

SYLLABICS:
A SUCCESSFUL EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

by
JOHN STEWART MURDOCH

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

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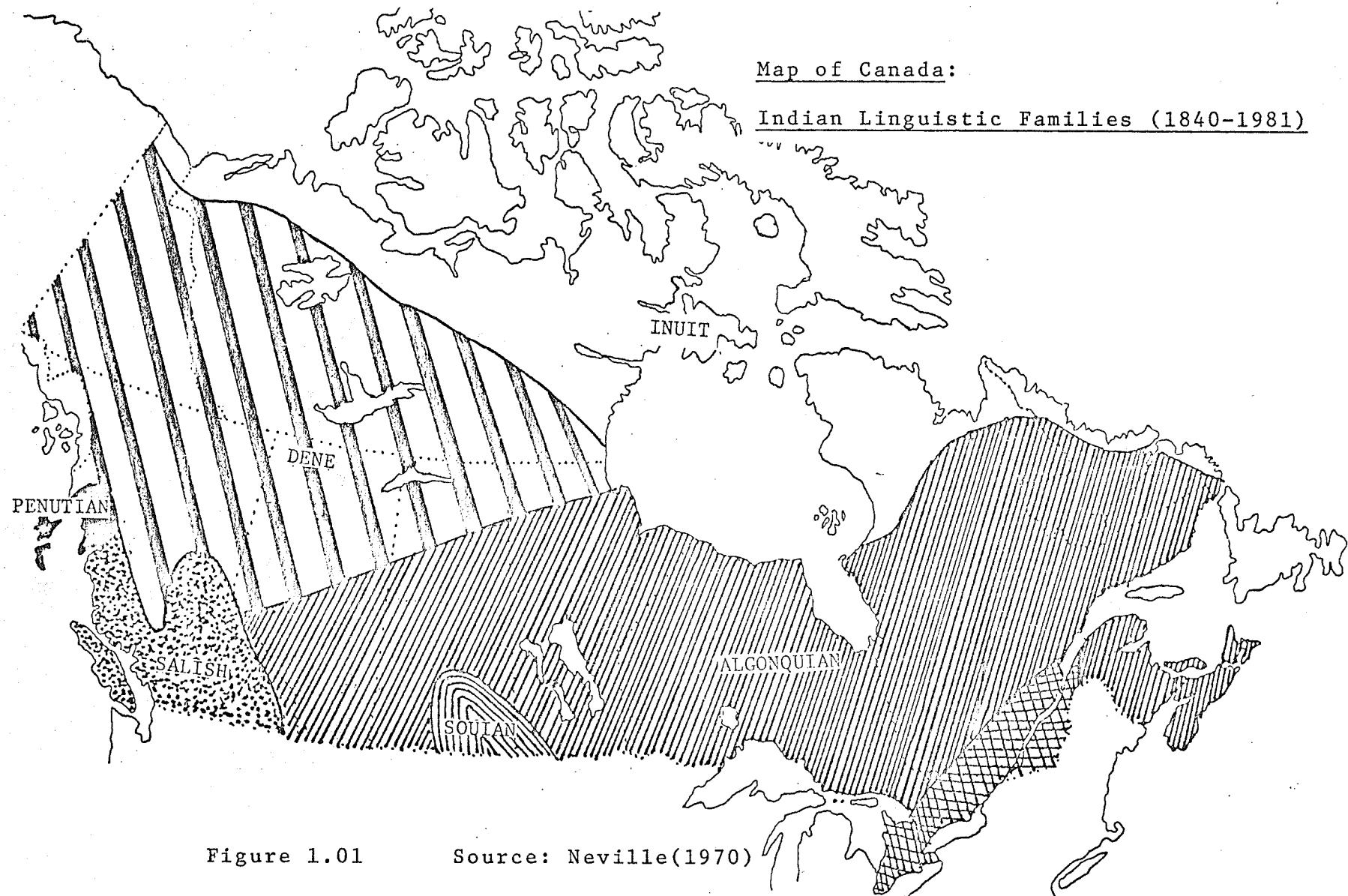
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature and evolution of a successful innovation by an early Euro-Canadian missionary-educator, whereby a non-literate people, the Crees, became functionally literate in a remarkably short time.

Data from published, unpublished and manuscript sources, together with personal communications will be examined critically. Using the most reliable of details, a portrait of the innovator, a model of the innovation and the subsequent pattern of development will be constructed. With such a clearer understanding, and utilizing contemporary theory on innovation and cultural change, a model for future innovators and innovations in Cree education will be devised. The results of this study will be of use to educators responsible for education in Cree communities, indeed most Algonquian communities, now faced with control of their education systems. It will also offer an historical perspective on what has become a major contemporary issue ----choosing a writing system for the community's native language.

Thousands of Crees who had no literate traditions in 1840 were literate only a decade later without any schooling at all. This was the result of an innovation by James Evans, a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary. Evans, during his years as a teacher and missionary became a fluent speaker of the Ojibwa Indian language. Ojibwa, like



Cree, is a language of the Algonquian family of languages which are spoken in Canada and parts of the northern United States, (see map, page 2). In 1836, Evans and some of his peers were instructed by their mission society to devise a simple Roman orthography for the Ojibwa language.¹ This done, Evans supervised the printing of an edition of hymns and prayers in the new orthography in New York during 1837. As early as 1836, Evans had considered a syllabic system which departed from the conventional Roman orthographies of the time,² but not until after his arrival at Norway House, did he pursue the idea in earnest. By 1841 Evans had devised the system more commonly known as "Cree Syllabics".³ This was a system or syllabary of characters, each representing a syllable, (see figure 1.02). During the early winter of 1841-1842, Crees who traded at Norway House where Evans was stationed had already learned to read and write their language in the syllabic system. Later the same winter, these Norway House Crees were hunting and trapping in their territory, which lies between Norway House and York Factory, (see figure 1.03). The Crees who traded at York Factory hunted and trapped close by. During that same winter, the Norway House Indians showed the York Factory Indians how to read and write the syllabic characters. In a similar manner, the York Factory Crees transmitted these literate skills to the Crees who traded at Fort Severn. In October of 1842, two Fort Severn Indians arrived at Moose Fort with hymns in the syllabic characters.⁴ In 1847, the Oblate missionary, André-Marie Garin reported to his superiors that only the very old and feeble were not already literate in the Abitibi region of what is now north-eastern Ontario and north-western Quebec.⁵ This

Figure 1.02

A Demonstration of the Cree Syllabic System

The chart below is reproduced from C. D. Ellis' "Proposed Roman Orthography for Cree", Appendix 5, p.65.

Δ i	Δ̄ ii	▽ e	▷ o	▷̄ oo	◁ a	◁̄ aa	*	**
Λ pi	Λ̄ pii	V pe	▷ po	▷̄ poo	◁ pa	◁̄ paa	ι	< p
∩ ti	∩̄ tii	U te	▷ to	▷̄ too	C ta	◁̄ taa	/	c t
∩ ci	∩̄ cii	⊐ ce	▷ co	▷̄ coo	⊐ ca	◁̄ caa	-	u c
P ki	P̄ kii	q̄ ke	d̄ ko	d̄̄ koo	b̄ ka	◁̄ bkaa	✓	b k
Γ mi	Γ̄ mii	⊐̄ me	⊐̄ mo	⊐̄̄ moo	L̄ ma	◁̄ Lmaa	c	L m
q̄ ni	q̄̄ nii	⊐̄ ne	⊐̄ no	⊐̄̄ noo	Q̄ na	◁̄̄ naa	>	a n
l̄ li	l̄̄ lii	▷̄ le	▷̄ lo	▷̄̄ loo	C̄ la	◁̄̄ laa	≤	c l
z̄ si	z̄̄ sii	⊐̄ se	⊐̄ so	⊐̄̄ soo	⊐̄ sa	◁̄̄ saa	η	h s
s̄ si	s̄̄ sii	⊐̄ se	⊐̄ so	⊐̄̄ soo	S̄ sa	◁̄̄ saa	ss	s
z̄ yi	z̄̄ yii	⊐̄ ye	⊐̄ yo	⊐̄̄ yoo	⊐̄ ya	◁̄̄ yaa	.	h y
z̄ ri	z̄̄ rii	⊐̄ ure	⊐̄ ro	⊐̄̄ roo	Ḡ ra	◁̄̄ raa	≥	g r
							¤	¤ sk
							x	hk
							o	w

* Original Evans style (see Appendix)
 ** Horden-Watkins style (see Appendix)

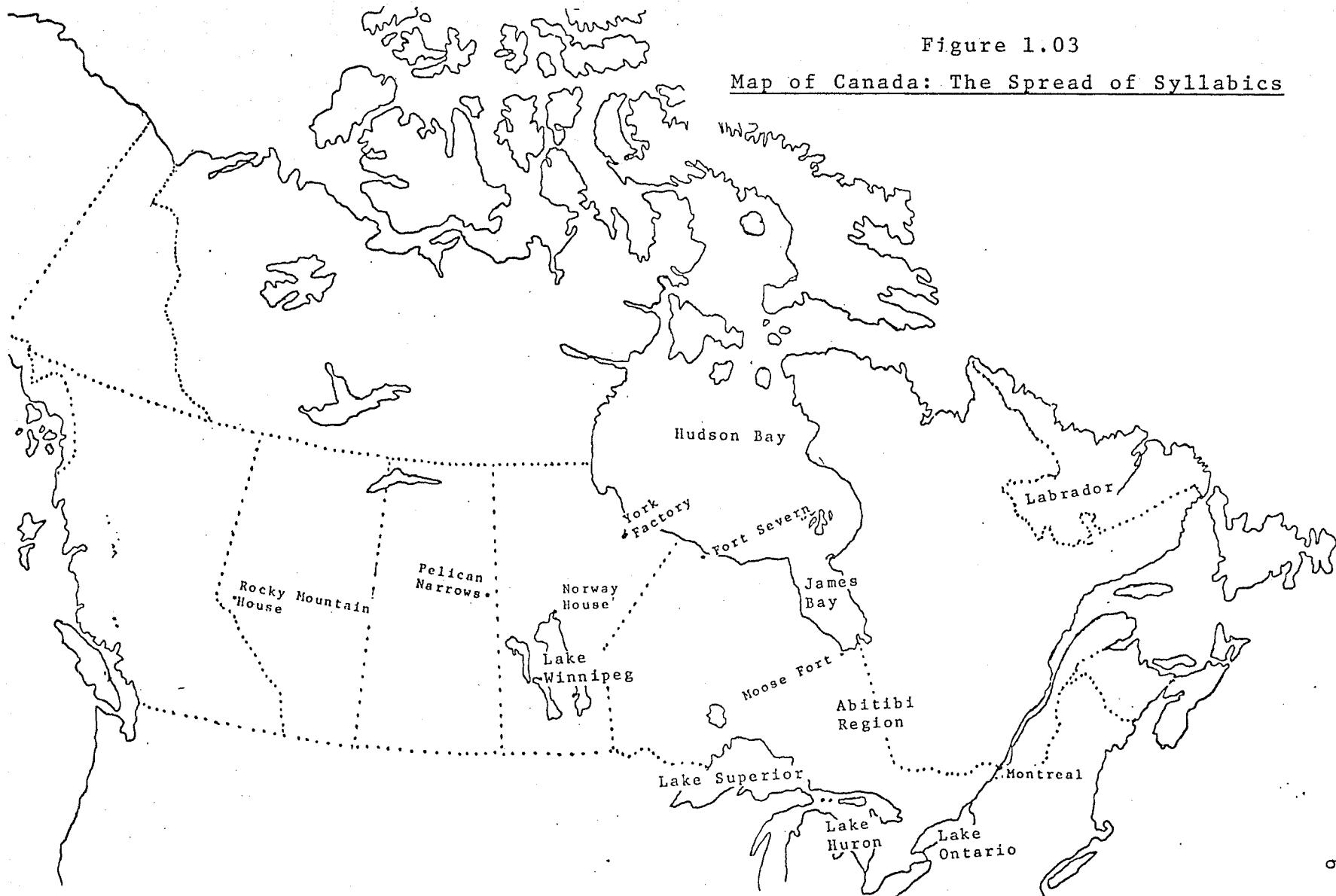
Because syllabics are based on
 pii-kas sil-laa-piks ar pest aawn
 $\overset{\wedge}{\text{b}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{c}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{e}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{f}}$
 shorthand most English sentences
 sort-haant most in-klis sen-ten-sis
 $\overset{\wedge}{\text{g}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{h}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{i}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{j}}$
 can be presented in syllabics.
 kaan pii prii-sen-tet in sil-laa-piks
 $\overset{\wedge}{\text{k}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{l}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{m}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{n}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{o}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{p}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{q}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{r}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{s}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{t}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{u}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{v}}$ $\overset{\wedge}{\text{x}}$

syllabic system spread westward as well. By 1843, a notable Cree chief, Maskepetoon, was writing letters in Cree syllabics to the missionary Robert T. Rundle at Rocky Mountain House.⁶ Birch bark was made to "talk" with blackened stick pencils. Messages were carved into trees, drawn on sandbars and left for passers-by. Within less than a decade, the use of Cree syllabics had spread from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic shore. Typically, the learning of this system took only a few days. If there was a teacher at all, it was a family member or friend. This phenomenon was not a result of affluent times. Rather, the period from which it evolved was particularly harsh. The Hudson's Bay Company had already merged with the North-West Company.⁷ Prior to this merger, the two companies were fierce competitors. Their competition with one another rewarded the Cree trappers with higher prices for their furs. These higher prices induced a rate of trapping which depleted most of the territories of fur animals and game. After the merger, fur prices were reduced by the monopoly which was formed. Subsequently, food was scarce for the Crees, and fur prices were too low to provide alternatives. Starvation and epidemics of sickness characterized the times.

For a hundred years, the use of Cree syllabics prevailed through times of famine and plenty, depending on no system of schooling and enduring Euro-Canadian criticism for its "inefficiency" and general lack of compatibility with Euro-Canadian scientific principles. The integration policies of Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, enacted during the 1960's removed Cree students from the milieu where syllabics were usually learned, e.g. at home, on the trapline. These developments posed the first significant threats to

Figure 1.03

Map of Canada: The Spread of Syllabics



the system's survival. But the integration policies of the 1960's gave way to the Indian control policies of the 1970's, and now the bilingual bicultural policies of the 1980's. In the face of echoed criticisms from earlier times, Cree syllabics have been adopted by most native language programs in Cree schools of northern Quebec and Ontario. The pros and cons of Roman orthographies over a syllabic system are being debated in northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; however, the strong Cree identification with the syllabic system may be the deciding factor, by which one of these systems is chosen by the Crees themselves.

The Problem:

Contemporary researchers have produced much evidence of the failures of early missionary-educators to gain the active and willing participation of Canada's first peoples. But more recent educators have had little better results. The nomadic and independent cultural traits of Algonquians have proven just as frustrating for contemporary Euro-Canadian approaches to education. The progress made in securing Algonquian participation since early Jesuit efforts over three hundred years ago could not be viewed as significantly improved. Yet an educational innovation, Cree syllabics, was adopted by a majority of Crees and other Algonquians throughout a vast area. The innovation was sufficiently internalized with cultural values to be viewed as being "Indian", and has survived to present times, when many other behaviours have long disappeared. If the nature of events which gave rise to such a remarkable innovation could be better understood, a model for further innovations in Cree education might be devised. In some Cree

communities, confidence in the syllabic system has waned under the effects of education policies and practices of the past two decades, whereby young people were drawn away from the milieu where the system was usually learned. As a result, past criticisms of the system and arguments in favour of a Roman orthography have flourished anew. But little research has been done on that system most strongly identified with the Cree community. Consequently, Cree communities so affected have difficulty choosing any system for their educational needs. This study will offer an historical perspective to the problem of Cree literacy and hopefully make the criteria for choice clearer.

Hypotheses of This Study:

The underlying hypotheses of this study are: that the Cree syllabic system was a successful cultural innovation by an educator-innovator; it served the practical purposes for which it was designed and was readily adopted by the recipient culture; and, that an understanding of the nature of the innovation, its innovator and its success, might provide a model for further successful innovations in Cree and Algonquian education. In reaching such an understanding, answers will be sought to the following questions:

1. From what events and principles did the Cree syllabic system evolve?
2. Why was the innovation of syllabics adopted so readily; diffused so rapidly, and persisted to the present among the Cree?
3. What life events and personality traits of the innovator, James Evans, contributed to the innovation?

4. Why has there been such a strong and persistent Euro-Canadian resistance to Cree syllabics?
5. Does the innovation and success of Cree syllabics suggest a model suitable for contemporary educators?

Design of the Study:

In seeking the answers to the questions evoked, the following approaches were employed:

1. A Search for Published or Unpublished Literature.

A search was made of other bibliographic efforts, and card files of libraries, and inquiries were made of researchers who are acquainted with this field of study. Each reference was scrutinized for important detail, consistency with other references, biases of the author or authors.

2. A Search of Relevant Manuscript Collections:

From the union or holdings lists of Canadian archives was sought the manuscripts of Evans, his peers and contemporaries, as well as of those persons who were involved throughout the nineteenth and early part of this century. Again, each reference was scrutinized for important detail, consistency with other references and the biases of the author or authors.

3. A Survey of Communities and Persons:

This study has communicated with persons knowledgeable of past and present events and conditions relating to the development and persistence of syllabics. Through such communications, a better appreciation of the Cree perspective has been described.

4. Assessment of Data:

Each detail gathered through searches, surveys, or interviews was examined critically for inconsistencies, contradictions, and similarities with data collected from other sources. From this analysis of data were synthesized a description of the origins, nature and prevalence of Cree syllabics development. This description was then be compared with current anthropological theories of cultural innovations and change. Finally, this study attempts to provide answers to those questions raised earlier.

Limitations of This Study:

Little published or unpublished literature deals specifically with the evolution of Cree syllabics. Rather, most of the literature focusses on the personality or life of James Evans or his contemporaries, later missionary efforts, or some event where syllabics played only an incidental role. On those relatively few occasions where syllabics are a more prominent issue, greater attention is paid to their antiquity or novelty rather than to their Cree usage.

Manuscript material does exist but is scattered among a number of archives and libraries. Texts in syllabic characters are seldom organized or identified because virtually no librarians or archivists are able to read such writing. The most significant manuscripts, James Evans' own, were for the most part burned by him prior to his departure from Norway House in 1846.⁸ Still, his outgoing correspondence and many of his diaries, notes, and papers of earlier years, are available. The manuscripts of his contemporaries also

provide much important detail.

Sources of information, be they published or manuscript, are extensively affected by certain biases and subsequent inaccuracies. Two of the most diligent biographers and/or critics of Evans' work, John MacLean and James Hunter, were greatly influenced by the personal conflicts which characterized Evans' last years. John MacLean was the Archivist for the United Church, actually a descendent organization of Evans' Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. James Hunter, one of syllabics strongest critics, was husband to Jean Ross, daughter of Chief Factor Donald Ross. The latter was an early friend but later an embittered enemy during Evans' final year at Norway House.

Even into the twentieth century, most of the published literature was written by persons with strong and particular religious identifications that influenced their criticisms. For example, an article by Rev. Nathaniel Burwash published by the Royal Society of Canada in 1911 has a number of inaccuracies, such as incorrect dates, faulty assumptions, etc..⁹ Unfortunately, a number of more current efforts rely heavily on this misinformation as it is the most accessible.

Geography limits the degree of communication possible with Cree community members. However, through persons dealing with native language programs in the area, important details are fairly easily obtained. Moreover, the researcher of this study has maintained an active interest in the use of Cree syllabics for over twelve years in northern Quebec, Ontario, and Saskatchewan.

This study is limited to the Crees of the northern portions of

Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec. While it may have been of value to include the Saulteaux, Dene, and Inuit, the advantages of such inclusions would likely contribute few unique details to warrant the effort required. Only superficial changes were required to adjust the innovation of Cree syllabics to suit the needs of other Northern Canadian linguistic groups.

DEFINITIONS

Algonquian The term Algonquian applies to linguistic and cultural traits of Canadian (and northern American) aborigines who inhabited the area indicated below. Included in this family of languages and cultural traits are:

Abenakis, Algonquin,
 Blackfoot, Cree, Delaware,
 Malecite, Micmac,
 Montagnais, Naskapi,
 Ojibwa, Ottawa,
 Potawatomi, Acadia,
 and Saulteaux.



Source: (Neville:1970)

Bilingual Bicultural Education This type of education attempts to deal with the unique linguistic and cultural needs of a minority group in society, together with those linguistic and cultural demands made upon the minority society by a larger society. For example, bilingual bicultural education in a Cree community could be expected to involve two instructional languages, (Cree and English or French) and be designed to prepare a student for both the Cree and English or French realities of his future.

Cree The name "Cree" is often used in at least two senses. It has historically been used to refer to the Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi who are often considered to comprise a single "tribe" or linguistic-

cultural grouping whose territory stretches from the coast of Labrador to the Rocky Mountains. That definition is the one used in this study.

A second, more scientific meaning for the name "Cree" distinguishes Cree as separate from Montagnais-Naskapi. That is, most bands west of Hannah Bay (James Bay), Ontario are referred to as being "Cree". East of Hannah Bay, the bands are held to be Montagnais-Naskapi. This latter scientific view does not agree with the term used most often by the inhabitants of the eight Indian communities which lie within the James Bay Territory of northwestern Quebec. These people call themselves "Crees".

Cree Syllabics This name is applied to the writing system invented by James Evans to write Cree.

Adjacent is an example of

the original Cree syllabics.

Other minor changes were made

for use with other dialects and

languages, or by other mission

societies. There are two main

styles to-day: one still used

in the West which is closest to

the original invented by Evans;

and, a second which differs in the
finals used and the addition of

some syllables to accomodate eastern Algonquian dialects and languages
as well as Inuit. The latter style was adapted by Horden and Watkins
in 1865.

Source: Bible & Gospel History
in Moose Dialect, London: W.M.
Watts, 1860.

Euro-Canadian This term is used to describe the larger society in Canada. It refers to the linguistic and cultural affiliations of the majority of Canadians. This term is chosen as a more descriptive and less offensive alternative to "non-Indian", "White", etc..

Hudson's Bay Territory This term refers to the portion of northern Canada also called Rupert's Land. This is the territory whose watershed flows into Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean. Included in Rupert's Land or the Hudson's Bay Territory were portions of northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and the Northwest Territories.

Indian Control of Indian Education, also Band Control These terms refer to a policy of community control of the education system and services on which the Indian community depends. This policy was first described in the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada's policy paper "Indian Control of Indian Education". It has since been adopted as a long term policy of Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and involves decentralization of control to the Indian Band or community.

Innovation This term refers to the development or recognition of new elements or patterns (either material or nonmaterial) in a culture. A successful innovation is considered to be new elements which have been accepted by the members of the recipient group or culture because of their ability to support needs perceived by that group.

Integrated Schools and Integration Policy This term refers to a policy enacted by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The policy was designed to integrate Indian people into the larger Canadian society. Many Indian community schools were closed and students were then transported to the neighbouring provincial schools. Some federal schools were placed under provincial control but mainly the policy was implemented by moving Indian students away from the reserve and into the milieu of the larger Euro-Canadian society.

Non-literate A non-literate culture has no written language. It should be noted that literate societies, that is those which have a written language, may be populated mainly by illiterate persons. In a non-literate society, other approaches usually oral, are relied upon for such matters as maintenance of a history.

Roman Orthography A Roman orthography uses those letters or symbols which have survived from Roman civilization and are now part of the English alphabet. The term "orthography" refers to a system or convention of using a set of symbols or letters. The written form of the English language draws from a number of conventions or orthographies. For example, the initial sound in the word 'fish' can be written as "f" or "ph". However, in a standard orthography used for linguistic studies, usually only one value is used for a letter. This researcher uses Ellis' Roman orthography in this study, wherever such a convention is needed.

Schooling This term refers to the formal approach to educating whereby students are taught lessons within an organized institution, usually employing a "school" building and a curriculum.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY

Chapter 2 entitled, "Evolution of Cree Syllabics", will attempt to answer the first question asked in this study, -----From what events and principles did the Cree syllabic system evolve?

Chapter 3 entitled, "Cree Syllabics as a Successful Innovation", will attempt to answer the second question asked in this study, -----Why was the innovation of Cree syllabics adopted so readily; diffused so rapidly, and persists to the present among the Cree?

Chapter 4 entitled, "Resistance to the Use of Cree Syllabics" will attempt to answer the fourth question asked in this study, -----Why has there been such strong and persistent Euro-Canadian resistance to Cree syllabics?

Chapter 5 entitled, "James Evans Innovator" will attempt to answer the third question asked in this study, -----What life events and personality traits of the innovator, James Evans, contributed to the innovation?

Chapter 6 entitled, "Conclusion" will attempt to answer the fifth question of this study, -----Does the innovation and success of Cree syllabics suggest a model suitable for contemporary educators?

Appendices of this study will attempt to provide additional

descriptive details which will add clarity and will indicate the sources of information on which this study depends: bibliographies, catalogues of texts in syllabics, identifying features, and chronologies.

NOTES

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4. George Barnley, Journal, October 6, 1842. Manuscript in Public Archives of Canada, Manuscripts Division, MG 24 J #40, Microfilm Reel #A-20.
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6. Hugh A. Dempsey, ed., The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, Historical Society of Alberta, 1977, p.xxxix.
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9. Rev. Nathaniel Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of Written Language", Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings & Transactions, Series 3, Vol.5, 1911, p.9.

Chapter 2

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CREE SYLLABIC SYSTEM

Late in the 1820's, when James Evans was first appointed to Rice Lake, Upper Canada, to teach Ojibwa or Chippewa Indians, Cherokee literacy was in full bloom.² The Cherokees inhabited that part of the eastern United States, now in the vicinity of the state of Georgia. As a result of removal on the infamous "Trail of Tears", the Cherokee of today are scattered, many now living in the mid-western United States. The inventor, Sequoia, also called George Guess, had devised the Cherokee alphabet without ever learning English. He had innovated the entire system from a very brief exposure to English print. The system was based on syllables and had evolved over a period of ten years. It was officially adopted by the Cherokee in 1824. James Evans would have undoubtedly known of the system due to his constant readings of research and literature on Indian and other non-literate peoples of the world. Even while he was in country north of Lake Superior during 1838 and 1839, he had access to the excellent library of Chief Factor John Cameron at Michipicoten Post.³ The following excerpt from his diary of 1838-39 serves to illustrate a typical week:

"Friday, December 7 --This morning about nine O'clock Sister Jacobs was delivered of a fine daughter. May God make her a child of Grace. Today I made the frames of a pair of snowshoes. Read Asiatic researches and compared the customs and idioms of the language with Indian.

Saturday December 8 --Read and chopped wood.

Sunday December 9 --Preached from (:) For we have a great High Priest etc.

Monday December 10 --Netting snowshoes. Kindly instructed by Mr. Finlayson

Tuesday December 11 --Netting and reading.

Wednesday December 12 --Chopping and writing

Thursday December 13 --Writing and comparing the Indian with the Negare (sic) characters and customs.

Friday December 14 --Chopping and writing."⁴

The associations between the Cherokee and Cree syllabic characters are more conclusively identified by William Mason's remarks which appear in the fifty-fifth Annual Report of the British & Foreign Bible Society for 1859:

"Syllabic characters, suited to the language, and simple in their form, were invented by the Rev. James Evans, a zealous Missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion, in 1841. The idea he derived from an Indian chief. The Cherokee nation have risen and still hold their place amongst the civilized nations, who now crowd around them in the United States. They use a syllabic character."⁵

As well, with his letter of 1830, William Case sent Evans an article by Elias Boudinot, "Starr in the West", with Case's remarks that "his (Boudinot) statement with respect to the Indian languages is in some respects, quite erroneous."⁶ Elias Boudinot was the editor of The Cherokee Phonenix, a regular newspaper which was printed in Sequoia's syllabary at New Echota, Georgia.

As early as 1831, Evans had been working with a Roman orthography for the Ojibwa language as spoken at Rice Lake. He was encouraged to pursue this further by William Case.⁷ But these efforts were intended to aid the missionary in speaking to the Ojibwa. Case

showed much less interest or concern for Ojibwa literacy in the mother tongue. In fact, he insisted that the work on a dictionary would best be done first in helping "the Indians obtaining a knowledge of English".⁸

But as early as 1830, the same year Evans was received on probation by the church, he was writing to Rev. Peter Jones in Ojibwa by means of an early attempt at a Roman orthography. Jones, an Ojibwa clergyman was delighted with these letters, as well as impressed by Evans fluency with the language.⁹ It is from the events of 1836 and 1837 that a great deal of baffling and divergent accounts have grown. Some references claim that Evans submitted an early version of the syllabic system to the Wesleyan Board of Missions;¹⁰ others claim it was submitted to the Auxilliary of the British & Foreign Bible Society;¹¹ still others claim that it was a Roman orthography expressed in phonetic clusters.¹² The versions written since 1911 which claim an early invention (1836) of the syllabics, can usually be traced back to a paper written by Rev. Nathaniel Burwash:

"It was here that by the year 1836, he finally mastered his problem and proposed its solution. He had discovered that the fundamental alphabet elements of the language were few in number and very simple in their combinations. Eight consonants and four vowels he found sufficient to represent the whole language. In his Speller and Interpreter he says, 'The author's object during several years of attentive investigation has been to discover first the true position of the organs of the various sounds of the Ojibwa language; and secondly, to select from the Roman characters such letters as in their English sound are most analgous to the Ojibway. The consonants used in this work are b,d,g,j,m,n,z,s, each character (except for m and n which are purely English) representing a compound sound never found in our language. The vowels are four in number, viz, a,e,o,u, each representing a

short perfect vowel sound. These vowels, doubled as aa, ee, oo, uu, express the long sounds of the same vowels, remaining under the prolongation perfect vowels: requiring however, a stronger emission of the breath than the short a,e,o,u, which has led in some instances to their being written with English h preceding them when in fact no aspiration expressed by this letter in English is found in the Ojibwa language'. Here then we have clearly set forth the scientific principles upon which proceeded. It took years of 'attentive investigation' to satisfy him that he had included all the elemental sounds of the language. These he compared with the English sounds on the basis of 'the positions of the organs' of speech in their formation, and found that of the eight consonants six were in their formation, and found that of the eight consonants six were essentially different. Yet he chose Roman letters to represent these six elements of speech. The reason of this may be inferred from a letter written to the Rev. Joseph Stinson, dated June 11th 1841, 'For this purpose I prepared a syllabic alphabet such as I presented to the Bible Society in Toronto in 1836, (and of which they disapproved). 'From this brief note we learn that as early as 1836, he had not only analyzed with scientific skill the Ojibway branch of the Algonquin family of languages..... It seems also evident from this that he had already invented that which perhaps more than anything else has contributed to the success of his work; viz, the writing of the entire syllabary of the language by nine characters in four positions.'¹³

This researcher has quoted at length and underlined certain sections of the above passage to demonstrate how one daring inference has led to another. From 'this brief note' Burwash deduced, without corroborating proofs, that the syllabic characters were invented in 1836. Unfortunately, later writers and biographers of James Evans may have inferred too much credibility from the article published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Essentially the literature is divided into two points of view: one group, all depending on Burwash, holds his view that syllabic characters were

invented and rejected in 1836; the other group attributes the invention to the period around 1840 to 1841. The latter view is based on a wider range of primary sources of information.

Although conclusive proof has not yet been found, a search of certain source materials has offered a plausible account of the events of those two years, 1836 and 1837. During the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1837, a five man committee was appointed to prepare and adopt a uniform system of orthography for the Ojibwa language. Shortly after the conference of 1837, Evans proceeded to New York to oversee the printing of books in this new Ojibwa orthography.¹⁴ This information printed in 1890 comes from Rev. John MacLean, who was later the archivist for the United Church (Methodist) Archives in Toronto. Though no indications are given as to the sources relied upon, Shipley (1966) claims that William Case suggested to Evans that he have his work in the new orthography printed so as to make a better impression with the "powerful British & Foreign Bible Society of London, England".¹⁵ Thomas Hurlburt's letter from Fort William of December 17. 1838 refers to these printed texts in use:

"I am much pleased to see the facility with which the new orthography may be acquired by those uncorrupted with the old. I think that a month or six weeks faithful application would enable a person entirely ignorant of letters to read the hymns with fluency. I shall not forget this thought if sent to any other new mission in this country. When I take up a translation in another orthography, it makes me sick at heart to see the letters screwed, contorted and placed in every position to make them say something, and then you can give about a good a guess at the sound as though it was Chineese characters."¹⁶

Samples of the pages from texts in Ojibwa language follow.

Figure 2.01

A Comparison of Early Roman Orthographies Used

taken from p.67 of: Matthew's Gospel, translated by Peter Jones, York: James Baxter, for the York Auxiliary Bible Society, 1831.

8 Kazhetin dush oogenahgahdahnahwah ewh jebaghmig, pakish koo-tahjewod kiya dush ween goo kechewahwezhaindahmooog; kenhahjebahtoo-wug dush ahweweendahmahnahwahwod enewh oogekenoahmahnahgunun.

9 ¶ Magwih dush goo pemahpesekahwod ahweweendahmahnahwahwod enewh oogekenoahmahnahgunun, enah, Jesus oogenigeshikahwon, oowh dush keenod, Menoopemahnezyook. Oogebenahzekahtahwob dush kennjemenahwod emah oozahtning, keoojeengwadmetahwahwod dush.

10 Jesus dush oowh oogenon, Kagoohween zagezekagoon; ahweweendahmahnahwik sah egewh nekahnesug cheezhahwod ewede Galileenong, me-dush ewedo chewahnummewod.

taken from p.178 of: The First Nine Chapters of the First Book of Moses Called Genesis, translated into the Chippeway tongue by James Evans, York: Office of The Christian Guardian, 1833.

4 Ewh sah atah wainje pemahdezemahgik ewh weyos, me goo ewh mesqueh, kah ween kegah mojesenahwah.

5 Kagait mah ween goo loghi undahwaindahmoonenim ewh kebemahdezewinch kenesquiemewah; emah sah oonegewong aindah-chewod egewh ahwaseehyng ningah undahmahnahwog, kiyā emah oonejeeng owh enech; emah sah undahchewod egewh wawekahnesejn owh enech ningah undahwaindahmahnahwah ewh nobemahdezewin owh enech.

taken from: The First Book of Moses Called Genesis, translated by Peter Jones for the Auxiliary Bible Society, Toronto: J.H. Lawrence, The Christian Guardian, 1835.

25 Joseph dush ooge gwahyahkoomon enewh oone-jahnesun owh Israel, keekedood, Keshamunedoo sah kagait kekah oodesegoowah, oomongezhe sah dush kekah oonje mahjewodoonahwon enewh nckunun.

26 ¶ Me sah dush kenebood owh Joseph, Ingoodwok ahsho medahswel tahsoo pepoon nahegez.d: ooge mah-shkekewenahwon dush, keahsahwod dush emah chebagahinegoong, emah Egypting.

3 Buu-muu bee gee-gee see-duu-euung.

Ga-go-e-nan-dun-ga-gen;
Noon-gom je-an-dii-o-ne-mag.
Ge-de-na ne-me-go-ouu.
O-je-jun-goun
Noon-gom ge-me-ne-go-ouu.

4 Be-é-suug, boor-enu-ge ze eag.
Eob no sou nuu-de-ze-eag.
Môô-sug buu-muu e-nau-du-mag
Guu ge-gu-be-é-suun-zeem.
Jee-zuz, noon-gom
"Be-é-suug," ge-de-go-ouu

taken from p.25 of: Ojibwa Hymns, translated by James Evans, New York: D. Fanshaw 150 Nassau Street, 1837.

It may be interesting to note how long and discouraging to a pupil, some of the words are in early editions. One may also notice the version of the Toronto Auxilliary Bible Society (1835). Evans' edition would likely be in competition with this one. At any rate, Evans experience with an Algonquian language sound system is readily apparent in the 1837 text.¹⁷ William Mason, who was responsible to Evans and worked with him for some years in Norway House, in his report to the British & Foreign Bible Society for 1859, cites 1841 as the date of invention.¹⁸

Influence By Shorthand Writing

There is another factor affecting these events which would suggest that syllabic characters came no earlier than 1837, probably after 1838. Pittman and Taylor published their phonetic shorthand system in 1837, the same year Evans was in New York City supervising the printing of his Ojibwa texts. The books which were in Evans possession included this shorthand text and others on the system.¹⁹ On a following page are samples of this shorthand system and a comparison with Evans' syllabic system. What is particularly important here, is the nature of shorthand, Pittman and Taylor Shorthand especially.

The orations of Cicero, the plays of William Shakespeare, and George Bernard Shaw, the novels and hymns of Daniel Dafoe, Isaac Watts, Charles Dickens, and the diary of Samuel Pepys were all first written in shorthand.²⁰ Levy (1862) offers not only a sampling of the different styles of shorthand for the period 1602 to 1848, but as well, an

A Comparison of Evans' Syllabary With Pittman or Pittman-Taylor Shorthand

Evans First Syllabary

eh	ay	i	ī	o	oo	a	ā	Finals:
▽	▽	△	△	▷	▷	◁	◁	w o
p	▽	▽	Λ	Λ	>	>	<	< p i
t	U	U	∩	∩	▷	▷	▷	t /
k	q	q	p	p	d	d	b	k \
ch	?	?	c	c	j	j	l	ch -
m	?	?	Γ	Γ	l	l	l	m c
n	o	o	σ	σ	o	o	o	n σ
s	h	h	ν	ν	h	h	h	s ν
y	↖	↖	↗	↗	↖	↖	↗	
sp	Z	Z	↖	↖	N	N	N	
r	↗	↖	↖	↖	hk	x	h ll	
	Δ _i	Δ _{wi}	N _{si}	N _{swi}				

Taylor System of Shorthand

↖ B	Bo
↖ C S Z	
↖ D	Do
↖ F V	If Of From
↖ H	Hi
↖ K Q	
↖ L	All Ill Will
↖ M	Him Me
↖ N	In An On
↖ P	Up
↖ R	Are Or
↖ I A U	Is As Us
↖ T	It At To
↖ V	We With
↖ X	
↖ Y	You Your
↖ CH	Each Which
↖ SH	She
↖ TH	The
↖ tion	Over the end of the word
↖ ing	At the end of the word

All vowels are represented by a dot () and are only used at the beginning or end of the word.

Figure 2.01

impression of how Pittman (or, Pittman and Taylor) Shorthand was received in 1837:

"Mr. Pittman as we have seen, objects to the Roman alphabet: he says further that all shorthand systems are defective, because 'they are based upon the Roman alphabet'."²¹

While admitting to the system's popularity, even after almost thirty years since introduction, Levy criticized the system because of its attempt to represent sound:

"The whole fault, however, lies in the principle -----Sound. We say it is impossible to construct a Shorthand alphabet on the principle of the sounds emitted by the human voice. Experience shows that it cannot be done. The sounds of one dialect cannot be assimilated to another, and the repeated failures in this direction, only confirm us in this belief."²²

What is ironic here, is that the plastic character of the system is being criticized because it cannot satisfy an apparently popular need for a system which reflects the dialect spoken and at the same time be "assimilated to another" or standardized. If standardization was important, one could write standardized English. But where other criteria were important, such as ease of learning, legibility, speed, etc., the requirement of standardization with one arbitrary dialect would seem irrelevant. For this research effort, it is important that a syllabic writing system was invented for any human voice, trading a concern for standardization for a new concern for ease of learning, speed, and legibility. This was done in 1837.

Levy distinguishes three eras or periods in the evolution of shorthand. The first period was associated with the Protestant Reformation:

"From the introduction of the first system of stenography to the English public by Timothy Bright, in 1588, to the end of the seventeenth century, the principles of the Protestant Reformation were extensively promulgated in this country from the pulpit. A desire to preserve for future reading, the discourses delivered by the principal preachers of the day, apparently led to the cultivation of the newly discovered art of shorthand writing. Teachers and systems increased rapidly, and by a comparison of one mode with another, and experimenting with various series of alphabetical signs, Mason at length produced a system far superior or any that had proceeded it. The progress of the art, from the invention of Bright's system of arbitrary characters for words (or rather from the publication of the first shorthand alphabet by John Willis, in 1602), to the appearance of Mason's system in 1682, may therefore be looked upon as resulting from the dawn of religious freedom."²³ (authors own underlining)

The second period was spurred by efforts to record public speaking and other events contributing to political awareness:

"The publication of the parliamentary debates caused a demand for reporters and for a system equal to their wants. Mason's adapted by Gurney was found inefficient. Its lengthy outlines could not be traced fast enough for the reporter to keep pace with the flow of eloquence that he often had to record, and the numerous arbitrary signs and contractions of words were too cumbersome for the memory. Byrom's system which was privately taught by himself for several years, was made public in 1767, soon after his death. It was much praised in private circles, but was not brief enough for the reporter. Mavor appeared in 1780, and Taylor in 1786. These three valuable systems, with a numerous list of inferior ones, were the fruits of this increased demand for the means of reporting the proceedings of the legislature. We give the preference to Taylor's, and mark its appearance as the close of the second epoch. It was more extensively used than any other both for parliamentary and private practice for about sixty years. We assign as the cause of this second epoch in the art, the dawn of political freedom."²⁴ (authors own underlining)

The third period began with Pittman in 1837:

"An attempt to improve Taylor, by marking the long and short sounds of the vowels, with the intention of issuing a cheap edition for general use in National and British Schools, led ultimately to the invention of an entirely new system which its author styled Phonography, but which is now more commonly known as Pittman's Shorthand. Its publication in 1837 may be regarded as the commencement of the third epoch in the development of the art of shorthand. Its inventor attributed its rapid spread in its early days to the diffusion of knowledge among the middle classes of society."²⁵ (authors own underlining)

In conclusion then, shorthand had been through two previous stages: one arbitrary; and, another based on speed and the English language. This third stage began in 1837 with the arrival of Pittman Shorthand. This system attempted to serve, beyond speed, two new needs: ease of learning; and, the representation of sound. Both of latter two needs would have been significant to James Evans. The Shorthand system bears other strong similarities with Cree syllabics that warrant attention:

1. All but a few of the symbols of Pittman and Taylor are identical to some of those used in the Cree syllabarium.

2. Slope has been used to denote changes or new sound values, eg.

b	h	l	p	m

3. Every syllable is expressed separately as a syllable.
4. Dots are used to show changes in sound values.
5. When Evans improvised a new method of showing long and short vowels for the press that was eventually delivered to Rossville, he used Pittman's approach

of thickening lines.²⁶ eg. C C b b
 tu ta ku ka

Given such an appreciation of the shorthand writing system and their similarities with Evans' syllabic character system (particularly Pittman's of 1837), it might seem more plausible to assume that the Cree syllabarium borrowed heavily from that version of 1837. Similarly, it would seem more reasonable that the two novel principles of ease of learning and ability to represent sound would have greater relevance for Evans during or after his years in the land north of Lake Superior. While there he wrote:

"The Indians here can never become farmers, they must hunt for ever. I should like your opinion on the propriety of the London Wesleyan Missionary Committee taking charge of all such Missions as may be established above Sault Ste Marie, they could through the Hudson's Bay Company carry on this work for about half we could do it in Canada. The School must be established so as to take the children and teach them to read and write before they are twelve years old, for they must remain hunters, the Children must be boarded or they will be absent 8 months out of twelve ----and consequently our labour would be useless."²⁷

His letters and writing prior to this show none of this change in conviction, a rather significant departure from the prevalent missionary philosophy of the time. The belief that Indians would best become farmers began with the Jesuits and survived long after the nineteenth century.

