fully clothed and dozing on his bed. He asked him what had happened. Father Le Jeune appeared somewhat dazed and tried to get up. He had forgotten that he had hurt his arm and could not recall falling. It was finally disclosed that he had bruised but not broken his arm, and that he had fallen very heavily on his head.

From that time on, he became more and more forgetful. One day, when he was to go to a certain mission, he went to another in a different direction. The truth is that he was worn out, physically and mentally, and too ill to carry on any

longer. His mind for the most part was still bright and unimpaired, but his general health and particularly his forgetfulness were such that his Superiors decided to retire him, much as they regretted to do so. It was commonly said that to take him from his work would kill him. It did, but the fact remains that his period of usefulness was over and younger men had to be found to take his place.

In discussing this matter of Father Le Jeune's retirement, Father Forbes says, "He was a perfect gentleman, a hard-working missionary, and one of the kindest of men. You could not help but admire and love and towards the end, pity him. His being retired was a blow that hurt him as he had never been hurt before, but he accepted orders and followed them." (100)

Father Le Jeune's friends and associates at Kamloops did not forget to pay their tribute to him upon the occasion of the celebration of his golden jubilee of ordination to the priesthood. That memorable event took place on the evening of June 7, 1929, fifty years to the very day from the time of his ordination. At the close of the evening services in the Church of the Sacred Heart, those in attendance retired to the parish hall where complimentary speeches were given and presentations made to the old priest. Mr. John F. Smith was selected by the gathering to make the presentation of a purse of gold on behalf of the congregation and a box of cigars from the male members.

(100) Forbes, Rev. George, O. M. I., letter to the author, 16 October, 1947.

He spoke of the respect in which the priest had always been held by the whole community, his reminiscences spanning forty-seven years of association with him. He carried his listeners back to June, 1882, when he first met Father Le Jeune at Lytton, and told of the Father's efforts in getting built his first little church. Upon its completion Mr. Smith had served as altar boy and choir master. After the two presentations by Mr. Smith, Mrs. A. E. Way presented flowers to Father Le Jeune. (101)

A few days after this ceremony in Sacred Heart Church parish hall, Father Le Jeune left Kamloops for the last time and travelled to New Westminster. Early in September, members of the Oblate Order in British Columbia gathered at the latter city to take part in the exercises of their annual retreat. Opportunity was taken at this time to honour Father Le Jeune when a Solemn High Mass was conducted in St. Peter's church. His Excellency Archbishop Duke presided over this ceremony and there were also present many representatives of the various religious orders, Very Rev. W. Byrne Grant, the O. M. I. Provincial, and some twenty-five Oblate Fathers. (102)

The winter of 1929--30 was passed by Father Le Jeune in New Westminster. His health was good for the most part, and he was able to make several trips to Vancouver to visit friends,

(101) "Father Le Jeune's golden jubilee is remembered here," Kamloops Sentinel, Friday, 14 June, 1929.

(102) Kamloops Sentinel, 10 September, 1929, p. 1.

in company with Father Steve Murphy, O. M. I. He occupied his time by reading a great deal, but his chief delight was conversation with all who would give him audience. His memory had not been good now for some time; he was often inaccurate in his recital of events which had taken place in his earlier life. But for the most part he retained good control of his mental faculties. His friends and associates often urged him to put down on paper his memoirs, but there is little evidence that he wrote very much during this last winter of his life.

One morning early in April, 1930, he was taken ill shortly after breakfast. A haemorrhage developed, the doctor was called, and Father Le Jeune was taken to St. Mary's Hospital. It is believed that he suffered from some form of cancer of the stomach. (103) During the summer he became perceptibly weaker as the months went by, and finally passed away during the morning hours of Friday, November 21. (104)

Funeral services were held on the following Monday morning, November 24, at 10:30, at St. Peter's Church, when Requiem Mass was said by his friend, Father Murphy. (105)

Interment took place the next day in the Oblate cemetery at St. Mary's Mission, Mission City. At the Mission Church Father George Forbes, O. M. I., associate of Father Le Jeune's

(103) Murphy, Father S., O. M. I., New Westminster, interview with the author, 15 August, 1947.

(104) The British Columbian, New Westminster, B. C., Friday, 21 November, 1930, p. 8.

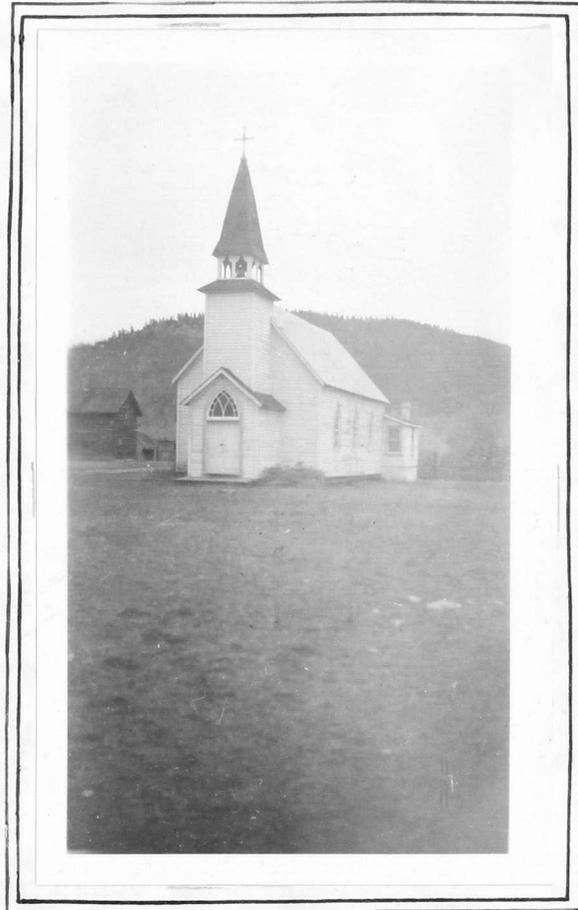
(105) The British Columbian, Monday, 24 November, 1930, p. 2.

at Kamloops, paid a highly eloquent and moving tribute to the pioneer missionary. He said in part:

The good Shuswap Indians whom direct poverty alone prevents from being here, and the Indians of the Thompson and the Nicola Valleys have asked me to tell you how much they grieve at the death of him who for fifty years laboured and prayed and suffered for them. Had you seen not only the women and children but even strong men break down and weep when they heard that Father Le Jeune had died, you would have realized how they loved him whom they called 'Pressant--Père Saint,' the holy priest. They have asked me to tell you how deeply they regret, as the people of Kamloops regret, that they have been denied the privilege of having their friend and Father buried in their midst. Had he been laid to rest in the field of his labours, the Indians from a hundred miles and more would have gathered in their hundreds to join with the Catholics and non-Catholics of the Interior in paying fitting homage to him whom all loved and revered and admired. Deprived of that privilege, they have asked me to beg you to unite with them in prayer for the soul of him whom to know was to love.