It is the belief of this researcher that Evans was very much impressed with the obstacles posed for his work by the nomadic lifestyle of the Indians north of Lake Superior, and later within the Hudson's Bay Territory. The Ojibwa with whom he had lived and had the greatest part of his Indina experience, were easier to regard as

having already succumbed to the onslaught of Euro-Canadian civilization. But the Indians who lived further north and west were clearly within their own domain, capable of eluding the forces of "civilization" indefinitely. Given his experience with Ojibwa, like Cree a member of the Algonquian family of languages, his knowledge of both Cherokee syllabics and Pittman Taylor Shorthand, it seems possible that he perceived the basic criteria that would have to be met by a writing system for such nomadic people:

1. The system must be easily learned, more easily

than Hurlburt was able to report of the Roman orthography at Fort William,²⁸ without the aids of classrooms, trained teachers, or even paper.

2. The length of time must not exceed the period of

time most nomadic Indians can afford to visit the post or each other.

3. The system must suit the character of Algonquian

languages, already appreciated in Evan's Speller Interpretor of 1837.

Having already reduced early Roman orthographies to a minimal phonetic system such as printed in New York in 1837,²⁹ the next logical step might be seen as that taken by Pittman in a similar evolution of shorthand ----to a phonological popular style, not based on the arbitrary letters of the Roman alphabet.

Finally, in this researcher's perusal of primary source materials in Toronto, and London, Ontario, only materials in Cree have been found. None resemble the dialects which might have been

spoken in the territory visited during 1838 and 1839. Subsequently, the year 1840 would be seen as the most likely year for Evans to have begun his invention of the Cree syllabic characters.

The syllabary which survives today is essentially the Evans system. The further innovations which were attempted and failed to satisfy the Indian notion of utility were not adopted and in time disappeared. Many of these can now only be found in archival manuscripts or in early printed texts. These features usually could be attributed to those shortcomings which rendered the innovation difficult to learn. For example, George Barnley, one of the missionaries under Evans, posted at Moose Fort, attempted to launch his own system, unfortunately based on Byrom's shorthand system.³⁰ The latter was devised for speed writing and reflection of English speech.³¹ After a year of efforts to instruct the Indians in this new system, Barnley finally gave up, and accepted Evans' system.³² The latter system of Evans had already arrived in the region during the fall of 1842. Its arrival had prompted Barnley to invent his own system.³³

Most systems to some degree have been affected by an erosion of those features which give the syllabic characters a greater precision than the usual Indian users believe necessary. Though efforts are made where the syllabic characters are taught in schools, perhaps most writers omit the use of dots to indicate long and short vowels. Legibility was certainly an issue for Evans to consider where persons using the characters did and still use a wide range of media to write on. For example, people have been known to use the peeled sections of trees, birchbark, sandbars, etc.. Often messages would be left for persons expected to pass by.

Adjustment of Syllabic Characters to Other Languages

Among those manuscripts and journals of Evans which survived, there are evidences that as early as 1841, possibly during his winter trip to Fort Chipewyan, that he attempted to adapt the system to both the northern Cree (which included such unique sounds as 'tha', 'thi', 'tho', etc.), and Chipewyan.³⁴ Indeed many of the Chipewyan efforts resemble those later used by Archdeacon Kirkby³⁵ and Rev. W. D. Reeve (Slavi language).³⁶

After Evans' invention, the only further innovations on the system which have survived are those by John Horden and E. A. Watkins, missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Moosonee Diocese (originally Rupert's Land). As early as his first year at Moose Factory, Horden was able to preach and write in Cree.³⁷ Under instructions from his Bishop, David Anderson, Horden gave translatory efforts particular attention.³⁸ His successful development of syllabic characters for the 'sh' and 'l' series of syllables has survived. Watkins, while at his first post of Fort George, James Bay, came into contact with Inuit at Little Whale River and decided to introduce the system.³⁹ But it was soon realized that the syllabic characters were being much strained by the demands of this new language.⁴⁰

In 1865, Horden and Watkins met in England under instructions from Henry Venn, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society. The minutes of their meeting indicate what changes were needed to meet the needs of the Inuit language. This occasion was also to render the syllabarium more convenient to Algonquian languages which involved some sounds not found in western Cree:

- "1. It appears to us very undesirable that any changes, except such as are absolutely necessary should be made in the syllabarium as now used; though we quite agree that the system is not so scientifically accurate as could be wished. We consider that in dealing with the uncultivated tribes of North America, utility and simplicity are of more importance than philological precision.
2. In reducing the Esquimaux language into syllabic writing we think that a change made be advantageously made in the final symbols. Instead of the arbitrary signs now in use for the Cree, we would propose the adoption of half-size characters of the same forms as those employed for the consonants in combination with the vowel 'a'. This change might be introduced into the Cree language at a future period but as there is in existence a large supply of Bibles and other publications printed according to the original method we could not advocate any alternation at present.
3. The additional consonants 'b' and 'd', found in the Esquimaux, may we think represented with sufficient accuracy by the characters for 'p' and 't', respectively, without the introduction of new forms, especially as the natives frequently pronounce these letters so indistinctly that it is difficult to ascertain their true sound.
4. In the Esquimaux language there are some double consonants which need to be represented. For these we have adopted signs which combine as nearly as possible the two separate consonants."⁴¹

Robert Hunt had attempted similar adjustments for the dialects spoken in northern Saskatchewan, particularly at Stanley Mission on the English River.⁴² Hunt had much less support from his superior, Archdeacon James Hunter who at that point, saw very little use in perpetuating syllabic characters and rather preferred a Roman orthography.

Even John Horden had mixed feelings about revising the system because Indian people had already accepted the original Evans style. Horden felt that, were he not following Henry Venn and the Mission

Society's instructions, he would have made no change at all. In fact, he made no protest when Kirkby changed a text in the new system, back to the original style, and then asked for a reprinted edition for his area.⁴³

Still the changes made by the Horden-Watkins conference (only the finals were altered) have survived, largely, I suspect, because they are more easily learned. For example, the original Evans style showed little relationship between the full syllables and the finals:

b ka	\ k
C ta	/ t
L ma	c m

The Horden-Watkins syllables and finals correspond directly with one another:

b ka	b k
C ta	c t
L ma	L m

Thus the finals could be easily associated with their respective series. A more complete description of the types of styles used to print early texts, may be found in the Appendices of this study, under the title, "Some Identifying Features of Early Texts in Cree Syllabic Characters".⁴⁴

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Chapter 3

CREE SYLLABICS AS A SUCCESSFUL INNOVATION

On reading the accounts of the spread of syllabic characters, one cannot help being amazed. Within a few years, Indians were writing them with ease as far west as the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and as far east as the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. The following chronology is an attempt to convey some impression of this phenomenon. The locations of these events are indicated on the map, p.41.

October 19, 1840

Several boys at Norway House begin to read the written hymns in Cree, where Evans' first system of syllabic characters was used.¹

October 6, 1842

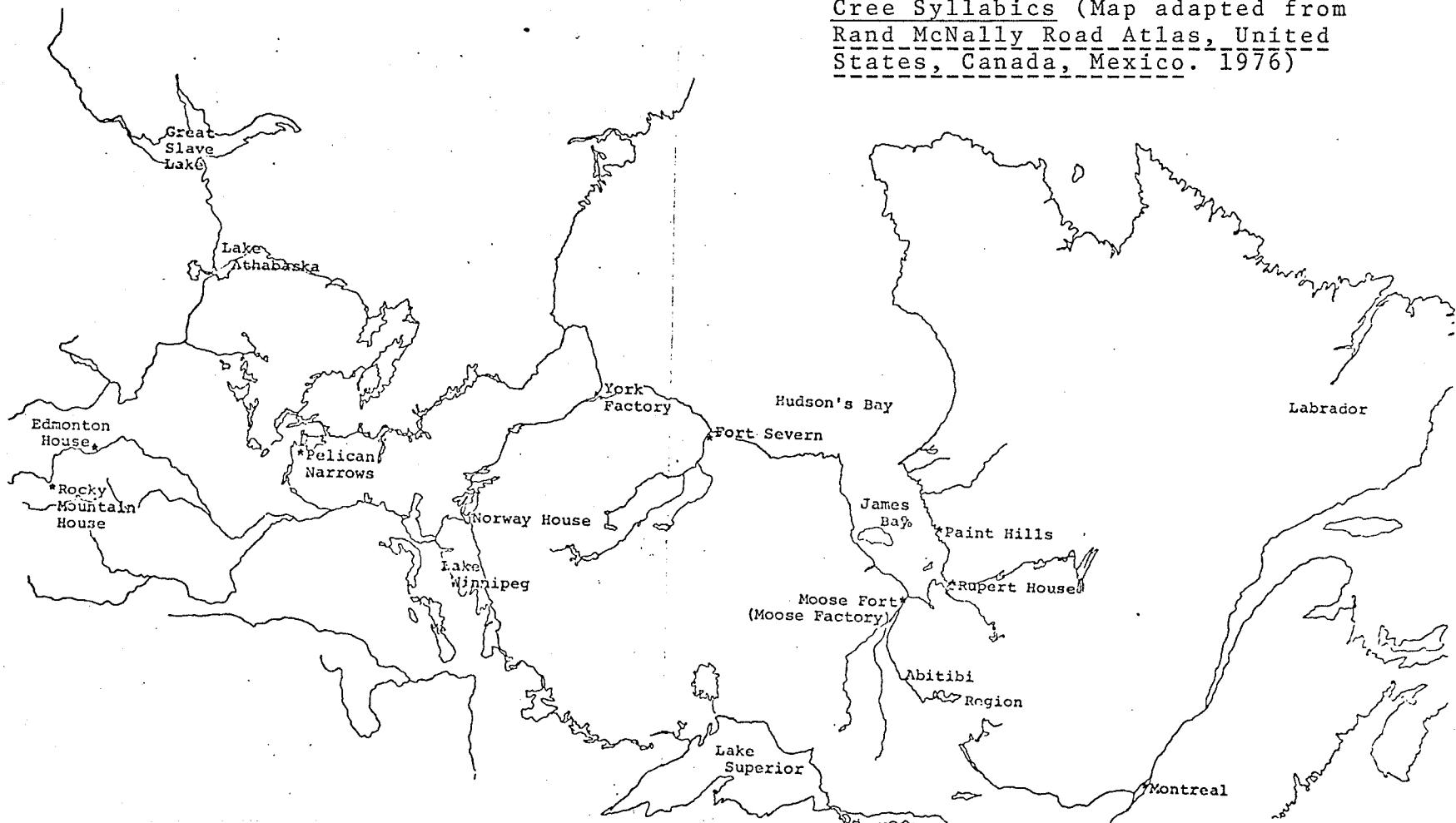
George Barnley receives copies of texts in syllabic characters from Severn River Indians who arrived at Moose Fort. The latter copied from York Factory Indians during the previous winter, who in turn copied from Norway House Indians, who had learned from Evans.²

January 1844

Maskepetoon, a notable Cree Chief, writes to Robert Rundle to ask that his son Benjamin be able to learn English. Maskepetoon wrote in syllabic characters.³

Figure 3.01

Map of Canada: Early Spread of
Cree Syllabics (Map adapted from
Rand McNally Road Atlas, United
States, Canada, Mexico. 1976)



Winter 1851

Bishop David Anderson receives a letter in syllabic characters from English River, (Stanley Mission), northern Saskatchewan.⁴ John Horden receives a letter at Moose Factory, in syllabic characters, asking for more books in Cree.⁵ Horden had found upon his arrival a few months earlier that a number of people at Moose Factory were able to read and write Cree in this fashion.

Summer 1852

Anderson is surprised during a visit to find so many interior (northern Ontario) Indians able to read and write in Cree.⁶

Fall 1853

Andre-Marie Garin reports to the Association de la Propagation de la Foi that all but the very old and the very young can read and write Cree with ease. This he wrote of the Indians in north central and north eastern Ontario.⁷

Spring 1854

John Horden teaches a majority of Rupert House Crees to read and write Cree in a few weeks.⁸

1854

Mason reports that Severn River Indians arrived at York Factory, and though they had not seen a missionary before, were able to read the Bible and other texts, without hesitation.⁹

August 2, 1872

"And there, 500 miles from Moose with the exception of the old people there is scarcely one person unable to



Figure 3.02

Instructions for Prevention of T.B.
Printed in Cloth in Syllabics
Courtesy of Lawson Memorial Library, U.of Western Ontario

read either in English or in Indian. While several read both."¹⁰

There are few Algonquian communities in the central to northern parts of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta where there are not still persons able to read and write in syllabic characters. The more isolated of those communities use the system for grocery lists¹¹, community notices, regulations for work, etc.. Contrary to common belief, the use of syllabic characters was and is not confined to religious contexts. Particularly in the Special Collections of Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, there are manuscripts and letters from the Norway House area, as well as from as far away as Edmonton House. These were all sent to Evans during the earliest years of his invention. During the early part of this century, a Cree trader and trapper from eastern James Bay kept all of his records and accounts in Cree syllabics.¹² During the 1930's and 1940's the Hudson's Bay Company distributed beaver conservation promotional brochures, entirely in Cree syllabics.¹³ During the construction of community housing at Paint Hills, James Bay, Quebec in the summer and fall of 1972, the men were provided with hour record books in syllabics.¹⁴ In the March 1980 report on a study commissioned by Indian and Northern Affairs, Ontario Region, it was noted that "in most communities of northern Ontario many people write syllabics in Cree or Ojibwe", and "there seems to be a generation of people in their twenties and

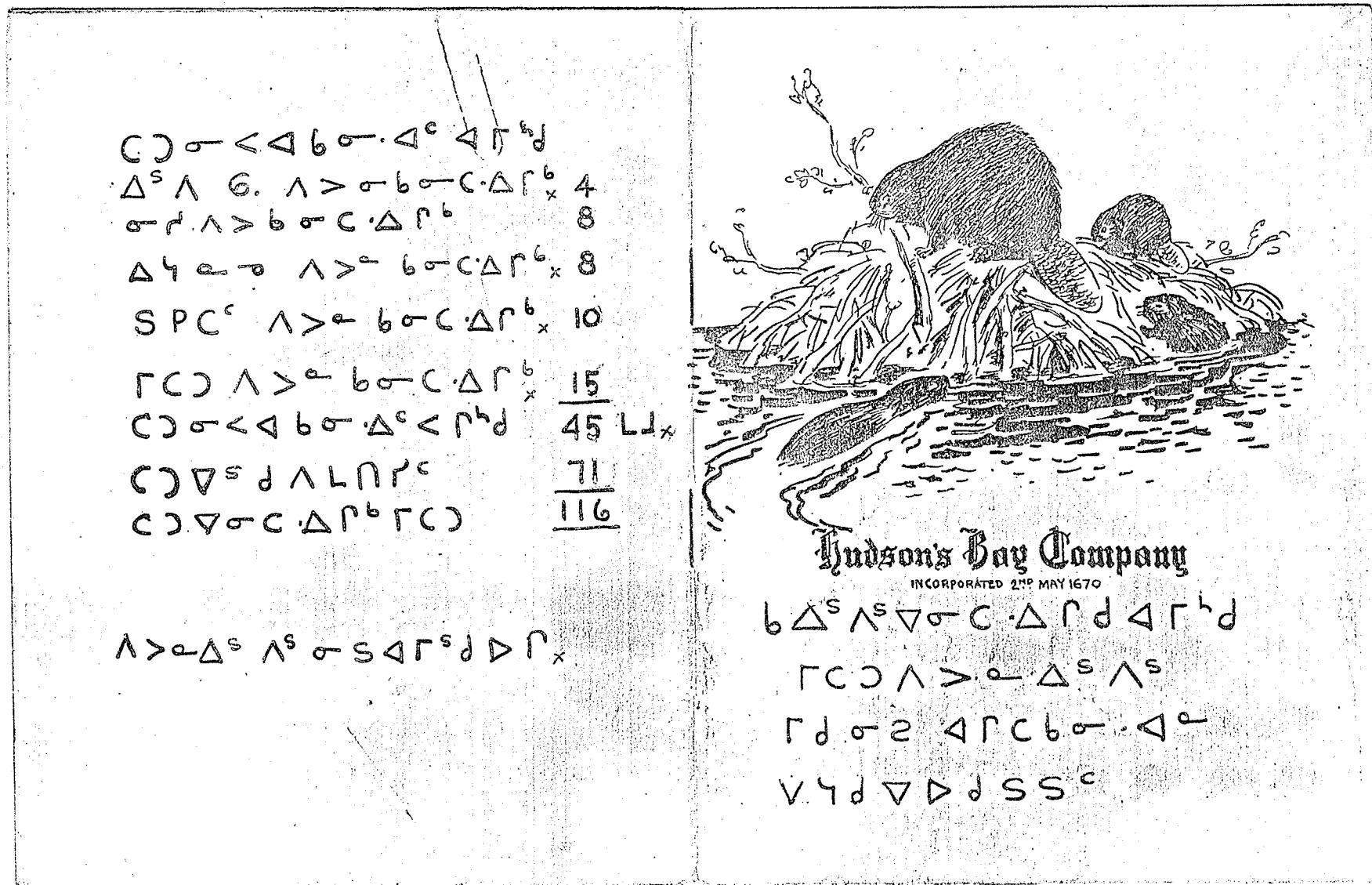


Figure 3.03 Book on Beaver Conservation Compiled and Distributed by H.B.C.

thirties who did not learn syllabics".¹⁵

The author noticed these same conditions in northern Quebec¹⁶, and Saskatchewan¹⁷ as well. Those persons now in their twenties and thirties were affected by the integration policies of Indian & Northern Affairs, implemented during the 1950's and 1960's. In the Field Manual used by Indian & Northern Affairs during the period, contemporary Indian culture was viewed in Chapter 1, entitled "History and Objectives" as follows:

"1.03(e) Indian Culture Today
The non-material aspects of Indian life differ widely from one culture area to the next. There were many unique art forms, social customs and religious concepts. Today much of the traditional custom and concept has faded away but almost everywhere Indian art forms live on, valued as a part of what is truly Canadian."¹⁸

Further reading of the Field Manual leaves the very clear impression that Indian or Cree language and non-material culture were viewed as either dead or dying. Consequently, educational goals and programming of the period were directed toward filling what was believed to be a cultural vaccum or deficiency:

"1.05 Objectives
(b) Education
.....The Branch also encourages integrated education in full realization of the benefits the Indian child gains by close association at an impressionable age with non-Indian children. In addition, adult education and up-grading are considered of utmost importance in equipping Indians with the skills and knowledge required to complete in a highly industrialized society."¹⁹

"Appendix cc
October 24, 1956 Guide for Supervising
Principals

.....
G. Guidance

With the mounting enrolment of Indian students in provincial highschools, vocational schools and universities, the role of guidance in Indian schools assumes special significance. The importance of education to the Indian in making successful adjustments to a new and changing mode of life is indisputable. Under the prevailing circumstances Indian students must look to their principals and teachers for effective direction and encouragement, and these latter would be failing in their duty if they were not prepared and willing to provide this systematic guidance."20

However, as the Indian highschool students of the fifties and sixties grew to be the spokesmen and leaders of the seventies, a resistance grew against the policies and views which promoted "integrated education". Simply, "integrated education" meant the closing of federal schools where Indians made up the largest part of the enrollment and transferring Indian students into provincial schools where they became the smallest part of the mainly Euro-Canadian enrollment. Among the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Indian & Northern Affairs, June 22, 1971, were recommendations:

"1. That the government should continue its policy that no transfers of education programs from federal level to provincial systems take place without the express and clear approval of the majority of the parents in each community concerned.

3. That the language of instruction at the pre-school level and up to the first or

second year of primary school should be in the language of the local Indian or Eskimo community with secondary and tertiary languages English and or French being introduced gradually through the pre-school and primary period and that courses linked to the local Indian or Eskimo culture continue to be taught in the local language throughout the primary level of school.

4. That decisions regarding the initial languages of instruction and the timing of introduction of secondary and tertiary languages should only be made after consultation with and clear approval from a majority of parents in the community concerned."²¹

In the eastern James Bay area, syllabic characters have been the orthography used since the first Indian & Northern Affairs funded program in Paint Hills in 1971.²² The Northern Native Languages Project Report, of March 1980 indicates the same prevalence throughout northern Ontario and recommends:

"III.23 The orthography used in Native Language programs should be that preferred by the particular community. In most communities in the project area, this means a variant of syllabics."²³

During a recent communication with the band bilingual bicultural co-ordinator at Cross Lake, Manitoba, it was learned that after a lengthy effort to adopt a Roman orthography, the decision has been made to return to use of syllabic characters.²⁴

In northern Saskatchewan at La Ronge²⁵, Reindeer Lake, Deschambault Lake, Brabant Lake, Montreal, Lake, Sandy Bay, Stanley Mission, Fond du Lac²⁶, and Pelican Narrows²⁷, similar trends have been noted.

Given the dimensions of the spread of syllabic characters, the system must be seen as awesome achievement. Cree hunters' and gatherers' lifestyle did not permit the growth of settled communities. Their constant search for food over vast areas of rugged terrain prevented the assembly of large groups of people for all but brief periods during summer months. Thousands of people who met in family grouping only a few times a year, with none of the usual supports such as schools, teachers, or libraries, became fluently literate. In one year alone, the skill travelled from Norway House on Lake Winnipeg over a thousand miles to the mouth of the Moose River on James Bay.²⁸ In achieving literacy with the English language, one cannot expect to spend so little time. Indeed, after a number of years instruction, there will be room for improvement. Very rarely is English literacy attempted without much aid from teachers, and many other educational supports.

Yet as remarkable a phenomenon the arrival and persistance Cree literacy was, and continues to be, it has had more opposition than encouragement from Euro-Canadian educators and researchers. In the references drawn from the earliest decades, it was clear that the missionaries and educators had mixed feelings as to the worth of syllabic characters. As a vehicle for religious and moral training, the system was praised as a "voice of someone greater than

John the Baptist crying in the wilderness"²⁹; "as of old when a few leaves of the Bible were precious"³⁰; and, "a great point gained"³¹. But as the literate form of the Cree language, the characters have drawn persistent criticism.

In 1855, Robert Hunt, missionary at Stanley Mission on the English River (now Churchill River) in northern Saskatchewan, proposed to his superior, Archdeacon James Hunter, that the syllabic characters be modified to suit some unique features in the local Cree dialects. James Hunter balked at the suggestion, countering that Roman orthography would be a better literate form for the language. Hunter's aversion to the use of syllabic characters may well have been personal or historical. During the inventor James Evans's last years of conflict at Rossville and Norway House, he had fallen from dear friend to bitter enemy of Donald Ross, the Hudson's Bay Company's chief trader there. James Hunter married the chief trader's daughter and depended on her translations from English to Cree.³² There are some suggestions that the conflict between Jean Hunter (Ross) and Mrs. James Evans and daughter was equally bitter.³³ Officially Hunter objected to the syllabic characters because syllabics do not "exhibit the etymological structure of the language".³⁴ No innovations had previously been made to suit the system to other regions, languages or dialects. As a result, Hunter felt that the system did not fit phonetically either.³⁵ He posed that "the Cree language

abounds in short syllabic ending with a consonant and in order to represent it accurately with syllabic characters this system I fear would be complicated more than the Roman characters themselves".³⁶ Bishop David Anderson of Rupert's Land Diocese was initially against the use of the system, and like Hunter preferred to see Roman letters used; but in 1852, he was much impressed with John Horden's effective use of syllabic characters in the area later to be known as the Diocese of Moosonne.³⁷ William Mason, a former subordinate of Evans, moved from one side to the other in a 'storm that prevailed for a decade, approximately 1850-1860. From Rossville in 1853, he wrote to the secretary of the British & Foreign Bible Society suggesting that "should the British & Foreign Bible Society consider it their duty to decline printing any portion of God's Holy Word in the Syllabic characters; perhaps I [Mason] might presume that they would have no objections to furnish us with a supply of printing paper to keep the press here in constant operation".³⁸ But, perhaps in response to political changes he perceived, Mason wrote the next year from York Factory:

"The Roman characters being so much superior as respects philology and general grammar ---- I am now of the opinion that in course of time they will entirely supersede altogether the use of the syllabic system. I have always taught the Roman characters in the schools, and never attempted to introduce the syllabic, but at Moose, it may be other wise yet I think the more excellent way is to teach the Natives through the medium of Roman characters"³⁹

Nevertheless, exactly three years later to the day, Mason next wrote to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society:

"I sent out in manuscript a copy of Faith & Duty ---it is Archdeacon Hunter's translation of that work merely put into syllabic characters by me. It will be very useful to the Christians of Rupert's Land if printed and strongly bound."⁴⁰

By the 1860's syllabic characters had won for a time.

It was a never ending battle between the pragmatic efforts of missionaries to spread the Gospel by means of a facile system (syllabics), and the more distant efforts of theologians and linguists to see Algonquian texts printed accurately and in a manner demonstrating the language's unique linguistic traits.

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the Canadian federal government took a larger role in Indian education, determining the curriculum and financial support of most institutions attended by Indians. This was achieved largely through a system of grants for teacher salaries and the schools' other operational costs. These grants were calculated on minimum costs, plus so much per pupil beyond the minimum enrollment.⁴¹ Day schools and residential schools continue to operate by a similar scheme. Of importance to the development of Cree literacy; however, this change effectively prevented syllabics instruction from entering the classroom. The persons hired were chosen on the

basis of English competence and the curriculum was designed to introduce "civilization" synonymous with a Roman orthography similar to that used by English. Some of the schools operated by religious orders still taught the syllabic characters during religious instruction as a means of reading the Bible and hymns.

But this change hardly affected the prevalence of the writing system because formal education had played no significant role in proliferating the system. Even today, most adults who are literate in Cree, learned in church, at home, or by themselves with a chart.

In fact, there are a number of Crees who suffered formal instruction in the use of Cree syllabics and as a result are of the opinion that the system is too difficult for them to learn. One such person from northern Saskatchewan remembered recently such lessons. She never did learn to read and write Cree syllabics. However, she remembers vividly being forced through her lessons while the other children were outside at play. Now, seeing how easily others have learned, she attributes her difficulty to the approach to teach her being unpleasant in the face of more pleasant opportunities to play with other children.⁴²

During the National Indian Brotherhood's 1980 conference⁴³, I spoke with a Cree elder from northwestern Saskatchewan on how the syllabics were learned there. He said that most people could read and write in the days when

he was young. He learned from his father. His father sent him a letter entirely in syllabics, while he (the son) was at residential school. With a chart of the syllabarium that was enclosed, he managed to understand his father's letter. It took him little more than a day. He saw the characters in his sleep as if they were on a horizon and the following day he understood them much better. He then wrote back to his father in Cree syllabics. He remembers being impressed with the realization that his father and mother had never been to school but still could read and write. He thought his mother had probably learned from her sister or aunt. After that letter, he wrote from residential school often in syllabics. He remembered that one of his aunts always wrote in a continuous stream with no spaces between groups of characters. This elder had talked with a number of others who are employed or involved with Indian education in Saskatchewan. After considering the problem of passing histories and the knowledge they valued, most have come to the conclusion that they could do it in syllabic characters. During the past years, they have had unsatisfactory experiences with the problems of translating accurately into English.

While use of syllabic characters has persisted, so too have the arguments against their use. Dr. C. Douglas Ellis, was commissioned by Indian & Northern Affairs to do a Roman orthography for Cree in 1970. Ellis, a former missionary, echoes Archdeacon James

Hunter's concerns of 1855 for linguistic accuracies. But Ellis introduces some new arguments which stem from Cree economic and social "realities" assumed mainly by Euro-Canadians:

- "1) Where Cree and the official language of the area are written in two totally dissimilar systems, the learning load, particularly for the younger child, is thereby markedly increased.
- 2) Although an older generation has often regarded syllabic writing as something peculiarly Indian, the nature and scope of reading matter in syllabics is nevertheless severely limited, and the sheer pressure of popular literature ----to say nothing of the school texts available in English and French often serves to deflect the efforts of young persons from using the syllabary. It is known that the earliest texts in Cree were spelled in a Roman letter orthography (Boon 1960: 5,9,10). Since many, perhaps most, younger speakers of Cree today read English or French or both, the return to a Roman letter orthography is one way of making full use of existing skills to promote wider reading of Cree.
- 3) From the economic standpoint, typesetting in syllabics is currently a more expensive operation than if Roman letters were used. This is a potential obstacle to small groups wishing to issue materials in Cree (band councils, etc.). Type styles are also more restricted, syllabic typewriters are expensive and adaptability to cursive script and telegraph use is low.
- 4) The production of new editions of certain standard Cree texts is at present also under consideration, among them the Watkins-Faries Cree Dictionary, Scripture versions produced by the British & Foreign Bible Society and devotional and liturgical texts by several Church organizations. The transition to a Roman orthography would at this point make much more Cree material accessible to readers not conversant with the syllabary, but who are literate in English or French. Proposals

to develop basic school texts in Cree have also been receiving growing support. Over and above all of this the strong movement towards a clarification of Indian identity in Canada points to a fuller use of Cree as a major vehicle of communication and to the consequent and immediate need for a readily usable standard spelling system.

5) In spite of the apparent fit of the syllabary with the Cree sound system, spelling conventions (e.g. those relating to word formation) built by non-native speakers often do not conform to the features of the language itself. A series of bound forms belonging to a single word may regularly be found written as separate words, somewhat as though one were to write in English un pre meditat ed.

6) A further consideration is that those members of the wider Canadian public who have some knowledge of Cree might be more readily moved to read some materials written in Roman orthography, and thereby deepen their knowledge of and sympathy for Cree culture."⁴⁴

Ellis' arguments are rather empirical, glossing over certain issues which were they scruthinized, might undermine such arguements. The first argument cites an increased work load by syllabic characters. This view of education as a production system dealing with work load and a hoped for yield of literacy considers only the quantitative issues and ignores the qualitative issues. For example, how motivated students are by their lessons would be more significant than the number of lessons in the day. The day passes quickly when students are preoccupied with an engaging and increased work load. Given the ease with which syllabics can be learned and the emotional, psychological, or

cultural attractions, the learning of syllabic characters, could hardly be considered an increased work load. Indeed the experience of the author leads him to believe that in practice syllabic characters has eased the work load of learning English or Roman orthography. In 1971, this author was principal and teacher of Wemindji Indian School at Paint Hills, James Bay, Quebec. A Cree syllabic literacy program was initiated at all levels of elementary grades, (the school only offered elementary instruction). About three months after the program had been in operation, one of the remedial assistants who worked with the older reading (English) students commented that they were showing a remarkably increased willingness to attempt to pronounce words in English. In discussion with the remedial assistant it was possible to eliminate two usual causes for such a change ---improvements in teacher-student relations, or remedial attention to recognized needs. The students had always been comfortable with her because she was a Cree member of their own community and obviously enjoyed her work; moreover, all students had been instructed in word attack skills for at least four or five years already. Later, the students offered the most likely cause themselves when they suggested that syllabics had taught them how to "break up a word" to make it easier to say. The concepts: phonics, words, sentences, and other grammatical terms are not universal terms. Rather, they are the terms by which Euro-Canadians examine their own and other cultures' languages. Consequently, it seems reasonable to assume that

because there is no equivalent term in Cree for such words as, syllable, phonetics, words, vowels, or consonants, for these terms Cree children will not come to school with even an intuitive understanding. Rote or imitative learning of English will contribute little toward an understanding of these concepts by a Cree student. However, if the same student is provided with similar experiences in his mother tongue, there is a greater possibility that he will develop at least an intuitive understanding of the processes that are implied by such words. This understanding in turn can be transferred to ease the work load of developing similar phonetic habits in a second language. While Ellis overlooks such transfer possibilities, he does cite a rather simple alternative, that of letter rather than concept transfer, whereby learning of letters can be transferred from Cree literacy in Roman orthography to the learning of English. The weakness of this argument is that English does not depend solely on a Roman orthography, but as well on Greek orthographies, Slavic, Icelandic, etc.. Accordingly, not all learned from a Roman orthography will automatically be useful in the learning of English. Of course there is a rational explanation to sort out any possible confusion, but such an explanation may not be a reasonable work load for primary level pupil in a Cree community. A Cree language instructor might spend a great deal of time in explaining to students why, although they are using

"English" letters they are not always using them the way English people use them. It would be quite possible to have the Cree teacher insisting that "c" is pronounced as in church, "s" as in icing, while the English teacher (perhaps even the same teacher) insists that "c" is pronounced as in cake as well, and "s" as in rise. It may well prove most difficult to avoid a great deal of confusion among the younger pupils. Such unwanted transfers could cause the confusions that would render a Roman orthography as a "learning load" "markedly increased".

In his second argument, Ellis recognizes that an older generation regards the syllabic writing system as "peculiarly Indian" but argues that the system cannot survive, lacking the support of, while facing competition from Euro-Canadian publishers, educators, and authors. But in his fourth argument he refers to a "strong movement towards a clarification of Indian identity in Canada". It is hard to imagine a clear identity being resolved if the writing system of Cree already identified as Cree must give way to one which is premised on realities determined largely by Euro-Canadians.

Ellis' third argument against syllabic characters, usage depends upon a notion that typesetting is the only process for printing in the characters. In fact, even the religious texts since the 1930's are more and more often printed on lithographic, mimeographic, and offset printing

Figure 3.04

Syllabic → Alphabetic Orthographic Equivalences

Δ	$\dot{\Delta}$	∇	\triangleright	\triangleright	\triangleleft	\triangleleft	Δ
Δ i	$\dot{\Delta}$ ii	∇ e	\triangleright o	\triangleright oo	\triangleleft a	Δ aa	
\wedge pi	$\dot{\wedge}$ pii	\vee pe	\triangleright po	\triangleright poo	\triangleleft pa	$\dot{\wedge}$ paa	p
\cap ti	$\dot{\cap}$ tii	\cup te	\triangleright to	\triangleright too	\triangleleft ta	$\dot{\cap}$ taa	t
\cap ci	$\dot{\cap}$ cii	\cap cc	\triangleright co	\triangleright coo	\triangleleft ca	$\dot{\cap}$ caa	c
\cap ki	$\dot{\cap}$ kii	\cap ke	\triangleright ko	\triangleright koo	\triangleleft ka	$\dot{\cap}$ kaa	k
\cap mi	$\dot{\cap}$ mii	\cap me	\triangleright mo	\triangleright moo	\triangleleft ma	$\dot{\cap}$ maa	m
σ ni	$\dot{\sigma}$ nii	σ ne	\triangleright no	\triangleright noo	\triangleleft na	$\dot{\sigma}$ naa	n
\cap li	$\dot{\cap}$ lii	\cap le	\triangleright lo	\triangleright loo	\triangleleft la	$\dot{\cap}$ laa	i
\cap si	$\dot{\cap}$ sii	\cap se	\triangleright so	\triangleright soo	\triangleleft sa	$\dot{\cap}$ saa	s
\cap si	$\dot{\cap}$ sii	\cap ese	\triangleright seo	\triangleright seo	\triangleleft sa	$\dot{\cap}$ saa	s
\cap yi	$\dot{\cap}$ yii	\cap ye	\triangleright yo	\triangleright yoo	\triangleleft ya	$\dot{\cap}$ yaa	y
\cap ri	$\dot{\cap}$ rii	\cap re	\triangleright ro	\triangleright roo	\triangleleft ra	$\dot{\cap}$ raa	r

Reproduced from C. D. Ellis' "Proposed Roman Orthography for Cree", Appendix 5, p.65

equipment, none of which involve typesetting.⁴⁵ Since 1970, Olivetti-Underwood has manufactured typewriters in a full range of manual and electric models, ironically for use mainly by Indian & Northern Affairs sponsored organizations. Even more recently, IBM typeballs and Letraset dry transfer letter sheets have been on the market. Certainly, the Cree Way Project, operated in a fly-in community on the eastern shores of James Bay, demonstrated how easily and rapidly Cree people can remedy any lack of printed matter.⁴⁶

Ellis' fourth argument, as mentioned earlier, confuses quantitative concerns with qualitative concerns in resolution of Cree identity. Beyond a minimum necessary for practical purposes, the amount of material is less an issue than the kinds of material, for quantity is much easier to increase than one may think. Again, Ellis refers to values without referring to the values' owners as he mentions a "readily usable standard spelling system". While such standardization may be an important value for a language which must serve millions of people, frequently strangers to one another and therefore not familiar with one another's personal styles; to the Cree, writing for an audience only in the hundreds usually, standardization is much less valuable. Subsequently, most Cree readers are likely to enjoy or at least accept the particular style with which a writer of syllabics uses the system. These personal Cree styles may not be compatible with Euro-Canadian spelling

conventions.

In his fifth argument, Ellis refers to apparent lack of conformity between the system and the language itself leading to a wide variety of styles of usage of the syllabic characters. Here again, Euro-Canadian conventions and values are imposed as "universal" criteria for all languages usage to follow. That "words", "clauses", "punctuation", and "sentences" are Euro-Canadian concepts juxtapositioned in a Euro-Canadian view of language usage is not taken into account. The Cree elder referred to earlier mentioned a relative who wrote in a continuous stream. At no time during the authors communication with this elder was it possible to detect the slightest consternation or opinion at all. Invariably, letters written between Crees would be letters between persons who could recognize one another's style and would have little trouble adapting to these idiosyncracies. On the following page is a letter written by Maskepetoon to Rev. James Evans, forwarded by Robert Rundle from Edmonton House, September 6, 1864.⁴⁷ Whatever the need for standardization, one can assume that it was met. Should more contemporary Cree correspondents need more standardization in response to population increases, contact with more persons, etc., it would seem reasonable that such standardization needs would be recognized by the Crees and some suitable changes evolve. Euro-Canadian ethocentric preferences hardly constitute

Figure 3.05

VCC SPL 67^o
OS L.PAD.

PCCFBUQAS bPS.
Sb PUΛSΔQ DL.
LPAΔb. TΔb QLMF.
Qb. V DPC.
OTΓΩTU, VVCL
PMAKFC
MΠHΔLb. OTPLPAPD.
Sb L.PAD.
TICBJA PPDCL bPS.
E- SΔSΩΔ. KΝΛΑΡΤΔ
OLASb SCΛbΓ ΔP.
ΔPLb. OTPΔd. A,
DL LNTQb.
PbΔΓd DNNd.

L.PAD. the father
of the undersigned with me
W.M. Evans sends his
R. M. Evans
Edgarton House
September 6th 1844
W. H. M. Evans
Mowry. Evans

Letter of Maskepetoon, a Cree Chief to James Evans, 1844
Courtesy of Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario.

Cree needs.

During the earliest years of the Cree literacy programs on eastern James Bay, there was some discomfort and confusion suffered by Cree instructors and pupils alike. Much was caused by highly personalized styles of syllabic characters' usage; however, in response to the rational demands of teaching within a formal setting, a more uniform usage evolved. For example, one instructor, who learned the system as an Anglican catechist wrote in the same style in which the Bible and hymn books were written. That style was the manner of speaking belonging to a western James Bay dialect. While his style was acceptable in the church and among persons who knew he was a catechist, his style was not easily rational to young children who were trying to learn and remember words in their own dialect. In response to this pressure, the instructor adopted a style more rationally phonetic, therefore easier to teach. Today, the instructors' style manifest few personal traits but still clearly reflect the community's Cree usage and dialect. For example, the instructors from Paint Hills and Rupert House might write the Cree word for "go home!" as $\text{f}\cdot\triangleleft$ and $\text{f}\cdot\triangleright$ respectively. The last syllable differs between the dialects spoken (tis-waw, and tsi-weh, respectively). Efforts to carry uniformity beyond a community to a regional or pan-Cree usage, have met with no success at all. It should be realized that when "uniformity" is taken beyond limits practical to a community of Cree speakers, it

no longer serves the interest of that Cree community but rather the interests of those persons of a more formal perspective, usually Euro-Canadian. Consequently, little Cree co-operation can be expected when changes do not relate well with Cree interests.

The final argument posed by Ellis holds that "those members of the wider Canadian public who have some knowledge of Cree" would benefit from Cree usage of Roman orthography. From the experience of this author, that number would be judged as rather insignificant, if there is the expectation of any reading ability of consequence. Usually such persons are not members of a wider Canadian public but rather scholars of problems considered esoteric by most. As for the wider Canadian public's enjoyment of Indian words for geographic terms, names of camps, or other more romantic uses; these could still be provided in a Roman orthography, regardless of the system used by the Crees.

The Cree Personal World

But syllabic characters have survived because Cree people have survived. The system was adopted as an instrumental technique capable of supporting Cree values and satisfying Cree needs. Felix Keesing suggested that small isolated societies are usually eunomic⁴⁸, that is, tight knit or highly integrated. Such are the Cree. To maintain a finely tuned integrity of such a society, people must be constantly in communication with one another,

constantly creating ties and bonds with one another. This is normal day-to-day Cree life, on the trapline, in the village, or in town. Syllabic characters fit a mobile and intimate lifestyle. The very learning of the system has most often been an expression of a personal relationship among kin, peers, or fellow people. The ease of learning and close fit with a family of Algonquian languages were the criteria which made syllabics instrumental, desireable, and adopted. There was and still is little Cree concern for "entymologies", spelling conventions", or "bound forms". These are Euro-Canadian concerns. They represent Euro-Canadian values of communications and their satisfaction will meet Euro-Canadian needs.

During the fall of 1977, the community of La Ronge in northern Saskatchewan was considering a now one-hundred and forty year old question -----Which would be best: to teach Cree children Roman orthography or, Cree syllabic characters. A linguist from one of the province's universities, and this author were invited to defend the respective systems. The linguist offered his arguments first, approximately those of Ellis, discussed earlier. At the appropriate time, this author made the following presentation:

"I am not going to defend Cree syllabics. I will tell you why I accepted them and still do. I have never worked as a linguist, I have been a school principal, a teacher, and a parent of a child who learns to write Cree at school. That is how I will speak.