Father Forbes went on to speak of Father Le Jeune's birth and education in France. He told of his brilliant career as a young student, of his ordination, and of his first appointment as Chaplain at the National Shrine. Despite the strenuous and satisfying nature of the work of this post, Father Le Jeune was not content. He yearned for duties still more arduous, and, in his mind, more heroic. With characteristic energy he besieged his religious Superiors until they finally granted his request and immediately, in company with Father Chirouse, he left his home, his friends, his native land, to spend himself and to be spent in the Indian missions of British Columbia.

Father Forbes then traced the beginnings of the Oblate Order and pointed out that the Order had originally been

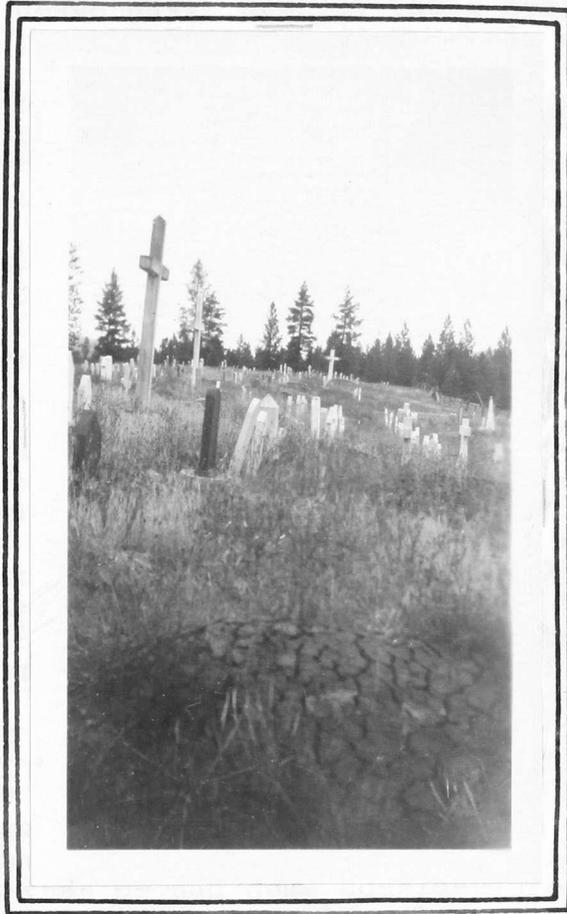


Indian church, Lower Nicola, B. C.

founded, not to do Indian work, but to repair the ravages which the French Revolution had caused in Catholic France. But in the year 1842, in answer to a plea from the Bishop of Montreal to come to the rescue of the Church in Canada, the Oblates had responded in a most gratifying manner. They volunteered for the foreign missions in such numbers that within ten years their missions stretched from Labrador to the Pacific Coast and extended far into the Arctic Circle.

The missionaries sent to Canada, continued Father Forbes, were spiritual and mental giants. They found their missions pagan and they left them staunchly Catholic. They found the natives sitting in the shadow of death and they led them to that light which enlighteneth every man coming into the world. They found them steeped in paganism, in superstition, in immorality, and they left them believers in Christ and practicers of His law.

Father Le Jeune did not need fear having his record compared with that of any of these men. They were spiritual and mental giants and so was he. For fifty years, even when he was in his seventies, he rose at a very early hour and prayed for his Indians before saying Mass for them. Hundreds of times, with a heavy suitcase strapped on his back and one in each hand he walked twenty miles and more a day. At other times he forced his weary canoe up treacherous rivers or rode over roadless mountains on his Indian pony. He generally carried a little rice and a loaf of bread, his usual food, but many a time, even as his successors of to-day, he had to go without food until late at night, and that food was at times decayed fish. As we travel in railway coaches or ride in automobiles or as we sit in our easy chairs we do not realize what for half a century this veteran did and suffered, and perhaps as we sit in a comfortable room we seek to pick out flaws in his work which if we compared our work with his, we ought to hang our heads in shame. Few people know what this missionary suffered for Christ and for souls because his smiling face and jovial conversation were a mask behind which his humility hid his heroism.



Indian cemetery, Lower Nicola, B. C.

He is gone, but his work remains. Count the churches between Salmon Arm and North Bend, between Chu Chua and Coldwater, and you have counted so many monuments to his zeal. Number the hundreds he baptized and you have numbered the jewels in his crown. Count those crosses in the Indian graveyards and you have counted so many painful journeys to Indian deathbeds. Look at those healed scars and those healthy Indians and you have seen the so many testimonials to the medical skill of him who was as proficient as a medical doctor as he was a physician of souls. (106) Go into any Indian church, open the prayer book, and in a dozen languages you will find the fruits of his labours.

How did he find the time for all the religious and all the scientific and medical work he did? Had you seen him, book in hand, plodding along on foot or on horseback or in his canoe, you would know the answer.

Go into his Indian churches and you will find Indians there saying their morning and night prayers he composed for them and which he taught them to read. Go to their churches on Sundays and, whether the missionary is there or not, you will hear them sing the Kyrie, the Gloria, the Credo, the Sanctus, the Agnus Dei. Go to these churches when the priest is there and you will find the confessional besieged

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- (106) I could find no evidence that Father Le Jeune ever performed surgical operations, as Father Coccola is reported to have done in emergencies. There is, however, evidence that he had some considerable knowledge of medicine and did on many occasions offer the benefit of his knowledge to the Indians and white settlers throughout the country. Like some other missionaries he probably found that an understanding of at least elementary medicine would be most useful to combat the "Indian doctors" who, in their own interests, opposed Christianity. Father Forbes states that Father Le Jeune possessed several French medical books and that he studied and used the knowledge gained from them. During the 1918 influenza epidemic, he turned a number of his Indian churches into hospitals and spent days and nights nursing the sick. He had a personal theory about the efficacy of charcoal and, during the epidemic, kept sucking some and did not fall ill. According to his theory, charcoal drew poisons to itself which were later evacuated. Father Le Jeune also appears to have had some success in the use of epsom salts for the