If syllabics are not used, there is another decision to be made, perhaps, first..... whether or not you want the old people in the school. If Roman letters are to be used you will be wise to keep the old people out because they could never accept that system. But as a school principal at a time when people talk of "community involvement", I didn't think it wise to start by keeping the old people out.

I cannot see either Indian Affairs or a school board paying for two teachers for each classroom. So, for the younger students especially, there will more likely be one teacher to teach both English and Cree. The person to speak both languages will probably be a Cree teaching at home. I close my eyes and try to see what that will be like in a classroom where Roman letters will be used to write Cree and English. I can see some problems. Let's say it's nine-o'clock, time for half-hour of English. Teacher writes c-a-t on the blackboard. It says 'cat' and the children know it for the small furry animal that it is. Nine-thirty comes. Now it's time for Cree. Teacher writes c-a-t on the board. But now it says 'chut'. How are you going to convince those children that their teacher isn't crazy. Most adults could guess what is happening, but the teacher's world is what the children can understand.

As a parent, I know that one day my child will be out in a school or some place like it, outnumbered by non-Indian students. Suppose he's writing in Cree one day and one of his classmates looks over his shoulder and sees him writing in Cree using Roman letters. It will be very hard to convince the non-Indian student that my child is not writing English in a rather screwed up way. And that Cree isn't just a screwed up way of speaking English. On the other hand, if he was writing in syllabic characters, the non-Indian student would realize that he was looking at a unique language. As well my child's letter could be read by older Cree relatives who did not speak or read English, without the awkwardness of translator for a personal letter. If my child's grandparents and elders wanted to write to him, they

could do so easily.

These were the things I thought of when I decided to accept syllabics and do what I could to help those people teaching them.

The 'debate' was hardly fair in that the linguist had to defend a set of principles without a context in which to do so. This author, however, only had to explain a decision to accept a certain practice, with rich resources of shared personal meanings for a context in which to present reasons to the audience at La Ronge. It is not likely that a decision was reached that night as only part of the community was there; more likely, members of the audience developed a clearer understanding of the criteria for such a decision. According to more recent information, most of the communities of northern Saskatchewan have or are expected to use syllabic characters for their schools' Native Language Program.⁴⁹

The important question in selection of a writing system seems to be ----Whose values and needs, whose sense of utility, are important? From a scientific point of view, cultural anthropologists are most clear. Felix Keesing held that "it is the values which people themselves put upon cultural elements are what count in acceptance or rejection of proposed innovations, not their worth in the eyes of the donor group".⁵⁰ Cyril Belshaw claimed that indeed innovations though deemed "more efficient" may still be rejected; the pre-existing cultural system may be

intrinsically valued despite its relative inefficiency.⁵¹ But most of these notions of values, utility and efficiency are largely determined by the participation in the projected change. The survival of syllabic characters has been dependent upon Cree motivation and participation. If Roman orthography is to have any opportunity to displace it, then Cree participation must be secured. This is consistent with the views of E. R. Chadwick who believed that change is effected more readily and with more relative permanence if the mass of the people involved participate in some way in the change program.⁵² Henry Dobyns' view bears even more heavily on the issue of participation:

"An induced technological change will succeed to a degree proportionate to the extent to which the administered people feel a need for it, are brought into its planning and execution, and feel it to be their own."⁵³

Neither Hunter in 1855 nor Ellis in 1970 secured significant Cree Participation in their projects for change. Neither appear to have succeeded. Yet the view that Roman orthography could or should replace syllabic characters still persists:

"Now with the increasing trend to educate Indian children in ordinary local schools wherever possible, there is an indication that the demand for material printed in syllabics is diminishing, and that the churches, in order to maintain religious instruction, will have to turn again to the Roman characters so warmly endorsed By Rev. James Hunter and the scholarly Bishop David Anderson a hundred years ago."⁵⁴

(T.C.B.Boon, The Canadian Church Historical Society

"For more than a hundred years the syllabics of James Evans have served the native population of Canada. They have been at morning prayers in the light of the rising sun, and studied around the campfires at the end of many a long trail. However, as government schools and popular publications reach into the wilderness, the syllabics alphabet will no doubt eventually disappear. McGill's Dr. C. D. Ellis expects it to last another twenty years, although he would like to see Indian children formally taught in this medium at least through the first four grades. At present a program is under way to ease the Eskimo away from the syllabics and forward to the Roman alphabet. This would not only provide a uniform written language across the Arctic but would also make available a vast amount of Eskimo literature in Roman letters in Greenland."⁵⁵

(Mildred Young, MacLean's Magazine, Vol.78
July 24, 1965.)

"As civilization reaches further into the wilderness and as other forms of communication become available, the use of the syllabic alphabet will probably disappear."⁵⁶

(Elvi Aer, University of Toronto, November 1972)

These forbodings simply have not proven true. A University of Manitoba professor recently returned from a trip to Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, N.W.T., reports that the very large majority of Inuit there, young and old, use the syllabic characters to the virtual exclusion of Roman letters. He reports as well, that more than two dozen translators are engaged there full time, translating books regulations, etc., into the syllabic characters. This persistence of syllabics on Baffin Island corresponds with a decline in attendance and support of the English language schools.⁵⁷ It would seem that the effort referred to earlier "to ease the Eskimo away from the syllabics and forward to the Roman alphabet" has failed.

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13. This book was recovered from an old building at Rupert House, James Bay, Quebec, during the summer of 1976. A sample of some of its pages can be found in the filmstrip, The Return of the Beaver, (Murdoch & Murdoch 1978).
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16. During the past twelve years, this author has worked in Moose Factory, Paint Hills, Rupert House, and travelled frequently in the James Bay Territory of north western Quebec.
17. During the academic year 1977-1978, this author taught courses to Cree students from many of the northern Saskatchewan communities, and performed workshop and consultant duties in several of those northern Cree communities. During the fall of 1980, this author also taught an Education Foundations course for the Peter Ballantyne Band (Cree) Teacher Training Program at Pelican Narrows, Saskatchewan.
18. Indian & Northern Affairs Branch, Field Manual, issued in 1961 but revised frequently until 1971. Chapter 1, Section 1.03.
19. Ibid., Chapter 1, Section 1.05.
20. Ibid., Appendix CC, part G.
21. "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development", House of Commons, Issue No.27, Chairman: Ian Watson, Tuesday June 22, 1971, 27:5, 27:6.
22. This author was the principal of the school at the time and with the support of the local school committee made the request for the school year 1970-1971.
23. Barbara Barnaby, John Nichols, Kelleen Toohey, "Northern Native Languages Project - Final Report", March 1980, Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Ontario Region, p.40.

24. Personal communication with Rita Monias, Cross Lake, Manitoba, November, 1980
25. Personal communication with Louise Shelly, Teacher Training Co-ordinator, August, 1980.
26. Visit by this author during October 1977 to conduct workshops with the Dene Native Language instructors there.
27. Visit by this author during November 1980, to teach an Education Foundations course to the Cree teacher trainees there.
28. Rev. George Barnley, Journal, October 6, 1842. Public Archives of Canada, Manuscripts Division, MG 24 J 40, Microfilm Reel At-20.
29. Rev. Robert Hunt, Journal Extracts, July-December 1855. Manuscript, Church Missionary Society Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Manuscripts Division, MG 17 B 2, Microfilm Reel A-88.
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Chapter 4

RESISTANCE TO THE USE OF CREE SYLLABICS

Indians and Inuit alike have been usually seen as perishing, disappearing, vanishing, and changing. But their populations are among the fastest growing in the Western world, and still constitute an easily discernible, distinct ethnic group. To better understand this view, a search was made of the early literature, to describe the state of Indian people as they were viewed by missionaries, educators, etc.. The following discussions are the results of that search.

George Gibson offers a detailed account of the earliest efforts by Jesuit priests in New France (Quebec) during the first half of the seventeenth century. The term "education" used by the Jesuits was that effort or process which led "the savage" into a "more civilized, cultured, and rational way of life".¹ In his Jesuit Relations, Father LeJeune, one of the most notable Jesuit educators, reports that:

"One must question and answer, satisfy inquiries, dispose of objections, and prepare one's hearers. In short, our truths, which are newer to these barbarians than the operations of algebra would be to a person who could only count to ten, must almost make them forget their own language when we use it to explain these to them.....To be a barbarian and

a good Christian, to live as a savage and as a Child of God are two different things. This metamorphosis is not accomplished in a moment or by a word."²

The contradictory idea that Indians could forget their own language by using it, is difficult to accept. But, it is important here to note the hoped for metamorphosis from a "savage" state to one more "Christian" or "cultivated". The nomadic nature of the Algonquian tribes was viewed as a significant problem by LeJeune and his contemporaries:

"Now I must state in passing that there are four great works bound together by a single tie -----the settlement of the savages, the Hospital, the seminary for little savage boys, and the seminary for little savage girls. The last three depend on the first."³

Early missionary efforts focussed a great deal of attention on altering the mobility of the Indian tribes they hoped to "Christianize" and civilize", for reasons which LaJeune explains:

"Let these barbarians remain always nomads --- --then their sick will die in the woods and their children will never enter the Seminary. Render them sedentary and you will find these three institutions, which all need to be vigorously aided."⁴

The Jesuits found very early that the Indian children could be more easily enculturated away from the "savage" ways toward the "civilized" ways of other French children, if there were a number of French children present.⁵ However, Indian student discipline was a different problem. The Indian temperament was recognized as being very different from that of the European. controlling the Huron children required "great skill", and

"gentleness" and, "an inexhaustible patience, for harshness was liable to throw them into rebellion". Realization that they were some hundred leagues from their own country served to make the young men more tractable".⁶ The Jesuit use of the Indian languages was to aid the missionary. If anything, it was an impediment to the metamorphosis hoped for, because its use tended to legitimate the very world seen by the Indian that the missionary hoped to displace. But, the Jesuit belief in learning and using the Indian languages still remained strong. As a result, those books written by the Jesuits which survive are for the most part hymnaries, religious rituals and dictionaries to aid the learning of the language. Hymnaries received particular attention when it was realized how much the Indians enjoyed singing.⁷ In 1724, Father Joseph La Fitau wrote:

"Missionaries to the different nations of the East and West Indies who know the languages of the people whom they cultivate are better situated than anyone else to undertake this work."⁸

While the Jesuits made significant progress towards a more sedentary life with the Hurons (or what remained of them after intense Iroquois aggression), little if any impression was made upon nomadic Indians, the Algonquian peoples, such as the Montagnais, Naskapi and Cree or Ojibwa. It should be remembered too that the sedentary lifestyle which the Jesuits encouraged of the Hurons, was not greatly more or less sedentary than the lifestyle they led before contact with the French.

During the nineteenth century, the themes of Indian

education were again centered around a hoped for cessation of a nomadic life and gradual metamorphosis of the savage to a civilized state. Benjamin Slight, a notable Canadian Methodist of the century wrote his book, Indian Researches; or Facts Concerning the North American Indians, dedicating it to William Case, "Father of Wesleyan Indian Missions". and Joseph Stinson, Superintendent of Missions in Upper Canada. This book drew from the experiences of the missionaries and educators of the nineteenth century, among them James Evans. It offers detailed descriptions of the contemporary view of the Indian and the prevalent beliefs as to how the latter would best be improved by education. Again, there was every confidence that "civilization" or enlightenment could never be realized except by sedentary people:

"The Iroquios are more cultivated, and superior to the Algonquians, and are farther advanced in agriculture. The award of superiority was generally made to them. That the Hurons have applied themselves more to this art than the Otchipwas, appears from the speech of One Canoe, afterwards referred to. They are consequently less disposed to wander. They also have better habitations and more conveniences."⁹

But as well, Benjamin Slight offered an example of some groups who had succeeded in the hoped for chain of improving developments. Such groups were the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, later referred to as among the "Five Civilized Tribes":

"The Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, have adopted the habits of civilized man. They are agriculturalists, manufacturers, mechanics, etc.. They own a great quantity of horses, horned cattle, hogs, sheep; also ploughs and other implements of trades. They have grist-mills, saw-mills, etc.. They have made

great progress in education. They have several printing presses, and periodical and other works are constantly issuing in own several tongues, and various articles from own pens."¹⁰

Again, no mention is made that these groups were relatively sedentary before missionary or European contact. It would seem, however, that their achievements of progress toward "civilized" habits were somewhat overlooked when these same Indian tribes were later uprooted and removed by the American government on the infamous "Trail of Tears".¹¹ But during the nineteenth century, the educators of Indians were supporting their pedagogical theories with "scientific" data and suppositions. Benjamin Slight reasoned that during some earlier period, the 'Ochipwa' (Ojibwa) must have been "a far more cultivated people". He could think of no other way to explain how a tribe, obviously savage and indeed incapable of cultivation, could speak a language which was "very expressive, regular and harmonius (sic)".¹² He also discussed the prevalent belief that Indians were not yet fully capable of reasoning effectively:

"The Indians are a thoughtful, reasoning race of men ----so much, that we are often astonished at the shrewdness of their remarks and the justness of their conclusions. They will reason well from any given premises, and will quickly perceive the connexion (sic) between any two propositions. But we cannot say that their premises are always to ascertain this; and, indeed, from their associations, and habits formed from their associations, not always capable. Hence they very often come to very erroneous conclusions, and entertain opinions on some subjects not altogether correct. The powers of abstraction and generalization mark the higher orders of the intellect and

cultivation; and while their old habits continue, and a more thorough cultivation is bestowed upon them, these results will not be expected to any great extent. But this will not excite great astonishment in those who reflect on the habits, mental powers, and ideas of the uncultivated portion of civilized countries."¹³

Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, levelled criticism at the missionary efforts, for the following reasons:

"That an attempt to make Farmers of the Red Man has been, generally speaking, a complete Failure.

That congregating them for the Purpose of Civilization has implanted many more Vices than it has eradicated; and consequently;

That the greatest Kindness we can perform toward these intelligent, simple-minded People, is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from all Communication with the Whites."¹⁴

The sting of these criticisms was much felt by the missionaries. Some suspected that a few of the criticisms may have been true. James Evans, while on his tour of the country north of Lake Superior stated privately in a letter to his brother, that the Indians of the area could never be farmers, and that missionaries wishing to succeed in their works would have to adjust to the reality that such Indians would always be nomadic hunters.¹⁵ The innovation of syllabic characters is a clear measure of the truth of that premise which accepts Cree realities of mobility rather than to seek radical changes in lifestyle. Cree literacy in syllabics does not require schools or long periods of instruction. But Benjamin Slight and his contemporaries reasoned otherwise:

"If the premises, Sir Francis has laid down were true, still his conclusion would not follow as a matter of course. The conclusion ought to be: endeavour to find out the reasons why these attempt do not produce the desired end; and having discovered the cause, remove it, that the effects may cease.....Everyone must believe, that it is a difficult matter and must be a work of time, to take a wandering savages and to bring him to a state as to possess all the diligence, regularly, and application necessary to be successful farmer. And we do not blush to say, that the Indians are not, in these respects, everything we could desire. Those who are acquainted with history well know that great difficulties which always have attended the bringing of roving tribes to the condition of settled husbandmen."¹⁶

Slight drew attention to the elevation of the status of Indian women in social life as proof that some benefits were realized. The end of polygamy and divorce by the institutionlization of marriage "exalted the condition and character of women".¹⁷

Unlike the Jesuits, the missionaries of the nineteenth century had the resources of historians and anthropologists to develop and support their pedagogical philosophies, however poorly they may have used such philosophies. To better appreciate those resources, a discussion of the early history of cultural anthropology is in order.

Early Cultural Anthropology

As early as 1795 Condorcet's Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progres de l'esprit humain, outlines stages of cultural development through which savages must rise through animal husbandry and agriculture to alphabetic writing ----a final

enlightened state of civilization.¹⁸ Gustav Klemm, in 1843 described these stages to include: first, a level of development at which the savage roamed about, owing neither herds nor land, and recognizing no paramount authority; on a second level, families are consolidated into tribes, subject to rule by divine right or monarchy. At the third level, writing, pastoral life and farming develop but always under some religious control by priests and such. Finally, at the highest level of cultural development, the developing nation throws off the burden of religious control, freeing itself to develop mentally in all areas. For Klemm, the Germanic peoples represented that highest stage of development.¹⁹ Much of this writing was speculative theory or "armchair anthropology" depending on second-hand accounts from travellers, sailors, etc..

By 1860, Charles Darwin, with help from Thomas Huxley and others was defending his thesis on the "Origin of the Species" before a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.²⁰ In the meantime, theories such as Slight's, referred to earlier²¹, that savages (or Indians, for example) may have declined to their present state from an earlier, higher level of development, still flourished. But through studies of the earth's geological stratification and the discovery of other archaeological proofs, Darwin's biological evolutionary theories were eventually accepted.²² Assuming that man in 1870 Europe had reached the highest level of "civilization" the hypothetical starting point for cultural evolution was seen as the savage, "hovering on the border of bestiality".²³ Of course, the original primeval man was no longer available for study;

however, there were plenty of modern "savages" who were, and these people were, out of convenience, substituted. According to Pitt-Rivers:

"The existing races, in their respective stages of progression may be taken as the bona fide representatives of the races of antiquity. They thus afford us living illustrations of the social customs, the forms of government, laws, and warlike practices, which belong to the ancient races from which they remotely sprang, whose implements resembling with but little difference their own, are now found low down in the soil."²⁴

Edward B. Taylor, an Englishman and Lewis H. Morgan, an American were among the more notable members of a school of thought usually referred to as "classic or unilinear evolutionism". Generally, this school of early anthropology hoped to translate the principles of biological evolution into those of cultural evolution. A chart (page 85) attempts to summarize and represent the main contributions made to this school of thought. The underlying premises of a belief in unilinear or classical evolution is that all people share the same "psychic unity of mankind", that is, all people think the same, look at the world in the same manner, subject only to degree of intelligence or the level of the people's cultural development.²⁵ This school of thought has also been called social darwinism, after the inventor of a similar theory in biological studies.

In later years of the nineteenth century, few anthropologists were at all comfortable with classic evolutionism, nevertheless, this school of thought was well absorbed by second-order scientists, such as educators, theologians, and civil servants, as well as those who publish literature for reading by the larger public.

Figure 4.01

SAVAGERY	BARBARIANISM	CIVILIZATION
nomadic	animal husbandry & agriculture	production oriented, industrialized society
no ownership or recognized authority	families consolidated into tribes, priestly domination	yoke of priests thrown off
hunting & gathering	iron tools, pottery	alphabet writing
bow & arrow	Ceramic Age, Iron Age	Age of Enlightenment
Stone Age	monarchy	democracy
anarchy	Polytheism	monotheism
animism	Polygamy	Monogamy
promiscuity & group marriage		

Classic or Unilinear Scale of Cultural Development (A Summary of the Main Ideas)

By the turn of the century such well-known anthropologists as Boas and Lowie were struggling, often through fieldwork or first-hand information, to offset this manner of thinking.²⁶

Robert Lowie was one of the earliest and most effective critics. He criticized the arguments of classic evolutionists for "accepting uncritically the psychological judgements of travellers"; "absurd underestimations of recent tribes", because they lacked some arbitrarily chosen material traits; and, for neglecting "data that should have been at (his) fingertips".²⁷ As the science of ethnology matured, classical evolution has lost credibility for its rather subjective premise on European cultural development as a standard for judging all cultures. From more recent efforts, it has been realized that there are a great many divergent possibilities for a culture to evolve. The "best way" for a culture to develop, it is generally felt, depends upon the needs of the practitioners of the culture in question, rather than on some classic or universal standard of development.

The Algonquians met by the Jesuits, Wesleyans, Anglicans, and other missionary-educators were viewed as savages much in need of cultivation and elevation to a more enlightened and civilized level of cultural development. But over three hundred years of cultivation has not produced the "improvements" which classic evolutionist thought held as possible, even probable. A diversion from this school of thought by James Evans gave rise to a new perspective: that the missionary's efforts would be useless if it were not accepted that the Indians would always be hunters, forever

nomadic. Based on that perception, Evans then devised a syllabary which accepted these cultural traits. The system was easy to learn within a remarkably short time. It was learned with the aid of a close network of personal relations, typical of a small isolated society. No school, no "qualified" teachers were required. With awesome speed literacy spread among thousands of Indians, scattered across millions of square miles. It has survived.

But one significant problem was and continues to be posed for Euro-Canadian acceptance of Cree literacy in syllabic characters. Robert Lowie described the nature of that problem in his introduction to his work, Primitive Society:

"All of us are born into a set of traditional institutions and social conventions that are accepted not only as natural but as the only conceivable response to social needs. Departures from our standards in foreigners bear in our biased view the stamp of inferiority."²⁸

If Crees were accepted as "civilized" as the trait of literacy implied, the Cree would have progressed in one leap from savagery to civilization. The entire classic evolutionist theory would be untenable, along with it the roles of missionaries, educators, and government. Subsequently, it was far easier for Euro-Canadians to refuse to accept Cree syllabic characters as a legitimate form of literacy and to insist on Euro-Canadian characters as a legitimate form of literacy, insisting on approaches to literacy, that is the native language in Roman orthography, followed by literacy in English or French.

The classic evolutionist theme was adopted by the

Canadian government as well. It considered its problems with Indian students during the latter half of the nineteenth century as follows:

"Among the difficulties encountered was the fact that the children were too old when admitted. Before entering they had been idle and filthy and it was practically impossible to influence their manners because of their advanced ages. The pupils remained too short a time for much progress to be made. The parents were often prejudiced against schools and soon removed their children and returned to their homes without permission when they found the restraint of school too irksome to bear".²⁹

The age of students, their use of time, "manners", and attitudes toward social restraint are all issues important to efforts to cultivate a savage into a civilized person. They are all impediments to the adoption of Euro-Canadian values; but they are irrelevant to the learning of skills, such as reading, writing and arithmetic. These inconsistencies between the Indian student's behaviour and Euro-Canadian expectations become impediments when the Euro-Canadian institution decides that its desire to enculturate Indian students with its own values is of greater importance than the teaching of skills. By far the most frequent choice has been to enculturate rather than to educate.

For Indian students' achievement of literacy in English or in French, regular attendance at school has been seen as crucial by most educators, from the Jesuits to the present day Indian & Northern Affairs. It is generally believed that if an Indian student attends regularly, he will become literate in his second language, be it

English or French.

A recent study by John Bailey, of good and poor readers among Ute Indian children revealed the following results:

"Conclusions:

1. It appears that full blood Ute Indian student's reading ability is significantly and positively related to other measures of academic ability.
2. In so far as the full blood Ute Indian student is concerned, the number of days absent from school does not appear to relate to reading ability. While accumulated grade point average failed to correlate to a statistically significant degree with reading ability, it did approach significance and may be considered to have a probable relationship with reading ability.
3. It is commonly believed that environmental variables have an important affect on the academic ability of children. In so far as the present study is concerned, only the reading ability of full blood Ute Indian mothers distinguished between a group of good readers and a group of poor readers, among full blood Ute Indian children. It appears that such variables as the number of books in the home, educational level of parents, number of people in the home, number of square feet in the home, English speaking ability of parents, age and condition of home, and parents' attitudes toward school are not related to reading ability of full blood Ute Indian children."³⁰

The study would at least indicate that those premises held true by Euro-Canadian educators may have little or no real effect upon Indian literacy. Equally implied by these results, is the notion that whatever values or premises which contributed to good reading ability, have yet to be understood.

Classic evolutionist theory was a product of the subjective

feelings of the Western scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The theories may have been disproven but the subjectives feelings remain. Thomas R. Berger, the famous land claims commissioner of the North West Territories, remarked of such subjective feelings:

"There is a tendency for us to depreciate native culture. Many white northerners have argued that the native way of life is dying, that what we observe today is a pathetic and diminishing remnant of what existed in the past. The arises as much from our attitudes toward native people as from any process of reasoning. We find it hard to believe that anyone would wish to live as native people do in their homes and villages. We show indifference, even contempt for the native peoples' defence of their way of life. We tend to idealize those aspects of native culture that we can most easily understand, or that we can appropriate to wear or to place on a shelf in our homes. We simply do not see native culture as defensible. Many of us do not even see it as culture at all, but only as a problem to be solved. But we must learn what values the native people still regard as vital today."³¹

In some areas, where Indian people are assuming control over their own education systems, some values or features, long associated with education, are beginning to change. For example, the school calendar followed by the Cree School Board of northern Quebec, takes into account the annual spring goose hunt by appropriately placing holidays during the hunting period. The participation of Cree children in their families' hunting activities could hardly be considered as undesireable or an impediment to education as determined by Crees. The education system, when regarded as plastic or instrumental to Cree values, adjusts easily to meet the

needs of Cree children in their roles as students and members of communities, families, etc..

For some Indian groups, it may already be too late to preserve literal or oral language abilities. However, fewer Indian people seem willing to regard themselves as in need of cultivation or enlightenment by a superior race:

"I was born in Fort Good Hope in 1953. When I was three years old my mother caught T.B. and was taken away. I was taken care of by the people of Good Hope. The people are like that. If a kid doesn't have a mother, it is everybody's responsibility to make sure this kid doesn't starve... the kid is not taken off to some home, you know, to strangers either. I was kept by many families until my foster parents learned about my situation. They weren't young and they had three children alive and they already had three younger girls who died. But they are kind people and they knew that I needed help, so they adopted me.

For the rest of my childhood I was raised in Colville Lake. In the summer we lived in fish camps, always working together making dry fish, cutting wood, and I look back on those days as really happy. I was happy....

I look at Colville Lake today...(the people) still have their own lives; they still have their pride. I don't want my people to have nothing but memories of what their life used to be...

There's a lot of young people like myself that want to have something other than memories. That's we want control of what's going to happen to us and our lives in the future. I think about all that and I that we are one of the last people to have our own land and still have our own kind of life in the world. I think the government and the oil companies consider that, after all they've done to the native people in

the south, they should know that it doesn't work. It doesn't work for them. They are not happy people; they are not proud people. All they have left is memories. (C8329ff)"³²

-----Bella T, Seleie, Inquiry at Colville Lake, Berger Commission.

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Chapter 5

JAMES EVANS, INNOVATOR

James Evans Early Years (1801 - 1838)

James Evans, the inventor of Cree syllabic characters was born January 18, 1801 in England at Kingston -upon-Hull. His father was a sailor, a master of a merchant vessel. James' parents were Wesleyan Methodist, and he was baptized as such at the Carthruse Methodist Church in Hull.¹ At eight years of age, Evans accompanied his father on two voyages, one to Dantzig and the other to Copenhagen. After these voyages, James and his younger brother Ephraim were sent to boarding school in Lincolnshire, England. James remained there until he was fifteen years old.² Next, he was apprenticed to a grocer who was an official in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. As an apprentice, he was expected to attend his master's church.

In 1821, Evans' parents emigrated to Lower Canada, settling near Lachute, while he continued to work in a glass factory in London. However, James followed them to Canada in 1823, finding work as a school teacher.³ During the same year, he met and married Mary Blithe Smith. Two years later, in 1825, the young couple moved to Augusta on the St. Lawrence River. There, during a Wesleyan Methodist camp meeting, the couple felt "moved by God". Still later that year, the young Evans and his wife moved to Upper Canada.⁴ In 1826, James and Mary met Willima Case, the founder of the earliest Wesleyan Missions in Canada. James met Case again in Kingston during

the Wesleyan Methodists Annual Conference. In the fall of 1828, Evans was appointed as the teacher at the Indian school at Rice Lake, Upper Canada.⁵

At Rice Lake, Evans began to learn the Ojibwa language. Over the next few years he learned the language well enough to write letters to Peter Jones, an early native clergyman, and was able to preach sermons entirely in Ojibwa. William Case, living in nearby Cobourg and in constant communication with him, was able to watch over James' progress closely. Within two years, Evans had devised an approach to Indian education which proved an example to other missions of the time:

"Letter from William Case to James Evans,
January 9, 1830.

Dear Brother,

Yours of the 6th, inst. came this evening by Sister Crow. I am truly gratified and thankful to God to learn that you are prospering in religion and encouraged in your school ---hope they will be ready in their answers. If they learn and behave well we shall spare no pains to furnish them with the means of instruction. We shall get more books and more pictures for the school. From the experiment which has been made here and with you it is most certain that the system adopted will be a valuable one in all our Indian schools and I think we shall endeavour to establish them in most places.....The school at the Credit is not doing well, Bro. Jones the teacher is consumptive, it is thought, and has not been able to attend the school much since the Conference. Bro. G. Ryerson is quite desirous to have the infant system in operation there, but they have no plans, nor knowledge of the system. How shall we afford them assistance? I have you going up for only two weeks, you might jump into my sleigh and spend but one week with them and return. It will be important that the system

be understood at the Credit as it is so central and the knowledge could then be communicated to the neighbouring schools. But who could we get to take your school for that time? You will think about it and make arrangements for it (if) you can. I believe you would do better than any other person we have and there is much in commencing well in anything....."⁶

Evans' system or curriculum consisted of a mixture of manual and academic skills instruction whereby the manual labours of the students contributed significantly to the support of the school. This system made missions largely self supporting and demonstrated to the Indian students, the practical value of the manual skill taught.

In moving to Rice Lake, James and Mary Evans sacrificed considerable comfort. Certainly, Evans had little difficulty in empathizing with Ojibwa poverty:

"A friend visiting the mission found the teacher and his family possessed of a small quantity of flour, the only kind of food in the house. Mixing it with some fish spawn, they made pancakes of it and partook heartily of the best they had."⁷

But Evans' achievement were well acknowledged and during the Wesleyan Methodists' Annual Conference of 1830, he was received as a "probationer" or a kind of junior minister on probation. The following year he was sent to the Credit River Mission, just west of present-day Toronto.⁸

In 1832, Evans was next sent to Ancaster which included the beginnings of present-day Hamilton. In 1833, having shown himself to be an able preacher among Indians and Euro-Canadians alike, Evans was fully ordained as a Methodist minister. The following year he was

sent to labour among the St. Clair Indians near present-day Sarnia to replace a Rev. Thomas Turner who had been sent by the Wesleyan Methodists of England at the request of the Colonial government of Upper Canada. Turner had arrived totally unprepared for the rigors of pioneer life. Neither was Turner able to make much of a dent upon the nomadic habits of Indians who remained inscrutable to him. James Evans, much better prepared of course, enjoyed more satisfying results:

"Success in the conversion of the Red men followed the Labours of James Evans among the St. Clair Indians. The Rev. Dr. Evans now residing in London Ontario, referring to his brother's success on the St. Clair Mission at this period, says: 'A sweeping tide of converting power changed the entire character of the tribes and greatly stimulated him to a critical study of the language and to the translation of portions of the Holy Scriptures. and a publications of the translation of many of the Methodist hymns. To this day his name is an ointment poured forth in the memories of the few aged persons still remaining who through his instrumentality were rescued from the chains and bondage of paganism and translated into the kingdom of His dear Son.'⁹

Prior to his arrival at the Credit River Mission, Evans had already published Ojibwa translations of scriptures The First Nine Chapters of the First Book of Moses Called Genesis.¹⁰ This work was printed by the Methodist Church at Toronto. It was well received and more were encouraged. Evans devoted much of his energy to sharpening his linguistic skills and to further translations of religious works into the Ojibwa language. Late in 1837, after four months in New York city, Evans had seen the publishing of another two works: Ojibwa Hymns; and, The Speller & Interpreter. Yet another

matter preoccupied Evans and his fellow Methodists of the Canada Conference. While Sir John Colborne had been Governor of Canada, he had shared the Methodists' view of the best manner of treatment of Indians. Together they agreed that with suitable educating efforts the Indians of Upper Canada might survive by joining the more cultivated or civilized Euro-Canadian society. Unfortunatley, in 1836, Colborne was replaced by Sir Francis Bond Head whose attitude toward the fate of Indians was very different. Head believed that Indians were not likely to take on new habits and were more likely to suffer more vices at the hands of missionaries than likely to benefit from such educating efforts.¹¹ He favoured removal of the Indians to Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron. Evans became much more involved in the clash between the Methodist missionaries and Sir Francis Bond Head, on behalf of the Indians who attended his mission on the St. Clair River. To his wife, shortly before his departure for New York in 1837, Evans wrote:

"Say to (chief) Wawanoush that he will undoubtedly recover the Saugeen lands. The King wishes the Indians to keep every inch of land they own. The Conference have memorialized the Governor relative to the dissatisfaction of the Indians, and if he does not immediately grant the necessary relief, a committee is appointed of which I am a member, to make application to the Home Governement. A respectable and very influential society has been formed in England of which some of the Royal Family are members called the Society for the Protection of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the British Dominions."¹²

Later on a tour of the Lake Huron and Superior regions, he visited the island and recorded the following remarks in his

diary:

"Wednesday August 1, 1838

.....How the Indians are to live I leave them to tell, for although there may be some spots of tillable land in the vicinity, I repeat the assertion which I heretofore made through the Guardian and elsewhere that this Island is a poor barren waste where the Indians can never be induced to remain; true they may, by means resorted to, be compelled to settle here; but they will not be compelled to remain, their strong desire to become civilized and to become cultivators of the soil, which cannot well be accomplished without the assistance of either the Government or some benevolent society

.....now while the Government at the impolitic and mistaken suggestion of Sir F.B. Head have doubtless under false impression that it would benefit the Indians determined that this island shall be the grand depot for the delivery of the annual presents, and that such Indians as will not resort here shall receive no assistance unless some wealthy society can step forward and erect public buildings and aid the Indians by sending teachers elsewhere ---they must come to this island. There is no alternative and I hesitate not to declare as my opinion after a close observation of the conduct of Sr. F.B. Head and of his nefarious dispatches that he will endeavour to exert an influence at all hazards even sacrificing everything to expediency in order if possible to carry his hair brained measure of collecting Indians to feed on whortle berries and to prove that 'if we can bear patiently with them for a few years only, the whole race will become extinct.'¹³

James Evans, a factory worker in 1823, was a fully ordained minister a mere ten years later, and was much admired by his fellow clergymen. He was an evangelist and teacher much revered by many Upper Canada Indians. He was a notable linguist whose efforts were cited in studies of contemporary Americanists.

Unhappily though, these achievements were accompanied by growing political conflicts with other clergymen and Euro-Canadians. While a young teacher and probationer at Rice Lake, Evans had a small audience and an able master, William Case, to provide him guidance and encouragement. By 1833, Evans was fully ordained minister and recognized as a leader among his peers. Very early in his duties as a preacher he earned a reputation for tenacious crusading for the principles of his religious society:

"Faithful to the souls he had won for Christ, James Evans confronted fearlessly any form of doctrine that would injure what he had done. Boldly and successfully he opposed Elijah Warren, who had imbibed the principles of Universalism, and was teaching them to the people.....In the following year (1833) the Conference stationed this intrepid servant of God at St. Catherines with John Baxter as his colleague, and the work done there sufficiently attested the fact when able men were needed for important positions they could find one in the devoted and versatile preacher of St. Catherines. He stood well with his ministerial brethren, because of his sterling worth for he was oftentimes compelled in the stirring times in which he lived to oppose his best friends. Friendship was nothing to principle; and though he dearly loved his friends, he loved the truth more. There were stirring times for the Methodist Church and in all her concerns he was ever in the front to defend her interests when they were on the side of truth."¹⁴

James Evans was very much a part of another struggle. Sir Francis Bond Head's desire to remove the Upper Canada Indians from what is now southern Ontario to Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron was in the interests of Euro-Canadian settlers, anxious to cultivate the

arable Indian lands. When Evans and his Methodist colleagues lobbied for Indian land rights and ownership, they could not help but alienate many of the settlers. James, at St. Clair River wrote to his brother Ephraim in September of 1834:

"Contrary to what we were led to expect on coming to this mission, we are surrounded with a white population and I may say with a most notoriously wicked and profane crew who despise us and hate us worse than they hate Satan the prince of darkness but never mind, 'he that is for us is more than all that can be against us'. We are labouring for the conversion of all."¹⁵

Very early in his career as a missionary, Evans recognized the Indians particular tastes in religious ceremony, and developed notable skill in appealing to those tastes. Since the earliest efforts by the Jesuits it had been abundantly clear that Indians generally preferred chanting and singing to any manner of religious observance:

"....when the Ursulines began work at Quebec in 1639, they found that Indian girls learned Gregorian melodies more quickly and willingly than anything else the Sisters tried to teach them. Another sidelight on the Indians' use of music comes from the 1634 report of the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune about his stay with the Montagnais tribe along the Saguenay River. Their notion of a religious exercise was to improvise a melody and sing it to any syllables which occurred to them, without caring whether those syllables made sense.....in 1735 Fr. L.-F Nau reported from the Indian settlement near Montreal now known as Caughnawaga, 'For our savages singing is a necessary adjunct, as they are incapable of prolonged mental application; and it is on this account that all their prayers are set to music; really it would be a great pity were it not so, they succeed so admirably.'"¹⁶

James Evans, his wife Mary, and daughter Clarissa, were

all able to play the accordian. With his translations and his organization of religious services, Evans made hymn-singing an important part of worship. Not needing an interpreter, Evans was able to engage his Indian parishoners much more intimately than most of his missionary peers. But intimacy with the Indians and satisfying their tastes in worship only encouraged more sourness from the surrounding settlers:

"Some of the whites who have heretofore expressed strong desires that the Indians would become Christians now begin to think they are getting too much because they will praise the God of their salvation and make too much noise for their refined notions or order and decorum....You may be sure when these pagan sons of the forest come down before the Lord we cannot refrain from weeping and often feel very much like shouting."¹⁷

James Evans spent most of his time at home during the earliest years of his career at Rice Lake. Their child, Clarissa Eugenia, was only a toddler then. As Evans' success drew increasing attention in the Methodist Church; however, he was more and more often invited away to share his ideas and experiences. At first, a trip consisted of a week or two at the most. But as the young missionary was given greater responsibility and invited to sit on more committees and working groups, his time away from home grew. By 1837, he was spending half the year away, attending the annual conference and supervising the printing of his Ojibwa translations in New York. These developments should not be interpreted as a deteriorating of family relations. Rather, James Evans was performing much as his father had done as a master in the British merchant

marine. Evans' correspondence to his wife and daughter remained gay and affectionate, always with the assurance that his separation from them was only temporary and ordained by God:

"We will soon get to heaven where we can be together for ever and ever, let us not only do but suffer the will of God."¹⁸

Cast against a background of rebellion in Canada against Britain, Evans' patriotism shows clearly. His preoccupation with Indians and his absence while in New York and Lake Superior country, probably prevented him from any active involvement in the Upper Canada Rebellion. Nevertheless, Evans billeted British troops in the buildings of the St. Clair Mission during the Rebellion.¹⁹ As of the annual conference of 1838, James' brother Ephraim was relieved as editor of The Guardian and sent to London District as chairman. Both were pained to note the sourness of the paper toward Britain and particularly the Royal Family which developed after Ephraim had been relieved as editor.²⁰ Still, James Evans' political position during the Upper Canada Rebellion was somewhat moderated by an empathy with the Canadian resentment toward Bishop Strachan and his church's hold on the government of Upper Canada. In 1833 the Rev. Egerton Ryerson was in England, negotiating for the union of the Canadian and English Conferences of the Methodist Church. While Ryerson was there, he wrote a series of letters to The Christian Guardian, on "Impressions of Public Men & Parties in England", which aroused the ire of some of the Canadian politicians of that period. James Evans with four other ministers of the Niagara District sent in protest to Dr. Ryerson a petition.

stating that they were anxious to have Canada freed from the trammels of a State Church, were loyal subjects of the Crown, and objecting to many of the statements made in the letters. Dr. Ryerson wrote to James Evans upon the matter, and a short controversy followed, but "unity & love prevailed".²¹

As well, Evans shared too much Methodist philosophy with his British colleagues to develop a position set apart from them. En route to the West, James advised his brother Ephraim:

"Keep quiet at Conference, endure everything patiently and prepare for an honourable removal. To leave the ministry is to be undone--- to leave Methodist, next to it."²²

An earlier chapter of this study, (Chapter 2) "Evolution of the Cree Syllabic System", describes Evans' skill and vigor as a linguist and researcher. Frequently, one so mentally blessed lacks a corresponding physical prowess. Such was not the case with this zealous missionary. He wrote of his many long trips on horseback to his brother:

"Some of my journeys too are disasterous [sic] sometimes, not so much from the lameness as from the wildness of my horse. He ran away with me a week ago, having taken fright at a load of wool on horseback and laid his course through a new chopping on the Peterborough road, over logs and brush, etc., about 40 rods, when my saddle girth broke whilst he was in the act of leaping a high log and down I came head over heels to all intents, and almost broke my neck: but thanks to God I am still alive and well. Last Saturday I rode through the ice and on alighting in the water got out as fast as I could and proceeded being alone, to pull my horse out; by twitching the halter around his neck this I succeeded in doing but when I got him on the ice he being

disobedient would contrary to my wish, get up, so up he got and down we went again and with his foot he gave me a dreadful blow on the leg. It was just; I brought him there with the whip and spur sore against his will, he pulled me in once more then the Indians having seen my misfortune from shore came to the amount of about fifty and pulled us out again. So we went home. I got dry clothes and my horse a dry blanket and all was well again but yesterday I crawled over the ice and came to Cobourg----duty called."23

On his way to the annual conference in Toronto, in 1837, the hardy minister "took deck passage on board the Buffalo, and slept three nights on the softest planks" he could find.²⁴ On another occasion, when no transport from London could be found, he built a raft and sped down "the turbulent waters of the swollen, Thames, past drifting logs, and bars, rocks and overhanging trees".²⁵

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Indians of Upper Canada felt little territorial, political or religious pressure; but, during the 1830's settlers poured into the area and the government, which once viewed the Indians as important allies, now saw them as a troublesome burden. In June of 1837, one of the Saugeen Indian chiefs, probably Wawanoush, told Evans at his St. Clair Mission:

"I, with the chiefs seated around me, am very glad to hear that our Indian people are becoming better men. We acknowledge that we are very poor, and that the prospects of our children are cut off by the whites settling on our hunting grounds, and we know they must know more than their fathers would they live by-and-by. We have never before heard these words, and perhaps we may never hear them again; but we thank you very sincerely for the trouble you have taken in coming to tell us this time. We

cannot comprehend the words you speak,
because we know so little about these things
but we think your words are very good, and
we should be glad to hear them again. Perhaps
the next time we can understand them better."²⁶

The Wesleyan Methodists became champions of Indian bands
struggling to cope with the changes brought by settlers and striving
to retain some remnants of their lands. In 1838, James Evans was
one of the most energetic and successful of these champions.

Evans' Voyages to New Territories (1838 - 1843)

The Wesleyan Methodists' annual conference of 1838
produced a decision which began a new phase in the life and career
of James Evans. Earlier expeditions by native clergymen, Peter
Jones and John Sunday to the upper reaches of Lake Huron, revealed a
large population of Indians favourable toward religious instruction.²⁷
At the 1838 annual conference, William Case proposed that James Evans
and his family with friend Thomas Hurlburt, consider a two year
term of "friendly contact" with the Indians of Lake Superior.²⁸
Anxious to promote his methods and newly published Ojibwa translations,
Evans accepted promptly.

On July 13, 1838, Evans set out from St. Clair Mission for
the Lake Superior country. By August 20th, Evans was at Manitoulin
Island where a great many Indians had gathered for the summer. August
22nd, he arrived at Sault Ste Marie and on September 9th, he reached
Michipicoten Post. Thomas Hurlburt went on to Fort William, arriving
on October 30th, one week after leaving Michipicoten Post. On
November 6th, Hurlburt started teaching school. Hurlburt remained at

Fort William until 1842.

Evans, meanwhile, made a trip to Sault Ste Marie for mail, leaving Michipicoten Post on October 29th and returning on November 18th. He began to teach school, February 8, 1939. Here in Lake Superior country, Evans found little hope of the Indians becoming farmers and proposed approaches to education and religious conversion which accepted their hunting and gathering lifestyle:

"No crops here. The Company have tried repeatedly to raise potatoes but they are a failure. They have this season which has been remarkably fine, a few about as large as hazle nuts and a few as large as butter nuts, but peas etc., have never done anything. They never podded but were frozen in flower. They have even tried barley in vain.....
... Private The Indians here can never become farmers, they must hunt forever. I should like your opinion on the propriety of the London Wes. My. Com. taking charge of all such Miss. as may be established above the Sault Ste. Marie. They could through the H.B.Co cary on the work for about half we could do it in Canada. The Schools must be established so as to take the children and teach them to read and write before they are 12 yrs. old, for they must remain hunters. The children must be boarded or they will be absent 8 months out of twelve ---and consequently our labour would be useless."²⁹

As described earlier in this study, that acceptance of the lifestyle provided the foundations for Evans' successful innovation of the Cree syllabic system.

In the spring, on May 17th, a momentous meeting occurred. Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company arrived at Michipicoten Post and met with James Evans. Both were impressed with one another, and the latter wrote enthusiastically in his

diary:

"This evening the Gov. of the H.B.C. arrived with three canoes. I had the honour of an interview, and an assurance that nothing shall be wanting on the part of the Co. to forward our objects, and that every assistance shall be rendered which the party can afford. He proposes an arrangement with the Comm. in London as to our supplies and assures me that the whole country is open to our Missionaries. To God be the Glory."³⁰

The following day, Sir George Simpson and the Red River Brigade continued their journey westward. After meeting Simpson, James Evans became quite preoccupied with a plan to establish Methodist missions in Hudson's Bay Company Territory. He had heard of the huge Indian gatherings at Red River each summer in recent years. On May 20th, the tireless missionary left for Fort William arriving there on May 30th. Two days later he was off for Lac-La-Pluie (Rainy Lake). Early in the summer, he reached Red River settlement and left a proposal for missions in the territory. Evans wrote two letters explaining his ideas, on June 26th and on July 9th,³¹ and left these letters for the governor on his return through Red River eastward. Unfortunately, Evans did not remain at Michipicoten Post on his own return and missed the governor once more. Nevertheless, Simpson wrote Evans from Michipicoten on July 30th, regretting that they had not met again and promising to present Evans proposals to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company:

".....who from the lively interest they take in the moral and religious instruction of the Indians, & in the amelioration of their conditions generally, I have no doubt

will afford the facilities required; --and as the arrangements in regard to establishing missions and furnishing supplies from Depots can be more satisfactorily completed in personal communication with your Board in London, than by correspondence in this country, I beg to suggest that you communicate with your Board in order that the subject may be discussed with the Governor & Committee in the early part of the winter when I shall be in London and may be useful in affording information and advice in references to the different points touched on in your letters."³²

Simpson added in this letter that Peter Jacobs, a native clergyman and companion of Evans, would be accommodated at Fort Frances. James Evans was back in Upper Canada in August of 1839 and kept busy with pastoral duties at Guelph.³³

Simpson did as promised and by January 22, 1840 was able to inform Rev. Dr. Robert Alder, Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission Society:

"I beg leave to state the substance of the arrangement as I understood it, viz --that the Mission shall appoint three of their missionaries to proceed to the Company's Territories this ensuing summer; one of these gentlemen to be located or stationed at Moose Factory, another at or in the neighbourhood of Norway House, and the third at one of the establishments on the Saskatchewan River. The salaries of those gentlemen to be paid by the Society and the expense of conveying them from Canada to the Interior and of their Board and Lodging in the country to be defrayed by the Company."³⁴

There is a great deal of confusion surrounding the events which gave rise to the arrival of three British missionaries under the eventual supervision of James Evans. One theory proposes that the English or British Conference enjoyed a greater influence with

the H.B.Co., and as a result, the three missionaries were chosen from England while Evans was not asked till March of the same year, (Hutchinson:1977). Another claims that Evans was appointed in 1839, (Pannekoek:1974). Still another theory links Evans' late notice of his appointment with Gov. Simpson's departure without him:

"At Lachine that bright spring day, it was an unpleasant shock to be informed that the governor's party had departed the previous day.....Could this be a deliberate slight? Had Simpson ever really intended that Evans should accompany him? He may have feared that the presence of two women, uninitiated to his mode of travel, would impede his progress. If such were the case, Simpson might better have taken Evans into his confidence then place the Superintendent of Northern Missions in this highly embarrassing situation."³⁵ (Shipley:1966)

Clearly, there was weak or strained links in communications that winter and spring. But an examination of certain primary sources of information show that the fault lay within the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and not the Hudson's Bay Company. When Evans met George Barnley in Montreal, Barnley had been advised that the brigade was expecting to meet Evans at Sault Ste Marie.³⁶ In addition, Robert Rundle had received Evans' instructions from Alder and Simpson, expecting to give them to him when they met at the Sault.³⁷ It was Joseph Stinson, the Wesleyan representative in Upper Canada who had instructed Evans to travel to Montreal.³⁸ Company after he was summoned in 1836 before embarrassing hearings in London of the Society for the Protection of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the British Dominions.³⁹ The Wesleyans had a powerful ally in the Society and had already enlisted its help against Sir

Francis Bond Head, Governor of Upper Canada. This theory seems even more plausible when considering Simpson's remarks to Chief Trader Donald Ross at Norway House, made in December of the same year the Wesleyans were chosen, 1840:

"You have no idea of the popularity we have gained by patronizing this sect, the most zealous, well regulated and well-conducted in England, and from every pulpit throughout the United Kingdom where their mission is established we have been spoken of in the most gratifying manner."⁴⁰

On March 8, 1840, the Rev. Robert Alder ordained the three missionaries chosen: George Barnley, Willaim Mason, and Robert Rundle, and on March 16th, they set sail for New York on board the Sheridan. Alder and Simpson each wrote letters of instruction and introduction to James Evans on March 11th. The Brigade, it was later learned, was to meet Evans at Sault Ste Marie; however, Rev. Joseph Stinson had summoned Evans to Toronto, April 7th, instructing him to join the Brigade at Montreal. Evans was to lead a trio of missionaries but two had already left without him. As a result Evans, his wife and daughter were compelled to take a longer more expensive route by steamer to Fort Willaim, finishing the journey by canoe. Some of this awkwardness was expressed by James to his brother Ephraim:

"Mr. Alder is a very vague writer for I know nothing of the manner in which I am requested to take charge of their new missions."⁴¹

Moreover, he had to ask Ephraim to represent him in a request for his transfer to the British Conference so that he could assume the role as leader in this, a British Conference project.

This request was made and approved by the Canada Conference of 1840.

Relations between Dr. Alder of the British Conference and his counterparts of the Canadian Conference were by this time very stiff and formal. Later in 1840, the fragile union between the conferences disintegrated once more.⁴² Alder differed with Evans and his Canadian colleagues on one rather important point:

"He Alder regarded the Upper Canada Methodists as Yankees in disguise and sought to bring them fully into Wesleyan orbit. He was strongly critical of their independent stand on the clergy reserves and on political change....For him as for many of his generation, democracy and infidelity were intimately related."⁴³

Included in Alder's instructions to all the missionaries involved in the project (including those to Evans) were directions to remain out of political matters or issues concerning the Hudson's Bay Company's business. All letters and reports were to be examined first by the officials of the Company before publication or submission or publication outside Rupert's Land (Hudson's Bay Territory).

In spite of a poor start, by the first snow fall in 1840, all the missionaries had arrived at their appointed destinations. Robert Rundle was at Edmonton House on the upper reaches of the Saskatchewan River; William Mason was at Lac-La-Pluie or Rainy Lake, assisted by Peter Jacobs; George Barnley was at Moose Factory on James Bay; and, James Evans was accommodated within the post at

Norway House. In September, the Evans' sent their daughter Clarissa to the girls academy at Red River.

James wasted no time commencing his missionary work. On September 5th he was at York Factory but back at Norway House before the month was over. Throughout October, Evans experimented with all means available to him to construct a press and type for printing Cree syllabics which, after only a few more changes, was the system for which he achieved fame. His experiments led to a press, essentially a discarded fur press, utilizing hand carved oak type. He worked feverishly, first producing charts and then hymns in the system.

As early as mid-October, the ease with which young boys had learned his syllabic system kindled even greater vigor in his efforts. On November 11th, on small pages, Evans printed off three hundred copies in Cree of the hymn, "Jesus My All to Heaven is Gone"; on November 17th, two hundred-fifty copies of, "Behold the Saviour of Mankind"; and on December 3rd. "Blow Ye the Trumpet, Blow".⁴⁴ The missionary was well acquainted with the Crees' and Ojibwa's relish for music and singing. This attraction was embellished to the degree of enchantment by the magic of paper that could sing. Evans was eager to begin work he had long planned for with his new-found evangelizing power. On December 14th, he set out for Red River and Fort Alexander via Swan River in the company of a guide named Thomas Hassell. The latter remained close to the missionary, lending him his abilities in Cree, French, English, and Chipewyan. The year 1841 saw Evans make frequent trips to Red River, Cumberland House,

Swan River and the other posts in what is now northern Manitoba. Relations with Chief Trader Donald Ross at Norway House, Governor Simpson, and the other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were warm and imbued with mutual respect:

"...Mr. Evans and the Gentlemen connected with the Sect, seem very active in the discharge of the duties of their respective ministries, and appear unwilling to be more burdensome to the Company than circumstances may render absolutely necessary with a due regard to the important objects which they have in hand."⁴⁵

But as the trading season drew to a close, some shadows began to creep in. On his return from the Rockies, Governor Simpson complained to Evans of Robert Rundle's gossiping and expressing critical opinions on Company policy. The missionary superintendent hoped to down-play the matter as a misunderstanding. But Evans himself moved into more controversial waters. During his summer meeting with Simpson he proposed a traditional Methodist gesture of Christian reverence, the abstinence from work or travel on the Sabbath. Simpson flatly refused to support such a ruling because it interfered with essential travel and other activities of the fur trade. Though he acquiesced, Evans did not relinquish the matter altogether. En route to Cumberland House, Evans was much disturbed by being forced by the brigade to travel on Sunday. Upon arrival at Cumberland House, he hoped to secure his own canoe:

"Diary: Sunday September 12, 1841.

Pulling all day the boat not having more than half the water necessary to float her. She has been pulled and hauled through the mud. Oh the pain of being necessitated to

travel sabbath after sabbath. But by God's grace I do it no more. If I cannot get a canoe to Cumberland I shall remain at home. The Lord direct! Encamped below the last portage."⁴⁶

However on reaching this post he found that no such arrangements awaited him. Contrary to Pannekoek's theory that he was abandoned,⁴⁷ Evans was delayed while searching for a canoe of his own.⁴⁸ On October 13th, Evans reached Edmonton House and was again indignant over the treatment of the Sabbath:

"Diary: Saturday October 23, 1841.

I was sorry to find that here, as well as at Carlton, the men of the Establishment were on Saturday starting for the Plains so that the Sabbath instead of being a day of rest, and in my visit a day of religious instruction, so far as they are concerned it must be a day of labour and hunting. This cannot fail to make an unfavourable impression upon the Indians. They must either think our instructions respecting the Sabbath unnecessarily strict and severe or otherwise that the Hon. Com. Servants are not practically Christians. In the face of this difficulty I see but one course upon which is too preach the truth, and should it bear hard or injuriously upon the character of the Hon. Com. or any of their servants with themselves rests the remedy. Reformation and consistency."⁴⁹

Evans was also appalled by the use of liquor in the trade on the prairies:

"Diary: October 24, 1841.

I feel much pain in being compelled to say that while I found Mr. F. everything I could require in personal kindness and attention, I saw much to be disapproved. The Indian trade with a band of 116 Indians on the Lord's Day and they were drinking all Sunday evening and night. I very much fear that the audacious practice of horse stealing is too much

encouraged by the Hon. Com. establishment, stolen horses, known to be such, being purchased by the Gentlemen in charge for the ComY. and by servants. I saw a horse this morning worth in Canada about sixty dollars and in Red River about the same amount which was last night (Sunday) bought by one of the CompY's servants for less than half a crown's worth of Rum mixed with a Kettle of water and given as Spirits. An Indian when half drunk will sell everything he has on earth for enough to satisfy his appetite. These bands frequently bring in at one trade 4 to 6000 pounds of grease and tallow. 6 or 800 pounds of dried meat beside dressed moose and Buffaloe skins and the whole band seldom take more than 5 worth of goods or clothing. Nearly all being paid for in rum and water and a little tobacco."⁵⁰

In November, Evans left Edmonton House, arriving at Lesser Slave Lake on December 9th.⁵¹ By now, the brigades had ceased until the trading season of the next year and the missionary had to travel first by horse, then by dog team and finally by foot on snowshoes. Free of the Company's officers, Evans celebrated the Sabbath as was his custom, in prayer and without travel. Often there was no food and the little expedition was harried by severe and unpredictable weather.⁵² Nevertheless, between mid-September of 1841 and mid-April of 1842, Evans covered a distance well over 6,000 miles (see map page). The year 1842 proved harsh and unproductive for all. Many Indians in the Norway House and York Factory trading districts did not go hunting furs at all.⁵³ The Rossville Mission (Norway House) crops failed,⁵⁴ and Chief Trader Donald Ross, Governor Simpson and James Hargrave, Chief Factor at York Factory, all lost heavily on their investments in European trade. Ross suffered the heaviest losses as he has no other investments.⁵⁵ Large

areas of the territories where the Hudson's Bay Company traded were depleted of fur animals and large game. The famine which resulted exacted a heavy toll on the Indian populations. Not even during his tour of the Lake Superior country Evans had encountered such hard times:

"Diary: Sunday November 11, 1838.

....Now how unfortunate for the poor Christian Indians, that however hungry they might be the ancient stock with which their forefathers abounded is well nigh extinct and they can no longer practise the simple virtue of picking and feeding from their own pastures. Lamentable!"⁵⁶

From these experiences, supported by his successes in Upper Canada, he developed an approach to educating and Christianizing Indians which involved participation in a mixture of hunting, fishing, trapping, and limited farming. During his expedition to Edmonton and Fort Chipewyan the missionary devoted much energy promoting such a new lifestyle:

"Diary: Friday November 5, 1841.

Battle River is the place of proposed settlement of the Crees. Mr. Harriot is decidedly in favour of the location. Wood, fish, land, water and all things are suitably presented at this place. I have authorized Mr. R. Rundle immediately to ascertain the number of families willing to settle and to write by the spring boats, a full statement of such with wants and prospects to be laid before the Council...."⁵⁷

"Diary: Tuesday January 18, 1842.

Breakfasted at the men's second encampment. We took the sleds about three o'clock and encamped together. The chief of the Beaver Indians came to visit us with six or seven young men and boys, ---having fallen on our

tracks today. He arrived about ten o'clock and I spent the night conversing with him. He appears an intelligent man and expressed the greatest satisfaction on the prospect of having a missionary. He purposed having a general council next spring and sending me word where his old men think they could settle and find fish, land, wood etc., necessary for their comfort."58

"Diary: Friday February 11, 1842.

Writing the Address to the Beaver Indians at Dunvegan and Vermilion. This tribe has already expressed at intervals their anxiety for Christian instruction. There are about 110 hunters with about 150 women and probably 250 children or more. Mr. Campbell who has spent nearly thirty years among them gives the greatest encouragement on their readiness to embrace the truth. Their own country is poor in Animals and impoverished in furs. They need the gospel and civilization as an attendant blessing. I also have an Address to the Chipewyan Nation who I understand in council last spring expressed a desire to be supplied with a missionary and who are already much impressed in favour of Xtnty. The object of these addresses is to ascertain where the these nations can spend their summer season where the missionaries can have an opportunity of instructing the, and where provision can be made for the support of the women, the aged and the childred during the winter. The selection of such a spot has many difficulties and I chose rather to leave it with themselves as should resources fail, their reflections might be severe on the missionary who should choose and draw them to such a place."59

For the most part, the missionary was a welcomed visitor and made a strong impression upon both Indians and Company personnel:

"Diary: Sunday January 30, 1842.

.....Today Divine Service was performed by the Rev. d. Mr. Evans at which all but four of the People attended as also the Crees and their families who seemed to be

much impressed and affected at the preaching
thro the Interpretations of Thos Hassel."⁶⁰

Sunday February 13, 1842.

.....The Rev'd Mr. Evans proposing to
take his departure tomorrow for Isle a la
Crosse edified us with a farewell service
which must make a good and I hope lasting
impression on our minds ---Several of the
women and children were baptised and Flett
and Hassel were married to their wives."⁶¹

By April of 1842, James Evans had made his way home
to Norway House. The zealous missionary returned to an
atmosphere into which increasing numbers of conflicts grew.

Letitia Hargrave, wife of Chief Factor James Hargrave, in September
of 1842 wrote from York Factory:

"I suspect there is something not very
agreeable...in the Wesleyan reports this
year, as Mr. Evans has not given us one
although Hargrave asked for it, and last
season they were poked at us by the
quarter of a hundred....There must be
some reason as Evans admits that he has
the reports....They have not a college of
Jesuits among the Blackfeet and the
company has given Dr. Blanchette the head,
100 a year... M. Blanchette is an
excellent old man who appears to mind his
own affairs, while Episcopal missionaries
here attend to other peoples. Mr. Smithurst,
Red River, goes about re-christening
Indians and the children who have been
baptized by Mr. Evans..."⁶²

Perhaps out of loneliness or in reaction to almost total
dependence upon the Chief Trader Donald Ross for livelihood and
upon his family for companionship, Mary Evans and daughter Clarissa
Eugenia had fallen into a growing conflict with Donald Ross' wife
and children. The Evans' only daughter often competed for the same
male attentions on which one of many Ross daughters had designs.

As well, the Ross children were of mixed blood and spoke Cree, (Jean Ross later married Archdeacon James Hunter and offered him great assistance in his Church Missionary Society Cree translations.

Clarissa's attitude toward Indians in general was not one to promote mutual respect or long-lasting friendship:

"Cobourg, December 5, 1838.

My Dear Father,

We received your acceptable letter yesterday and were glad to hear that you were so comfortably settled in your situation. I am glad that you are not entirely amongst savages and that you have some kind friends for I thought when you left St. Clair you were going to live where you would not see any person but Indians and have no person to talk English to. You don't know how glad I was when I heard how kind Mr. Camerons People were to you in giving you a house to live in."⁶³

Much later, Matthew Richey, a Canadian representative of the British Wesleyan Society wrote to Dr. Alder that he believed James Evans difficulties originated with Mrs. Evans:

"Let me just say in your private ear the whole difficulty in poor Evans' case originates in Mrs. Evans' unruly member (tongue) which no man can tame."⁶⁴

Evans' Final Years

Evans might have clashed with Sir George Simpson, had not the latter been absent throughout 1842 while on a tour of the world. Nevertheless, the first volleys of a three year war were let loose during the spring of 1843. James Evans wrote to Simpson on May 17th proposing mission stations on the Peace River and at Isle à la Crosse, as well as the transfer of William Mason to Norway House from Lac-La-Pluie (Rainy Lake).

Governor Simpson had returned from his world tour to find a Catholic priest, Thibault, had travelled to Edmonton House without permission, leaving the governor to accept his mission as a "fait accompli". Simpson, Ross, and Hargrave all lost heavily in their European investments. The disgruntled Simpson was much displeased with Evans for exceeding his mandate:

"Letter of Introduction By Gov. George Simpson,
March 11, 1840.

It is intended that Norway House shall be Mr. Evans' Headquarters from whence he will visit the Establishments of Oxford House, York, Split Lake, Nelson House, Moose Lake, Cumberland House, Berens River, and such other posts as may be within his reach...."⁶⁵

As well, Evans' criticism of the Company's practices during his expedition of 1841 to 1842 had by now reached Simpson's ears.

Simpson replied to Evans' proposals on June 29, 1843.⁶⁶ He refused the request to establish new missions because he was not "without doubts as to the propriety of too hastily collecting the natives for purposes that do not constantly and necessarily refer to the means of subsistence" and he instructed Evans that he and Mason would soon be stationed away from Norway House fort at the nearby Indian village, later named

by Evans, Rossville. Simpson's letter contained more than responses to Evans proposals. Simpson criticized Evans for accepting the daughter of Chief Trader Colin Campbell at his school because the governor expected it would create much jealousy among the other gentlemen of the company who were also parents, and also he expected it would weaken the company rule against permanent visitors. But the governor's sharpest criticisms of the missionary were for the latter's persistence on the issue of the Sabbath:

"In 1841, you urged me to introduce some regulations with a view of discontinuing the practice of travelling on Sunday, and I then briefly stated that such travelling seemed to me indispensable. Now, from what I hear, you have been assailing the practice more vehemently than appears to be quite consistent with the requisite subordination of our people. Practically the evil, according to my experience, is certainly not greater, and is perhaps less, than its opposite, for as the men and the master, to confine myself to one point, would be often if not generally, of different religions, the mere cessation of toil would almost be the only matter in which the fourth commandment would be observed, or, in other words, the idleness, which is proverbially adverse to every virtue would be the prominent feature of a day of rest. But even without reference to such a contingency, the practice in question, as a general rule, seems to fall within the allowed exceptions of both necessity and mercy in a country where summer is so short, the navigation disjointed, the living so precarious and the winter so severe." 67

Much as he had responded to an earlier hardship, believed caused by the governor, (missing the brigade from Montreal), Evans tried to react to his removal from Norway House fort by some compensating expression of gratitude ---in this case, by naming the Indian village to which he was removed, Rossville, after the main

instigator of his removal, Chief Trader Donald Ross. But his response to the criticism of being "vehement" about the Sabbath question lacked the same confidence or grace. In spite of his own entries in his journal, during his 1841 expedition:

"Diary: Saturday October 23, 1841.

I was sorry to find that here, as well as at Carlton, the men of the Establishment were on Saturday starting for the Plains so that the Sabbath, instead of being a day of rest, and in my visit a day of religious instruction so far as they were concerned it must be a day of labour and hunting.....In the face of this difficulty I see but one course open, which is to preach the truth, and should it bear hard or injuriously upon the character of the Hon.Com. or any of their servants with themselves rests the remedy. Reformation and consistency." 68

Evans claimed that:

"....I have never publicly spoken on the subject.....but neither vehemently nor calmly have I ever made a remark in public on the subject of Sunday travelling." 69

Evans admitted a certain awkwardness which he felt in assuming a defensive position in response to Simpson's remarks and criticisms.⁷⁰ It seems reasonable that an even deeper indignation may have been felt by Evans who had indeed preached publicly against the abuse of the Sabbath but in deference to the governor's obvious power was forced to deny having done so, doing his sterling reputation and self-esteem great injury. Moreover, the governor's success with the Sabbath issue undermined any possibility of Evans assailing him on a more serious issue such as the use of liquor by the Company.

During the summer of 1843, William Mason, the missionary who

had been stationed at Rainy Lake was married by Rev. William Cockran at Middlechurch near Red River Settlement. His bride was half Cree whose father was a gentleman of the Hudson's Bay Company. As planned, the newly wed couple moved to Rossville, that summer.

As the trading season of 1843 drew to a close, life for the Evans family had surely grown less pleasant:

"When I first saw him [Evans] I could not conceive how everyone praised him and said he was a gentleman and a man of fortune, besides so perfect as a missionary that he was encouraged to forget who he really was. Now all hands have turned on him. He got a very sharp letter from Sir George and has been informed that he must live at the Indian village and leave the Fort [Norway House]. What he has done I can't say but I think the whole affair has been caused by Mrs. Evans and her daughter's successful rivalry over Mrs. Donald Ross and her children. For they were the derision of the whole passers-by for their finery and exhibition of good education and knowledge of astronomy, as Mrs. E. used to say, whereas Mrs. Ross and Jane did not know the names of the commonest stars! The Rosses have been quite intimate with them and have repeated every word and action to Mr. and Mrs. Findlayson. Indeed Mr. Gladman boasts that while he was in charge of Norway House he took notes of a private conversation he had with Mr. Evans, signed and sent them to the Governor, and he thinks this was very spirited and correct. I suppose Mr. Evans will leave the country soon." 71

Perhaps the only happy event for the family had been the betrothal or engagement of Clarissa, now seventeen to the Hudson's Bay Company gentleman, John McLean. The arrival of persons of mutual purpose and faith might have offered Evans and his family a greater degree of social comfort. But because of certain events and traits of personality, quite the opposite happened. Early in the winter,

William Mason, though newly wed, was caught embracing and kissing Clarissa Evans, apparently against her will. James Evans promised to seek the governor's support in sending Mason elsewhere. Given these recent circumstances, Evans felt Mason could hardly be trusted with the females of the congregation. William Mason, meanwhile, sought support for his defense from Chief Trader Donald Ross. The latter retained little of his earlier warm regard for Evans and with a certain amusement reported the matter to the governor:

"Private

I enclose, under another cover copy of letters which passed between Rev. Parson and myself on the subject of sending Mason to establish a Mission at Isle a la Crosse. Everything with these people is proposed, or done under cover of advancing the 'good cause' but those who become acquainted with them, will soon discover how very different their real motives often are, in the present case, Mr. Evans had your letter in his possession, stating that you intended to communicate with the Secretaries of their Society in London this winter on the subject of the proposed Northern Missions ---but he wanted to get rid of Mason, with whom he never agreed very well, and a few days previously, they both had a furious quarrel which commenced about a calf or some wretched nonsense of that sort, and in the course of which he accused Mason of some rather unclerical and unmethodistical proceedings, among other things, that of kissing his daughter ---unluckily my young aide camp Bernard, was present....the Revd. Superintendent is now off to the north and the whole world will give him credit for leaving his comfortable quarters here, and facing the hardships and privations of his present voyage solely for the pious purpose of being before hand with the Priest who has threatened an inroad among the Chipewyans---well, the good honest world may be of that belief, but I know better.....the Athabasca boats however arrived and brought a letter from John MacLean, requesting Mrs. E. and the daughter to meet him at the Portage La Loche next summer, that he might be enabled to get married to the young lady, and desiring the Parson to be

present to bind the knot ---all at once
the laudable object of preserving the poor
Chipewyans, took full possession of his
mind....." 72

It would seem when comparing the missionary's earlier relief in Lake Superior country from politics and strife in Upper Canada, that Evans was actually hoping for a cause which would also have the effect of relieving him of a battle he could not hope to win.

James Evans set out but was prevented from carrying out his intentions by a tragedy. On September 11, 1844, three days short of Isle à la Crosse, he accidentally shot his guide Thomas Hassell. After burying Hassell, Evans returned to Norway House to report the accident to Donald Ross, who as well as Chief Trader, was the Sheriff for the region. After making his report, Evans set out once more, late in September to carry the news of Hassell's death to his people. The despondent missionary returned to Norway House late in October.

Most of the literature about James Evans ignores this sad event as well as the conflicts between the missionary and the Hudson's Bay Company, particularly with Sir George Simpson. Those few researchers who deal with such issues tend to agree that the death of Thomas Hassell left the missionary in noticeably poor health and spirit. Evans himself wrote:

"Ah! unhappy day! when all my prospects were blighted and my future days whether many or few filled with pain and anguish. On that unfortunate day I accidentally shot my poor faithful interpreter Thomas Hassell. He died instantly and was buried on the spot." 73

In a setting of deepening hardships Evans own efforts became increasingly entangled in disputes with Chief Trader Ross and colleague

William Mason. The latter constantly maligned Evans around Norway House, York Factory, and the other posts of the region. Evans on the other hand continued to press the issue of Sabbath travel, causing Ross a number of embarrassing delays, one which prevented him from attending the annual council meeting at Red River. Further, Evans was lobbying with the Company and the Aboriginal Protection Society of London to loosen the H.B.C.'s monopoly on the fur trade. By 1845, he was encouraging Indians to retain their furs and made a trip to Red River to purchase staple trade goods to create competition for the Company at Rossville. The amount of fur involved could hardly have been as significant as the principle raised ----free trade.

Actually, Ross wrote to James Hargrave, Chief Trader at York Factory, advising in 1844 that beaver had been wiped out. But the issue of free trade was another matter of much greater concern to Governor Simpson.

At Red River and in the area near the American border, the conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and those pressing for or trying to practise free trade grew so fierce that Simpson asked for troops.⁷⁴

Regardless of motivations, Simpson could not tolerate the missionary's involvement in any form of free trade. On June 16, 1845, Sir George Simpson wrote from Red River to Dr. Robert Alder asking for Evans' removal:

"...yet I am deeply pained to see that the Revd. Mr. Evans has in public and in private, in writing and in conversation, represented us not only to our own people but also to the Indians as unfriendly to the success of the very establishment for which we have spontaneously made so many sacrifices. If Mr. Evans interference were confined to points by which any possibility be regarded as purely religious, I should

feel bound to acknowledge the conscientiousness of his motives, however widely or frequently I might differ from him in opinion; but I cannot put the same indulgent construction on his systematically endeavouring to acquire secular authority, which is as repugnant to his own duty as it is to our interests.....In a word, I have deemed it expedient to recommend to the honourable Committee the adoption of such means as may be necessary for inducing the Wesleyan Missionary Society to recall Mr. Evans and I trust that you will exert your influence with your respected associates to carry into effect a measure which, to speak candidly can alone ensure the steady progress of the original plans of the Wesleyan Miss. Society and the Hudson's Bay Company.....the appointment of a successor might, in my opinion, be advantageously postponed---- a postponement which might also be more agreeable to Mr. Evans as less likely to place his removal before public on personal grounds." 75

Simpson was understandably anxious to avoid public embarrassment and as a result chose a more subtle approach to obtaining Evans' removal. At the same time, he gave instructions to Donald Ross which put Evans' mission under a new financial stress:

"The present mode of furnishing the support afforded by the Company for the maintenance of the Wesleyan Mission at Norway House being found inconvenient and unsatisfactory in practice, it has been determined, as far as regards that Mission, to put such maintenance and support upon a different footing: and you hereby authorized to issue from the Stores of Norway House provisions, allowances and other such supplies and payments as the Missionaries there have been accustomed to receive in the country on account of the Company, to the amount of £200 - say Two Hundred pounds - Sterling annually - to commence with the current Outfit, on the 1. June 1845. This sum must be clearly understood to cover all expenses of whatsoever nature payable by the Company on account of the Norway House Mission." 76

Because the mission was refused freight, mail or courier

services, Evans had to travel to York Factory himself to pick up the printing press and syllabic type which had finally arrived. While at York Factory, he was examined by a Company physician, Captain Smellie, who found that he had a chronic kidney infection.⁷⁷ Nor was Evans poor condition confined to his health:

"Mr. Evans is in bad heath. a chronic infection of the kidneys. I see no change in him, but Hargrave says he seems quite broken down. The Norway House people are aspersing his character and say that since the accident he has become deranged and that his conduct is immoral. I am sure it is not so, and so is Hargrave.....People, that is Norway House people, say that Evans has gone daft. We saw no symptoms of it. What is worse, they asperse his character.....It is asserted that the whole village of Rossville has been converted into a seraglio for him. He has been dangerously ill and consulted Dr. Smellie who says he has chronic affection of the kidneys."⁷⁸

In January of 1846, the rumours of Evans' immorality had grown to such a feverish pitch that the missionary felt he could not continue while people believed such tales of him. As a means of clearing up these rumours, he asked for a trial by his peers as was the practice according to Wesleyan Discipline. On Wednesday February 4, 1846 William Mason and Henry Steinhauer interviewed the young women with whom Evans allegedly was having immoral relations. Of the five, all were Cree except one. Later the same day, the two men met Evans and showed him the damaging statements of the girls. Over the next few days, the girls were cross-examined. Testimonies were frequently altered and reversed. Finally, only charges of immoral acts with three of the girls could be sustained with consistent testimony. Evans hoped for a verdict before the Sabbath in order that he could preach the

service, but a verdict did not come until Monday February 9:

"On the first charge --- Not guilty,
 On the second charge --- Not guilty,
 On the third charge --- Not guilty,
 but I conceive that I should ill discharge
 my duty should I not state that I think
 you have acted imprudently and unbecoming
 the high and responsible office you hold
 in the Church of God." ⁷⁹

Evans objected to the clause attached to the verdicts and protested to Mason. Mason withdrew the appendage but later re-inserted it and sent the altered document ahead of the official document. This he accomplished by sending the altered document by packet to Red River, en route to the United States where it would travel to London on the spring ship. Meanwhile the official document, which Evans had signed and was aware of, waited for ships which would leave York Factory for London, much later. ⁸⁰

In London, England, unaware of the rumours against Evans or the resulting Rossville trial, Dr. Alder already had determined to recall the troubled missionary. Simpson was confident enough of Alder's co-operation to write to Donald Ross, in December 29, 1845:

"Strictly Confidential

I have been in communication with Dr. Alder and Mr. Richey, Chairman of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in this country, on the subject of Mr. Evans' removal, and I have reason to believe instructions will be forwarded to that effect by the Spring packet. This, however, you will understand is for your own private information and not on any consideration to be allowed to get abroad. In the meantime I have to beg that conciliation be observed in all your dealings with Messrs. Evans and Mason, and that every disposition be manifested to promote the important objects of the mission, but you must discourage the visit of either of those gentlemen to Red River until after they have received their letters by the Spring packet." ⁸¹

About the same time, Matthew Richey, a Canadian representative of the British Conference of the Wesleyan Society, wrote to Dr. Alder:

"Mr. Evans piety is unimpeached, and I believe above suspicion. It is therefore the more to be lamented....Let him be appointed to the St. Clair Mission. Let me just say in your private ear the whole difficulty in poor Evans' case originates in Mrs. Evans' unruly member [tongue] which no man can tame." 82

On the ships, Alder received both Joseph Stinson's and Matthew Richey's advice and wrote his instructions to Evans:

"I beg to assure you of our unabated regard and esteem for you... We deeply regret that any event should have occurred to interrupt the harmony which at one period existed... Most desireable that we should personally communicate with you upon the entire state of the Hudson's Bay Mission....A visit to your native land will refresh and invigorate your spirit...It may appear both to you and to us, that the interests of that great work as well as your personal comfort and usefulness will be more effectively promoted by your residence at St. Clair." 83

also informing Governor George Simpson:

"Strictly Private & Confidential
....I have written to Mr. Evans requesting him to return to England at the earliest possible period for which reasons as I will trust prevent any unpleasantness of feeling in his mind." 84

The tired missionary received Alder's letter with delight and in late June left for London, via Upper Canada. Although he made it clear that he intended to return the following year,⁸⁵ Evans also burned most of his papers.⁸⁶ Coincident with Evans' plans to return, Governor Simpson began investigations of his own. Clearly he hoped

to prevent Evans "from returning to the Territory a whitewashed martyr".⁸⁷

James and Mary Evans arrived in England, October 2, 1846.

Mason's Rossville trial document and a number of others from Simpson had already reached London. Hearings were held and the missionary was given opportunity to speak in his defense. Meanwhile, he was a very popular speaker before audiences who were eager to hear stories of life in the great Canadian North West. Dr. Alder arranged a heavy schedule of speaking engagements and rallies. With his customary zeal, Evans accepted and met the enthusiasm of the crowds with an ardor of his own. After one occasion at Keilby in Lincolnshire, on November 23, in the home of a friend, James Evans sat in a chair, apparently asleep. In fact, he had died of exhaustion and a heart attack.⁸⁸ The

The final verdict of the Wesleyan Society was very much like that verdict which Mason had submitted without the signature of Evans. On December 1, 1846, Dr. Robert Alder wrote to Governor Simpson, stating his agreement with the 'not guilty' verdicts, but also believing that Evans' behaviour had been "unseemly and improper".⁸⁹ News of Evans' death reached Norway House during the spring of 1847 and the rumours stopped.

But during the last one-hundred and thirty-four years, James Evans' piety has been defended and attacked. Perhaps the most uncharitable attack has been made by Fritz Pannekoek.⁹⁰ Pannekoek charges Evans with "organizing strikes of the Rossville Indians", "allying himself with malcontents and free traders", and being driven by motives which were "hardly humanitarian".⁹¹ However, he dismisses

the H.B.C.'s misuse of alcohol, abuse of Indian women, and exploitation of the Indians reported by Evans and many other travellers of the era, without actually addressing the issues:

"Evans' denunciations were unjustified. The Company was not at fault for the condition of the Indians. An examination of the travel literature indicates that the condition of the Indians of the Canadian Shield was never more than wretched."⁹²

Such faith in and selective use of 'travel literature' gave birth to naive nineteenth century theories such as unilinear or cultural evolutionism. With data provided by travellers, early evolutionists labelled any culture which did not practise the sedentary and material habits of Europeans as "wretched" or "savage". Through closer scrutiny and fieldwork among such cultures, anthropologists have since come to agree that the conditions labelled as wretched were not a cultural trait but rather a temporal condition of a subsistence level society or an ethnocentric interpretation of another culture's lower demands for material goods. Pannekoek criticizes Nan Shipley's The James Evans Story, because "her story smacks of fiction rather than fact" and dismisses Letitia Hargrave as "the gossiping wife of Chief Trader James Hargrave"; however, Pannekoek himself relies heavily on gossip to make his rather cynical case. Unfortunately, Pannekoek has ignored all but the last six years of Evans' life. He has ignored Evans and the diaries of Evans' peers; the struggle between Canadian and British Conference members of the Methodist Church; and, the relations between Governor Simpson and his officers. Pannekoek's dates are often inaccurate, (see Appendix C), and he makes some rather bold inferences. For example, Pannekoek

claims that no transcripts exist for the trial,⁹³ (yet Hutchinson:1977 quotes extensively from those transcripts), and that "if Ross' comments on Evans' defense can be believed, it was weak",⁹⁴ (Ross was not present during the trial, and his knowledge of the trial would have been largely hearsay). From the amount of time between Evans' letters and Alder's answers, Pannekoek infers that Alder was "not interested in the western missions", and "unconcerned about the conditions in Rupert's Land".⁹⁵ No mention is made whatsoever of the winter packet, couriers on snowshoes and sleds, or the grueling trips made by canoe brigades to reach shipping centres. Such discussion would have offered a more plausible explanation for the considerable time span between inquiries and response. Nor has Pannekoek sought explanation in terms of Alder's other responsibilities. Though condemned by Pannekoek for having neither "footnotes nor bibliography" Nan Shipley's efforts are remarkably accurate in terms of sequence and inclusion of major events. She has been far more diligent in seeking out primary sources of information. Quotations from such sources do not appear in quotations with footnotes; however, they invariably appear in italics with enough identifying detail that their sources can be determined. Nevertheless, Shipley's embroidery and characterizations if not approached critically, could prove misleading. For example, when Evans missed the brigade west from Montreal or Lachine in the spring of 1840, Shipley interpreted this event as a slight by Simpson against Evans. She then proceeded to build a scene around that assumption:

"Mary's outburst of temper prompted young Henry Steinhauer to whisper to Evans,

'I would not want to be in Governor Simpson's moccasins if Mrs. Evans would reach him today!' She laughed then and declared, 'Never mind, we will turn the joke on him. We'll have a wonderful pleasure cruise on the steamer at his expense.' She twitched her long poplin skirt. 'Grey is not my best colour'.⁹⁶

But in fairness to Shipley, her work was not intended as an academic piece so much as an appealing presentation of a Canadian historical event.

In fact, most early works agree generally on the events of Evans' life and most largely ignore the rather tragic end to which Evans came. Most explain the man's death in much the same fashion as did his British colleagues:

"James Evans was a missionary of remarkable ability and zeal, and of great usefulness among the North American Indians. His success among the aborigines of Canada led to his appointment as General Superintendent of the recently formed missions in the Hudson's Bay Territory. To his mental vigor and indomitable perseverance the Indians are indebted for many advantages; among these is a written and printed character, suited to their language, of which Mr. Evans was the inventor. Many were the afflictions and trials he had to endure; these issued in a failure of health, which rendered his return home desirable, but the results were not favourable. He died suddenly at Keilby, in Lincolnshire, on the 23rd November, 1846, at the house of a friend, after attending a missionary meeting at which his statements had excited great interest."⁹⁷

An early biographer, Lorne Pierce wrote in 1926:

"Evans was a warrior. These were the days when men had to believe in a few simple things, and everlastingly battle for them. To-day we may think them narrow and even bigoted. But it is difficult for us to understand what forces were arrayed against them or how bitter and unscrupulous they frequently became. To overcome this, one had to concentrate on a single and definite objective, and though it meant the parting of neighbours

and friends, stake everything for the cause. That was the way free education, the rights of minorities, the freedom of the press, equal rights among the churches, in fact nearly everything we value as citizens of a democracy, were fought for and won in those stern and bitter days." 98

The historians of the 1970's and 1980's have had difficulty accepting such a melodramatic portrayal of Evans' life; indeed, some such as Pannekoek seem to have begun their research on the assumption that Evans and those like him were "narrow" and "bigoted".