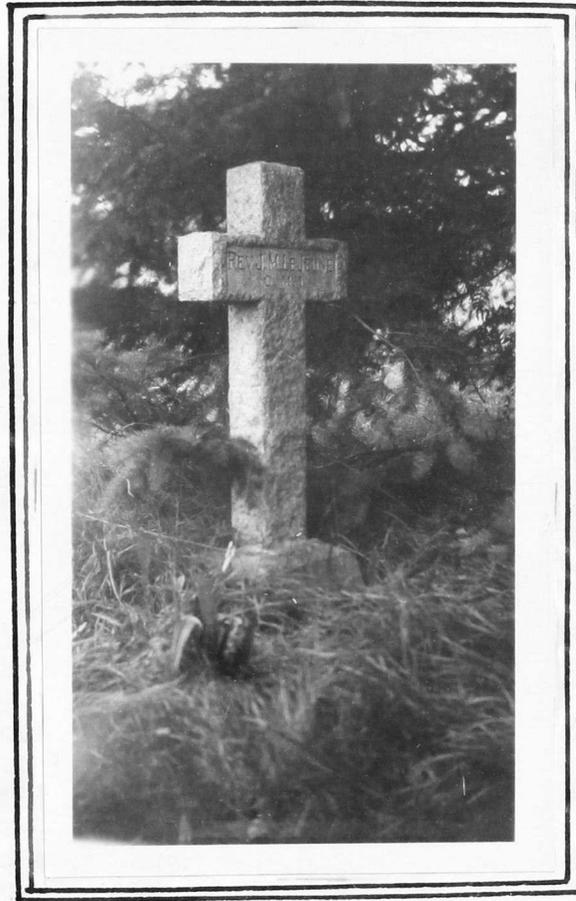
and the communion table crowded. Try to find a parish in western Canada or in eastern Canada where one hundred per cent of the faithful have performed their duties and when you have searched and searched in vain for such a parish, come with me and I will take you to one of Father Le Jeune's missions to find a parish where there is not an unbeliever, not a non-Catholic, and when you have failed to find such a parish I will take you to all the missions Father Le Jeune left in my care. What pastor of souls but envies such a record as that of Father Le Jeune? What pastor of souls but wonders and admires and is silent?

I will not dwell upon Father Le Jeune's work among the pioneer settlements nor upon the fact that while he numbered hosts of non-Catholics among his friends, there was never a man of any creed or race who ever met him without becoming his friend and admirer.

In closing let me remind you that his Indians have asked me to beg you to unite with them in prayer for the repose of his soul. They know his zeal and they know his sanctity. They call him 'Pressant--Père Saint,' that is 'the holy priest.' And they beg you to pray for him because they realize that to him who has received more, more shall be required. They know that he received five talents and that he has had to return another five. Let us then fervently pray for him and for his life-long friend, whom you all loved, the saintly and heroic Father Chirouse. May their souls and the souls of their heroic associates and the souls of all the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace. Amen. (107)

(106) treatment of rheumatism. He had the patient put a quantity in hot water and lie in it for a time. In his later years on the missions there were of course doctors and hospitals in Kamloops, Merritt, Salmon Arm and Ashcroft, to which places he sent or tried to send the sick.

(107) "Father Le Jeune's funeral," Kamloops Sentinel, 2 December, 1930, p. 1.



Headstone marking the grave of Father Le Jeune
at St. Mary's, Mission City, B. C.

When we visited the spot on August 16, 1947, an overhanging bough from a nearby tree obscured the name and darkened the grave. The priest accompanying us called for one of the caretakers, a young Polish boy, who came with an axe and trimmed the tree, thus enabling us to take the above picture.

Father Le Jeune's grave is at the north end of one of several long rows of graves of the Oblate Fathers. His life-long friend and associate, Father E. C. Chirouse, is buried not far away.

News of Father Le Jeune's death cast a gloom over Kamloops--the city which had been his headquarters and where he had been a familiar figure for so long. Commenting editorially upon his passing the Kamloops Sentinel remarked:

The death of Father Le Jeune leaves a blank that none can fill. He was unique. Fearless, indefatigable, his life consecrated, he served his cause with joy and laughter. Nothing pleased him like a new story. His was a chaste mind. And he loved his Indians and chastened them, especially when they were sick and needed castor oil.

Father Le Jeune saw this country change from a wilderness to a settled and law-abiding land. He belonged to those pioneers who could say they were here before the railway. He helped to make history and was at the very beginning of things here, being widely sought and consulted, as the sketch of his career in this issue will show.

He was superior to the mere conventions of life. His cassock was often soiled; weeks on the road might make his exterior dusty and grimy. But the heart was unsullied and he had the outlook of a child and all of a boy's sheer joy of a simple jest. As he went his way through the country he never forgot his abiding hobby. Gypsies would have named him 'Lavengro,' or 'word master.' Nothing pleased him more than language, and he gave to the world in shorthand a journal like none other, with a story that still persists in travelling around the world.

It is with regret that we see the Reverend Father depart, even although he had run his course. Men of all races and religions would readily join in the amen to the 'Well done, good and faithful servant,' as applied to this good little man of God. (108)

CHAPTER VIII. FATHER LE JEUNE THE MAN.

What was the secret of Father Le Jeune's success as a missionary among the Indians? Partly it lies in his long association with the same bands; in fifty years roots grow deep. But mostly it lies with the man himself--with those qualities of mind and body which combine to make personality or character.

What manner of man, then, was Father Le Jeune? To answer this question I went to his friends and acquaintances. (109) I interviewed people who had met him but once and I talked with Mrs. A. E. Way, of Kamloops, who knew him well for over forty years.

In physical appearance Father Le Jeune was of short, stocky build, about five feet four inches in height, and weighing about one hundred forty pounds. He held himself erect and did not become stooped even in his old age. His beard, which was of a reddish tinge in his younger days,

(109) Material for this chapter was obtained largely through interviews with the following:--

- (a) Mrs. A. E. Way, of Kamloops, who was born at Tranquille and who knew Father Le Jeune well for over forty years.
- (b) Mr. William Brennan, of Kamloops, an old-timer of the city and district, and a keen student of early Catholic history in this part of the province.
- (c) Mr. Fred Irwin, whose father was Indian Agent for some years and associated very closely with Father Le Jeune while employed in that capacity.
- (d) The late Mr. D. J. MacDonald, purchasing agent for the Canadian Northern Railway Company when it was building through the North Thompson Valley.
- (e) Mr. G. D. Brown, Jr., student of the early history of Kamloops, with a special interest in the life of the Indian chief, Lolo St. Paul.

turned to a dark gray colour in the later years of his life.

He was a great reader and, due to shortsightedness, always wore glasses. A good deal of his reading, too, was done under lights which would be considered extremely poor by modern standards. In the Indian homes, or in the priest's room at the back of the little churches, candles were the chief means of illumination during the 1880's and 1890's. Often, when candles were not available, resource was had to lights made from melted fats set in some metal container.

As a matter of fact, Father Le Jeune was one of those men who pursue knowledge through reading, yet find in it one of their highest forms of relaxation. If he lay down on a couch to rest during the day, it was always with a book or paper in his hands. He would read a little, perhaps doze for a few minutes, read again, and then pause to reflect upon what he had read.

Mr. William Brennan, of Kamloops, told me of many occasions on the North Thompson road when a swirl of dust in the distance signalled to him the approach of a vehicle. A prancing colt at the side of the team and several lean dogs nearby would usually identify the conveyance as an Indian waggon or democrat. And seated beside the young Indian driver

(f) Mrs. M. Mooney, of Kamloops, who many times extended hospitality to Father Le Jeune in her home at Chase, B. C.

(g) Mrs. Fraser, of the Kamloops Indian band, who helped Father Le Jeune to mimeograph early issues of the Wawa.

(h) Several Indians on the reserves at Kamloops, Deadman's Creek, Quilchena, and Shuswap.

would be Father Le Jeune, open book in his lap, and completely oblivious of his surroundings until the welcoming hail of drivers brought him to a realization of events around him.

This complete absorption in some problem of the moment once brought Father Le Jeune into a very embarrassing situation which his friends did not let him forget for many years. He left one morning for Quilchena, after making a little speech and saying good-bye to the pupils of the Mission school on Mission Flats. They did not expect to see him back for several weeks. Imagine their surprise a few hours later when he was observed returning to the Mission, reading a book as he rode along. Later it transpired that after dismounting for lunch he had started to read, and upon remounting had given his horse its head while he continued to be absorbed in his topic. The horse, without adequate direction, had simply turned around and started upon its homeward journey.

But to say that Father Le Jeune was essentially a bookish type of man would be untrue. He mixed well with all classes of society from the humblest to the highest, and he thoroughly enjoyed the companionship of his fellow-men. He was of an extremely friendly nature, and one of his chief delights was conversation with all and sundry. He was never happier than when he was recounting anecdotes of his life among the Indians or of his unusual experiences on the trail. In keeping with the hospitality of those pioneer days, the homes of all the old-timers throughout his vast district, whether Protestant or

Roman Catholic, were open to him. "Come in, Father, come in and have dinner with us," was the customary greeting extended to him. And his host could always be sure that Father Le Jeune would have some new stories to tell of various incidents which had occurred since he last saw him.

After dinner, while he puffed at his pipe or cigar, Father Le Jeune would tell his listeners all about his latest trip. Old Indian Jules at Deadman's Creek had died. There was sure to be high water this season. Indian Maggie at Savona had some wonderful gloves for sale. My, but the Indians at Quilchena had cooked him some nice deer ribs.

Of deer ribs the priest was very fond. They formed a major part of his diet in the Indian camps, particularly during the early days. Here the custom prevailed of having Indian women prepare the food for the priest and serve it to him in an Indian's cabin or in his rooms at the rear of the church. Naturally, venison, fish, or berries were the usual foods served. The Indians shared with the priest the best that they had, but sometimes that best was none too good. There were frequently lean periods in the Indian villages when food was very scarce. Also, the lack of variety in the diet was generally not conducive to healthy living, and Father Le Jeune's health did suffer to some extent from this monotony of Indian diet. However, it was not in the priest's nature to complain; he was most appreciative of the efforts of his Indians to make him as comfortable as they could in their villages and camps.

Due to the close association that Father Le Jeune had with the natives for so long a period of time, it is not surprising that his personal appearance deteriorated. His methods of travel over the dusty roads and trails of the times were not conducive to cleanliness of body or clothes. Frequent and long periods of absence from his headquarters in Kamloops gave little opportunity for a change of clothing. Then, too, Father Le Jeune appears to have been one of those men who, their minds engrossed with weighty matters of the moment, give only secondary consideration to neatness of personal appearance.

Many of his contemporaries remember Father Le Jeune the man best for his happy disposition and keen sense of humour. Essentially, he was an optimist. He thoroughly enjoyed a good story, and he himself was the originator of many. He was recognized as a great practical joker and in conversation with him, one had to keep his wits about him to avoid being drawn into some subtle trap. Mr. Fred Irwin once heard a man ask Father Le Jeune what kind of a winter he expected they would have. "Oh, an extremely cold one, with plenty of snow," replied the priest.

When his questioner left, Father Le Jeune started to chuckle and said to Mr. Irwin, "You know that's the third man to ask me that same question since I left home this morning and to each I gave a different answer."

Upon being asked why he had done this, the priest replied, "Well, I'm almost certain to be right with one of the three and that one forever after will say that Father Le Jeune is certainly

a wonderful weather prophet."

The statement is made in Fifty Years in Western Canada that Father Le Jeune was "the most unmusical of men." (110) In denying this statement, Father George Forbes remarks as follows: "Father Morice was so serious and solemn that he was a good target for practical jokes and Father Le Jeune was a practical joker. It would not surprise me in the least to learn that, knowing how seriously Father Morice took music and other things, Father Le Jeune had deliberately sung out of tune as a practical joke on Father Morice." (111)

Father Le Jeune was very fond of children and they in turn loved and admired him. He made them happy by telling them little stories and anecdotes. It was a common occurrence to see him in the stores of Kamloops in company with three or four Indian boys. He would be buying clothes, or occasionally some little treat such as candy, for them. By the time of Father Le Jeune's later years, the great majority of the Indian boys and girls were being taught English in the residential school, and the native Indian dialects were rapidly passing out of existence. An interesting observation on this fact was told me by Mr. G. D. Brown, Jr. He overheard Father

(110) Fifty Years in Western Canada, Abridged Memoirs of Rev. A. G. Morice, O. M. I., by D. L. S., The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1930, p. 17.

(111) Forbes, Rev. George, O. M. I., letter to the author, 16 October, 1947.

Le Jeune addressing some remarks in the local Indian dialect to his two companions, Indian boys about twelve years old. The boys apparently could not understand him for he quickly turned to them and chided them quite sharply in English.

"Shame on you boys," he said. "You leave it to me, a stranger in your country, to speak your own language which you do not know."

Of Father Le Jeune's steadfast energy and enthusiasm for his cause we have spoken before.

"I never knew him to be content to just sit down and do nothing," Mrs. A. E. Way told me. "There seemed to be something within him spurring him on all the time. He was always on the go, always trying to think up new ways in which he could help his beloved Indians. And my, how his Indians did love him."

This, then, was Father Le Jeune the man--a tireless worker for the salvation of souls, possessed of deep human sympathy and understanding, yet with the ability to descend to the level of the lowly and the humble in all earthly matters.