Gerald Hutchinson has produced the most diligent and empathetic study of James Evans' decline.⁹⁹ With far more care than Pannekoek, Hutchinson sets the stage and establishes the main characters using exclusively primary source materials to do so. His "James Evans' Last Year", was inspired by his chance find of documents of the missionary's trial. These documents remain in the Wesleyan Society's Archives in London, England and to date appear to have been viewed and discussed only by Hutchinson:

"While studying in the Wesleyan Society Archives in London, England in 1973, I was astonished to find, in one box of unworked materials, the transcript of the Rossville trial of February 1846, a trial report of 50 long pages and accompanying letters. These documents offered fresh evidence for the first time to complete the story of Evans' last year. The material is shocking and puzzling, for it departs from the customary portrayal of Evans heroic stature and brilliant achievements. It is a swirl of charges and counter-charges around the prevailing theme of the missionary's playfulness with women and girls in the presence of his family." 100

In spite of his find, Hutchinson remains critical and cautious in his interpretations and finally produces a most credible depiction of the missionary's decline and eventual demise:

"I give you then the picture of an intense and dedicated Christian person and minister who worked with brilliance and devotion in the thirteen years following his ordination, teaching schools, establishing missions, preaching, reforming communities, encouraging the native people. I give you then a picture of a linguistic genius who gave Cree a writing system which has stood the test of a century of whom the Indian Methodist Peter Jacobs said, 'We have lost our St. Paul for he understood our language perfectly.' But I give you the picture as well of one who degenerated from what Donald Ross had first described as 'a perfect gem of a man' to what he later called 'a talented, restless man' and finally 'the king of hypocrites'. The accumulation of tragedy, disease, and tension in Evans' last year seemed to break his judgement, culminating in the fatal heart attack at 45 years of age. November 23, 1846 should be seen, not simply as the date of Evans' death, but as the end of the year of his dying. Surely our esteem for him should be based on the years of his life. May God rest his soul."¹⁰¹

Still, there is an aspect of Evans' life and the lives of other such missionaries who were stationed amid their religious quarry which has not been discussed in any of the works reviewed by this study. To illustrate this aspect, a story is in order. While the following is not true, it does illustrate an important problem:

"The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada agreed on a plan to settle the 'Indian problem'. They would find a person who could infiltrate the Indian population and learn all there was to be learned about Indian culture. With that knowledge, this person would search out the inherent weaknesses of the society and identify them. A suitable person was found and he was sent to live among the Indians for a period of two years. At the end of the two year period, the man was recalled and before a meeting of the two countries' leaders, was asked what weaknesses the countries might exploit to be rid of the 'Indian problem'. All in attendance waited for the man to speak. He stood up and simply shouted, 'Get off our land!'"¹⁰²

Missionaries such as Evans, Rundle, Mason, and Barnley were all expected to maintain Euro-Canadian values and motivations while coping with life within an Indian or particularly, Algonquian milieu. Writings about these missionaries are imbued with the assumption that Euro-Canadian truths, skills, habits, etc., are intrinsically stronger than those of the "savage" or Indian. Usually, these missionaries are portrayed (with either idealism or cynicism) as confident and having very strong senses of mission or purpose.

A short case study of George Barnley will illustrate this point. Barnley and his Wesleyan colleagues had to live apart, each alone among the Indians of his respective mission station. Each lacked the company of other Euro-Canadians to attest to the value and wisdom of Euro-Canadian truths, skills, habits, etc.. Lacking such reassurance each became much less sure of his culture's code of behaviour and ideology. Consequently, the lives of George Barnley and his peers became ambiguous and their senses of mission waned. Attributing such ambiguities and failing motivations to lack of faith in God, the missionaries reacted with feelings of guilt and inadequacy. These reactions only further undermined their confidences and motivations. Thus a never-ending cycle of ever-increasing stress and response sapped their energies and distorted their judgements. Barnley, no longer living in the milieu which legitimated his cultural behaviour arrived into a significantly different cultural milieu. He could not maintain confidence in his former beliefs or in the wisdom of his former skills and habits. He did not have the support of similarly enculturated people. He might have had such support from the servants

and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company; however, the latter had for the most part abandoned maladapted Euro-Canadian cultural behaviour. For example, Robert Miles, the Chief Factor at Barnley's mission station was married to a Cree; and had children who spoke both Cree and English. Miles had spent the largest part of his life among Crees by the time he met George Barnley and had made enough adjustments to Cree cultural behaviour so as to live a comfortable life among them. Rather than support, Miles would have increased Barnley's doubt of the wisdom of his Euro-Canadian ways. Before his arrival into a Cree milieu, Barnley may have agreed with countrymen that Indians were an odd or unusual race, but when he arrived at his Moose Factory mission station, George Barnley in fact became the one considered "odd" or "unusual". The Indians, clearly in the majority, establish the norms of behaviour by their sheer numbers. Perhaps lacking similar experiences, most writers of the literature examined by this study have overlooked this problem and have proceeded in the belief that Euro-Canadian culture is relatively indelible. None of the writers have critically examined such statements that, for example, that George Barnley was:

".....cast in a thoughtful gentle, introspective mold and enjoyed eight years of careful thoughtful diligent toil." (Riddell:1946) 103

"Though all went well while the Rev. George Barnley was single, after his marriage to an 'English lady' the atmosphere deteriorated." 104
(Pannekoek:1974)

"At Moose Factory, George Barnley proved to be a level headed, common sense man who related well to Company and natives." (Hutchinson:1974) 105

The assumption that George Barnley was level headed and related well, may have been inferred from Evans' letter to his brother, Ephraim,

of May 17, 1840, as much as from the lack of information to suggest the contrary. In the Public Archives of Canada, separate from the logical location of the Methodist Papers Collection, there is George Barnley's diary of his single days at Moose Factory.¹⁰⁶ This diary was never submitted to the Wesleyan Society. The archival copy was copied in 1870 from originals in the possession of W.S. Moralee, Yorkshire England. The diary shows a pattern common to many missionaries. Isolated from the society and companionship to which he was accustomed, George Barnley fell into deep depressions, severe enough that he remained in bed for periods that often lasted for days. These periods coincided usually with periods of low activity around the post, for example during the fall and winter. His diary is riddled with complaints of the lack of or ineffectiveness of his Indian interpreters, his loss of 'civilized' especially female company, and the lack of order or the disorientation he was suffering:

"Friday October 13, 1843.

I have resolved by the grace of God to employ my time as nearly as possible thus except on Saturdays and Sundays:

Study	Hours	Min.
Dead Languages	2	
History	1	
Mathematics	1	
Indian Language	2	
Theology	2	
Eng. Gramm. til perfect	30	
Total Study	8	30
Meals	2	
School Probably	3	
Exercise & Miscellaneous	3	30
Sleep	7	
	24	"107

In spite of his deliberate plan and his efforts to restore some sense of purpose to his life, after making the entry in his diary,

Barnley again fell into a period of depression and his plan was not followed.

The code of behaviours and truths which George Barnley had shared with his fellow countrymen prior to leaving England, provided him few explanations or solutions to the problems he encountered with the ecology and inhabitants of his new subarctic environment. Those Euro-Canadian skills and beliefs he had already learned could not adequately support him and his missionary bias prevented him from accepting the strategies and ideologies, already successful for the Crees.

Whether writers have chosen to idolize or villify James Evans, the aspect of cultural isolation has been largely ignored. Yet there is a very clear and painful pattern of disorientation and acculturative stress, (see Appendix D), which began with Evans' journey to the country north of Lake Superior. While the young missionary worked at Rice Lake, Credit or St. Clair Rivers, the world of the Ojibwa was perceived as dying and the latter were surrounded by Euro-Canadians. Evans met Ojibwas in Upper Canada on terms by which he was comfortable. Though the Ojibwas of Lake Superior spoke a very similar dialect to those of Upper Canada, and though at times, they too were starving, the world of the Lake Superior Indians was not dying. Nor could Evans conceive a change in lifestyle from hunting to farming as the Indians of Southern Ontario (Upper Canada) seemed headed for. The hunting and gathering materials and skills once seen as dying among the more southern Algonquians were suddenly vital to Evans' survival and well-being in the Lake Superior country. He learned to make snow shoes, set and repair fish nets, etc..

For the first time in his life, Evans had doubts about his mission:

"Diary: Thursday, September 13, 1838

O how unfit I am for this great work. My heart is too corrupt. I need more grace and more victory over my sinful heart. I will through grace devote my self more to God....." 108

"Diary: Friday November 16, 1838

Last night was almost the first in my life that my heart failed me. I was as my two Indian boys say Murisedaa or cast down in my heart. Partly through our disagreeable voyage and partly through temptation to doubt the Divine Protection over my family....." 109

These doubts continued to plague him throughout his stay. It was his sudden recognition of the vitality of the adaptive culture of these Indians which led him to devise a system of writing which could be easily adapted to such a nomadic or mobile existence. While on one hand Evans felt melancholy and disoriented while among the northern Algonquians, on the other hand he felt an intellectual or religious attraction to them as they seemed in greatest need of his attentions:

"Diary: Thursday November 8, 1838

The roar of the lake, soaring eagle, howling wind and binding forest, crackling fire and Indian language with many accompaniments tell me I am far from home? No this is my home -- --but far from the haunts of civilized man-- --but I'll meet them again perhaps on earth if not in heaven. Blessed hope" 110

This feeling of attraction was complimented by a feeling of freedom or relief from conflict he had left behind in Upper Canada. 111

It may have been the realization that he was once more plunging himself into such internal conflict between his socio-cultural comfort and his sense of religious mission, which caused him, en

route to Norway House, to forbode his death in a tearful letter to his brother Ephraim:

".....I am however a little down ---
--something below par but nobody knows it
but the Lord and myself.....
...Be faithful to God my Dearest Ephraim.
I part with none so reluctantly as with
you* [*Days of childhood I recall; Days
that ne'er can be forgot] and while the
tear of brotherly affection drops on my
sheet I most devoutly pray that we may
meet again on earth if God will --if not
in his blessed kingdom above. I expect
(but I know not why) it will be there.
I have some sort of foolish feelings I
never had before on going into Indian
Country but God is my trust. I mean by
grace to love him and live for him. May
He help meWrite me a long
letter just after Conference and tell me
everything." 112

Throughout his diary of 1841 and 1842 while on a long expedition of some 6,000 miles through Hudson's Bay Territory, are numerous indications that Evans missed social comforts far more than material comforts, (see Appendix D):

"Diary: Thursday September 16, 1841.
Started at day light leaving once more my
dear family having spent two days at home.
My mind is much depressed and broken down...
but I hope that God will support and
comfort both them and me. I never felt so
sensibly at parting and made me exit with
all speed after the parting kiss and painful
adieu. Oh may God preserve and bless them during
my long absence ---it almost looks like an age
to think of---but it will soon roll away. May
my heart be more loosened from earth and more
drawn toward God....I now write with aching
heart and although I am never tempted (thanks
to God) to think I will not yet though this
trip I often feel something like a wish never
to leave home again, Lord save me from ever
refusing when thou callest! I am thine, and all
I have and am." 113

"Diary: Friday December 31, 1841.

.....My agitations while sitting steaming tonight before a large fire, wet through, burning before and freezing behind are not easily penned. I thought and wept while thinking of the blessed seasons I have spent on watch night at Hamilton, St. Catharines, St. Clair, Guelph, and several other dear spots, now far away and my spirit seemed for a moment to be in the midst of some of those happy assemblies while here I am about 3000 miles distant, my family 1500. I found prayer and grace necessary, to make me contented and happy." 114

The death of Thomas Hassell posed two dire problems for the zealous missionary. First, he attempted to deal with the tragedy in a typical Euro-Canadian fashion, (a burial, a report, and compensation to the widow), as well as in a typical Chipewyan fashion, (travelling to the band of the victim to await what ever solution was agreed upon). Without singular confidence in one culture's approach to dealing with such an event, it became increasingly difficult if not impossible for Evans to settle the matter and go on with his life. Secondly, the death of Hassell, accidental or not, could not help but undermine or prove distracting for his intellectual or religious committment to his work. That distraction made "clinging to simple truths" more difficult and only deepened further the doubts and disorientation which had taken root during his Lake Superior voyage. Subsequently, this tragic event served to agitate further the acculturative stress suffered by the missionary. Unforunately, Evans' reaction created greater conflict with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. His reaction was one of reducing the issues involved to as few as possible:

"Diary: February 11, 1839.

I pray on and preach on, I believe against ten thousand thousand obstacles. I either know too

much or much too little. 'A little learning is a dangerous thing'. I know that this may at some time meet the eye of my fellow men when peaceful in the dust my ashes sleep, but what is that to me. Will they blot my name as an unbeliever. No, I deny the truth of such a charge. I do not believe and will believe much that I cannot comprehend ---and I am more than ever resolved to make a creed simple. All men are sinful and sinners. Xt. (Christ) died for all men. Repent and believe the Gospel by grace and through Grace do the best you can, and God will do the best for you. I believe this to be the substance of Christianity." 115

More and more he chose Sabbath travel as an important issue in his "simple creed"; however, no matter how resolute this simple creed became, Evans had probably taken on more Cree behaviours than he had instilled Euro-Canadian behaviour among his converts:

"Immigrants to a new cultural and ecological environment will borrow more extensively from the indigenous group than vice-versa." 116
(Linton:1940)

His language, food, shelter, mode of travel, and clothing borrowed heavily from Cree culture during his expeditions, while Cree converts borrowed only some of his religious notions and a writing system, both of which were highly Algonquianized by translations and adaptations.

In the case of James Evans' immoral behaviour, judged so by his Euro-Canadian peers, there were no events or specific pieces of evidence cited during the trial which writers have been able to use in clear proof of immoral acts. Rather, most refer to a vaguely described behaviour, "imprudent and unbecoming the high and responsible office" which Evans held in the Methodist Church. Evans had not committed an immoral act, but had behaved in such a manner that

departed from Euro-Canadian notions of sexual modesty. Indian and Euro-Canadian notions of sexual modesty and expression are different enough so as to create problems or hazards at least for those having to deal with both. Dr. Robert Alder had given instructions to the missionaries in 1840 at the start of their missions, which Alder hoped would prevent such problems:

".....Keep yourselves pure. Keep at the utmost distance from all trifling and levity in your intercourse with young persons, more especially with females. Take no liberties with them. Converse with them only sparingly and only for religious purposes; even then do not converse with them alone. Be above suspicion. Beware of the half-caste females --the daughters of Europeans by Native women. Set the Lord always before you. Forget not that the thought of foolishness is sin. At the same time be attentive to the usual courtesies of good society, especially during meals....." 117

In the Field Manual of the Indian Affairs Branch of Canada, teachers are similarly cautioned against touching Indian students and risking misinterpretation:

"Chapter 11.12 Discipline:

- (c) It is generally approved practice for teachers to abstain from physical contacts with pupils either in anger or affection. Children's reports of such contacts have sometimes been exaggerated as to make the teacher's position untenable." 118

Sharing the same food, shelter, and transport as a Cree family, it would be impossible to be so cautious without being very impolite. Any effort to be so cautious would no doubt be interpreted as hostile by the Cree. In addition, there are a great many folktales in Algonquian languages which deal with sexual anatomy and activity with little of the Euro-Canadian concern for modesty. For example, there

are old stories told by Crees of eastern James Bay, about a man whose penis was so large that he had to pull it on a toboggan when he travelled; another about an old man who dragged a woman's vagina about. These stories are told with the expectation that they will be received with humour but no offense to feelings of modesty are expected either from children or adults of either sex. It would seem reasonable that if in adapting to Cree language, James Evans also adapted to many of the Cree styles of expression. In doing so, he would put himself into a conflict between his Cree practices and the Cree expectations of him as a Euro-Canadian preacher. More simply, his intimacy with Cree females in a typical Cree setting would not be acceptable when considered or noted by his Euro-Canadian peers, (colleagues, H.B.C. servants and officers, etc.,). The examples of Evans' indiscretions cited by Pannekeok were derived from such reactions to the missionary's sleeping in a tent where there were women of marrigeable age, or Evans' being alone with a young woman in a sleigh.¹¹⁹ Hutchinson, who actually read the trial documents in London was only able to describe Evans' indiscretions as "a swirl of charges and counter-charges around the prevailing theme of the missionary's playfulness with women and girls in the presence of his family".¹²⁰ Evans would be (and was) seen as a hypocrit who was assuming the very values and behaviours which as a missionary, he was committed to change. George Simpson in a letter to Alder, . listing Evans' moral indiscretions, commented on Evans' inability to appreciate the Euro-Canadian view of his behaviour:

".....With respect, however to the foregoing indiscretions, I am truly grieved to add that Mr. Evans, from all that I can learn, does not see them in the same light as they appear to

every other person. Besides positively making light of them, he negatively sets them aside as unworthy of notice by exclusively devoting his talent and his influence to rebut the graver charges alone.....But the most formidable witness, the only one who has brought home to Mr. Evans both fornication and adultery in her own individual case, has never recanted, though repeatedly pressed to do so even by her own husband, whom Mr. Evans has contrived to gain over to his side. Supposing moreover, that all parties had retracted their original declarations, every man of judgement and experience would still believe the accusations, which no person is ever pretended to have suggested, rather than the recantations, which Evans has confessedly taken pains to draw forth. Even if the contradictory statement of the various girls were more nearly equal in themselves, yet the admitted indiscretions of the party interested could hardly fail, in the opinion of most persons, to turn the scale against him." 121

Thus, it was not only the charges that were being argued by Evans' peers, but his admitted behaviour among Crees, particularly young women. For the discrepancy between Euro-Canadian and Cree expectations, Ross eventually called James Evans, "the king of hypocrites".¹²²

This study proposes that James Evans' intimate and Cree competent participation in Indian lifestyle brought about acculturative stresses. The changes brought him into increasing conflict with the values of Euro-Canadian society to which he was fervently committed as a missionary. No scientific theories of the time had matured enough to offer Evans a problem model by which he could develop strategies to survive these conflicts. In an attempt to withdraw from the agonizing confusions of Cree and Euro-Canadian codes of behaviours and truths, Evans tried to simplify a code, (for example on Sabbath travel) which he could blindly follow and thus not have to reconcile each

decision with principles which were becoming increasingly ambiguous.

Using such a "simple creed", an ethnocentric model, Evans waded deeper into cultural conflict. The acculturative stress experienced by him deepened to such a degree that life became a mental and physical torment. Upon Thomas Hassell's death, the missionary wrote almost prophetically:

"Ah! unhappy day! when all my prospects were blighted, and my future days whether many or few filled with pain and anguish. On that unfortunate day I accidentally shot my poor faithful interpreter Thomas Hassell. He died instantly and was buried on the spot." 123

Thus a brilliant linguist, anthropologist explored deep into the vitality and wisdoms of Indian cultures. With uncommon insight, driven by a strong sense of purpose he innovated literacy for a non-literate society. The Indians received his gift eagerly and rapidly diffused it over a vast territory. But those Euro-Canadian truths which Evans had once seen as beautiful and right had grown shapeless and vague to him during his absence from their Euro-Canadian milieu. The zealous missionary sought the wisdom of those truths while facing personal conflict but their once clear voice spoke to him clearly no more. In close contact with Crees, during efforts to determine the best manner to change their beliefs, James Evans had come to understand more than most other missionaries. But with a greater understanding of and participation in a vital Cree culture undermined his mission to convert the Cree to his own. Indeed, as an immigrant to a new cultural and ecological environment he had borrowed so extensively from the Cree that he was no longer as secure in his Euro-Canadian beliefs and social skills. In the end, his

zeal, no longer well governed by a Euro-Canadian sense of propriety,
carried him into ruinous conflict with his peers.

NOTES

1. John MacLean, James Evans: Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language, Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1890, p.14.
2. Ibid., p.15.
3. Ibid., p.19.
4. Ibid., p.20.
5. Ibid., p.70.
6. Letter of William Case to James Evans, Rice Lake, January 9, 1830. Manuscript in the Special Collections of Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, Box #4734, Letter #7.
7. MacLean, op. cit., p.71.
8. Ibid., p.80.
9. Ibid., pp.86-87.
10. James Evans, The First Nine Chapters of the First Book of Moses Called Genesis, York: The Christian Guardian, 1833.
11. Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1975, p.26.
12. MacLean, op. cit., pp.107-108.
13. Diary of James Evans, Wednesday August 1, 1838. Manuscript in the Special Collections of Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, Box # 4735, item #258.
14. MacLean, op. cit., pp.81-82.
15. Letter of James Evans, St. Clair Mission, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Hamilton, September 26, 1834. Manuscript in the Special Collections of Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, Box #4734, Letter #22.
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Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

Again and again throughout this study, a code of behaviour and truths shared by a group of people in a particular habitat, a code more commonly called 'culture', has surfaced as a key constituent. It was culture that was critical in the evolution of the system of Cree syllabics, its rapid diffusion, its persistence, the reluctance of Euro-Canadians to accept the system, and finally in both the brilliance and the tragic end of the system's innovator, James Evans.

The implications of this study for education in Cree or Algonquian communities are that if Euro-Canadian groups, organizations or persons hope to enjoy the degree of Indian acceptance, participation and persistence experienced with the innovation of the Cree syllabic system, or if they are to survive their sojourns in Indian communities, they will have to change their notions of Indian culture, as well as of 'culture' in general. As well, those persons, Euro-Canadian or Indian, who teach in Indian communities, will have to revise their motivations and behaviours as teachers.

Popularly, in Euro-Canadian society, culture is viewed as "a state of civilization", "improvement", or "refinement".¹ But the process involved in the state of civilization, that is to civilize, refers to education "in the usages of organized society".² These definitions of culture and its processes, however popular, ignore the

relationship between culture and the physical environment, as well as the strategies of less formal or organized societies. It is the belief of this author that the causes of Euro-Canadian failings in the education of Indian students lie in the factors ignored by Euro-Canadian notions of culture. More simply, Euro-Canadian education efforts among Indians have failed to achieve desired results because they have failed to consider adaptive culture. Adaptive culture is defined in the Modern Dictionary of Sociology as:

"Those aspects of culture, the culture traits and complexes, that represent a society's adjustment to its physical environment and enable it to survive. According to this definition, adaptive culture would include methods of agriculture and manufacturing, technical knowledge, norms of regulating economic organization and so forth."³

This definition would include the pastoral and the hunting and gathering lifestyles of many Indian tribes. Unfortunately, the name used to refer to Canada's aboriginal people ---Indian, does not distinguish the range of lifestyles and cultural affiliations among them. Even the term 'Cree Indian' does not distinguish between the Cree hunters and gatherers of the subarctic and the Plains Cree, who practised some pastoral habits together with hunting and gathering on a large scale or in large social groups. Though the Plains Cree today are not able to practise their original lifestyle, it is still possible to notice the values and social behaviours once associated with such a lifestyle. A second facet of adaptive culture includes:

"Those cultural traits and complexes that represent an adjustment of the nonmaterial culture, particularly the values and norms regulating social life and institutional life, to the material culture. For example, the norms, values, and patterns of social roles that developed because of the invention

and spread of the automobile, form part of the adaptive culture. The adaptive culture may not necessarily lead to a perfect adjustment."⁴

The notion of adaptation was originally developed in the study of biological evolution. Biological evolution takes place because no adaptation is permanent and no environment remains unchanged. Survival in a particular habitat requires a constant process of changing adaptations. Man's adaptation to his environment does not depend significantly on genetic mutation, but more on his ability to make use of the resources of his physical habitat. For example, survival in the subarctic will depend upon abilities to keep warm, keep fed, and travel; whereas survival on a South Pacific island may depend less on efforts to keep warm, but more on abilities to fish.

This chapter will consider the adaptive cultures of two societies: that of the larger Euro-Canadian society and that of a hunting and gathering society, the Cree Indians of the Canadian Subarctic.

Yehudi A. Cohen describes five systems of cultural adaptation as being the main ones used by Man to adapt to various habitats throughout the world. They are: hunting and gathering, horticulture, pastoralism, agriculture, and industrialism:

"Hunting and gathering (or foraging) refers to a particular energy system that represents as far as we know the first level of cultural adaptation achieved by man Typically (with the exceptions noted below) foraging societies are nomadic. Nomadic foragers usually live in small bands that range in size from one to five families, and the heads of these families are often brothers. During the summer months several bands will congregate, and the size of these groups

depends on the abundance of food. It is not always the same families that come together every summer, and there is an element of unpredictability in the composition of this larger group from one year to the next. Summer is the time for acquiring spouses, gossiping, visiting with distant relatives, and conducting ceremonials."⁴

"Horticulture, a second strategy of adaptation, also has several varieties. It is a technology in which a people plant seeds, roots, or tubers and harvest the product, using a hoe or digging stick as their principal means of production. Horticulturalists, like foragers, rely primarily on muscular energy in their exploitative activities, but with an important difference: they are responsible for the presence of the food on which they subsist."⁵

"Pastoralism is a technology devoted to gaining a livelihood from the care of large herds of domesticated animals. Sustenance may be derived from the herds themselves (milk, meat, blood) or from the use of domesticated animals as instruments of production (as among North American Indians who used horses to hunt bison)."⁶

"Agriculture, a fourth strategy of adaptation differs from horticulture in technology as well as in social organization. Agriculture is a system of cultivation that is based on one or more of the following: plows and draft animals, large-scale and centrally controlled irrigation networks, and terracing. Each of these techniques, singly or in combination, requires a specific organization of labour to maintain and protect its sources of energy, and each involves its own modes of distributing resources and products..... In agriculture, the use of a plow depends entirely on the use of draft animals.

(Mechanical tractors, sowers, and reapers are tools of industrialism.....)."⁷

"Industrialism, like other adaptations is as much a unique social organization as it is a technology.....man in an industrial society follows the machine; if he can better survive and better support his family by moving to a different machine in a different locality he

does so, largely without regard to other people. He holds his position in relation to his source of subsistence through an impersonal system that pays for the use of his labour power, rather than through a group of kinsmen and by inheritance. The intellectualized goal of an industrial society is to run itself like the machines upon which it is based. The organization of a factory is supposed to rest entirely on rational considerations of profit, efficiency, and production ---not, as with the working unit in a preindustrial society, on considerations of consumption." 8

As hunters and gatherers, (with the exception of the Plains Cree) the Crees and other Algonquians are closely governed by the limitations of their habitat, the subarctic forest. Survival was and continues to be based upon individual labour at hunting or trapping, for example, or upon the co-operation of very small groups. In these groups, people must be prepared to separate or congregate as fluctuation in the availability of food make it necessary or possible. These limitations no doubt prevented the formations of larger more organized groups from which technological advances might have evolved. In absence of such technological advances, the Cree were compelled to accept the limitations of their environment. Cree social, economic and technical behaviour has evolved on the premise that the limits posed by the physical environment are to be accepted. Indeed, the very manner in which Crees and other Algonquians (of similar environs) view the world or solve problems has been determined by such a premise.

Dr. John Berry compared the decision making styles of high food accumulating societies, (such as Euro-Canadian industrial society) with low food accumulating societies, (such as the hunting and

gathering Crees). Included in his test samples were Temne, Inuit, and Scots, from: Mayola, Pt. Loko; Pond Inlet, Frobisher Bay; and, Inverkeilor and Edinburgh, respectively. He concluded from his data that, "low food accumultating societies do tend to produce individuals who are independent and self-reliant, while high food accumulating societies tend to produce more dependent and group reliant members".⁹

It seems logical that the limitations of a hunter and gatherer's environment and corresponding adaptive culture would demand a high degree of independence and self-reliance due to requirements of individual labour and participation in small groups. Similarly, the presence of large groups and participation in secularized labour would make a participant in an industrialized society, group dependent.

As Berry concludes:

"This tendency, furthermore is carried into the transitional period (where economic life is no longer at a subsistence level), thereby demonstrating the persistence of psychological and cultural patterns in the absence of ecological origins."¹⁰

An example of such persistence is provided by Elizabeth Graham in her Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change Among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784 - 1867:

"The people of Grape Island [Ojibwas] were very industrious during the 1830's; the Superintendent of Methodist Missions commented on their 'well-built little cottages, their highly cultivated gardens, their comfortable and neat clothing, and above all, their peaceable and truly devotional religious exercises', (The Christian Guardian, September 24, 1834, p.182)..... By the end of the 1850's, reports from the missionaries and chiefs were discouraging, particularly about the generation gap. The young people preferred hunting to farming, and would not accept the authority of the council."¹¹

While missionaries were reporting dramatic changes in the apparent habits of Ojibwa adults, little attention was paid to the child-rearing habits which promoted the continuity of the adaptive culture of a hunting and gathering society. Ironically, if James Evans had lived, and returned to the Credit, St. Clair or Rice Lake Missions, he would have found that these southern Algonquians, like their Lake Superior cousins, could never become farmers.

William Caudill studied acculturated Wisconsin Ojibwa children (of the same Algonquian cultural affiliation as the Cr e) and compared them with the relatively unacculturated Cree children from the Cross Lake area of northern Manitoba.¹² He found them to be "psychologically very close", having in common "a detailed, practical, noncreative approach to problems". His study concluded that "there is a strong persistence of Ojibwa personality over a long span of time, despite the effects of western influence on Ojibwa culture".

Therefore, adaptive culture, particularly the non-material aspects, is persistent and not easily altered, even after changes in their ecological origins. Some explanation of this persistence and its relation to child-rearing practices might be better made with the help of a model provided by Felix M. Keesing. The latter identified certain areas of culture which are "likely to be particularly stable and persistent, ---or if they are disturbed voluntarily or by force ---to involve most serious stress and disorganization":

"1. Essentials of early constitutional conditioning: the fundamental kinds of body-training habits such as digesting, evacuating, sleeping, using energy and relaxing; also mental sets such as friendliness, suspicion, curiosity, enjoyment, etc.

2. Essentials of organic maintenance: materials, techniques, and ideas which a people count vital to their physical survival, e.g., staple foods, medicines, some aspects of clothing, transport, housing.
3. Essentials of communications: verbal and other techniques, by which people share meanings and so organize and transmit experience.
4. Essentials of primary group relations or societal security: the face-to-face social structure of age, generations, sex, child-rearing group, work organization, and any closely interdependent kinsmen or other beyond these.
5. Essentials for the maintenance of high prestige status: elements vital to established superior statuses and roles, 'vested interests', entrenched authority, especially of ascribed character.
6. Essentials of territorial security: vital interests of living space and resources control, and associated in-group loyalty and political authority.
7. Essentials of ideological security: basic intellectual and religious assumptions and interpretations as to existence, power, providence, mortality, welfare, and attendant emotional tensions. Perhaps most consistently stable have been those beliefs and behaviours which become active at times of extreme crisis or insecurity, as with natural calamity, accident, sickness, death, and disposal of the dead, or the spiritual threat of pollution, as with black magic." 13

The adaptive culture, as a perusal of the above areas would reveal, lies with those areas of culture which among all societies prove to be the most enduring. By the time a Cree or Euro-Canadian child arrives at his first formal school, he has already learned much of his society's adaptive culture, informally. The learning styles of Cree and Euro-Canadian children are derived from their respective and persistent cultural behaviours, premised on "basic intellectual

and religious assumptions".

The child of a Cree hunting and gathering society typically learns from teachers who are his close relatives. Mainly through imitative play and observation, he learns the skills which all men or women must come to know. There are no careers to be chosen. At a very young age, each child has accomplished the practical minimum of skills to be able to contribute toward the family's requirements of food, shelter, etc.. Children's learning experiences are initiated by the children themselves. Progress toward more difficult skills, the length and repetitions of lessons are all determined largely by the children themselves. Human resources and learning materials must all be drawn from the social or physical environment of the child. For example, an elder, less active in hunting activities, offers a Cree child, in an affectionate atmosphere, a wealth of oral traditions embodying the knowledge and values required to survive. Given such an approach to learning, it should be no surprise that John Berry(1967),¹³ Péter Sindell(1968),¹⁴ and Ronald Wintrob(1968,¹⁵ all have described a Cree child who arrives at school at the age of about five years as demonstrating independence and a clear sense of self-reliance.

But because of the subjective or ethnocentric nature of Euro-Canadian educational institutions, only the adaptive culture of industrialism is considered. Even that adaptive culture is not usually viewed as belonging to only one society or lifestyle but rather is believed to be 'human' or 'universal'.

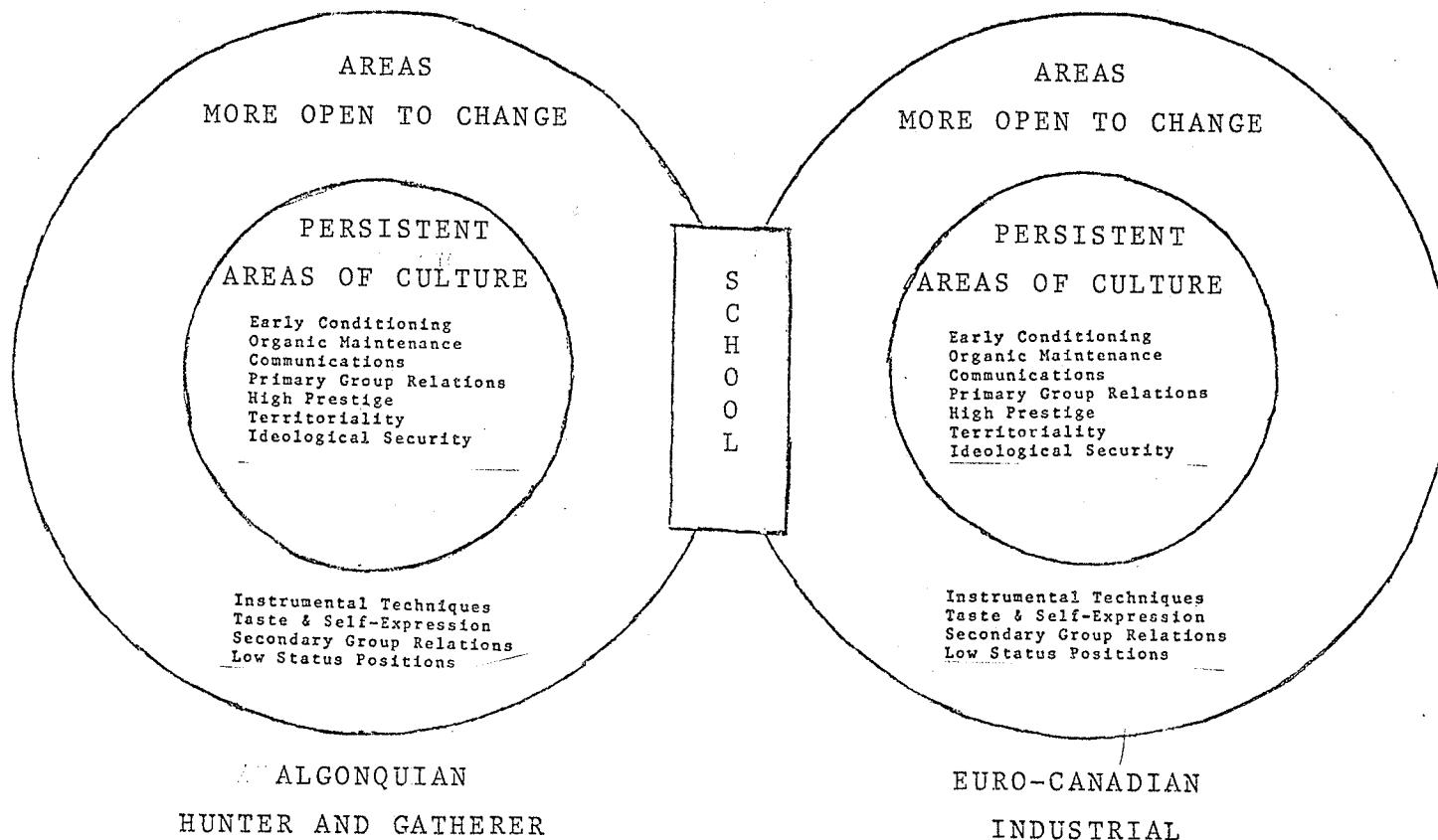
If Euro-Canadian educators are to engage Cree students or communities successfully, they must do more than support Cree

persistent cultural behaviours. In order to survive and live satisfying lives, Crees must also learn Euro-Canadian skills and, appreciate at least, Euro-Canadian truths. For engagement of Crees in such innovating activities, areas of culture must be found where Crees are more readily approachable and more open to change without suffering stress and social disorganization. For the successful transition toward coping with Euro-Canadian realities, as well as those of a hunting and gathering lifestyle, Felix M. Keesing's model might again be useful. As a sequel or compliment to his model for determining those cultural behaviours which are the most persistent, Keesing also identified those cultural behaviours which are the most open to change:

- "1. Instrumental techniques: means of achieving values and goals, ranging right across the action front of a culture, e.g., tools, 'know-how', etiquette, military tactics, political techniques, magical formulas.
2. Elements of taste and self-expression: behaviours which may be elected if desired, as with luxury items, creative art media, recreation, 'manners'.
3. Secondary group relations: more impersonal and often elective zones of social organization, as remoter kin ties, friendships and interest associations, political and other superstructures, mass movements.
4. Low-status positions: statuses and roles usually of achieved character, connected with subordinates, followerships, service; changes may involve upward rating and mobility with the pre-existing status system or else alternative higher statuses, e.g., as connected with money, or other new sources of power and authority."¹⁶

During this author's stay at Pelican Narrows in northern Saskatchewan, Cree teacher trainees described in a short composition their earliest remembrances of school. Without exception, their unhappy memories sprang from a teacher or school's intrusions into those persistent areas of culture described by Keesing. For example, the most common ones were derived from being unable to communicate, being embarrassed in group relations, being unable to eat, sleep or go to the bathroom in the manner to which they were accustomed. However, the pleasant memories were provoked by behaviour such as those being open to changes. For example, fond memories arose from rewards or acts which raised the low status of the student to a higher level. Music, recreation, and certain new foods were also remembered with enjoyment. Many commented that they liked the availability of other children their age to play with. The long passage of time since those early school days has reduced most persons recollections to those events and details to those holding the most significance for them. What is important here is the pattern of behaviours which caused stress and those which were more readily accepted. That pattern is consistent with both facets of Keesing's model. The diagram following serves to illustrate these patterns and relationships, (see page 171).

Educators, boards of education, Indian band councils and school committees responsible for Indian students would all be wise to respect, support, and provide for those cultural behaviours which comprise the adaptive culture of their students. By the same token their approaches, materials, curriculum and methodologies would best



6.01 A Theoretical Model for Contemporary Educators

be chosen so as to take advantage of those cultural areas where students are most open to change with minimal stress. If the educator or official is himself of the same society as his students, he may be inclined to imitate the behaviour of his Euro-Canadian counterparts. He will suffer the added discomfort of acting out of character with students who know him to be one of their own.

There is another benefit which might be derived from this discussion of Cree and Euro-Canadian adaptive cultures. While the development of societies may not be unilinear as early anthropologists proposed, the adaptive cultures and respective world views do represent alternative perspectives on common human problems. For example, certain adaptive styles and intrinsic views of industrialism have posed recent serious problems. E.F. Schumacher describes such an attitude whereby western or industrialist man has come to consider his environment as income rather than as capital. This problem has grown out of an earlier described tendency to become preoccupied with "rational considerations of profit, efficiency, and production":

"Modern Man does not experience himself as part of nature but as an outside force destined to dominate and conquer it.....The illusion of unlimited powers, nourished by astonishing scientific and technological achievements, has produced the concurrent illusion of having solved the problem of production. The latter illusion is based on the failure to distinguish between income and capital where this distinction matters most. Every economist and businessman is familiar with the distinction and applies it conscientiously and with considerable subtlety to all economic affairs ---except where it really matters; namely, the irreplaceable capital which man has not made, but simply found, and without which he can do nothing."¹⁷

This contrasts with the adaptive styles and intrinsic views of hunters and gatherers who view themselves as subject to their environment, and as a result are more capable of viewing it as capital. The adaptive strategies of such a society might well pose useful patterns for industrial societies to emulate in coping with such problems as: acid rain, energy depletion, or potential disasters by earthquakes, tornados, etc.. If these same hunting and gathering strategies can be shown to Euro-Canadians or industrialists as "instrumental techniques" capable of supporting important Euro-Canadian (or other industrialist) values, Keesing's model indicates they could be readily adopted with minimal stress or disruption.

Theoretical Framework for the Innovators

It would be difficult to imagine innovations and culture change animated by groups of people. Typically, animation is by an individual member of one of the cultures in contact. This study has concerned itself with innovations and culture change as they occur or are needed within the context of formal education for Cree or Algonquian students. Many of this study's implications might be also relevant to a number of other lifestyles practised by Canadian Indian tribes, but they are particularly relevant to Algonquian hunters and gatherers.

The innovators or persons trying to cope with culture contact are most often school principals, teachers and students. To some degree all must innovate because no one culture provides strategies for successfully dealing with the other. The degree to which the

individual is successful will depend on how effectively he is able to innovate new ways of regarding his problems, and new problem-solving techniques. Because of a relatively more prominent and aggressive role in a Euro-Canadian education system which tends to be narrative, the teacher is the main innovator; however, if the student is to survive and leave the learning situation with both motivation and skill, he too must innovate new ideas and techniques. From the researches of cultural anthropologists, there has evolved a general list of the qualities or assets which might assist an innovator:

1. Prestige:

"The innovator may be supported by prestige, but confined to one or a few fields of acceptor interest." 18

2. Appealing Personality:

"An appealing personality is a major asset a more valuable asset than prestige." 19

3. Expression of Real Concern:

"People will often accept a recommendation if it comes from a friend and reject it if it is proposed by a stranger." 20

"In many societies, impersonality is abhorrent, or, at any rate, ineffective. Workers have found that programmes have a far greater chance of successful acceptance if they are personally introduced by people who show real concern." 21

4. Kinsmen:

"Kinsmen are effective advocates of change and kinship linkages act as channels for diffusion." 22

5. Majority Affiliation:

"In actual numbers the supporters of a new idea need not constitute a majority or

even approximate it. They need only give the impression that they are or must inevitably become the majority. Their advocacy is strengthened by their making it seem that opposition to their idea is futile, unreasonable or stubborn." 23

6. Independence:

"If the change agent is from another culture it is most successful when it is the only foreign representative in contact." 24

7. Face-to-face Contact:

"In cross-cultural administration, the amount of change produced by any program of directed changes will be proportionate to the amount of face-to-face contact between administrators and administrated people." 25

8. Participation:

"The innovator should offer the acceptors the opportunity to participate and understand the proposed change." 26

"Non-participation and faulty understanding often lead to a lapse into old ways as soon as the agency of change is removed." 27

9. Ambiguity:

"It might be suggested that the more ambiguous the role configuration of a potential innovator, the more widespread the idiosyncratic perceptions of his role and their functions. Thus an ambiguous role configuration could possibly accommodate a number of diverse perceptions (derived from an array of individual needs and anxieties) and result in a widespread manifest acceptance of the innovator's behaviour where concensus might otherwise be impossible to achieve. If objects or values may also exhibit degrees of ambiguity to those who attempt to perceive them, ambiguity might prove a useful concept in the explanation of many acculturative processes. As ambiguity may arise most readily where expectations of the various configurational elements (such as 'insider' and 'outsider') are

known and well codified, it is suggested that ambiguity as an innovative mechanism may be more successful in just those communities wherein traditional expectations of insiders and outsiders are most rigid."²⁸

The Work of James Evans as an Innovator

James Evans' prestige in both Euro-Canadian and Indian circles was largely confined to the field of Indian missions. His successful innovation of Cree syllabic characters initially as a mode of hymn-singing and religious worship, was well supported by his prestige as a missionary. His later attempts to innovate a tin canoe, a woolen industry, and free trade were not as well supported or accepted. A teacher in an Indian community can expect greater access to prestige in educational matters, than say, in economic or political fields.