APPENDIX ALIST OF WAWA EXCHANGES WITH COMMENTS BY FATHER LE JEUNE

1. La Lumière Sténographique, Duployé's own paper. Forty cents a year. A monthly issue, similar in size to the Kamloops Wawa. Address, E. Duployé, Sinceny (Aisne), France.
2. The Stenographer, 38 Sixth South Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Justly called the finest paper on shorthand matters published in America. Only \$1.00 per annum.
3. The Inland Sentinel, Kamloops, B. C. A repertory of information concerning the mining, agricultural, etc., resources of the interior of British Columbia. Weekly, \$2.00 per annum.
4. The Weekly World, Vancouver, B. C. \$1.50 per annum.
5. The Weekly Columbian, New Westminster, B. C. \$2.00 per annum.
6. The Weekly Colonist, Victoria, B. C. The pioneer paper of British Columbia. \$2.00 per annum.
7. Le Sténographe Canadien, the pioneer organ of the Duployan stenography in Canada. \$1.00 per annum.
8. The Month, New Westminster, B. C. \$1.00 per annum.
9. La Croix du Canada. \$2.00 per annum.
10. La Semaine Religieuse de Montreal. \$1.00 per annum.
11. The Northwest Review, Winnipeg, Manitoba. \$2.00 per annum.
12. The Messenger of the Sacred Heart, New York City. The finest monthly of its kind in existence. Profusely illustrated with half-tones. \$2.00 per annum.
13. The Chicago Sunday Herald. The largest paper that comes to hand. An immense volume of reading every week, each issue weighing nearly one pound. Only \$2.00 per annum.
14. The Catholic Record, London, Ontario. A weekly, got up in first class style. \$2.00 per annum.
15. La Voix du Précieux Sang, St. Hyacinthe, P. Q. \$1.00 per annum.
16. Le Rosaire, St. Hyacinthe, P. Q. \$1.00 per annum.

17. Le propagateur des bons livres, Montreal. Only 50 cents per annum. Issues twice a month. Worth twice its price.
18. La ruche sténographique, Bose Le Hard, France. Price, 50 cents per annum.
19. La plume sténographique, Périgueux, Dordogne, France.
20. La gazette sténographique, Paris, France. \$1.00 per annum.
21. Le grande Sténographe, Paris, France. The leading paper of the Duployan stenography. Issues monthly. \$1.00 per annum.
22. The phonographic journal, Pt. Jervis, New York. A monthly periodical concerning shorthand and typewriting. Very interesting reading. Only 50 cents per annum.
23. The shorthand educator, Brooklyn, New York. Got up in first class style. Only 50 cents per annum.
24. Le journal des sténographes, Paris, France.
25. The weekly gazette, Montreal, Canada. \$1.00 per annum.
26. B. C. commercial journal, Victoria, B. C. Weekly. \$2.00 per annum.
27. The British Columbia gazette. Published by authority. Weekly. \$5.00 per annum.
28. The B. C. mining journal, Ashcroft, B. C. Weekly. Issued first in May, 1895. \$2.00 per annum.
29. Comfort, Augusta, Me. A well-known paper. 1,250,000 circulation. Only 25 cents a year. Issues monthly.
30. Donahue's magazine, Boston, Mass. A beautiful magazine of over one hundred pages, with profuse illustrations, half-tones, etc. Monthly, \$2.00 per year.
31. The Pilgrim of our Lady of Martyrs, New York City. Monthly. 50 cents a year.
32. L'abeille paroissiale, Montreal, monthly. Only 50 cents a year.
33. Maria Immaculata, Fauquemont, Holland.
34. L'etoile sténographique de France. Bi-monthly. \$1.00 per annum.

35. L'eclair sténographique illustré. Monthly. \$1.00 per annum.
36. Pernin's monthly stenographer, Detroit, Michigan. \$1.00 per annum.
37. The illustrated phonographic world, New York.
38. The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana. \$2.00 per year.
39. The Virginia Stenographer. Published monthly at Richmond, Va., at 50 cents a year.
40. The harvest, an organ of Catholic works. Salford, England. A monthly, well illustrated. 40 cents per annum.
41. The poor soul's friend and St. Joseph's monitor, published at Chudley, Devon, England. Same price as preceding.
42. Le messenger de St. Antoine, Chicoutimi, P. Q. Monthly. Only 25 cents a year.

APPENDIX BLIST OF FATHER LE JEUNE'S PUBLICATIONS WITH A BRIEFDESCRIPTION OF EACH

1. Kamloops Wawa, 1891. This was commenced on May 2, 1891, and published monthly up to and including the December, 1891 issue. Each number contained four mimeographed pages. The first few issues consisted of instructions as to how to write the new shorthand system, while in the later numbers several Chinook hymns were published.
2. Kamloops Wawa, 1892, was published weekly throughout the year from January 15 to December 25 inclusive. Each issue contained four mimeographed pages, the whole being written in stenographic characters with various paragraph headings in English. The contents included short Bible stories, occasional Chinook hymns, and news items covering events of interest in the various Indian camps.
3. Kamloops Wawa, 1893, was published weekly from January 1, 1893, to December 31, 1893, inclusive. There was practically no change from the 1892 issues in form or content.
4. Kamloops Wawa, 1894, was issued monthly throughout the year, each issue containing sixteen pages. The copies were mimeographed up to and including August, but from September on the paper was produced by the photo-engraving process. Subscription rate was one dollar per year or ten cents a copy. Advertisements were accepted from the September issue on, and one or more pictures were included each month.
5. Kamloops Wawa, 1895, consisted of twelve monthly numbers, each containing sixteen pages. An attempt was now being made to include more material in English.
6. Kamloops Wawa, 1896, was published monthly at twenty-four pages per issue.
7. Kamloops Wawa, 1897, was published monthly at sixteen pages per issue.
8. Kamloops Wawa, 1898, was published monthly at sixteen pages per issue. A typical number, February, 1898, contained two pages of editorial notes in English, one page of French in shorthand, one page of monthly news in Chinook, eight pages of "Stories of the second century," two pages of Chinook vocabulary, and two pages of advertisements.