Because of the transient nature of Evans' mission work, his prestige among missionaries was more difficult for Indians to judge. But there can be little doubt that this zealous missionary had an appealing personality. He was warm, witty, spoke Cree and Ojibwa, he shared both feast and famine with the people among whom he worked.

Kinship linkage was the mode of transmission which spread Evans' innovation over a vast area in a very short time. Families meeting in the bush spread Cree syllabics first to York Factory, then to Fort Severn, and on to Moose Factory by October of 1842.

Perhaps the strongest asset which supported Evans was an affiliation with the Euro-Canadian majority and the apparent inevitable acceptance of its lifestyle. One of the more difficult assets for Evans' to develop and maintain as an asset was his

independence from other Euro-Canadians in the community. He was often successful in doing so but at the cost of hostility and mistrust from his fellow Euro-Canadians. That hostility and mistrust eventually undermined his relations with both Crees and Euro-Canadians alike. Still, Evans' freedom from his Euro-Canadian society was critical where his colleagues seemed unfriendly or impersonal. The missionary enjoyed this asset most when he travelled. But in his last years, he was unable to escape his cultural peers whether in conflict or in friendship, usually the former.

Face-to-face contact was for Evans a mode of developing the assets of an appealing personality, friendliness, and expressions of real concern. Without the close contact, little would have been learned of the Cree or Ojibwa criteria for acceptance. With noted linguistic skill, James Evans maintained intimate contact with those he strove to affect. There seems little doubt that the linguistic skills that led to Cree syllabics were honed finely in close contact with Algonquians over a long period of time.

James Evans clearly did not fit any one stereotype of behaviour. Compared with his fellow missionaries, he was much more insightful and interested in the culture of the Indians. Unlike most anthropologists or linguists of his time, Evans lived among the people he studied. Unlike most of his intellectual peers, Evans was a skilled printer, tinsmith, and voyageur. Among his many talents there was at least one for any Indian or Euro-Canadian to admire.

Implications for Contemporary Educators

While most teachers or school principals might never achieve such an inventory of talents, they would do well to emulate such qualities. Educators must recognize that they have greater access to prestige or acceptance of their innovations in the field of their recognized expertise ---education. They cannot hope to be as successful in other areas of Indian community activity, such as the politics or economy. They must be capable of an appealing personality, the expression of friendliness and real concern, else few of the people they hope to affect will heed their efforts. Without the aspects of face-to-face contact or participation, neither the educator nor the Indian community will develop the mutual understanding which proves so critical to a new idea or technique's acceptance. Often, educators will enjoy the support of majority affiliation or the prevalent belief that Euro-Canadian lifestyle is inevitable; but, the misunderstandings resultant of non-participation are most likely to lead to "a lapse into the old ways as soon as the agency of change [educator] is removed". Like Evans, contemporary educators would do well to be positively identified as able or interested in a number of roles, thus allowing a greater range of idiosyncratic identification. A teacher who can also play the guitar, or who can fix things, or who has artistic abilities, or one willing to play other roles than his usual one, typically enjoys a wider range of popular support in his efforts.

There is a certain feature of the teacher-innovator role which is known well among northern teachers but little literature can

be found to describe. It has been called 'cabin fever', 'bush fever', or 'culture shock'. The symptoms are remarkably similar to those experienced by Indian students attending school in an urban centre -----failing motivation, fluctuating efforts at main tasks, excessive behaviour such as drinking, promiscuity, etc., quick and varied mood changes, a general disorientation and difficulty making decisions. There is a growing body of research on such student problems and similar studies have been made of refugees and immigrants.

By the same ethnocentric notion that Canadian Indian cultures are fragile, outmoded, and dying, Euro-Canadian cultural behaviours are seen as indelible, ever current, and prevailing. This study has shown, with the tragic example of James Evans, how flimsy this Euro-Canadian notion is. The idea of being free of his Euro-Canadian personal history and identity was intellectually very appealing to the missionary. His confidence in a wide range of technical skills and knowledge made him feel he had much to offer the hunters and gatherers he regarded as harshly limited by their environment. Yet his attraction to the Algonquians was accompanied by melancholy and disorientation. The missionary was unable to reconcile his intellectual attraction with his loneliness and confusion. Rev. George Barnley at Moose Factory, suffered the same affliction.

Even more recently, Carlos Casteneda reported a similar dilemma while intimately and intellectually engaged with a Yaqui Indian, Don Juan:

"Don Juan said that everybody that knew me had an idea about me, and that I kept feeding that idea with everything I did. 'Don't you see?' he asked dramatically.

'You must renew your personal history by telling your parents, your relatives, and your friends everything you do. On the other hand, if you have no personal history, no explanations are needed; nobody is angry or disillusioned with your acts. And above all, no one pins you down with their thoughts.'

..... Suddenly the idea became very clear in my mind. I had almost known it myself, but I had never examined it. Not having personal history was indeed an appealing concept, at least on the intellectual level; it gave me however, a sense of loneliness which I found threatening and distasteful." 29

Casteneda has written a number of books involving rather elaborate attempts to explain his experiences with the realities he was reared with in terms of those new experiences to which he was introduced by Don Juan. Indeed, the elaborations and length of his attempts have led some to suspect their veracity.

Many Euro-Canadian teachers in Algonquian communities or among Algonquian students may be attracted by the escape from personal history, all the more if that history is in some ways dissatisfying, but there is a real danger in doing so. However romantic or appealing the idea of escaping may be, personal history and identity with a certain set of cultural behaviours provide models for making decisions and solving problems. Affiliation with other persons of similar history and identity offers confidence in the wisdom and rightness of those models. The latter are complex and accumulated over a long period of time. A rapid departure or modifications to those models would leave their employer maladapted and disoriented.

If Euro-Canadian educators themselves were educated as to the role and persistence of adaptive culture in their personal lives, then they might be encouraged to appreciate ethnocentrism as a form of

immunity against the assumption of behaviours ill suited to one's social and physical environment; rather than allowing the same ethnocentrism to distort one's regard for the cultural behaviours of others. A new empathetic role and attitude of educators could do much to improve the environment for Cree students as well as their teachers; but these changes need to be supported by corresponding revisions to the very matrix of education used.

During the past two decades, Euro-Canadian educators and institutions have been increasingly more willing to make significant alterations in the content of education for Indians. Under such names as 'New Start', 'Indian Studies', 'Amerindianization', and now 'Bilingual Bicultural', many changes in curriculum material contents, cultural affiliations of teachers, and languages of instruction have been introduced. Yet the basic goals, motivations, incentives, styles of socialization between students and teachers have hardly changed at all. Even worse perhaps, is a common situation whereby a Cree, who is recognized by Crees as the most competent in Cree social and cultural matters, is considered by the community's education system as 'unqualified to teach'. In his place, a person with far less experience and no Cree recognition for the skills, will teach what Euro-Canadians believe to be Cree culture. The latter teacher achieves his 'qualifications' not in terms of his Cree competence but rather in terms of his compatibility with Euro-Canadian approaches to education. The cartoon on the following page serves to illustrate this situation:

Figure 6.02



Source: Skolohejehso, Rupert House: Cree Way, 1974, drawn by J.Murdoch.

A child already imbued with the adaptive culture of a Cree hunting and gathering society faces certain discomfort with formal education as it is commonly practised by Euro-Canadian industrial society.

Instead of his teachers being close relatives who are inclined to a greater patience with him, value for him, and ability to deal harmoniously with his idiosyncracies, the Cree child is faced by teachers who are qualified in terms of formal skills to teach a "normal" child as perceived by an impersonal system of education. While Euro-Canadian education professes concern for the student's individuality, the numbers of students and time available place severe limits on such a concern.

The learning style of Cree children traditionally has been a combination of imitative play and observation of competent performances of skill. The style he is confronted with at school is mainly narrative and centered about the teacher. Though concerned with pupil interest, the teacher must maintain a greater attention to conceptual and skills development. This conflict involves a second problem in that Euro-Canadian industrialism is more concerned with abstractions and analytical understandings; while the Cree child of a hunting and gathering society may be much less concerned with such representations. He may sorely miss his culture's concern for an intuitive understanding or an early demonstration of concepts and skills.

In a society where all men must develop the same skills, and all women develop the same skills, a Cree child may fail to appreciate

the notions of specialized careers, occupations, and secularized labour in an industrial lifestyle. The negative role re-enforcement which results from seeing Crees in less prestigious roles such as janitors, teacher-aides, etc., may only compound that problem. Moreover, when the traditional Cree learning style offers early opportunities to perform the skills learned in a manner contributing to perceived needs of the student and his family, the style of "school" may seem less satisfying or rewarding. The Euro-Canadian approach to education delays such opportunities until late in adolescence, indeed condemns child labour. The results for a Cree child in a Euro-Canadian system might be that he cannot see the practical value for the skills he is taught, or he lacks confidence in his ability to actually perform those skills usefully.

In the traditional Cree learning context, the Cree child is conditioned to believe in and assume personal responsibility for his own education. For example, his hunting lessons begin when he asks to accompany his relative-teacher on a hunt; or, a girl's child care lessons begin when she asks her relative-teacher if she can help care for a younger sibling child. When the child that is learning, loses interest or confidence, the lesson is terminated by the child usually, occasionally by the relative-teacher. Program, curriculum, or methodological decisions are largely made by the child in an intimate atmosphere where criticism causes very few affronts to his self-esteem. Upon entry into a classroom, the Cree child suddenly loses his freedom to determine his learning activities and the intimacy formerly enjoyed is replaced by a more public atmosphere where criticism of his errors cannot help but affront his self-esteem.

The learning materials and resources traditional to the Cree child's first learning activities were real tools, toys, or people. All of these have personal significance for the child. For example a sling-shot from which many informal lessons on ballistics and trajectory of projectiles are derived, is usually fabricated by an uncle, brother, or father, etc.. The teaching material has certain personal significance for the Cree student and is itself a positive expression between a student and one of his teachers, expressing both the worth of the student and the worth of the skill to be learned. Few formal materials of a Cree student's classroom, given to him by his teacher (and taken away later), will compare as favourably. And, without such a relationship, a Cree student may fail to understand or notice the relative significance of the materials and skills to which he is exposed. Such failures would seriously undermine the effectiveness of programs that were supported by such materials.

The Cree child normally is considered to have passed or succeeded in learning a particular skill when, by exercise of that skill, he is able to contribute something of value to his family or himself. The formal evaluation used most often by Euro-Canadian education places greater emphasis on such abstractions as concepts and analysis, rather than on a performance of a skill. The public nature of most tests would prove a Cree child's modesty or sense of self-esteem rather than an understanding of skills. As a result, many Cree students can demonstrate a skill, for example reading, but fail because of a culturally conditioned aversion to public performances and an aversion to abstraction.

If Euro-Canadians are to succeed in their efforts with Crees or other societies with different adaptive strategies, or if such societies ever hope to develop control over their own affairs, both adaptive cultures, industrialism, and that of the minority society, must be considered. If Euro-Canadian education is to be as inductive as it professes to be, its practitioners must consider as an initial premise, the culturally conditioned adaptive strategies of the pupil.

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1838 Letter to Rev. James Evans & Thomas Hurlburt, c/o Rev. Joseph Stinson, Kingston, Upper Canada, January 20, 1838. UWO Box #4734.

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1842 Letters (two) written from Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopsgate St., Within, London, December 3, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #136.

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1844 Letter to Rev. James Evans, May 25, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #177.

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- 1835 Letter to the Rev. James Evans, River St. Clair, December 3,
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BIRD, James

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BIRD, James

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1842 Journal of Fort Chipewyan Post for January and February,
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- 1831 Letter to Rev. James Evans, c/o E. Perry, Coburg, February 18, 1831. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #14.
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CHRISTIE, Alexander

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CLARKE, Rev. John

- 1836 Letter of Rev. John Clarke, Green Bay, Wisconsin Territory, to Rev. James Evans, St. Clair, Upper Canada, November 8, 1836. UWO. Box #4734, Letter #49.

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DODGE, Rev. James

- 1835 Letter of Rev. Jonas Dodge, Lyons, New York, to Rev. James Evans, Fort Gratiot, Michigan Territory, April 20, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #30.

EVANS, Clarissa, Eugenia

- 1836 Letter of daughter Clarissa to her parents, Mrs. & Rev. James Evans, St. Clair, Upper Canada, January 29, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #40.

- 1836 Letter of Clarissa Eugenia Evans, Toronto, to mother, St. Clair, Upper Canada, via Raleigh, August 8, 1836. UWO. Box #4734, Letter #47.

- 1845 Letter of Clarissa and husband Donald MacLean, Fort Alexander, to her parents, Norway House, September 4, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #219.

DODGE, Rev. Jonas

- 1845 Letter of Clarissa MacLean, Sault Ste Marie, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, Norway House, September 4, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #220.
- 1845 Letter of Clarissa MacLean, St. Laurent, to her parents, December 19, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #222.

EVANS, Clarissa, & EVANS, Mary

- 1838 Letter to Rev. James Evans, H.B.Co., Meshebegwaaong Lake, Lake Superior, December 5-6, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #72a.
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- 1842 Letter from Ephraim Evans to James Evans 8pp., written from Hamilton, April 14, 1842. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #20.
- 1835 Letter of Ephraim Evans to James Evans, St. Clair Rapids, February 4, 1835. UWO. Box #4734, Letter #28.
- 1835 Letter of Ephraim Evans to James Evans, St. Clair, July 20, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #33.
- 1835 Letter of Ephraim Evans to James Evans, St. Clair, October 27, 1835. UWO. Box #4734, Letter #37.
- 1839 Letter of Ephraim Evans to Mary Evans, Upper Canada Academy, Coburg, July 17, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #81.
- 1843 Letter of Ephraim Evans, London (Canada West), to James Evans Norway House, Hudson's Bay Territory, c/o James Keith, Lachine, April 19, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #149.
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- 1831 Letter of James Evans, Cobourg, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, St. Catherine, Upper Canada, July 13, 1831. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #16.
- 1832 Letter of James Evans, River Credit, to Mr. James Evans Sr., Grenville Post Office, Lower Canada, May 17, 1832. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #18.
- 1832 Certificate confirming James Evans to have been elected to Deacon's orders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Hallowell, August 18, 1832. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #1.
- 1833 Certificate of ordination to the office of Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, issued to James Evans, York, Upper Canada, October 6, 1833, signed by George Marsden, President of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #2.
- 1833 Letter of James Evans, St. Catherines to his parents, December 27, 1833. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #3.
- c.1834 Silk marker given by James Evans to Sarah, an Indian woman, at St. Clair Mission, to teach her the days of the month. VUL, James Evans Collections, Item #4.
- c.1834 Manuscript, Wawanosh's second petition, 1 folio leaf. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #5.
- 1834 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Kingston, to wife Mary and daughter Clarissa, St. Catherinès, June 16, 1834. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #20.
- 1834 Letter or Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Rapids Mission, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Hamilton, September 1, 1834. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #21.

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- 1834 Letter of Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Rapids Mission House, to Rev. Ephriam Evans, Hamilton, September 26, 1834. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #22.
- 1834 Letter of Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Rapids Mission to the editor of the Christian Guardian, an account of Indian customs, November 7, 1834. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #25.
- 1834 Mission report of Rev. James Evans, an incomplete draft. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #26.
- 1835 Letter of Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Rapids, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Hamilton, January 26, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #27.
- 1836 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Toronto, to his wife Mary, Wesleyan Methodist Mission House, near Post Sarnia, River St. Clair, via Raleigh, Mary 27, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #45.
- 1836 Letter of Rev. James Evans to daughter Clarissa Eugenia Evans, student at Upper Canada Academy, Cobourg, November 11, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #50.
- 1836 Letter of Rev. James Evans, to John Beecham, London, report re St. Clair Indians in answer to Beecham's letter of December 3, 1835, incomplete draft. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #52.
- 1837 Letter of Rev. James Evans, New York, to wife Mary and daughter Eugenia and Ann, Desmond St. Clair River, Michigan, August 8, 1837. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #53.
- 1837 Letter of Rev. James Evans, New York, to wife Mary and Brother Thomas Hurlburt, Desmond St. Clair River, Michigan, October 3, 1837. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #54.
- 1837 Letter of Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Mission, to Col. J.B. Clench, Secretary of Indian Affairs, Muncey Town, draft, December 25, 1837. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #55.
- c.1837 Letter of Rev. James Evans, to the editor of the Christian Guardian, draft. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #57.
- c.1837 Rev. James Evans, account of St. Clair Mission, incomplete draft. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #58.
- c.1837 Rev. James Evans to "Dear Brother", re conditions of the St. Clair Indians, incomplete draft. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #59.

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- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Wesleyan Mission House, St. Clair River, to a member of the House of Assembly, re Indian Affairs and lands, draft, January 22, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #61.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Chippeway to his parents, Charlotteville, near Simcoe Upper Canada, June 28, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #63.
- 1838 Diary of Rev. James Evans, July 11, 1838 to July 21, 1839, Mission to Lake Superior. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #6. UWO, Box #4735, Item #258a & 258b.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Goderich, to Rev. Joseph Stinson, Toronto, Upper Canada, forwarded to Kingston, July 18, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #64.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Saugeen, to his wife and children, Coburg, Upper Canada, July 21 - August 4, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #65.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Munnedoowauning or Hayward Sound, to Rev. Joseph Stinson, Toronto Upper Canada, August 4, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #66.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Mesezungeng; and Sault Ste Marie, to wife Mary, Cobourg, Upper Canada, by Detroit & Sandwich, includes letter of John Southwind to his daughter, August 20-23, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #67.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Meshesaugeeng, to Rev. Joseph Stinson, General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, Toronto, August 20, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #68.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Meshebegwadoong (Michipicoten), to wife and daughter, Cobourg, Upper Canada, October 2, to November 6, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #70.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten River, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Brantford, Upper Canada, October 15, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #71.
- 1839 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Brantford, Upper Canada, February 9, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #73.
- 1839 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten, to an English Quaker interested in Aborigines, February 20, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #74.

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- 1839 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten, to his wife and daughter, Cobourg, Upper Canada, March 3, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #75.
- 1839 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten, to his wife and daughter, Cobourg, Upper Canada, May 2, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #80.
- 1839 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Toronto, to daughter Clarissa Eugenia, Upper Canada Academy, Cobourg, September 23, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #82.
- 1840 Letter of Rev. James Evans, River St. Clair, on board the steamer New England, to Rev. Ephraim, Brantford, Upper Canada, May 17, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #87.
- 1840 Letter of Rev. James Evans, "On the top of a rough granite rock at the first dam", to Mary and Clarissa Evans, August 4, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #88.
- 1840 Manuscript (incomplete) explaining the Cree language and the construction of the Cree syllabic alphabet, with illustrations of its usage. Watermark: "Webster 1824". Vul, James Evans Collection, Item #7.
- c.1840 Manuscript explaining the construction of the syllabic alphabet, with illustrations of its usage, no watermark. 2pp. VUL, James Evans Collections, Item #8.
- c.1840 Manuscript explaining the construction of the syllabic alphabet, with illustrations of its usage, watermark: "T Sweetapple 1835", 4pp.. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #9.
- c.1840 Three specimens of the original type slugs cast by James Evans from the lead lining of tea chests for the first printings in the Cree syllabic alphabet. These specimens were obtained by Dr. John MacLean on his trip to Norway House, August 1925. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #10.
- 1840 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Cumberland House, to his wife, Mary, (incomplete), December 26, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #93.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, to his wife Mary, Norway House, February 17, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #94.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Upper Fort Garry, to "My Very Dear Brother" Rev. Joseph Stinson, June 11, 1841. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #12.

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- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, White Falls Portage, addressed "Beloved Brethren", pastoral letter, (draft), July 14, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #101.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, "at the base of the Hill", to his daughter, July 19, 1841, 4pp.. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #13.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, York Factory, Hudson's Bay, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, July 27, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #104.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Cumberland House, to his wife and daughter, Norway House, September 30, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #105.
- 1841 Hymns, Swampy Indians. Their Speech. Fish River 1841, printed by James Evans at Norway House, 1841, 20pp., three copies. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #11.
- 1841 Rev. James Evans, Fort Assineboine, Athabasca River, to his wife and daughter, Norway House, November 22, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #109.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Lesser Slave Lake, to his daughter Claissa Eugenia, Norway House, December 1, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #110.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Lesser Slave Lake, to his wife Mary, Norway House, December 8-9, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #111.
- c.1842 Font of type of James Evans' later syllabic. A press (location unknown) and this type, manufactured in England and shipped out via York Factory, arrived at Norway House in 1842. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #21.
- c.1842 Proof sheets of James Evans' later Cree syllabic type. 8 copies, Pulled from the press that arrived in Norway House, 1842. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #22.
- 1842 Letter of Rev. James Evans, "To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippewyan, and Cree Nations", March, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #116.
- 1842 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Norway House, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Hamilton, forwarded to London, an account of journey of 1841-1842, June 30, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #123.
- 1842 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Norway House, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Hamilton, forwarded to London, a continued account

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of journey of 1841-1842, June 30, 1842. UWO, Box #4734,
Letter #124.

1842 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Norway House to William Mason,
incomplete, July 8, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #125.

1842 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Norway House, to Rev. Ephraim
Evans, Hamilton, Forwarded to Toronto, August 2, 1842. UWO,
Box #4734, Letter #127.

c.1842 Sketchbook marked "Rev. James Evans' Book", contains 21
rough pencil sketches of scenes made on his voyages on
western lakes and rivers, plus 5 leaves of draft poems.
The sketches are variously titled: "First Fall Below Norway
House", Duck Portage Fall", "Oxford Lake", etc., One sketch
dated, August 12, 1842. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #
14.

1842 Manuscript, "Christmas Festival at Norway House", Christmas
1842, 2 leaves, 3pp.. VUL, James Evans Collections, Item #
15.

c.1842 Pencil manuscript identified in a second hand as "Scroll of
Report on the position and difficulties of missionaries in
Hudson's Bay", incomplete, watermark: "R. Barnard 1832",
2pp. of text. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #16.

1843 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Norway House, to Rev. William
Cockran, draft, March 13, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #145.

1843 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Norway House, to Rev. Ephraim
Evans, July 3, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #157.

1843 Letter of Rev. James Evans, "5 miles from the Painted Stone
Portage", to his wife Mary, August 6, 1843, UWO, Box #4734,
Letter #160.

1843 Directions from Rev. James Evans, "Directions for Work to
be done at the Point ..." during his absence in 1843 and
1844, draft. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #168.

1844 Letter of Rev. James Evans to Sir George Simpson, May 16,
1844. HBCA, D.5/11.

1844 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Rossville, certification for
Thomas Hassal as Local Preacher, May 17, 1844. UWO, Box #
4734, Letter #175.

1844 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Lac-La-Ronge, to his wife and
daughter, Rossville, September 3, 1844, UWO, Box #4734,
Letter #188.

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- 1844 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Lac-la-Ronge, to Colin Campbell, account of Thomas Hassal's death, September 17, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #190.
- 1844 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Rossville Wesleyan Mission Station, to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, December 14, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #195.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Rossville, to Rev. William Mason, April 9, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #206.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, re engaging Indians for voyage to the Red River Settlement, incomplete, draft, May 22, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #208.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans to Sir George Simpson, June 10, 1845. HBCA, D.5/14.
- 1845 Requisition (printed form), Red River, Hudson's Bay Territory, Fort Garry, June 13, 1845, completed and signed by James Evans asking the Wesleyan Missionary Society to pay 50 to the H.B.Co., 1 leaf. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #17.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans to Donald Ross, July, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #213.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans to Donald Ross, July, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #215.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Hudson's Bay Territory, to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Mission Society, London, draft, July 18, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #216.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, Fort Garry, to his wife, Norway House, December 8, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #221.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, to Rev. Dr. R. Alder, London, with reference to the Dispatch of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, March 1845 (draft). UWO, Box #4734, #223.
- c.1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, to Rev. William Mason. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #224.
- c.1845 Letter of Rev. James Evans, to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, report re Rossville Mission Station and relations with H.B.Co., includes extracts of a letter of Sir George Simspson, June 29, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #225.

EVANS, Rev. James

- 1845 Manuscript, "commonplace book of poems and hymns", no watermark, 58 leaves, believed to be written by Evans. VUL, James Evans Collection, Item #18.
- 1846 Letter from Barton, to daughter Mrs. John MacLean, Care of Rev. Ephraim Evans, London, Canada West, September 4, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #234.
- 1846 Letter from London, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, London, Canada West, October 2, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #235.
- 1846 Letter from London, Mission House, to wife Mary, c/o Mr. Lundy, Whitefriars Gate, Hull, October 29, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #238.
- 1846 Letter from London. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #241.
- n.d. Letter to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, re Rossville Station and relations with the Hudson's Bay Co., fragment, draft. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #247.
- n.d. Letter to the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, closing fragment, draft. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #248.
- n.d. Letter from Norway House, re residence of Rev. William Mason and mission station, draft. UWO. Box #4735, Letter #249.
- n.d. Letter about record of accounts (boats, skins, and coats) in Canada and the United States (Michigan Territory). UWO. Box #4735, Letter #250.
- n.d. Letter about account of journey and stay at the Sault, fragment sheet, on reverse, poem: "written for a Sabbath School". UWO, Box #4735, Letter #251.
- n.d. Letter to Donald Ross (?), re supplies and Betsy Hassal, draft. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #252.

Diaries:

- 1830 Diary of Rev. James Evans, entitled Old Jounal, Cavan District, December 6 - December 14, 1830. UWO, Box #4735, Item #256.
- 1834 Diary of Rev. James Evans, September 21, -November, 1834, included with scriptural notations. UWO, Box #4735, Item #257.
- 1838 Diary of Rev. James Evans, July 11, 1838 - July 21, 1839. UWO, Box #4735, Item #258a & 258b.
- 1841 Diary of Rev. James Evans, 25 August, 1841 - 8 April, 1842, included in notebook containing pencil drawing and Cree notations with English equivalents. UWO, Box #4735, Item #259.
- 1846 Journal Account of Rev. James Evans, concerning events of March 2 - April 1, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Item #260.

EVANS, James & EVANS, Mary

- 1829 Letter from Rice Lake to Rev. Ephraim Evans, Kingston, Upper Canada, December 27, 1829.
- 1832 Letter from Credit River Mission, to James Evans Sr., Post Office St. Andrews, Argenteuil County, Lower Canada, forwarded to Grenville, February 29, 1832. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #17.

EVANS, James & Mary Sr.

- 1834 Letter from Grenville, to Rev. James Evans, St. Catharines, Near Niagara, Upper Canada, March 22, 1834. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #19.

EVANS, James & Clarrissa Eugenia

- 1843 Letter from Hill River, to Mary Evans, August 17, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #163.

EVANS, Mary

- 1839 Letter from Cobourg, to Rev. James Evans, incomplete, April 7, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #77.
- 1839 Letter from Cobourg, to Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten, Lake Superior, March 6, 1839. UWO, Box #4734 Letter #76.

FINLAYSON, Duncan

- 1842 Letter from Norway House to Rev. James Evans, July 21, 1842. UWO, Box #4734 Letter #126.

FINLAYSON, Nicol

- 1842 Letter from Fort Garry, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, December 10, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #137.
- 1843 Letter from Fort Garry, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, July 23, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #159.

FINLAYSON, Nicol

- 1843 Letter of Nicol Finlayson, Fort Alexander, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, November 3, 1843.

FRASER, John

- 1845 Letter of John Fraser, Red River Settlement, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, September 2, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #218.

- 1846 Letter of John Fraser, Red River Settlement, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, January 9, 1846. UWO. Box #4735, Letter #226.

GRIFFIN, John Thomas

- n.d. Typescript article, #10 "Bishop Horden's Printing Press", relating the shipment of press to McCord Museum in Montreal. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #10.

- 1907 Remarks from Preacher's Book, Rupert House Mission, from September 15, 1907 - June 28, 1908, 8pp. ACA, Griffin Papers, M5(-5, #15.

- n.d. Typescript article, "Amateur Printing". ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #22.

- n.d. Typescript article, "Beginning of the First Indian & Eskimo Boarding School at Fort George, James Bay & How It Was Established", 2pp.. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #23.

- 1928 Typescript article, "St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George", extracts from Preacher's book, 1828, 7pp.. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #31.

- 1928 My Little Book, in Cree, compiled and printed by Rev. Canon Griffin at St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, 2 copies with notes. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5.

- 1928 Portions of scripture on single sheet (in Cree), prayer compiled and printed by Canon Griffin, Fort George, with notes. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5.

- 1929 My Little Cree Book, in Cree, compiled and printed by Rev. Canon Griffin at St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, with notes. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5.

- 1929 My Little Eskimo Book, compiled and printed by Rev. Canon Griffin at St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, with notes. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5.

- 1929 Cree Almanack, 1929-1930, compiled and printed by Canon Griffin, Fort George, at St. Phillip's Mission. ACA,

GRIFFIN, John Thomas

Griffin Papers, M59-5.

- 1929 Typescript article, "St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, Preacher's Remarks, 1929". ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #34.
- 1930 Typescript article, St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, Preacher's Remarks, 1930", ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5. #35.
- 1931 Typescript article, "St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, Preacher's Remarks, 1931", 6pp.. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #36.
- 1932 Typescript article, "St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, Preacher's Remakr, 1932", 7pp.. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #37.
- 1933 Typescript article, "St. Phillip's Mission, Fort George, Preacher's Remarks, 1933", 5pp.. ACA, Griffin Papers, M59-5, #38.

HARDING, R. A.

- 1843 Letter from Churchill, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, June 23, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #155.
- 1844 Letter from Churchill, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, August 7, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #185.

HARGRAVE, James

- 1842 Letter from York Factory, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 10, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #119.
- 1842 Letter from York Factory, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, August 6, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #129.

HAROLD, James

- 1844 Letter from Island Lake outpost, to Rev. James Evans, April 21, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #174.

HARRIOTT, John E.

- 1842 Letter from Edmonton House, to Rev. James Evans, January 7, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #114.
- 1843 Letter from Rocky Mountain House, to Rev. James Evans, January 1, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #138.

HASSAL, Thomas

- 1842 Letter from Fort Chipewyan, to Mary Evans Norway House, February 13, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #115.

- 1843 Letter from Norway House, to Rev. James Evans,
"en route", August 25, 1843. UWO, Box #4734,
Letter #164.
- 1844 A sketch of a journey to York Factory, by Thomas
Hassal, Norway House, Rossville, a copy of
February 23, entry in Hassal's diary of January 1 -
March 17, 1844, dated February 29, - March 1, 1844.
UWO, Box #4734, Letter #173.
- 1844 Letter from Lac-la-Ronge, to his wife Elizabeth
(Betsy) Norway House, Rossville, September 17, 1844.
UWO, Box #4734, Letter #189.
- 1844 Journal from January 1 - March 17, 1844. UWO,
Box #4735, Item #261.
- HEDDLE, William
- 1844 Letter from Cumberland House, to Rev. James Evans,
Norway House, July 12, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter
#181.
- 1844 Letter from Cumberland House, to Rev. James Evans,
Norway House, July 15, 1844. UWO, Box #4734,
Letter #183.
- HODGSON, Thomas
- 1835 Letter from 20 Finsbury Circus, London, to Rev.
Ephraim Evans, Missionary, River St. Clair, June 24,
1835. UWO, Box #4734,
- 1842 Letter from Isle a la Crosse, to Rev. James Evans,
Norway House, June 22, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter
#121.
- HOPLINS, Ann E.
- 1843 Letter from London, to Mary Evans, April 3, 1843.
UWO, Box #4734, Letter #148.
- HORDEN, John
- 1851 Journal of John Horden, Moose Fort, 1851-1854.
FAC-CMX, MG 17 B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.
- 1852 Letter from Moose Fort, to the Secretary of the
Church Missionary Society, London. PAC-CMS, MG 17
B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.

- 1854 Letter from Moose Fort, to Mr. Craig, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.
- 1855 Letter from Moose Fort, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, August 30, 1855. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.
- 1865 'Minutes of a conference by the Rev. John Horden and E. A. Watkins on the subject of the syllabarium in use for the Cree and Esquimaux languages'. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2, Item #60, Microfilm Reel A-105.
- 1872 Letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, August 2, 1872. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.
- 1873 Letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), London, appears in the minutes of the Standing Committee, April 1872 to June 1873, pages 431, 432, 433, SPCK.
- 1873 Letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), London, appears in the minutes of the Standing Committee, April 1872 to June 1873, pages 431, 432, 433, SPCK.
- 1875 Letter to Mr. Knight, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, September 23, 1875. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2.
- 1884 Letter to R. MacFarlane, October 14, 1884. PAC, MacFarlane Papers, MG 29 A 11, Vol.1, Page 993, 994.

HOOSE, Elijah

- 1865 Letter from Weleyan Mission House, Bishopgate Street, London to Rev. J. Carroll, August 28, 1865. UWO, Box 4735, Letter #244.

HOWSE, Joseph

- 1845 Letter from Cirencester, London, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, March 23, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #204.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, London

- 1845 Extracts of a Dispatch from the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company to Sir George Simpson, March, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #201.
- 1846 Letter from London, to Sir George Simpson and Councils of Rupert's Land, April 3, 1846. HBCA, A.6/27, f.29.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, Red River

- 1841 Extracts from the Minutes of Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, at Red River, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #113.

HUNT, Rev. Robert

- 1855 Journal of Rev. Robert Hunt, English River (Stanley Mission). July - December, 1855. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.

HURLBURT, Thomas

- 1835 Letter from Saugeen, to Rev. James Evans, St. Clair, September 21, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #36.
- 1836 Letter from Saugeen, to Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Mission, February 13, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #41.
- 1841 Letter from Pic Island, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 8, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #96.
- 1841 Letter from Pic Island, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, November 22, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #106.
- 1842 Letter from Pic Island, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, August 11, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #134.

JACKSON, Edward

- 1840 Letter from Hamilton, to Rev. James Evans, Guelph, Upper Canada, January 1, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #83.

JACOBS, Peter

- 1840 Letter from Fort Alexander, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, November 20, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #91.
- 1841 Letter from Norway House, to Rev. James Evans, York Factory, July 14, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #103.
- 1843 Letter from Lac-La-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, September 19, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #165.
- 1844 Letter from Lac-La-Pluie, Fort Frances, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 20, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #176.
- 1844 Letter from Lac-La-Pluie, Fort Frances, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, July 17, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #184.

- 1844 Letter from Lac-La-Pluie, Fort Frances, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, August 29, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #187.
- 1845 Letter from Lac-La-Pluie, Fort Frances to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, January 29, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #198.
- 1845 Letter from Rev. James Evans, Rossville, March 5, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #202.
- 1846 Letter from Fort Frances, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville Mission, February 25, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #228.

JACOBS, Peter & STEINHAUER, Henry B.

- 1844 Letter from Lac-la-Pluie, Fort Frances, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 20, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #176.

JOHNSTON, Jerry

- 1845 Letter from Red River Settlement, to Mary Evans, Norway House, January 3, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #197.

JONES, Peter

- n.d. Notes for addresses on Northern American Indians, VUL-PJP Box 1.

- 1828 List of natives baptized 1828-1831 by William Case, John Ryerson, and Peter Jones, 8 lists. VUL-PJP, Box 1.

- 1828 Diaries of Peter Jones (3) covering the period, December 6, 1827 to September 19, 1828. VUL-PJP, Box 3.

- 1835 Letter from credit, to Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Mission, February 9, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #29.

JONES, Richard

- 1865 Letter from London, Canada West, to Rev. J. Carroll, April 3, 1865. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #242.

MCDOUGALL, George

- 1843 Letter from Edmonton House, to Rev. James Evans, January 4, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #139.

MCKAY, William Patterson

- 1843 Letter from York Factory, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House' December 1, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #167.

- 1844 Letter from York Factory, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, November 23, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #193.

- 1845 Letter from York Factory, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, March 23, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #204.
- 1845 Letter from York Factory, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, June 23, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #212.
- MACKENZIE, Samuel
- 1845 Letter from Lac-la-Ronge, to Rev. James Evans, January 31, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #199.
- MACLEAN, John
- 1891 Notes on the Sinclair manuscript, autograph signed, Morden, Manitoba, March 23, 1891. VUL-JEC, Item #24.
- MACLEAN, John (not the same John MacLean as 1891)
- 1846 Letter of John MacLean, St. Laurent, to Rev. Ephraim Evans, London, Canada West, October 2, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #233
- MACONCE, Francis
- 1836 Letter of Francis Maconce, Salt Point, to Rev. James Evans, St. Clair, March 21, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #42.
- MASLETA, Thomas
- 1842 Letter of Thomas Masleta, to Rev. James Evans, August 6, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #130.
- MASON, Rev. William
- 1840 Letter of William Mason, Lac-la-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, September 1, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #89.
- 1841 Letter of Rev. William Mason, Lac-la-Pluie, to "My Dear Father" Rev. James Evans, Norway House, March 23, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #95.
- 1843 Letter of Rev. William Mason, Lac-la-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, February 15, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #141.
- 1843 Letter of Rev. William Mason, Lac-la-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, February 28, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #142.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. William Mason, Rossville, to Rev. James Evans, with copies of two letters from George Gladman to Mason, and to Laurence Robertson, Oxford House, June 14, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #209.
- 1845 Letter of Rev. William Mason, Oxford House, to Rev. James Evans, Rossville, Norway House, June 21, 23, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #211.

- 1852 Letter of Rev. William Mason, to the Secretaries of the British & Foreign Bible Society, London, August 16, 1852. BFBS, Minutes 1872.
- 1853 Letter of Rev. William Mason, York Factory, to the Secretaries of the British & Foreign Bible Society, London, December 26, 1853. BFBS, Minutes 1853.
- 1854 Letter of Rev. William Mason, York Factory, to the Secretary of the British & Foreign Bible Society, London, September 12, 1854. BFBS.
- 1857 Letter of Rev. William Mason, York Factory, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, September 12, 1857. PAC-CMS, MG 17 B.2, Microfilm Reel A-88.

MATHESON, Angus

- 1846 Letter of Angus Matheson, Red River, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, June 15, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #232.

MILLER, Daniel G.

- 1839 Letter of Daniel G. Miller to Rev. James Evans, c/o H.B. Co. Michipicoten, Lake Superior, April 10, 1839. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #79.

NEWNHAM, Arthur Jervois

- 1892 The manuscript letterbooks of Bishop Newnham, written while Church Missionary Society missionary at Moose Fort. ACA, Newnham Letterbooks 1892-1904, 2 volumes.

OSNORNE, William

- 1835 Letter of William Osborne, Moore, to Rev. James Evans, St. Clair Rapids, c/o William Jones, July 10, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #32.

ROSS, Donald

- 1844 Letter of Donald Ross to Rev. James Evans, January 31, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #169.
- 1843 Letter of Donald Ross, Norway House, to Sir George Simpson, August 17, 1843. HBCA, D.578.
- 1844 Letter of Donald Ross, Norway House, to Rev. James Evans, public notice enclosed, February 17, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #171.

- 1844 Letter of Donald Ross, Norway House, to Rev. James Evans, February 23, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #172.
- 1844 Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross, Norway House, to Sir George Simpson, August 15, 1844. HBCA, D.5/12.
- 1844 Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross, Norway House, to Rev. James Evans, October 5, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #191.
- 1844 Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross, to Rev. James Evans, 1844. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #196.
- 1845 Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross to Rev. James Evans, May 10, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #207.
- 1845 Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross to Rev. James Evans, July 11, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #214.
- 1845 Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross, marriage licence for John MacLean and Eugenia Clarissa Evans of Rossville, District of Norway House, August 10, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #217.
- n.d. Letter of Chief Factor Donald Ross, to Rev. James Evans, "Saturday Evening". UWO, Box #4735, Letter #254.

ROSS, Jean

- 1841 Letter of Jean Ross, Norway House, to Rev. James Evans, Northern Department, December 30, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #112.

RUNDLE, Rev. R. T.

- 1841 Letter of Rev. Robert T. Rundle, Carlton House, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, includes missionary report, May 31, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #98.
- 1842 Letter of Rev. Robert T. Rundle, Edmonton House, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 23, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #120.
- 1843 Letter of Rev. Robert T. Rundle, Edmonton House, to Rev. James Evans, May 25, 1843. Letter #152.
- n.d. Letter of Rev. Robert T. Rundle to Rev. Mr. William Cockran, "Sunday, April 11 - Wednesday April 21". UWO Box #4735, Letter #255.
- 1843 Baptismal Certificate written in Cree syllabic characters, Morley, Alberta, August 23, 1843, VUL-JEC, Item #29.

SHAW, William

- 1836 Letter of William Shaw, Red River Colony, to Rev. John Clarke, enclosed in John Clarke's letter of November 8, to Rev. James Evans, July 27, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #46.
- 1842 Letter of William Shaw, Fort Vermilion, to Rev. James Evans, May 1, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #117.
- 1843 Letter of William Shaw, Fort Vermilion, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 2, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #151.
- 1843 Letter of William Shaw, Fort Vermilion, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, May 26, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #153.

SIMPSON, Sir George

- 1839 Letter of Sir George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, June 26, 1839. HBCA, D.4/25 f. 47.
- 1839 Letter of Sir George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, July 9, 1839. HBCA, D. 4/25 f.47d.
- 1840 Letter of Sir George Simpson to Rev. Dr. Robert Alder, January 22, 1840. HBCA, D.4/25 f.62-62d.
- 1840 Letter of Sir George Simpson, to Chief Factor Donald Ross, March 1, 1840. HBCA, D.4/25 f.75d-76.
- 1840 Letter of Sir George Simpson, London, "To the Gentlemen in charge of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company's Districts & Posts in North America", letter of introduction for the Rev. James Evans, March 11, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #85.
- 1840 Letter of Sir George Simpson, London, "To the Gentlemen in charge of the Honourable Company's Districts and Posts in North America", letter of introduction for Robert T. Rundle, includes letter from James Keith, Lachine to same, March 11, April 28, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #86.
- 1841 Letter of Sir George Simpson, to the Hudson's Bay Company, London, June 20, 1841. HBCA, D.4/58.
- 1841 Letter of Sir George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, to Roderick MacKenzie, November 1, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #107.