9. Kamloops Wawa, 1899, issued twelve times during the year, went back to a mimeographed form of publication, with the number of pages varying with the various issues.
10. Kamloops Wawa, 1900, was issued monthly in printed form with sixteen pages per number.
11. Kamloops Wawa, 1901, was issued quarterly, in the months of March, June, September, and December. The issue of September, 1901, was indeed a bumper one as it contained ninety-four pages, and sold for twenty-five cents.
12. Kamloops Wawa, 1902, was published quarterly.
13. Kamloops Wawa, 1903, was published quarterly.
14. Kamloops Wawa, 1904, was published quarterly. The December, 1904, issue contained the account of Father Le Jeune's trip to Europe in that year. He was accompanied on that occasion by two Indian chiefs from his district--Louis, of Kamloops, and Celestin, of Nicola.
15. Kamloops Wawa, special French edition, was published monthly through the years 1915, 1916, and 1917. These copies were typed or written by hand by Father Le Jeune, and reproduced by means of a hectograph. Each copy averaged sixteen pages.
16. Chinook first reading book included Chinook hymns, syllabary and vocabulary, and was published by Father Le Jeune at Kamloops in the year 1893. It was written in stenographic characters and mimeographed.
17. Chinook hymns, published in the year 1893, consisted of sixteen pages in stenographic characters and was mimeographed.
18. The Wawa shorthand instructor or the Duployan stenography adapted to English was a 24-page pamphlet published at Kamloops in the year 1896. It contained full instructions for the mastery of the shorthand system used by Father Le Jeune. This little book sold for fifteen cents.
19. The Wawa shorthand exercise book, also published in the year 1896, was a 24-page supplement to the Wawa shorthand instructor. This book also sold for fifteen cents.
20. English manual or prayers and catechism in English typography was a 40-page booklet published at Kamloops in the year 1896, with the approbation of Right Rev. P. Durieu, Bishop of New Westminster.

21. Chinook manual or prayers, hymns and catechism in Chinook was arranged by Father Le Jeune and consisted of a manual of one hundred pages published at Kamloops in the year 1896.
22. Latin manual or hymns and chants in use by the Indians of British Columbia. This was a seventy page booklet containing hymns and chants arranged in shorthand by Father Le Jeune. The book was published at Kamloops in the year 1896.
23. Chinook Bible history. This was originally written by Bishop Durieu, but Father Le Jeune published at Kamloops in the year 1896 a 112-page transcription of this work in shorthand. Both the Old and New Testaments were included, and parts of this work appeared from time to time in the Kamloops Wawa.
24. Stalo manual or prayers, hymns and the catechism in the Stalo or Lower Fraser language. This was a thirty page booklet, in shorthand, published at Kamloops in the year 1897.
25. Shuswap manual or prayers, hymns and catechism in Shuswap consisted of 132 pages in shorthand and was published by Father Le Jeune at Kamloops in the year 1906. It included general prayers, prayers before and after meals, the form of baptism, morning and night prayers, preparation for confession, prayers for communion, the rosary, via crucis, hymns and canticles, catechism, and examination of conscience. A supplement contained forms of the catechism as arranged by Bishop D'Herbomez, Father Le Jacq, and Father Gendre.
26. Skwamish Manual or prayers, hymns and catechism in Skwamish was a fifty-six page booklet published at Kamloops in the year 1896.
27. Sheshel manual or prayers, hymns and catechism in the Sechel language was a forty-eight page booklet in shorthand characters published at Kamloops in the year 1896.
28. Okanagan manual or prayers, hymns and catechism in the Okanagan language, fifty pages, was issued by Father Le Jeune in the year 1897.
29. Chinook and shorthand rudiments, by Father Le Jeune, was published at Kamloops in the year 1898. It was a sixteen page booklet purporting to be the means by which the Chinook jargon could be mastered without a teacher in a few hours. Its title page made the claim that "the shortest way to learn the Chinook is through the shorthand, and the shortest way to learn the shorthand is through the Chinook."

30. Slayamen manual or prayers, hymns and catechism in the Slayamen language. This was a forty page booklet in shorthand characters published at Kamloops in the year 1896.
31. Chinook book of devotions throughout the year was a book of 188 pages in Chinook and shorthand characters, arranged by Father Le Jeune and published at Kamloops in the year 1902.
32. Chinook short grammar, sixteen pages, was issued in May, 1923.
33. Chinook rudiments, by Father Le Jeune, was a thirty-six page booklet published at Kamloops on May 3, 1924. It contained a short account of the history of Chinook, a description of the Wawa shorthand, fairly complete vocabularies, and exercises in Chinook.
34. Prayers before and after holy communion in several languages of the natives of British Columbia was a twenty-two page booklet published by Father Le Jeune at Kamloops in the year 1925.
35. What shall I do to possess life everlasting? was a twenty page booklet adapted from the exercises of St. Ignatius and translated by Father Le Jeune from Chinook and the native languages of British Columbia. This was published at Kamloops in the year 1925.
36. Studies on Shuswap consisted of a thirty-two page booklet and was published by Father Le Jeune at Kamloops in the year 1925.

APPENDIX CBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. Right Reverend Paul Durieu, O. M. I., born at St. Pol-de-Mons, Diocese of Puy, France, on December 4, 1830; made his Profession in the Order of the O. M. I., November 1, 1849; ordained priest, March 11, 1854; arrived Vancouver Island, December 12, 1859; named Titulary Bishop of Marcopolis and Coadjutor of Right Rev. Bishop D'Herbomez, June 2, 1875; consecrated, October 24, 1875; appointed first Bishop of New Westminster, September 2, 1890; died, June 1, 1899.
2. Right Reverend Louis Joseph D'Herbomez, O. M. I., born at Brillon, Diocese of Cambrai, France, on January 17, 1822; made his Profession on November 21, 1848; ordained priest, October 14, 1849; came to the Oregon Missions by way of Cape Horn in year 1850; named Titulary Bishop of Miletopolis and Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia, December 20, 1863; consecrated, October 9, 1864; died at New Westminster, June 3, 1889.
3. Reverend Father Nicholas Coccola, O. M. I., born 1854 and ordained in year 1881. After serving at St. Louis Mission, Kamloops, and at St. Eugene's Mission in the Kootenay country, succeeded Father Morice at Stuart Lake Mission in year 1905. Having taken a medical training, Father Coccola was in a position to minister to the sick and helped many, both whites and Indians, who were beyond the reach of a medical doctor. He died at Smithers, B. C., on March 1, 1943.
4. Reverend Father Adrian Gabriel Morice, O. M. I., born 1859, and ordained by Mgr. D'Herbomez at St. Mary's Mission, July 2, 1882; sent to the Stuart Lake Mission in 1885; highly respected by the Indians and gained great influence over them; prepared the Dénés Syllabary for the Carrier Indians, a syllabic system of writing modelled somewhat after that invented in the year 1840 by James Evans, a Methodist missionary at Norway House, for use among the Cree Indians; used a printing press for turning out pamphlets and prayer books for use of his Indians; gained distinction as a man of letters in the fields of ethnology and history; author of The history of the northern interior of British Columbia and History of the Catholic Church in western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific.
5. Reverend Father J. M. Le Jacq, O. M. I., born 1837 at Roscoff, Finisterre, France; studied at the College of St. Pol de Leon and at the Seminary of Quimper, and was ordained priest at Marseilles in year 1862. Was soon sent to the

missions of British Columbia and spent the first years of his missionary life on Vancouver Island and on the Pacific Coast, residing principally at Fort Rupert. In 1867 was sent to the newly established mission at Williams Lake, and shortly after to Stuart Lake, where he remained until the summer of 1880. Was then sent to Kamloops as Superior of St. Louis Mission, with the charge of attending to the Shuswap Indians from Lillooet to Enderby. After twelve years at Kamloops was sent back to Williams Lake to organize an industrial school for Indian boys and girls at St. Joseph's. Died at New Westminster, January 23, 1899.

APPENDIX D--BIBLIOGRAPHYBOOKS:

- Gregg, John Robert, Selections from the story of shorthand, New York, The Gregg Publishing Company, 1941. (An account of the origin and development of all the major shorthand systems. Describes the chief features of each system. This book devotes several pages to the Duployan shorthand, a French system worked out by Abbé Emile Duployé. It was later adapted to English by Sloan and Pernin. Father Le Jeune learned the Duployan system while a student in France and used it as the basis for his Wawa shorthand among the Indians)
- Howay, Judge F. W., British Columbia, the making of a province, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1928. (A good general work by an outstanding historian of the North West coast. Gives a particularly good account of the fur trading days in the interior of the province and devotes a chapter to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway)
- Jeness, Diamond, The Indians of Canada, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 2nd edition, 1934. (A well-illustrated volume giving an excellent account of the Canadian Indian--his origin, language, and the development of his economic and social conditions. The book is divided into two parts, the first general in nature and covering the country as a whole; the second gives a detailed account of particular tribes. Two chapters are concerned with the Indians of British Columbia and cover both the tribes of the Pacific Coast and those of the Cordillera, including the Interior Salish. I found this book very useful as a point of departure for the study of the Indian languages and dialects)
- Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., History of the Catholic Church in western Canada, Toronto, Musson Book Company, Ltd., vol. 2, 1910. (Chapters XXXVII to XLIII, inclusive, of the volume are devoted exclusively to the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and particularly the Oblates, in the territory now included in British Columbia. Their work is surveyed from its beginnings up to and including the year 1895)
- Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., History of the northern interior of British Columbia, Toronto, William Briggs, 1905. (Contains a good deal of material on the early Roman Catholic missionaries in the interior of British Columbia)

Morice, Rev. A. G., O. M. I., abridged memoirs of, by D. L. S., Fifty years in western Canada, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1930. (Several pages of this book are devoted to an excellent description of St. Mary's Mission as it was in the 1880's. Fathers Le Jeune and Morice were contemporaries there for a two-year period)

Notices Necrologiques des membres de la congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée, Rome, Maison Générale, O. M. I., Tome Huitième, 1939. (Biographical notes on various members of the Oblate order. There is a very incomplete life of Father Le Jeune, written by Father Lardon, an admirer of his. The date of Father Le Jeune's death is wrong in the account. There is also a more complete description in the volume of Father Le Jeune's very learned brother, Father Louis Le Jeune, professor at Ottawa University and noted writer on theological topics. This volume was issued just before World War II broke out, but was not received in British Columbia until after the war)

Ravenhill, Alice, The native tribes of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C., King's Printer, 1938. (This book contains a good description of the Interior Salish tribes, which include the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanagan)

Thomas, Edward Harper, Chinook, a history and dictionary of the northwest coast trade jargon, Portland, Oregon, Metropolitan Press, 1935. (A very interesting book on the origin and development of the Chinook jargon. Excellent vocabulary lists are given, and points of difference in the jargon in various parts of the country are emphasized. The best book on the Chinook jargon available to-day)

PAMPHLETS:

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Elements of Shorthand, Kamloops, B. C., 1891.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Chinook primer, Kamloops, B. C., 1892.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Chinook first reading book, Kamloops, B. C., 1893.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Chinook hymns, Kamloops, B. C., 1893.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., The Wawa shorthand instructor, Kamloops, B. C., 1896.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., The Wawa shorthand first reading book, Kamloops, B. C., 1896.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Chinook and shorthand rudiments, Kamloops, B. C., 1898.

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Chinook rudiments, May 3, 1924.

(All the above pamphlets helped to furnish the material for the chapters on the Chinook jargon and on Father Le Jeune's shorthand system among the Indians)

Nelson, Denys, Fort Langley, a century of settlement, Vancouver, B. C., Art, Historical and Scientific Association, 1927. (This little pamphlet gives a good description of the early settlement of the Lower Fraser Valley. I used it chiefly for an account of the visit of Father Demers to Fort Langley in the year 1841)

PERIODICALS:

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, many issues, particularly those of the following dates:--

June, 1891, vol. 1, no. 2.
January, 1895, vol. 4, no. 1.
March, 1895, vol. 4, no. 3.
April, 1895, vol. 4, no. 4.
May, 1895, vol. 4, no. 5.
July, 1895, vol. 4, no. 7.
August, 1895, vol. 4, no. 8.
September, 1895, vol. 4, no. 9.
November, 1895, vol. 4, no. 11.
December, 1895, vol. 4, no. 12.
April, 1896, vol. 5, no. 4.
June, 1896, vol. 5, no. 6.
July, 1896, vol. 5, no. 7.
August, 1896, vol. 5, no. 8.
December, 1896, vol. 5, no. 12.
February, 1897, vol. 6, no. 2.
January, 1898, vol. 7, no. 1.
February, 1898, vol. 7, no. 2.
March, 1898, vol. 7, no. 3.
April, 1898, vol. 7, no. 4.
May, 1898, vol. 7, no. 5.
June, 1898, vol. 7, no. 6.
December, 1899, vol. 8, no. 12.
March, 1900, vol. 9, no. 3.
April, 1900, vol. 9, no. 4.
May, 1900, vol. 9, no. 5.
March, 1901, vol. 10, no. 1.

June, 1901, vol. 10, no. 2.

(The above issues of the Wawa are rich in information. They tell of Father Le Jeune's shorthand system and its adaptation to Chinook, of his missionary work in the various camps, of his strange experiences on the trail, of his philosophy. They contain his instructions to his Indians, and they are filled with a good deal of interesting material covering events of the times)

Le Jeune, Rev. J. M. R., Kamloops Wawa, Edition Française, many issues, particularly those of the following dates:

July, 1915.
August, 1915.
December, 1915.
March, 1916.
April, 1916,
December, 1916.

(These issues were particularly valuable to me. While much of their content is similar to that of the earlier issues of the Wawa, they bring out a more complete exposition of Father Le Jeune's philosophy)

Nelson, Denys, "Yakima Days," in three issues of the Washington Historical Quarterly as follows:--

Vol. 19, no. 1, January, 1928.
Vol. 19, no. 2, April, 1928.
Vol. 19, no. 3, July, 1928.