- 1841 Letter of Sir George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, to Rev. John James Evans, November 9, 1841. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #108.
- 1843 Letter of Sir George Simpson to Rev. James Evans, June 29, 1843. HBCA, D.4/62, f. 66d-68
- 1843 Letter of Sir George Simpson, Red River Settlement, to Rev. Robert T. Rundle, Edmonton House, June 29, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #156.
- 1844 Letter of Sir George Simpson to Rev. James Evans, June 20, 1844. HBCA, D.4/64, p.222-225.
- 1844 Letter of Sir George Simpson to Chief Factor Donald Ross, December 2, 1844. HBCA, D.4/66, f.67.
- 1845 Letter of Sir George Simpson, Fort Garry, Red River, to Rev. James Evans, includes letters of Donald Ross, and Rev. James Evans, June 20, 1845. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #210.
- 1845 Letter of Sir George Simpson, to Rev. James Evans, June 11, 1845. HBCA, D.4/67, p.80-82.
- 1845 Letter of Sir George Simpson, to Chief Factor James Hargrave, June 14, 1845. HBCA, D.4/67, p.83.
- 1845 Letter of Sir George Simpson, to Rev. Dr. Robert Alder, June 16, 1845. HBCA, D.4/67, p.124-126.
- 1845 Letter of Sir George Simpson, to Chief Factor Donald Ross, June 20, 1845. HBCA, D.4/67, p.139-140.
- 1846 Letter of Sir George Simpson, encampment, Winnipeg River, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, June 4, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #230.
- 1846 Letter of Sir George Simpson, Red River Settlement, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, June 15, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #231.
- 1846 Letter of Sir George Simpson to Rev. Dr. Robert Alder, June 15, 1846. HBCA, D.4/68, p.93-96.
- 1846 Letter of Sir George Simpson to Chief Factor Donald Ross, HBCA, D.4/67 p.555-556.

SINCLAIR, John

n.d. Manuscript, part of the Book of Genesis in Cree syllabics, 74 pp. VUL-JEC, Item #23.

1869 Letter of John Sinclair, Oxford House Mission, to "My Dear Brother", December 15, 1869, 4pp. VUL-JEC, Item #25.

SLIGHT, Benjamin

1836 Letter of Benjamin Slight, Amherstburgh, to Rev. James Evans, Indian Reserve, St. Clair Rapids, Upper Canada, via Chatham, March 30, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #44.

SOUTHWIND, John & Julia

1838 Letter of John & Julia Southwind to Clarissa Eugenia Evans, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #72b.

STEINHAUER, Henry B.

1842 Letter of Henry B. Steinhauer, Lac-la-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, August 6, 1842. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #128.

1843 Letter of Henry B. Steinhauer, to Rev. William Mason, enclosed with Mason's letter to Evans of February 28, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #143.

1843 Letter of Henry B. Steinhauer, Lac-la-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, February 28, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #144.

1843 Letter of Henry B. Steinhauer, Lac-la-Pluie, to Rev. James Evans, Norway House, July 18, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #158.

1843 Letter of Henry B. Steinhauer, Lac-la-Pluie, to Mary Evans, Norway House, August 13, 1843. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #162.

STEINHAUER, Robert B.

1936 Letter of Robert B. Steinhauer, Saddle Lake, Alberta, to Rev. John McNab, May 12, 1936, 4pp. VUL-JEC, Item #26.

1936 Letter of Robert B. Steinhauer, Saddle Lake, Alberta, a statutory, declaration, testifying that Henry B. Steinhauer and John Sinclair were the genuine translators of the Bible into the Cree syllabic alphabet and James Evans was the genuine inventor of the alphabet, May 21, 1936, typed and signed, 1 leaf. VUL-JEC, Item #27.

STEVENS, Frnak G.

n.d. Manuscript, "Life Story of Rev. F. G. Stevens, D.D.", 82 leaves, VUL-JEC, Item #33.

STINSON, Rev. Joseph

- 1835 Letter of Rev. Joseph Stinson, Kingston to Rev. James Evans, River St. Clair, Near Fort Gratiot, July 28, 1835. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #34.
- 1836 Letter of Rev. Joseph Stinson, Kingston, to Rev. James Evans, River St. Clair, March 22, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #43.
- 1838 Letter of Rev. Joseph Stinson, Cobourg, to Rev. James Evans, Sault Ste. Maire, September 15, 1838. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #69.

SWANSTON, John

- 1839 Letter of John Swanston, Fort William, to Rev. James Evans, Michipicoten, Lake Superior, April 8, 1839. UWO Box #4734, Letter #78.

TALFOURD, Anne

- 1846 Invitation from Anne Talfourd, Normand House, to Rev. James Evans, prior to October 6, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #236.
- 1846 Letter of Anne Talfourd, Normand House, to Rev. James Evans, October 6, 1846. UWO, Box #4735, Letter #237.

THOM, Adam

- 1840 Letter of Adam Thom, Red River, to Rev. James Evans, September 29, 1840. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #90.

WATKINS, E. A.

- 1854 "Extracts from the Report for the year ending December 31, 1854", PAC-CMS, Microfilm Reel A-88.

WAWANOSH

- 1836 Letter of Wawanosh, St. Clair, to Sir Francis Bond Head, address (copy), September, 1836. UWO, Box #4734, Letter #48.

WAWANOSH & OJEEBEGUN

- 1837 Letter of Wawanosh and Ojeebegun, St. Clair, to "Great Father". UWO, Box #4734, Letter #56.

YOUNG, Egerton Ryerson

- 1866 Cree Hymns in manuscript, with printed version in Cree syllabic pasted on opposite page, on inside cover "E.R. Young, St. Catherines, 1866". VUL-JEC, Item #31.

APPENDIX A

A CATALOGUE OF TEXTS IN SYLLABICS

During this study of the innovation of Cree syllabic characters a number of texts in syllabics were examined. The following catalogue describes most of those materials seen. The style of organization and most of the symbols of libraries were borrowed from Joyce Banks, as they appear in her Books in Native Language in the Collection of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of the National Library of Canada:

Symbols of Libraries:

ACG	Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary.
AEU	University of Alberta, Edmonton
BVAST	Vancouver School of Theology
BVAU	University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
BVI	Greater Victoria Public Library.
BVIP	Legislative Library, Victoria, B.C.
BVIPA	Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
GSA	General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto.
MFIS	Moose Factory Island Schools, Moose Factory, Ontario.
MM	Marguerite MacKenzie, Private Papers.
MWP	Legislative Library, Winnipeg.
MWU	University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
NBFU	University of New Brunswick, Fredericton.
NBSAM	Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B.
NCEM	Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.
NFL	Labrador City Regional Library.

NFSG Newfoundland Public Libraries Board, St. John's.
NFSM Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.
NLC Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.
NSHPL Nova Scotia Union Catalogue, Nova Scotia Provincial Library, Halifax.
NSWA Acadia University, Wolfville, N.S.
NYP New York Public Library, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
OFFPS Fort Frances Public Library, Fort Frances, Ontario.
OH Hamilton Public Library, Hamilton, Ontario.
OHM McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.
OKQ Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.
OLU University of Western Ontario, London.
OOA Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
OOAR National Library of Canada, Rare Books, Ottawa.
OOCC Carleton University, Ottawa.
OOG Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.
OORD Indian & Northern Affairs, Ottawa.
OORDT Indian & Northern Affairs, Toronto.
OOP Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
OOSJ La Bibliothèque Deschâtelets, Pères Obats, Ottawa.
OOSTP Carleton University, Ottawa.
OOU University of Ottawa.
OPAL Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario.
OPET Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
OTMCL Metropolitan Toronto Library.
OTP Toronto Public Libraries.
OTRM Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

OTTC University of Trinity College, Toronto.
OTU University of Toronto.
OTV Victoria University.
QJM John Murdoch, Private Papers.
QMAI Arctic Institute of North America, Calgary, Alberta.
QMBM Bibliothèque de la Ville de Montréal.
QMBN Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.
QMM McLennan Library, McGill University, Montréal.
QMU Université de Montréal.
QQL Législature du Québec.
QSHERU Université de Sherbrooke.
SRL Legislative Library of Saskatchewan
SSU University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
SSW Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

1841

HYMNS: SWAMPY INDIANS; THEIR SPEECH FISH RIVER

Rossville Mission Press: Printed by James Evans, 1841, 20pp.

Translated and printed by Rev. James Evans. Reissued by the Bibliographical Society of Canada. Described by Peel (1974) as an enlarged edition of one printed in June 11, 1841. Book was printed with Evans' "homemade" type.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian

OTV NLC

1847

THE SUNDAY SERVICE OF THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS

Rossville Mission Press: Printed by William Mason, 1847. 17pp.

Translated by John Edward Harriott. The copy in the New York Public Library has on the leaf before the title page a manuscript note: "Norway House, Prince Rupert's Land, 18 June, 1847". The title page has a vignette of a church. The title page is in English, the text in Cree syllabics.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

NYP

1853

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN

Rossville Mission Press: Printed by Rev. William Mason, 1853, 53leaves.

Translated by William and Sophia Mason. On December 23, 1853, Mason wrote, "We have just finished a 2nd edition of our translation of St. John's Gospel, 400 copies. It has been carefully revised, and is a great improvement on our 1st edition (1852)". A copy in the Archives of British Columbia has fifty-two pages, Peel (1974) believes as a result of the binding being done at different times rather than as a result of a separate printing.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

BVIPA

1854

CATECHISME' RECUEIL DE PRIERES ET DE CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES
D'ALBANY, (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: Imprimerie de Louis Perrault, No.22, Rue Saint-Vincent. 1854.
94p.,

Translated by Jean Nicolas Laverlochere, O.M.I. and transliterated
into syllabic characters by Andre Marie Garin, O.M.I.. First book
printed in Montreal in syllabics.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.300

BVIPA ACG QMBM OTP OOAR

1855

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. 26 CHAPTERS ON OLD TESTAMENT, 22 CHAPTERS ON
NEW TESTAMENT.

Printed at Moose By John Horden, C.M.S. 1855. 86p.

Copy in the General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto
bears an inscription by Rev. Canon J.T. Griffin which claims that,
"this book was printed and bound by Bishop Horden at Moose in 1855".

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

GSA OOAR

1856

CHEMIN DE LA CROIX ET AUTRES PRIERES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DE POSTES
D'ALBANY. SAVERN, MARTIN'S FALLS, (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: Imprimerie de Louis Perrault. 1856. 63p.

Translated by Andre Marie Garin, O.M.I.. In preparation of this work,
Garin was assisted by Laverlochere and by Mrs,Corcoran, wife of an
officer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.201

OOAR

1856

TEN COMMANDEMENTS

Rossville Mission Press: Printed by Thomas Hurlburt. 1855. 1 foolscap page.

Printed in Cree and English By Rev. Thomas Hurlburt. His First attempt at printing according to Peel (1974).

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

NLC

1857

EPISTLES IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

Rossville Mission Press: Printed by Rev. Thomas Hurlburt. 1857. 40p.

Translated by Mrs. Sopia Mason, as mentioned in William Mason's journal of 1856. Printing was done prior to Hurlburt's departure for Canada, July 9, 1857. This is the last book to have been printed on the Rossville Mission Press before it fell into disuse. Binding was done by Miss Adams, a "devoted school teacher". This book is mentioned in the report of the Canadian Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1857-58.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

OTV

1857

PRIERES, CANTIQUES, CATECHISME, ETC., EN LANGUE CRISE

Montreal: Imprimerie de Louis Perrault. 1857. 288p.

Translated by Jean-Baptiste Thibault, O.M.I.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.486

OTMCL 00A QQL QMU OOAR

1859

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

London: Printed by W.M. Watts for the British and Foreign Bible Society.
 1859. 612p.

Translated by William Mason, C.M.S. (formerly of the Wesleyan Mission Society)

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.339

BVAU BVIPA OOAR

1859

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

London: Printed by W.M. Watts for the British and Foreign Bible Society.
 1859. 612 p.

Text in syllabic characters. / Texte en caractères syllabiques.

Translated by William Mason, W.M.S. and C.M.S. / Traduit par William Mason, W.M.S. et C.M.S.

Pilling, Algonquian, p.339
 Darlow & Moule, 3129.

BVAU BVIPA

1859

GOSPELS IN MOOSE CREE

Moose. M.DCC.LIX. 419 p.

Text in syllabic characters. / Texte en caractères syllabiques.

Translated and printed at the mission press by John Horden, C.M.S. /
 Traduit et imprimé à l'imprimerie de la mission par John Horden, C.M.S.

Pilling, Algonquian, p. 235.
 Darlow & Mourle, 3121.

OTV

1859

THE FOUR GOSPELS IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

The four gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, & John) translated by Rev. John Horden. The copy held at Emanuel College Library, Victoria University, Toronto, bears this inscription: "On the fly leaf of my copy, presented to me by the author, he says he printed this book himself at Moose Fort, Hudson's Bay. Most of the copies I have seen are minus the title-page; in some the 'supplemental leaf' is at the beginning. The author is Rev. John Horden, bishop of Moosonee. The characters used are those of the Cree syllabary invented by Rev. Jas. Evans.---L.Allen".

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.235,236,

OTV OOSJ GSA

1859

SERMONS DE MONSEIGNEUR BARAGA, TRADUITS DE L'OTCHIPWE EN MASKEGON, POUR L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES D'ALBANY, SEVERN ET MARTIN'S FALLS, (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: Imprimerie de Louis Perrault, Rue Saint Vincent. 1859. 120p.

Translated into the Cree Language by Jean Nicolas Laverlochere, O.M.I. and Mrs. Corcoran, wife of the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Martin's Falls, and transliterated into syllabic characters by Andre Marie Garin, O.M.I.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.201

QMU OOSJ OOAR

1859

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND THE OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND

London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. 1859. 190p.

Translated into the language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, North-West America. ("Archdeacon Hunter's Translation"). Translated by James Hunter, C.M.S., and transliterated into syllabic characters by William Mason, C.M.S..

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.244

OOAR

1859

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND
OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING OF THE USE OF
UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND

London: Printed by W.M. Watts, for the Church Missionary Society, 14
Salisbury Square 1859. 361p.

Translated into the language of the Moose Indians of the Diocese of
Rupert's Land, North-West America. ("Rev.J. Horden's Translation").
Translated by Rev. John Horden, C.M.S.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.235

OOAR OOSJ

1860

BIBLE GOSPEL HISTORY IN THE MOOSE DIALECT

London: W.M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. (1860?). 83p.

Translated by Rev. John Horden, C.M.S.. Date 1860 estimated by Pilling
to have been printed in 1860.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.236

BVIPA OOU OOP

1860

BIBLE AND GOSPEL HISTORY IN SAULIEUX

London: Printed by W.M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. (1860) 72p.

Translated by Rev. John Horden. Date of 1860 estimated by J.C. Pilling.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.236

OTU GSA OOAR

1861

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN CREE

London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society
by W.M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. 1861. 855p.

Translated by William Mason. This is much disputed by some who claim that John Sinclair actually did this translation and the New Testament as well, entrusting the manuscripts to Mason. This Old Testament edition was bound with the New Testament printed in 1862 for the British and Foreign Bible Society. When bound together, these made the first complete Bible in Cree printed in syllabic characters.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.339

BVAST BVI OLU OTP OTV OOSJ GSA OOAR

1861

THE MORNING AND EVENING SERVICES, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF
THE UNITED OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND

London: W.M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. 1861. 36p.

Translated into the language of the Saulteux Indians of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, North-America, by the Rev. John Horden, C.M.S.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.236

GSA OOAR

1862

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN CREE

London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society
by W.M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. 1862. 292p.

Translated by William Mason. This is much disputed by some who claim that John Sinclair actually did this translation and the Old Testament as well, entrusting the manuscripts in 1861 for the British and Foreign Bible Society. When bound together, these made the first complete Bible in Cree printed in syllabic characters.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.339

See 1861 The Old Testament in Cree

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Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.236

GSA OOAR

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by W.M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar. 1862. 292p.

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Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.339

See 1861 The Old Testament in Cree

1866

RECUÉIL DE PRIERES, CATECHISME ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON

Montreal: Imprimerie de Louis Perrault et Cie. 1866. 36p.

Translated by Louis Lebret, O.M.I.. See longer edition printed by same company in same year.

OOSJ

1866

RECUÉIL DE PRIERES, CATECHISME, ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON

Montreal: Imprimerie de Louis Perrault et Cie. No.36, rue Saint-Vincent. 1866. 108p.

Translated by Louis-Marie Lebret, O.M.I.. According to Pilling, this is a revised edition from an earlier one by Jean Nicolas Laverlochere and Andre Marie Garin. Not all copies found are complete. Two copies found in the National Library have only 36 pages. In many cases the bindings also differ.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.304

OOSJ OOAR

1872

LE NOUVEAU TESTAMENT EN LANGUE CRISE, D'APRES LES QUATRE
EVANGELISTES OU CONCORDANCE DES QUATRE EVANGILESMontreal: Imprimerie de l'Asile de la Provindence. 1872.
478p.Translated by Albert Lacombe O.M.I., Mission de St-Paul des
Cris, 8 decembre 1871.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.283

OOSJ OOAR

1872

ABREGE DU CATECHISME A L'USAGE DE LA TRIBU DES CRIS

Montreal: Imprimerie de l'Asile de la Privindence. 1872.
24p.

Translated by Albert Lacombe, O.M.I.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian,

OOSJ

1874

LE CATECHISME EN IMAGES POUR L'INSTRUCTION DES SAUVAGES

Montreal: Imprimerie de l'Asile de la Provindence. 1874.
112p.

Translated by Albert Lacombe O.M.I.. Illustrated.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

OOSJ

1874

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE
CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

Printed for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge,
77 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. 1874. 116p.

Translated and compiled by Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop
of Moosonee. It is possible that these were printed by
Gilbert & Rivington as Pilling notes that copies of this
work were seen there. Gilbert & Rivington were the new
owners of former W.M.Watts.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.235

OOAR QMM OPAL ACG

1875

THE PSALTER, OR PSALMS OF DAVID, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE
CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: Printed for the Society For Promoting Christian
Knowledge, 77 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
1875. 188p. Printed by Gilbert & Rivington

By Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of the Diocese of
Moosonee. "Parts of Horden's version of the Psalter had
already appeared in 'A Collection of Psalms & Hymns'
(C.M.S.1859; S.P.C.K.1874)" (Darlow & Moule 1911).

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.236

OOAR

1876

THE NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATED INTO THE CREE LANGUAGE

London: Gilbert & Rivington for the British & Foreign
Bible Society, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.. 1876. 425p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of the
Diocese of Moosonee. "Some copies with the title exactly
as above end on p.245, the verso of which is blank, and
include only to the end of Acts. In the complete copies,
Romans begins on p.246."

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.236, 237.

ACG MWU OOSTP SSU GSA OTV OOSJ

1881

FAMILY PRAYERS FOR THE USE OF THE CREE INDIANS

London: Printed By Gilbert & Rivington, St. John's Square,
Clerkenwell for the Society For Promoting Christian
Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, London.
1881. 32p.

Compiled and translated into the syllabic character of the
Cree language by the Rev.J.A.Mackay, C.M.S. missionary and
tutor in Cree in Emanuel College, Diocese of Saskatchewan.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.326

SSU QMBM OTP OTV OOAR

1883

CHEMIN DE LA CROIX ET AUTRES PRIERES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES
DES POSTES D'ALBANY, SAVERN, MARTIN'S FALLS (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: Beauchemin & Valois, Libraires-Imprimeurs, 256 et
258 rue Saint-Paul. 1883 63p.

Translated by Andre Marie Garin, O.M.I.. This edition is identical in every respect to an earlier edition printed by Imprimerie de Louis Perrault in 1856, except that this 1883 edition lacks the O.M.I. seal on its inside cover. According to Pilling, this work was published under the authority of Bishop Lorrain but the work was revised by Rev. Francois Registe Deleage, O.M.I. who corrected the proofs.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.201

OOSJ OOAR

1883

KATOLIK AYAMIHEWIMASINA IKAN WAWESKISIWI SAKAIKANIK (Catholic Prayer Book, Waweskisiw Lake)

Printed at Waweskisiw Lake. 1883. 224p.

Translator and printer unknown. Quality of printing and binding suggest that it was produced by an O.M.I. mission press in northern Saskatchewan, possibly near present Waskisiw Lake. Copy at Archives Deschatelets bears the inscription, "Cris des Plaines du N.Ouest, Katolik Ayamihewimasinaikan, Waseskisiw Sakaikanik".

Not listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

OOSJ

1884

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE
SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH,
ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND

London: Gilbert & Rivington, Limited, St. John's Square,
for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge,
Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross. 1884. 190p.

Translated into the Cree language as spoken in the Diocese
of Rupert's Land, North-West America by James Hunter, C.M.S.
and transliterated into syllabic characters by William
Mason. This is a subsequent edition of an original 1859
edition. As Pilling notes other editions appear in 1860 and
1881. These editions can be distinguished from similar
editions to be used by eastern dialects of Cree, by the
note on the front insides "Archdeacon Hunter's Translation"
as opposed to the eastern Cree editions which bear "Rev.
J. Horden's Translation".

Referred to in Pilling, Algonquian, p.244 along with the
1859 edition

GSA

1886

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS BY JOHN BUNYAN

London: Religious Tract Society. 1886. vi 232p.

Translated into the language of the Cree Indians in the
Diocese of Moosonee, by the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas
Vincent of Albany. Approved after thorough examination by
the Bishop of Moosonee, Right Rev. John Horden.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.512

OOSJ GSA

1886

PRIERES, CANTIQUES, CATECHISME, ETC., EN LANGUE CRISE

Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeurs,
Nos 256 et 258, rue Saint-Paul. 1886. 412p.

Translated by Albert Lacombe, O.M.I.. Different copies
appear with different bindings.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.284-285

OOSJ OTV OOAR ACG OOA QQL QMU

1886

KATOLIK AYAMIHEWIMASINAHIGAN NEHIYAWEWINK. LIVRE DE PRIERES
EN LANGUE CRISE. MONIYAK: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils
WETASINAHIKEWATJIK. 1886. TATTO PIPUN APIN KA NITTAWIKIT
JESUS.

Montreal: Beauchemin & Fils Imprimeur 256 et 258 rue
Saint-Paul. 1886. 295p.

Translated by Albert Lacombe, O.M.I.. According to Pilling,
"the woodcut illustrations of the stations of the cross on
pp.42-68 have the inscription in Chippewa and French only".

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.284

SSW

1887

SERMONS DE MONSEIGNEUR BARAGA TRADUITS DE L'OTCHIPWE EN
MASKEGON, POUR L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES D'ALBANY, SEVERN, ET
MARTIN'S FALLS (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeur, 256
et 258, rue Saint-Paul. 1887. 64p.

Translated by Andre Marie Garin, O.M.I.. An enlarged edition
of that of 1859 printed by Imprimerie de Louis Perrault.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.201

OOSJ OOAR OOA QMBN OTU QSHERU

1888

CREE HYMN BOOK

Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms. 1888. 153p.

Revised and corrected by Rev. John McDougall, also a number of additional translations by the same and written in the syllabic character by the Rev. E. B. Glass. Pilling notes "for a earlier Cree hymn book used as a basis in the preparation of this one, see Hunter (Jean) 188?, 163p.". The original translators of this book were Rev. H. B. Steinhauer and Peter Erasmus, a native interpreter.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.324.

OTV

1889

RECUEIL DE PRIERES, CATECHISME ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES
DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON (POSTES DE MOOSE FACTORY' NEW-POST, ALBANY,
WASWANIPPI ET DE MEKISKAN).

Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeur, 256 et 258 rue Saint-Paul. 1889. 192p.

Published under the supervision of Rev. Jean Pierre Gueguen, O.M.I.. This is the first of two editions printed in 1889 by the same printer under the same direction. This edition is the largest edition of the two; the next edition was printed by Laverlochère, Garin, and Lebret.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.215.

OOSJ

1889

RECUEIL DE PRIERES, CATECHISME ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON, (POSTES DE MOOSE FACTORY, NEW-POST, ALBANY, WASWANIPI ET DE MEKISKAN).

Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils, Libraires-Imprimeur. 1889. 109p.

Published under the supervision of Rev. Jean Pierre Gueguen, O.M.I.. This edition, a second, was printed the same year as a first edition. This edition is shorter than the first, the latter being 192p.. Pilling notes that both editions originate from earlier printings by Laverlochere, Garin, and Lebret.

Listed in Pilling, Algonqian, p.215

OOSJ OOAR

1890

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: Gilbert & Rivington Limited, for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1890. 76p.

Compiled by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

GSA

1890

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; TOGETHER WITH THE PSALTER OR PSALMS OF DAVID

London: Gilbert & Rivington Limited, for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1890. 188p.

Translated into the language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Moosonee by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

GSA

1890

PRIMER AND LANGUAGE LESSONS IN ENGLISH AND CREE

Toronto: William Briggs, Wesley Buildings. 1890. 109p.

Prepared by Rev. E.B. Glass and translated by Rev. John McDougall.
Includes English and Cree syllabic characters.

Listed in Pilling, Algonquian, p.324

OTMCL

1892

BIBLE AND GOSPEL HISTORY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS,
NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, London. 1892. 64p.

Translated by Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

OOP OOU BVIPA

1892

THE CHURCH CATECHISM IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST
AMERICA

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, London. 1892. 14p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

GSA

1893

THE CHURCH CATECHISM IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1892. 14p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

Not Listed in Pilling, Algonquian.

GSA

1893

THE HAND-BOOK TO SCRIPTURES TRUTHS: OR, THE WAY OF SALVATION, WORDS OF ADMONITION, COUNSEL, AND COMFORT

Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms. 1893. 46p.

Prepared by Rev. J. Semmens and translated into the language of the Cree Indians by William Isbister, and revised by Rev. John McDougall. Copy given to Emmanuel College by Rev. John MacLean.

OTV

1893

CREE PRIMER

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1893. 39p.

Includes syllabarium and pronunciation instructions.

OOAR

1895

PRIERES, CATECHISME, ET CANTIQUES EN LANGUE CRISE

Lac Athabaska: Mission de la Nativité. 1895. 224p.

A second edition of prayers, catechism and chants prepared by Emile Grouard, O.M.I.. There are two copies at the Archives Deschâtelets, one originally from the archives in Rome. That copy is not well bound, not complete, and some pages have not been cut or separated. The second copy is complete, properly bound, and the pages free.

OOSJ

1895

PRIERES, CANTIQUES, CATECHISME, ETC. EN LANGUE CRISE

Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Ltée. 1895. 427p.

Translated by Albert Lacombe, edited, revised and corrected by Pierre Moulin, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1898

THE PEEP OF DAY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTHWEST AMERICA

London: Religious Tract Society. 1898. 179p.

Prepared by the Venerable Archdeacon Winter, C.M.S., York Factory, Diocese of Moosonee.

GSA

1898

CHEMIN DE LA CROIX ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DES POSTES D'ALBANY, SEVERN, MARTIN'S FALLS, ETC., (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: Beauchemin & Fils, Libraire-Imprimeur. 1898. 126p.

Prepared by Francois-Xavier Fafard, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1899

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS IN CREE SYLLABIC CHARACTERS

Oonikup: Printed by Joseph Reader on his press at Oonikup, North-West Territory. 1899.

Translated by Joseph Reader based on Mr. Darby's English New Translations, Dean Alford's Notes, Mr. Mason's and Bishop Horden's respective Cree translations. Copy at Emanuel College Library bears the inscription by its donor, Rev. John MacLean, "this translation is by Joseph Reader, Indian Missionary since 1876, and now at 80 years, and feeble through shaking palsy, is living with his son at Swan River, Manitoba, November 24, 1926". A later addition to this note reads, "March 19, 1927. Joseph Reader now living with a daughter south of Saskatoon. Is 81 years of age".

OTV

1899

CATECHISME DE PERSEVERENCE EN LANGUE CRIE, CARACTERES SYLLABIQUES
POUR L'USAGE DES SAUVAGE DES POSTES D'ALBANY' SEVERN, MARTIN'S FALLS,
ETC. BAIE D'HUDSON ET BAIE JAMES

Montreal: Beauchemin & Fils. 1899. 271p.

Translated by Francois-Xavier Fafard, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1900

BIBLE AND GOSPEL HISTORY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF
NORTH-WEST AMERICA

Published by Church Mission Publishers Co.. 1900. 64p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

OTV

1903

PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE OF SASKATCHEWAN, NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: Love & Malcolmson Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1903. 111p.

Compiled and translated by the Rev. J. A. McKay, missionary of the C.M.S. and Archdeacon of Saskatchewan. Book is printed in both syllabic characters and Roman orthography, with both side by side on each page.

OTV

1904

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN PLAINS CREE

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the British & Foreign Bible Society, London. 1904 453p.

William Mason's version, revised by John A. McKay, C.M.S..

GSA OOAR OLU MWP SSU ACG

1904

THE GOSPEL IN MANY TONGUES, CENTENNARY EDITION

Oxford: Horace Hart, Printer to the University for the British & Foreign Bible Society, London. 1904. 115p.

A total of 403 specimens of the varied languages and characters in which the British & Foreign Bible Society promotes translations.

OTV

1905

THE PSALMS IN PLAINS CREE (REVISED VERSION)

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the British & Foreign Bible Society, London. 1905. 136p.

OTV GSA

1905

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1905. 190p.

Translated into the language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, North-West America. "Archdeacon Hunter's Translation".

GSA

1906

LA VIE DE N. S. JESUS-CHRIST EN LANGUE CRISE

Lake Athabaska: Mission de la Nativité. 1906. 176p.

Compiled by Emile Grouard, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1907

CHEMIN DE LA CROIX ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DES POSTES D'ALBANY, SEVERN, MARTIN'S FALLS, ETC., (BAIE D'HUDSON)

Montreal: Beauchemin Ltée. 1907. 173p.

Compiled by Francois-Xavier Fafard, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1907

RECUEIL DE PRIERES CATECHISME ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON (POSTES DE MOOSE FACTORY, NEW-POST, ALBANY, WASWANIPI ET MEKISKAN)

Montreal: Beauchemin Ltée. 1907. 110p.

Compiled by Jean Pierre Gueguen based on Gueguen(1889)

OOSJ

1908

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN PLAINS CREE (REVISED VERSION 1908)

London: William Clowes & Sons Ltd., for the British & Foreign Bible Society, London. 1908. 453p.

A revised version in Plains Cree of an earlier bible. Colophon on reverse of title page reads, "William Clowes & Sons Limited" while a second colophon on the last page reads, "Gilbert & Rivington".

OTV

1908

INDEX OF SCRIPTURES - THE ONE HUNDRED TENETS(?) OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND

Rupert House: Printed by Rev. J.T. Griffin. 1908. 8p.

Translated and printed by Rev. J.T. Griffin, hand bound. One copy bears manuscript notes in English, "printed at Rupert House, St. Patrick's Day 1908 by J.T. Griffin. Here you will find what God says about, sin.....Holy Spirit, etc... The one hundred texts/ tenets(?) of the Church of Ireland". One copy bears its owner's name, Maria Jolly.

GSA

1909

THE NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATED INTO THE CREE LANGUAGE

London: Gilbert & Rivington Ltd., for the British & Foreign Bible Society, London. 1909. 425p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. This edition is a reprint of the 1876 edition. All aspects are identical including the date "1876" on the inside front cover, with the exception of "1000 reprinted 1909" which appears on the reverse side of the inside title page.

OOSJ OOAR

1909

THE MOOSONEE HYMNAL TRANSLATED INTO THE OJIBBEWAY LANGUAGE

London: William Clowes & Sons Ltd., 1909. 112p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee and the
Rev. John Sanders, Native missionary to the Ojibbeways of the
Diocese of Moosonee.

GSA

1910

PRIERES, CANTIQUES, CHEMIN DE LA CROIX ET CANTIQUES A L'USAGE DES
SAUVAGES DE FORT HOPE DE MARTIN'S FALLS ET DE NEW POST

Montreal: Beauchemin Ltée. 1910. 396p.

Compiled by Leon Carriere, O.M.I..

OTV OOSJ

1911

THE FIRST CATECHISM OF CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION AND DOCTRINE IN THE
CREE LANGUAGELondon: William Clowes & Sons Ltd., for the Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, London. 1911. 121p.

Cree syllabic characters are the original Evans style used in the
west.

GSA

1912

PORTIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND HYMNS IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

Oxford: Horace Hart Printer for the Society for Promoting Christian
Knowledge, London. 1912. 155p.

Translated by Rev. W.G. Walton, C.M.S. Fort George, into the dialect
of the Indians of the east coast of Hudson's Bay.

GSA

1912

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS
OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1912. 137p.

Compiled by Right Rev. Bishop Horden, Bishop of Moosonee, "Revised
Edition, With Appendix" appears on title page, Donated by Griffin,
March 22, 1913.

GSA

1912

A CREE REVIEW PUBLISHED BY THE OBLATE FATHERS OF SACRED HEART MISSION
SADDLE LAKE MISSION, ALBERTA

Saddle Lake: Sacred Heart Mission. 1912-1964.

Copies of October 1912-1915; 1925-1954 incomplete; 1939 complete;
1950 complete; and, 1953-1964 complete.

OOSJ

1913

PROPER LESSONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR THE SUNDAY AND OTHER HOLY
DAYS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., for the Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, London. 1913. 317p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.

GSA

1913

PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE
OF SASKATCHEWAN, NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., for the Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, London. 1913. 159p.

Compiled and translated by the Rev. J. A. MacKay, C.M.S., Archdeacon
of Saskatchewan.

GSA

1913

PEEP OF DAY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS LIVING IN THE
TERRITORY EAST OF HUDSON BAY

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.. 1913. 149p.

Translated by Rev. and Mrs. W. G. Walton. No indication appears that
this edition was done for the Society for Promoting Christian
Knowledge.

GSA

1913

AN EXPOSITION OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE
INDIANS WHO INHABIT THE TERRITORY EAST OF HUDSON BAY' CANADA

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.. 1913. 204p.

Translated by the Rev. and Mrs. W. G. Walton, C.M.S. missionaries.

GSA

1914

A CREE HYMN BOOK FOR THE USE OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS IN THE MISSIONS
OF THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: W. M. Watts. 1914(?). 163p.

Donated to Victoria College by Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young.

OTV

1914

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN PLAINS CREE REVISED VERSION 1904

London: British & Foreign Bible Society. 1914. 453p.

Translated by John A. MacKay, C.M.S.. Reverse side of title page shows "1000 reprinted in 1914".

OOAR

1916

CREE NEW TESTAMENT STORIES

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1916(?). 72p.

Prepared by A. Leigh, translated by the Rev. Canon E. Ahenekew.

GSA OOAR

1916

THE MOOSONEE HYMNAL TRANSLATED INTO THE OJIBBEWAY LANGUAGE

London: William Clowes & Sons Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1916. 112p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee, and the Rev. John Sanders, Native Missionary to the Ojibbeways of the Diocese of Moosonee.

GSA

1917

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1917. 299p.

Translated into the language of the Cree Indians by the Venerable Archdeacon James Hunter, revised by Archdeacon John A. MacKay.
Written in both syllabic characters and Roman orthography.

GSA

1918

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MOOSE CREE

London: William Clowes & Sons Ltd., for the British & Foreign Bible Society, London. 1918. 425p.

No translator indicated. Syllabic character title only on the title page.

GSA

1919

THE MOOSONEE HYMNAL TRANSLATED INTO THE OJIBBEWAY LANGUAGE

London: William Clowes & Sons Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1919. 112p.

Prepared by the Right Rev. Bishop of Moosonee and the Rev. John Sanders, Native Missionary to the Ojibbeways of the Diocese of Moosonee.

GSA

1920

CREE HYMN BOOK

Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms. 1920. 204p.

Revised and enlarged by Rev. Robert B. Steinhauer, and Rev. Egerton Ryerson Steinhauer. Hymns show English titles, along with syllabic characters.

GSA

1920

CREE DAILY BIBLE READINGS

London: Richard Clay & Sons Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1920.

Compiled by Rev. J.T. Griffin, Fort Albany. Approved by the Bishop of Moosonee for use in Moosonee Diocese.

GSA

1920

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA (REVISED EDITION, WITH APPENDIX)

London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1920. 137p.

Compiled by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Reverse side of title page notes, "Printed to 1915 - 11,500 copies. Reprinted 1920".

OOAR

1921

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL IN COASTAL CREE (TENTATIVE EDITION)

London: British & Foreign Bible Society. 1921. 57p.

No author shown. "St. John's Gospel in Coastal Cree Tentative Edition" appears on reverse of title page. Latter entirely in syllabics.

GSA OOAR

1921

THE PSALMS IN PLAINS CREE (REVISED VERSION)

London: British & Foreign Bible Society. 1921. 917-1052p.

Revised by John A. MacKay, C.M.S., and others.

OOAR

1921

LES SAINTS EVANGILES VIE DE NOTRE SEIGNEUR JESUS-CHRIST EN LANGUE
CRISE

Hobbema, Alberta: Imprimerie du Journal Cris. 1921(?). 672p.

Translated by Leon Balter, O.M.I., according to National Library of Canada, Rare Book Room; however, Archives Deschâtelets credits the translation of this and a 1972 edition to Albert Lacombe who first printed his translation in 1872, as well as to Pierre Moulin, O.M.I..

OOAR OOSJ

1921

AN EXPOSITION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE CREE
INDIANS WHO INHABIT THE TERRITORY EAST OF HUDSON BAY, CANADA

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.. 1921. 98p.

Compiled and translated by the Rev. and Mrs. W. G. Walton, C.M.S. Missionaries. Illustrations by permission of Religious Tract Society. Dedicated to the memory of Miles Spencer, a Hudson's Bay Company employee.

GSA

1922

NEW TESTAMENT IN CREE

London: British & Foreign Bible Society. 1922. 425p.

Translated by Right Rev. John Horden. Reprinted from 1876 edition.

OOSJ

1923

PORTIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND HYMNS IN THE CREE-INDIAN LANGUAGE (JAMES AND HUDSON BAYS, E.)

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.. 1923. 16p.

Translated by the Rev. and Mrs. W.G. Walton, C.M.S. Missionaries, Small tag on last blank page reads "Rev. Canon John T. (Probably Griffin), 34 Oakley Road, Dublin, Eire."

GSA

1924

CATECHISME DE PERSEVERENCE EN LANGUE CRISE POUR L'USAGE DES SAUVAGES DES POSTES D'ALBANY, SEVERN, MARTIN'S FALLS, ETC. BAIE D'HUDSON ET BAIE JAMES

Quebec: Imprimerie l'Action Sociale. 1924. 271p.

Translated by Francois-Xavier Fafard, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1925

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA (REVISED EDITION WITH APPENDIX)

London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 1925. 137p.

Compiled by Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed to 1920-13,000 copies. Reprinted 1922-1500 copies. Reprinted 1925-1500 copies".

GSA

1925

THE CHURCH CATECHISM

London: Willaim Clowes & Sons Limited, for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1925. 252p.

Translated into the Cree language by the Venerable Archdeacon James Hunter and the Venerable Archdeacon John A. Mackay.

GSA

1926

FAMILY PRAYERS COMPILED AND TRANSLATED INTO THE SYLLABIC CHARACTERS OF THE CREE LANGUAGE (MOOSONEE)

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1926. 36p.

Translated originally (for western dialects) by the Venerable Archdeacon John A. Mackay, revised by the Rev. J.T. Griffin, Missionary, Fort Albany.

GSA OOAR

1927

PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE OF SASKATCHEWAN, NORTH-WEST AMERICA

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, London & Beccles for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, 1927. 159p.

Compiled and translated by the Rev. John A. Mackay, C.M.S., Archdeacon of Saskatchewan. Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed, 11,000 copies 1891-1924. Printed, 1,000 copies 1927", Includes syllabic characters and Roman orthography.

GSA

1929

CREE ALMANACK 1929 & 30

Fort George: Printed at St. Phillip's Mission. 1929.

Translated and compiled by Canon J.T. Griffin. Manuscript on title page reads, "Issued 612 copies..compiled & printed by Canon Griffin".

GSA

1929

CATECHISME EN LANGUE CRISE

Hobbema: Imprimerie du Journal Cris. 1929. 93p.

Compiled by Pierre Moulin, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1929

CREE HYMN BOOK

Toronto: The United Church of Canada. 1929. 204p.

Revised and enlarged by Robert B. Steinhauer and Egerton R. Steinhauer.

OOAR

1929

PRIERES ET CANTIQUES EN LANGUE CRISE (NEW EDITION)

Hobbema: Imprimerie du Journal Cris. 1929. 328p.

Translated by Pierre Moulin, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1929

MY LITTLE CREE BOOK

Fort George: St. Phillip's Mission. 1929.

Compiled and printed by Rev. Canon J.T. Griffin. Contains addition tables, syllabarium picture of King, etc. Found in Griffin Papers.

GSA

1929

CATECHISME EN IMAGE; 70 GRAVURES, AVEC EXPLICATION DE CHAQUE TABLEAU.

Quebec: L'Action Sociale Ltee. 1930. 270p.

Translated into Cree and adapted to the Indians of James Bay, Quebec by Henri Belleau, O.M.I. in collaboration with Emile Saindon, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1930

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL IN COASTAL CREE (TENTATIVE EDITION)

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, for the British & Foreign Bible Society. 1930. 57p.

Only a syllabic character title appears on the title page. On the reverse side appears, "St. John's Gospel in Coastal Cree Tentative Edition".

GSA OTV

1930

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, TRANSLATED INTO THE LANGUAGE OF THE OJIBWA INDIANS IN THE DIOCESE OF MOOSONEE

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1930. 152p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden Bishop of Moosonee and the Rev. John Sanders of Matawakumma. Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed to 1919 - 5000 copies. Reprinted 1930 - 1000 copies".

GSA

1931

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MOOSE CREE

London: British & Foreign Bible Society. 1931. 425p.

Reprinted from an earlier edition translated by John Horden and printed in 1876.

OOAR

1931

LES QUATRE EVANGILES EN UN SEUL

Montreal: 1931. 340p.

Translated by Henri Belleau, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1932

THE PATHWAY OF SAFETY

London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge; Toronto: Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. 1932. 210p.