(This article describes the advance of the Oblate Fathers into ~~what~~ is now the present Washington State, their trials and tribulations during the Indian wars there, and the subsequent movement of many of them into British Columbia)

Harvey, A. G., "David Stuart: Okanagan pathfinder-- founder of Kamloops," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, vol. 9, no. 4, October, 1945. (An interesting article describing the beginnings of white settlement in the district of Kamloops)

Johnson, F. Henry, "Old Fort Kamloops," Canadian Geographical Journal, vol. 22, no. 2, February, 1941. (A description of the early fur trading days around Kamloops)

Oblate Missions, various numbers as follows:--

"The queerest newspaper in the world," June, 1946.
(A very complete article on the Kamloops Wawa)

"An apostle of the poor, Charles Joseph Eugene de
Mazenod," September, 1946. (A short article on the
life of the founder of the Oblate Order)

Donze, Jean, O. M. I., "The Indians at the cross-
roads," December, 1946. (A discussion of the
present-day problems of the British Columbia
Indian)

NEWSPAPERS:++

Inland Sentinel, various issues as follows:--

2 March, 1894.

"Father Le Jeune's trip," 9 March, 1894.

"History in shorthand," 15 June, 1894.

29 June, 1894.

"Kamloops Wawa," 27 July, 1894.

8 March, 1895.

19 April, 1895.

15 November, 1895.

17 June, 1896.

"Kamloops Wawa," 8 January, 1897.

"Kamloops Wawa," 22 May, 1897.

25 June, 1897.

7 December, 1897.

21 June, 1898.

"The penalty paid, Indian Casimir hanged this
morning," 2 June, 1899.

26 October, 1900.

21 December, 1900.

"The Kamloops Wawa," 4 October, 1901.

8 July, 1904.

19 July, 1904.

Kamloops Sentinel, various issues as follows:--

"Pioneers of city and district honoured," 29
December, 1922.

"In Dominion for 47 years," 17 September, 1926.
Smith, John F., "Pioneer Catholic missionaries,"
1 October, 1926.

"Father Le Jeune's golden jubilee is remembered
here," 14 June, 1929.

10 September, 1929.

"Death of Father Le Jeune much regretted," 25
November, 1930.

"The late Father Le Jeune," 25 November, 1930.
"Father Le Jeune's funeral," 2 December, 1930.
Morse, J. J., "Father Le Jeune," 14 December, 1934.

Vancouver Daily Province, article on Father Le Jeune
by B. A. McKelvie, 6 September, 1924.

The British Columbian, issues as follows:--

21 November, 1930.
24 November, 1930.

(The above newspaper articles and news items are a very useful source of information. They tell of Father Le Jeune's visits to the Indian camps, of his production of the Kamloops Wawa, of his comings and his goings, and of what his contemporaries thought of his work)

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL:

Autobiographical note by Father Le Jeune in possession of Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.

Miscellaneous notes of Father Le Jeune.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATION:

Brennan, William, Kamloops, B. C., several interviews, 1947 and 1948. (Mr. Brennan knew Father Le Jeune intimately and furnished me with a good deal of information about the personal characteristics of the man)

Brown, G. D., Jr., Kamloops, B. C., interview, 10 January, 1947. (Mr. Brown gave me his impressions of Father Le Jeune as he knew him)

Fleury, Father, O. M. I., Superior of St. Mary's Mission, interview, 16 August, 1947. (Since Father Fleury had arrived from the east but a short time ago, he was not able to give me much information about Father Le Jeune. He did, however, conduct me over the Mission buildings and to the Oblate cemetery nearby where Father Le Jeune is buried)

Forbes, Father George, O. M. I., letter, 16 October, 1947. (Father Forbes gave me a great amount of information about Father Le Jeune. He was associated with Father Le Jeune on the missions for a year just before the latter's retirement)

Fraser, Mrs., Indian, Kamloops, B. C., several interviews, 1947 and 1948, and many other interviews with Indians on various reserves of the district. (Every Indian I interviewed praised Father Le Jeune and his work. I did not meet one who had a harsh word to say about him)

Gregg, Dr. John R., letter, 17 September and 6 October, 1946. (The late Dr. Gregg gave me every encouragement in the writing of my thesis. He was extremely interested in the shorthand aspects of it. He visited the Shorthand Collection in the New York Public Library on my behalf and sent me the complete list of Father Le Jeune's shorthand works which he found there)

Ireland, Willard E., letter, 11 September, 1946, and interview, August, 1947. (Mr. Ireland listed for me the collection of Father Le Jeune's works in the Provincial Archives, and made them readily available to me during a visit to the Archives in August, 1947)

Irwin, Fred, Kamloops, B. C., interview, 6 January, 1947. (Mr. Irwin knew Father Le Jeune personally. He had also heard many stories of him from his father, who was Indian Agent for a time and often travelled with Father Le Jeune to the Indian reserves)

Jarrett, Fred, letter, 10 September, 1946. (Mr. Jarrett, who is Canadian manager of the Gregg Publishing Company, did not know much about Father Le Jeune. But he was extremely interested in the shorthand aspects of my thesis and gave me a great deal of information about syllabic systems which the missionaries are using among the Cree Indians to-day)

Jennings, Bishop E. Q., Kamloops, B. C., interviews, January, 1948. (Bishop Jennings helped me with various technical details of my thesis and aided in finding biographical material. He also discussed with me the viewpoint of his Church in evaluating the work of such a man as Father Le Jeune)

Murphy, Father Steve, O. M. I., New Westminster, B. C., interview, 15 August, 1947. (Father Murphy gave me much information about Father Le Jeune during his retirement at New Westminster)

Mooney, Mrs. M., Kamloops, B. C., interviews, April, 1948. (Personal characteristics of Father Le Jeune)

MacDonald, D. J., Provincial Home, Kamloops, B. C., interview, 15 October, 1947. (Personal characteristics of Father Le Jeune)

Scott, Father, O. M. I., Kamloops, interviews, December, 1946. (Father Scott made available to me many of the writings of Father Le Jeune which I could not otherwise have obtained. He also drew my attention to the many beautiful furnishings of the Indian churches of the district, largely due to the work of Father Le Jeune)

Sloan, J. D., letter, 9 January, 1947. (Mr. Sloan, secretary of the Sloan-Duployan Shorthand Society, definitely established for me the fact that the shorthand system used by Father Le Jeune was the original French system of Abbé Duployé)

Todd, J. Roland, letter, 18 December, 1946. (Mr. Todd, who is Northwestern Librarian at the University of Washington, listed for me the works of Father Le Jeune which are available in this library at Seattle)

Way, Mrs. A. E., interview, April, 1948. (Personal characteristics of Father Le Jeune)