By the Right Rev. Ashton Oxenden, late Bishop of Montreal; translated by the Rev. John A. Mackay, Archdeacon of Saskatchewan, into the language of the Cree Indians of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, North-West Canada in 1909; re-written for the use of the Cree Indians in the Diocese of Moosonee by Rev. Canon J.T. Griffin, missionary, Fort George.

GSA

1932

PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE OF SASKATCHEWAN, NORTH-WEST AMERICA. ... Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1932 159p.

Text in syllabic characters and roman characters in parallel columns./ Text en caractères syllabiques et caractères romans sur des colonnes parallèles.

Tranlsation of John A. Mackay, C.M.S./ Traduction de John A. Mackay, C.M.S. cf. Pilling, Algonquian, p.325-326.

OOAR

1938

PETIT CHANSONNIER EN LANGUE CRISE A L'USAGE DES ENFANTS DE L'ECOLE

Albany: Mission du Lac Sainte-Anne. 1938. 74p. mimeographed.

No translator indicated.

OOSJ

1940

A COLLECTION OF HYMNS TRANSLATED INTO THE DIALECT OF THE CREE INDIANS
OF WESTERN HUDSON'S BAY, NORTHERN MANITOBA AND SASKATCHEWAN

Toronto: The General Board of Religious Education of the Church of
England in Canada, 604 Jarvis Street. 1940. 105p.

Prepared by the Venerable R. Faries, Diocese of Keewatin

GSA OTV

1941

PETIT CHANNONIER EN LANGUE CRISE A L'USAGE DES ENFANTS DE L'ECOLE

Albany: Mission du Lac Ste-Anne. 1941 180p. mimeographed.

No Translator indicated.

OOSJ

1942

PRIERES DE LA MESSE EN LANGUE CRISE

1942. 46p. mimeographed.

No translator indicated.

OOSJ

1942

PRIERES ET CANTIQUES EN LANGUE CRISE

Winnipeg: Editions de la Liberte. 1942. 324p.

Translated by Nicolas Guilloux, O.M.I.. Supplement printed by
Canadian Publishers of Winnipeg, adding p.319-353.

OOSJ

1945

PORTIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND HYMNS IN THE CREE INDIAN LANGUAGE (JAMES AND HUDSON BAY, E.)

Toronto: The Diocese of the Arctic, The Church House, 604 Jarvis Street, 1943. 16p.

Translated by the Rev. and Mrs. W.G. Walton, C.M.S.. Title page shows date "1923", but reverse side reads, "1943".

GSA

1943

RESUME DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT TRADUIT EN LANGUE CRISE

Le Pas, Manitoba: Les RR.PP. Oblats. 1943. 232p. Illustrated.

Translated by Nicolas Guilloux, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1943

LIVRE D'APOLOGETIQUE

Le Pas: RR.PP. Oblats. 1943. 114p.

Translated by Nicolas Guilloux, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1945

LIVRE DE PRIERES EN LANGUE SAUTEUSE. ... St. Boniface Canadian Publishers Limited. 1945. 342p.

Texte en caractères syllabiques. / Text in syllabic characters

Traduction d'Albert Lacombe, o.m.i. / Translation of Albert Lacombe, O.M.I.

Cf. Pilling, Algonquian, p., 284.

OOAR

1945

LIVRE DE PRIERES EN LANGUE SAUTEUSE

St. Boniface, Manitoba: Canadian Publishers Limited. 1945.

Reverse side of title page reads, "Imprimatur: Adelardus O.M.I.
Archiepiscopus Sancti Bonifacii, Manitoba-Canada". No pagination.

OOAR

1945 - 1948

FORT HOPE CREE REVIEW (A PUBLICATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION)

Fort Hope: R.C. Mission. 1945-48.

Copies in the Archives Deschatelets January 3, 1945 - January, 1948.

OOSJ

1946

THE BIBLE IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

London: British and Foreign Bible Society 1946. 1512 p.

Verso of title-page / Verso de page titre: Old Testament - Revised version, 1908. New Testament-Revised version, 1904.

Text in syllabic characters./ Texte en caractères syllabiques.

cf. Pilling, Algonquian, p.339.
Darlow & Moule, 3130.

Peel, 229.

OOAR

1946

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN PLAINS CREE (REVISED VERSION, 1904)

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, Beccles, for the British & Foreign Bible Society. 1946. 453p.

Reverse side of title page reads, "The New Testament in Plain Cree. (Revised Version, 1904)".

OTV GSA

1947

LIVRE DE PRIERES EN LANGUE CRISE

Albany: Mission du Lac Ste-Anne, Baie James. 1947. 147p. mimeographed.

Compiled by Arthur Lavoie, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1946

THE BIBLE IN THE CREE LANGUAGE (PLAINS CREE)

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, Beccles, for the British & Foreign Bible Society 1946. 1512p.

Comprised of revised version of the New and Old Testaments, first printed in 1904 and 1908 respectively.

OTV GSA OOAR

1946

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA (REVISED EDITION WITH APPENDIX)

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, London and Beccles for the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1946. 137p.

Compiled by the late Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed to 1940 - 20,000 copies. Reprinted 1946 - 1,500 copies".

GSA

1949

WHEN WE GO TO CONFESSION

By Daniel A. Lord, S.J. Translated into the Cree language by J.B. Gagnon, O.M.I. Albany Residential School, James Bay, Ont. 1949. 69p.

Text in syllabic characters. / Texte en caractères syllabiques.

SSU OPET

1949

CREE HYMN BOOK

Translation from the United Church Hymnary by F.G. Stevens.

Toronto: Board of Home Mission. 1949. 275p.

Text in syllabic characters. / Texte en caractères syllabiques.

OKG

1949

CREE HYMN BOOK (TRANSLATED FROM THE UNITED CHURCH HYMNARY)

Toronto: Board of Home Missions. 1949. 275p.

Translated by Rev. F.G. Stevens.

OOAR OKQ

1949

WHEN WE GO TO CONFESSION

Fort Albany, James Bay, Ontario: Printed at Albany Residential School. 1949. 69p.

Translated into Cree By J.B. Gagnon, O.M.I., Albany Residential School. Compiled by Daniel A. Lord, S.J.. mimeographed.

OOAR

1949

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS
OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA (REVISED EDITION, WITH APPENDIX)

Toronto: Thorn Press, for the Supplies Department of the General Board
of Religious Education, 604 Jarvis Street, Toronto. 1949. 137p.

Compiled by the late Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.
Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed to 1940 - 20,000 copies.
Reprinted 1946 - 1,500. Reprinted 1949 - 5,000".

GSA OTV

1949

PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE OF
SASKATCHEWAN, NORTH-WEST, AMERICA.

Toronto: Thorn Press, for the General Board of Religious Education,
Church of England in Canada, 604 Jarvis St.. 1949. 159p.

Compiled and translated by the Rev. John A. Mackay, C.M.S., Archdeacon
of Saskatchewan. Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed, 13,000
copies 1891-1932. Printed, 1,500 copies, 1935. Printed, 5,000 copies,
1949."

GSA

1949

RECUIEL DE CANTIQUES EN LANGUE CRISE

Albany: Mission du Lac Ste-Anne. 1949. 199p. mimeographed.

Compiled by Arthur Lavoie, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1949

PRIERES ET CANTIQUES EN LANGUE CRISE

Hobbema: Imprimerie du Journal Cris. 1949. 98p.

Translated by Pierre Moulin, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1950

AUX PETITS ENFANTS. PRIERES AVANT ET APRES LA LST COMMUNION

Albany: Mission du Lac Sainte Anne, Baie James. 1950. 87p.

Tranlsated by Jean-Baptiste Gagnon, O.M.I.; prepared by J. Bouchat.
Mimeographed.

OOSJ

1951

THE CHURCH CATECHISM

Toronto: Church Book Room. 1951. 252p.

Probably a reprint of an earlier edition also translated into Cree
by Archdeacon Hunter and Archdeacon John A. Mackay in 1925 of the
same length.

GSA

1951

THE KITCHITWA MITEH HOBBEMA ALBERTA

Hobbema, Alberta: Published monthly by the Oblate Fathers. June 1951.

Periodical produced at Oblate Mission at Hobbema, Alberta. Fr. Romeo
Levert, O.M.I. editor. Includes English, Roman orthography, and
syllabic characters.

OOAR

1952

RECUEIL DE PRIERES EN LANGUE CRISE

Albany: Mission du Lac Ste-Anne, 1952, 167p.

No translator indicated.

OOSJ

1954

A COLLECTION OF HYMNS

Translated into the dialect of the Cree Indians of Western Hudson's Bay' Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, by the Venerable R. Faries, Diocese of Keewatin, Canada. Published by the Board of Religious Education of the Church of England in Canada. 1954. 97p.

Text in syllabic characters. / Texte en caractères syllabiques.

OOAR

1952

PRIERES ET CANTIQUES EN LANGUE CRISE

Winnipeg: Editions de la Liberte, 1952, 320p.

Compiled by Guy Burlot, O.M.I.. A second edition of this book was printed in Roman orthography by the same compilator and printer the following year (1953). The latter edition was 336p. in length.

OOSJ OOAR

1955

CATECHISME (CREE)

Albany: Mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, Baie James, 1955. 36p.

Illustrated; mimeographed.

OQSJ

1955 - 1956

SPIRITUAL LIGHT

Norway House: United Church of Canada. 1955-56. mimeographed newsletter

Translated into syllabic characters (western style). Appears in English and Cree syllabics only.

OLU

1955 - 1968

TIPATCHIMOWIN. A CREE REVIEW

East Coast, James Bay: Oblate Fathers. 1955-1968

Copies available: 1955-1960 complete; and, 1968 complete.

OOSJ

1956

PROPER LESSONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT, FOR THE SUNDAYS AND OTHER HOLY DAYS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

Toronto: General Board of Religious Education, 600 Jarvis Street, 1956. 317p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Probably a reprint from a 1913 edition of the same length.

GSA

1956

THE NEW TESTAMENT (MOOSE CREE)

London: William Clowes & Sons Limited, London & Beccles, for the British & Foreign Bible Society. 1956. 425p.

Translated by John Horden. Probably a reprint of Horden's 1876 version of the same length. At the time the owner of the company was Gilbert & Rivington, now William Clowes & Sons Limited.

GSA

1956

THE FIRST CATECHISM OF CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION AND DOCTRINE IN THE LANGUAGE

Toronto: General Board of Religious Education, 600 Jarvis Street. 1956. 121p.

Appears in Western style syllabic characters.

GSA

1959

THE ORDER FOR THE MINISTRY TO THE SICK FROM THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
Canada (Cree)

Toronto(?): Anglican Church of Canada. 1959. 13p.

Compiled by R. Horsefield and Ahab Spence. Mimeograph.

GSA

1959

THE POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH: THE BOOKLET "WHY I AM AN ANGLICAN"
BY THE LATE ARCHDEACON DAVID WILLIAMS

Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada,
Church House, 600 Jarvis Street. 1959. 16p.

Edited and translated for the Crees by Archdeacon Alfred Woolcock and
Raymond Horsefield, Mimeographed in western syllabic characters.

GSA

1959

BIBLE ATLAS

Prepared and produced by the staff of the Indian Training College of
the Anglican Church of Canada. 1959. 10p. Mimeographed.

GSA

1959

MEDITATIONS ON ISAIAH IN THE CREE LANGUAGE

Adapted from "Forward Day by Day", Summer 1959, by Rev. Corwin C.
Roach, Ph.D.. Mimeographed.

GSA

1959

PRIERES EN LANGUE CRISE COTE EST DE LA BAIE JAMES. EASTMAIN, OLD
FACTORY.

1959. 68p.

Translated by Henri Belleau, O.M.I. and Louis Boisseau, O.M.I. revised
and enlarged by Louis-Philippe Vaillancourt, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1960

PRIERES EN LANGUE CRISE (COTE OUEST DE LA BAIE JAMES, MOOSONEE)

Moosonee: 1960. 81p.

Translated by Guy Marsolais, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1961

A CREE BIBLE DICTIONARY

Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada, Church House, 600 Jarvis Street. 1961. 167p.

Edited and translated for the Crees by the Venerable R.B. Horsefield.

GSA

1962

READINGS FROM THE APOCRYPHA, INCLUDING ALL THE LESSONS APPOINTED FOR SUNDAYS IN THE 1959 PRAYER BOOK OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA, WITH OTHER BRIEF SELECTIONS.

Indian Training College. 1962. 13p.

GSA

1963

A CREE LANGUAGE VERSION OF THE BOOKLET "LIFE AND CUSTOMS IN BIBLE TIMES"

Toronto: The Department of Missions (M.S.C.C.), The Anglican Church of Canada, Church House, 600 Jarvis Street. 1963. 11p.

Translation prepared by Marion C. Armstrong.

GSA

1963

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; TOGETHER WITH THE PSALTER OF PSALMS OF DAVID TRANSLATED INTO THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE OF MOOSONNEE.

Toronto: Anglican Book Centre. 1963.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Title page still bears the S.P.C.K. credit. Reverse side of title page reads, "Printed to 1924 -12,000 copies. Reprinted 1941 - 1,000 copies. Reprinted 1949 - 5,000 copies. Reprinted 1963 - 5,000 copies.

OOAR

1963

TRADUCTION DE L'EVANGILE SELON SAINT MATHIEU EN LANGUE CRISE DE LA COTE EST DE LA BAIE JAMES

1963, 235p. mimeographed.

Translated by the Soeur Grise de la Croix (probably at Fort George, Mission St-Joseph)

OOSJ

1963

WITCI AYAMITCHIKEMATA AYAMIESKAN

Moosonee: Presses Missionnaires Sainte-Therese-de-L'Enfant-Jesus. 1963. 5 leaves.

Compiled by Henri Belleau, O.M.I..

OOSJ

1965

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST TRANSLATED INTO THE CREE LANGUAGE

Moosonee: Theresa Press. 1965. 198p.

Translated by Bishop Henri Belleau, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1966

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS
OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA (REVISED EDITION, WITH APPENDIX)

Toronto: The Anglican Church of Canada, 600 Jarvis Street. 1966. 137p.

Compiled by the late Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee.
Reverse of title page reads, "Printed to 1940 - 20,000 copies. Reprinted
1946 - 1,500 copies. Reprinted 1949 - 5,000 copies. Reprinted 1964 -
1,000 copies. Reprinted 1966 - 1,000 copies.

GSA

1968

LEARNING SAULTEUX

Kenora, Ontario: no publisher indicated.

By G. Paris and Paul Bruyere. A short set of lessons using the Oblate
writing system. A set of tapes accompany the lessons.

OOSJ

1971

CREE HYMN BOOK

Winnipeg: Manitoba Conference Home Missions Committee, The United
Church of Canada.

Copies available from the United Church Book Store, 120 Maryland Street,
Winnipeg, Manitoba. Book contains English, Roman orthography and
syllabic characters.

OTV

1971

CREE HYMNAL (MOOSONEE EDITION)

252p.

Illustrated.

OOSJ

1971 / 1972

INDIAN LEGENDS OF EASTERN CANADA

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1971.
Reprinted 1972.

By students of summer course for teacher assistants, Centennial College, Toronto 1969. Twenty stories from the Native people of Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, in English, with Cree translation by Xavier Sutherland of Winisk and an Ojibwe translation by the Rev. Canon G.T. Kaye and others of Fort Hope.

OORDT

1972

RITE OF BAPTISM (SECOND EDITION)

Moosonee: Conseil Diocesain de pastorale. 1972. 33p.

From original edition translated by Arthur Lavoie, O.M.I.

OOSJ

1972

THE HOLY GOSPEL OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST (FOUR GOSPELS HARMONIZED IN CREE LANGUAGE)

Edmonton: La Survivance Printing Ltd. 1972. 672p.

Archives Deschatelets (O.M.I.) credits Albert Lacombe (1872) with this translation. First edition indicated on title page printed in Hobbema (1921). Title pages of both editions are identical.

OOSJ OOAR OTV

1973

OJIBWAY STORIES (OJIBWAY TIBACHIMOWIN)

Toronto: Indian Affairs & Northern Development, Education Division. 1973.

Edited by Mary Mitchell; an introductory reading book for Ojibwa children. Produced by the students and staff of the Native Language School in Fort Frances, August 1973. Children's drawing with syllabic captions. The English translation is given at the back.

OORDT

1973

MOOSE CREE SONG BOOK

Prince Albert, Saskatchewan: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission. 1973.

A Hymnal from Moose Factory with Cree text in both Roman writing (in the system proposed by Ellis (1973) and syllabics. First imprint in Ellis' new Roman orthography.

NCEM

1974

THE FOUR GOSPELS. NEW TRANSLATION FROM THE JERUSALEM BIBLE, IN THE CREE LANGUAGE OF THE WEST COAST OF JAMES BAY, THE DIOCESE OF MOOSONEE

1974. 250p.

Translated into Cree

OOSJ

1974

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES IN WEST COAST CREE

Moosonee: Presses Missionaries Sainte-Therese-de-L'Enfant-Jesus. 1974. 97p.

Translated into West coast Cree.

OOSJ

1974

NINKO KIKINONOWIN (AN EASY READING BOOK FOR OJIBWE SPEAKING CHILDREN OF THE LAKE-OF-THE-WOODS AREA

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1974.

Compiled by Maria Seymour, John Nichols, and Barbara Burnaby. Illustrated book of seasonal activities with syllabic texts. The Roman transcription and English translation appear in the back.

OORDT

1974

MOOSE FACTORY CREE

Cobalt, Ontario: Highway Book Shop. 1974.

An English-Moose Cree Wordlist by Daisy Turner, arranged by subject with both syllabic and non-standard Roman orthography. This book was prepared for use in Moose Factory Schools.

MFIS

1974

AYAMITATA INANAMOWIN

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1974.

By Sr. Catherine. Illustrated story book in syllabics from Albany, intended as a syllabic reader for elementary schools.

OORDT

1975

KAWITAMAKEHMAKAK MASINA IKAN (BASIC CREE-ENGLISH WORD LIST)

Big Trout Lake: 1975. mimeographed.

Compiled by Marguerite MacKenzie. Representatives from the Cree communities on the coast prepared this basic Cree-English word list in syllabics as a class project at a workshop at Big Trout Lake in the summer of 1975.

MM

1975

AYSHI PIMATISIYAK KIWAYTINOK (HOW WE LIVE UP NORTH)

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1975.

Illustrated experience book by Sr. Catherine, Albany. English text in back.

OORDT

1975

HELPING MOTHER, HERE I GO, A LITTLE HOUSE, THE NEW BABY.

Fort Frances: Fort Frances Public Library. 1975.

Translated into Lake-of-the-Woods Ojibwe by Elsie Bruyere and John Nichols. Four children books originally by Lois Dalby and Jeanette McCrie, from the Makwa Series printed by Peguis Publishers of Winnipeg. The text is in syllabics with roman text in the back.

OFFPS

1975

ININIMOWIN WASINAIKEN (ALPHABET BOOK)

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1975.

By Sr. Catherine, Albany, an "alphabet book" for syllabics

OORDT

1976

KIONIKEHYAKIPAN

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1976.

Authored and illustrated by Florence Angecone, a story of a family trapping expedition in Lac Seul Ojibwe. An English translation is included at the end of the book.

OORDT

1976

AWEHYASHISHOK KA AKISOCHIK

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1976.

Sr. Catherine, Albany wrote this syllabic reader about fur-bearing animals of the north; seventeen species are illustrated and discussed in Albany Cree.

OORDT

1976

TIPACHIMOWIN (STORIES)

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Eduction Division. 1976.

Authored and illustrated by Paul Wabasse. Syllabic reader about traditional and modern of livelihoood. Tha author, from summer Beaver, prepared the book at the second Big Trout Lake syllabics conference.

OORDT

1976

EHNANATAMINAWACH WISAKEHCHAK

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1976.

Written and illustrated by Joseph McKay, an illustrated Wisakejak story from Bearskin.

OORDT

1976

TIPACHIMOKANOWAK O-OMA WAKAHIKANIK KAKAPEHSIWA

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1976.

By Elizabeth MacKay, illustrated by same, about the activities of family members at Big Trout Lake. This was another product of the Big Trout Lake syllabics workshop.

OORDT

1976

AKINCHIKEHTA

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1976.

Authored and illustrated by Pat Ningewance for Ojibway speaking children of the Lac Seul-Osnaburgh-Pikangikum area. Illustrated real life dialogues in syllabics for school reading. It contains a list of the words used. The author is from Lac Seul.

OORDT

1976

EHYTATANOKATIT CHICHIPISTIKWAN (WHITE FEATHER'S HEAD & WESAKAYCHAK)

Toronto: Indian & Northern Affairs, Education Division. 1976.

Written and illustrated by Bertha Metatawabin of Albany. English summary in back. The book was prepared at the second Big Trout Lake syllabics workshop, held in the summer of 1976.

OORDT

CATECHISME ILLUSTRE FRANCAIS-CRIS

Paris: Bouasse-Lebel. n.d. 56p.

Translated by Albert Lacombe, O.M.I.

OOSJ

CATECHISME POUR LES PETITS ENFANTS

15p.

Translated into Cree.

OOSJ

FAMILY PRAYERS COMPILED AND TRANSLATED INTO THE SYLLABIC CHARACTER OF
THE CREE SYLLABIC (MOOSONEE)Toronto: Editorial Committee of the General Board of Religious
Eduction of the Anglican Church of Canada, 604 Jarvis. n.d.Translated originally (for western dialects) by the Venerable
Archdeacon John A. MacKay, revised by the Rev. J.T. Griffin, Missionary,
Fort Albany. This is a second edition; the first having been printed
by William Clowes & Sons Limited in 1926.

GSA

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: TOGETHER WITH THE PSALTER OR PSALMS OF DAVID TRANSLATED INTO THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF THE DIOCESE OF MOOSONEE.

Oshawa: Maracle Printing Company. n.d.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Title page still bears the S.P.C.K. credit. Two other editions have been located (1890) and (1963); printed by Gilbert & Rivington, and the Anglican Book Centre respectively.

GSA

MY LITTLE BOOK

Fort George: St. Phillip's Mission. n.d.

Compiled and printed by Rev. Canon J.T. Griffin. Includes syllabarium, months and days of week in syllabic characters but actually their English names, our flag, our king, names for boys, names for girls, etc.. Found among the Griffin Papers.

GSA

THE CHURCH AND MISSIONARY WORK: 1) THE GREAT MISSIONARY 2) WHY WE SHOULD HELP IN MISSIONARY WORK 3) HOW WE CAN HELP IN MISSIONARY WORK 4) THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY

Toronto: The Educational Department of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, (William Clowes & Sons Ltd., Duke Street, and Stamford Street, London). n.d. 16p.

Translated into western style syllabic characters.

GSA

READINGS THROUGH HEBREWS

n.d.. 12p. mimeographed

Translated into Cree (western style characters) by Rev. R.B. Horsefield, compiled by R.R. Williams.

GSA

FAMILY PRAYER FOR THE USE OF THE CREE INDIANS

Toronto: General Board of Religious Education of the Church of England in Canada, 604 Jarvis Street. n.d.. 32p.

Compiled and translated into the syllabic character of the Cree language by the Rev. John A. MacKay, C.M.S. Missionary, and tutor in Cree, Emmanuel College, Diocese of Saskatchewan. A reprint of an earlier edition printed by Gilbert & Rivington, London (1881), of the same length.

GSA

THE TRAVELLER'S SPIRITUAL PR VISION

Oonikup, Saskatchewan: n.d.. no pagination.

Translated into western style syllabic characters, probably by Joseph Reader at Oonikup, Saskatchewan.

OTV

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA.

Toronto: Supplies Department, General Board of Religious Education, 604 Jarvis Street. n.d. 299p.

Translated by Archdeacon James Hunter; revised by Archdeacon John A. Mackay. Reprint of an earlier edition (1917) printed by William Clowes & Sons Limited, of the same length.

GSA

ALPHABETS DE CARACTERES SYLLABIQUES POUR LA LANGUE CRISE

n.d.. 15p.

Compiled by Albert Lacombe, O.M.I..

OOSJ

KAISHPISHEHNITAWICHIKOAMISKO

Hudson's Bay Company. n.d. 16p.

Book to explain and promote beaver conservation, translated into eastern style Cree characters. no pagination. Book found at Rupert House, James Bay, Quebec.

QJM

INSTRUCTIONS WHAT IF FOLLOWED WILL PREVENT INDIANS CONTRACTING TUBERCULOSIS

n.d. 2p.

Instructions printed on 2 sheets of cloth, one in English, the other in Cree syllabic characters, western style.

OLU

AHCHAKOWI WASEHYASIWIN

n.d. 15p.

Translated into syllabic characters (western style) with one hymn in English on page 15, the rest of the text is entirely in syllabic characters. mimeographed.

OTV

BIBLE AND GOSPEL HISTORY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CREE INDIANS OF NORTH-WEST AMERICA

Toronto: Canadian Mission Publishers Co.. n.d.. 64p.

Translated by the Right Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. First version in Moose dialect appeared in 1860, printed by W.M. Watts, London; this edition is probably a reprint of editions, both 64p., printed in 1892. by Gilbert & Rivington, and in 1900 by Church Mission Publishers Co..

GSA

APPENDIX B

IDENTIFYING FEATURES OF CREE SYLLABIC WRITING AND TYPE STYLES

Texts in syllabic characters pose a unique problem of identification for librarians, archivists, and researchers in that few of the latter can read syllabics nor usually understand the language itself. Still, a research of the evolution of the syllabic system, and those texts which appear in various systems of the characters has produced certain criteria by which most works could be identified. Identification of the work might be best accomplished in the following manner:

- a) Identify the system of syllabic characters used.

This might be most easily accomplished with the help of the charts of this appendix.

- b) Identify the press or publisher of the work.

This might be most easily accomplished with the help of the type style and other identifying features shown in Tables 9 and 10.

- c) Identify the work using the above information by comparison with those texts listed in Appendix A.

The Roman orthographical equivalents used in this appendix for comparison with syllabic characters is that of C. Douglas Ellis, as it appears in his "Proposed Roman Orthography for Cree", reproduced in Chapter 3 of this study. The following bibliographic sources were

used in preparation of the catalogue (see Appendix A) of texts in syllabics which appears in this study. As well, these bibliographic works were used to provide positive identification.

ARCHIVES DESCHÂTELETS, (O.M.I.)

- 1980 Photocopy of the card file references on Cree language holdings at the Atchives Deschâtelets, Ottawa, Ontario.

BANKS, Joyce M.

- 1980 Books In Native Languages In The Collection Of The Rare Books And Manuscripts Division Of The National Library Of Canada, Ottawa, National Library of Canada, xiii - 93p.

BERNAD, Marcel, O.M.I.

- 1922 Bibliographie Des Missionnaires Oblats De Maire Immaculée, Tome 1, Ecrits des Missionnaires 1816-1915, Liege: H. Dessain, rue Trappe, 147p.

CARRIERE, Gaston O.M.I.

- 1973 "Imprimes en langues indiennes conserve aux archives historique Oblates, Ottawa", Anthropologica, Vol.15, pp.129-151.

MURDOCH, John

- 1980 "Algonquian Texts In The Syllabic Characters", manuscript, 100p.

PEEL, Bruce

- 1973 A Bibiliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953, Second Edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 780p.

- 1974 The Rossville Mission Press, Montreal: Osiris Publications, 48p.

PILLING, James Constantine

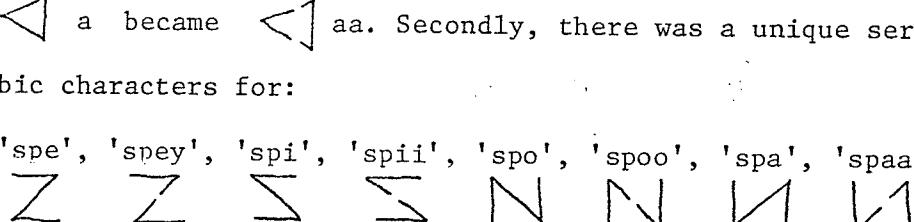
- 1891 Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, xii - 125p. U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin #14.

Identification of the System of Syllabic Characters

During the development of syllabic characters, a number of different systems evolved, reflecting differences in demands made upon the system by different languages or dialects of the Algonquian language family, (i.e., Ojibwa, Chippewa, Cree, Saulteaux, Bungi, Muskegon, Swampy Cree, etc.,), as well as the idiosyncracies of the

Often the variety of styles used in the printed texts reflects more the hopes of certain missions to innovate its own style, rather than prevailing Indian usage of the texts' styles. Many of the unique features of styles in the texts are not found in the writing styles of Algonquian Indians. The latter tends to be streamlined and is essentially the same system invented by Evans, differing from east to west only in the final consonants used.

The first style to be used was that of the inventor, James Evans. The type was carved of oak for use on a home-made press which was fabricated from an old fur press. This printing style had two characteristic features. First, long syllables were denoted by broken lines: < a became <] aa. Secondly, there was a unique series of syllabic characters for:

'spe', 'spey', 'spi', 'spii', 'spo', 'spoo', 'spa', 'spaa':


These letters were printed on a press which was hand inked, and not with the best of materials. As a result, it is often difficult to distinguish those characters which were deliberately broken from those which are broken as the result of poor inking or poor fonts. For a full chart of this style, see Table 1, Evan's Press Style.

Only months before Evans left his mission station at Norway House, the press he had long requested, finally arrived. This press was not likely ever used by Evans and is not believed to have begun operation until 1846. It was used by William Mason and later Thomas Hurlburt until 1857. The press was an old one bearing the date of manufacture, 1786. It was often short of types or fonts. The effects

of winter and building space were frequent problems. English, Chippewa(Ojibwa or Saulteaux) and Cree were all possible.¹ The two unique features of the syllabary printed on this press were: the denoting of long syllables by a thickening of the lines: < a < aa. and, the final for 'c'(as in church) became: = , changed from the original — . For a full chart of this style, see Table 2, Rossville Mission Press Style.

When the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Rooms published a Hymn Book in 1888², they made an innovation which made the style distinct from those previously used. This style is different or unique in the manner in which dots are used to alter the sound values of a syllable:

\triangle i becomes $\triangle\cdot$ iw, and with the dot in the upper right $\triangle\cdot$ ii becomes $\triangle\cdot$ wii. A full chart of this style can be found on Table 3, Later Methodist Style.

During John Horden's early years at Moose Fort among the eastern Cree and Ojibwa or Saulteaux, the style used bore a closer resemblance to the original Evans style, or the later Rossville Mission style, but with some differences. This system was unique in its use of finals together with innovations for some sounds used in the east.

The finals were of the original type: l \ / c n but the style also included three series of syllables, not in the original Evans style:

→ le ↗ li → lo ↗ la; ↘ she ↗ shi ↗ sho
 ↙ sha; and, ↘ re ↗ ri ↗ ro ↗ ra. This style was used from about 1853 to about 1873. For a full chart of this style, see Table 4, Early Eastern Style.

When Laverlochere and Garin first came into contact with the

syllabic system used by Barnley and Horden, they were amazed by the ease and rapidity with which syllabics usage spread. Garin particularly was concerned that his religious order adopt the system and as early as possible, place books in the character in the hands of his "savages". The system used by the eastern Oblates was unique in two significant ways: \textcircled{U} she \textcircled{J} shi \textcircled{C} sho \textcircled{S} sha, were used together with a final consonant: \textcircled{T} for 'l'. The first publication in this style was in 1854.³ A full chart of this style can be found on Table 5, Eastern Oblate Style.

After a series of conferences with Watkins, Horden and the latter improvised a new set of finals, plus an additional two series of syllabic characters (since the Early Eastern Style). This was simply to accommodate the Inuit language.⁴ Those new additions were:

$\textless p$, $\textcircled{C} t$, $\textcircled{b} k$, $\textcircled{U} c$, $\textcircled{L} m$, $\textcircled{e} n$, $\textcircled{h} s$, $\textcircled{S} \bar{s}$, $\textcircled{C} l$, $\textcircled{G} r$,
 $\textless v$, $\textcircled{C} th$, and the syllabic series $\textcircled{V} ve$ $\textcircled{A} vi$ $\textcircled{G} vo$
 $\textless va$, and the series $\textcircled{U} the$ $\textcircled{O} thi$ $\textcircled{D} tho$ $\textcircled{C} tha.$

For a complete chart of this style, see Table 6, Horden Watkins Style.

When the Oblate missions in the Canadian West adopted the syllabic system, they innovated certain unique features which distinguish their style from others used. in some main ways: the series $\textcircled{Y} le$ $\textcircled{Y} li$ $\textcircled{J} lo$ $\textcircled{U} la$, and the finals $\textcircled{S} 'l'$, $\textcircled{z} 'r'$, $\textcircled{t} 'y'$ were used. A full chart of this style can be found on Table 7, Western Oblate Style.

The only style not yet mentioned is that which was used the most in the western parts of Ontario, most of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The books printed by W.M.Watts, Gilbert & Rivington, and

Thomas Clowes for use in those areas from 1859 to the middle of this century, were usually printed in this style. This style can only be distinguished by eliminating the previous styles. In other words, this style has all of the common elements of the other styles, without any unique features. For a chart of this style, see Table 8, Western Style.

Identification of the Syllabic Types or Fonts Used by Certain Presses

Further identification can be derived from an examination of the types or fonts used by the early presses which printed in the syllabic characters. Most are easily distinguished from others used.

They are described as follows, samples appear on Table 9:

Evans First Press: used the syllabic characters of earliest Evans style, see Table 1. Equipment and inking were poor and can be readily distinguished from a proper press.

Rossville Mission Press: used the fonts and the rather archaic press sent by the Wesleyan Mission Society from London. The syllabic type was that of Table 2. Inking was better than the earlier homemade press used by Evans, but still of an inferior quality to that achieved by later presses.

W.M.Watts (Moose): These types or fonts were sent out by the Church Missionary Society of London to John Horden at Moose Fort, in 1853. It can only be distinguished from the fonts used by W.M.Watts in London by the quality of inking achieved. Horden was using an Albion Press⁵ and was not able to achieve the consistency of inking that his London counterpart using the same Watts fonts was able to.

W.M.Watts (London): This type or set of fonts was used by W.M.Watts of London, later bought out by Gilbert & Rivington, and still later by Thomas Clowes & Sons. There are at least three different sizes of the same fonts, none of which were available at Moose Fort. See Table 9.

Louis Perrault (Montreal): This type can be distinguished from the later versions by new owners (Beauchemin & Cie.) by a combination of the larger size with the Eastern Oblate Style syllabic characters.

Later fonts used by Beauchemin included the unique features of Eastern Oblate Style characters but the font size was reduced. The inking by Louis Perrault was also much heavier than that of Beauchemin. The earliest printing by Perrault is 1854.⁶ The earliest printing by Beauchemin is 1883.⁷ See Table 9 for samples.

Beauchemin & Cie. (Montreal): This type can only be distinguished from the style used by the earlier owner of the company's syllabic characters operations as described above. See Table 9 for samples.

Gilbert & Rivington (London): Gilbert & Rivington carried on the use of the fonts originally commissioned by W.M.Watts, but added fonts to accommodate the new Horden Watkins Style of syllabic characters. See Table 9 for samples.

Oonikup Press: Joseph Reader established a small press in the Touchwood Hills area of eastern Saskatchewan, at Oonikup or Quill Lake. Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, he printed a number of materials in a very unique and easy to identify style.⁸ See a sample on Table 9.

Identification of the Seals of Certain Mission Presses (Catholic):

The presses involved in publication for Catholic missions usually owned and located at those missions are often difficult to distinguish from one another because they all use the same types of types or fonts, and are often do not indicate location, in any language which a librarian or archivist might easily read. For that reason, a further set of identifying criteria have been sought. On most of these missions' publications, there appears a seal or ensignia which is distinctive to that press or mission. These can be found on Table 10, Seals of Certain Mission Presses.

Summary of Identification by Syllabic Styles:

△ <] U U
Z S N H

Evans Press

△ ▲ U U
=

Rossville Mission Press

△ △ △ △:

Later Methodist

1 \ / C N
C S G

Early Eastern

U S T

Eastern Oblate

b g e o s h c c k
< C

Horden Watkins

7 f J t
S Z +

Western Oblate

NOTES

1. Bruce Peel, The Rossville Mission Press, Montreal: Osiris Pub., p.15.
- 2 John McDougall, Cree Hymn Book, Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1888, 153p.
3. John Nicolas Laverlochere and Andre-Marie Garin, Catechisme, Recueil de Prieres et de Cantiques à l'Usage des Sauvages d'Albany (Baie d' Hudson), Montreal: Louis Perrault, 1854, 94p.
4. John Horden and E. A. Watkins, "Minutes of a Conference by the Rev. John Horden and E.A. Watkins, on the subject of the syllabarium in use for the Cree and Esquimaux languages", Benhall, November 24, 1865. Manuscript in the Public Archives of Canada, Church Missionary Society Papers, Reel A-125, item #60.
5. Robert A. Logan, "The Precise Speakers", The Beaver, June 1951.
6. Laverlochere and Garin, loc. cit..
7. Andre-Marie Garin, Chemin de la Croix et Autres Prieres a l'Usage des Sauvages des Postes d'Albany, Savern, Martin's Falls, (Baie d' Hudson), Montreal: Beauchemin & Valois, 1883, 63p.
8. Nan Shipley, "Printing Press at Oonikup", The Beaver, Summer 1960, pp.48-53.

Table 1

Evans Press Style:

▽ e	▽ ey	△ i	△ ii	▷ o	▷ oo	◁ a	◁ aa	○ w
▽ pe	▽ pey	△ pi	△ pii	▷ po	▷ poo	◁ pa	◁ paa	○ p
▽ te	▽ tey	△ ti	△ tii	▷ to	▷ too	◁ ta	◁ taa	○ t
q ke	q key	p ki	p kii	d ko	d koo	b ka	b kaa	χ k
q ce	q cey	r ci	r cii	j co	j coo	l ca	l caa	- c
q me	q moy	r mi	r mii	l mo	l moo	l ma	l maa	c m
o ne	o ney	o ni	o nii	o no	o noo	o na	o naa	o n
u se	u sey	n si	n sii	u so	u soo	h sa	h saa	o s
g ye	g yey	g yi	g yii	g yo	g yoo	g ya	g yaa	y
z spe	z spey	z spi	z spii	n spo	n spoo	n spa	n spaa	
z r	z 1	x kh		h h				

dot placed to right changes value to include 'w' e.g.

△ i becomes △ iw

n si becomes n swi

Table 2

Rossville Mission Press:

▽ e	▽ ey	△ i	△ ii	▷ o	▷ oo	◁ a	◁ aā	○ o
▽ pe	▽ pey	△ pi	△ pii	▷ po	▷ poo	◁ pa	◁ paa	○ p
U te	U tey	△ ti	△ tii	▷ to	▷ too	◁ ta	◁ taa	○ t
q ke	q key	p ki	p kii	d ko	d koo	b ka	b kaa	○ k
q ce	q cey	p ci	p cii	j co	j coo	l ca	l caa	○ c
q me	q moy	p mi	p mii	l mo	l moo	l ma	l maa	○ m
o ne	o ney	o ni	o nii	o no	o noo	o na	o naa	○ n
u se	u sey	n si	n sii	u so	u soo	h sa	h saa	○ s
l ye	l yey	▷ yi	▷ yii	l yo	l yoo	l ya	l yaa	○ y
z r	z l	x kh	h					

dot placed to the right changes value to include 'w' e.g.

△ i becomes △ iw

n si becomes n swi

Note: The 'sp' series has been dropped, and the final has become
and the long forms are no longer broken but rather thickened.

Table 3

Later Methodist Style:

▽ e	△ i	△ ii	▷ o	▷ oo	◁ a	◁ aa	
▽ pe	△ pi	△ pii	▷ po	▷ poo	◁ pa	◁ paa	▷ p
○ te	○ ti	○ tii	○ to	○ too	○ ta	○ taa	○ t
○ ke	○ ki	○ kii	○ ko	○ koo	○ ka	○ kaa	○ k
○ ce	○ ci	○ cii	○ co	○ coo	○ ca	○ caa	○ c
○ me	○ mi	○ mii	○ mo	○ moo	○ ma	○ maa	○ m
○ ne	○ ni	○ nii	○ no	○ noo	○ na	○ naa	○ n
○ se	○ si	○ sii	○ so	○ soo	○ sa	○ saa	○ s
○ ye	○ yi	○ yii	○ yo	○ yoo	○ ya	○ yaa	
h	X hk	▷ r	◁ l	○ iw			
△ i becomes	△ iw becomes	△ ii		△ wi			
○ si becomes	○ siw becomes	○ sii		○ swi			

Table 4

Early Eastern Style:

▽ e	△ i	△ ii	▷ o	▷ oo	◁ a	◁ aa	◦ w
▽ pe	△ pi	△ pii	▷ po	▷ poo	◁ pa	◁ paa	◦ p
○ te	○ ti	○ tii	○ to	○ too	○ ta	○ taa	◦ t
○ ke	○ ki	○ kii	○ ko	○ koo	○ ka	○ kaa	◦ k
○ ce	○ ci	○ cii	○ co	○ coo	○ ca	○ caa	- c
○ me	○ mi	○ mii	○ mo	○ moo	○ ma	○ maa	◦ m
○ ne	○ ni	○ nii	○ no	○ noo	○ na	○ naa	◦ n
○ se	○ si	○ sii	○ so	○ soo	○ sa	○ saa	◦ s
○ ye	○ yi	○ yii	○ yo	○ yoo	○ ya	○ yaa	y
○ le	○ li	○ lii	○ lo	○ loo	○ la	○ laa	l
○ se	○ si	○ sii	○ so	○ soo	○ sa	○ saa	◦ s
○ re	○ ri	○ rii	○ ro	○ roo	○ ra	○ raa	r

dot placed to left changed value to include 'w':

△ i becomes △ wi ○ si becomes ○ swi

X used for periods only.

Table 5

Eastern Oblate Style:

∇_e	Δ_i	\triangleright_o	\triangleleft_a	w
\vee_{pe}	\wedge_{pi}	\succ_{po}	\prec_{pa}	p
\cup_{te}	\cap_{ti}	\supset_{to}	\subset_{ta}	t
φ_{ke}	P_{ki}	d_{ko}	b_{ka}	k
γ_{ce}	\cap_{ci}	\cup_{co}	\cup_{ca}	c
γ_{me}	Γ_{mi}	\sqsubset_{mo}	\sqsupset_{ma}	m
\square_{ne}	σ_{ni}	\square_{no}	σ_{na}	n
\sqcup_{se}	\cap_{si}	\sqcap_{so}	\sqcup_{sa}	s
\swarrow_{ye}	\nearrow_{yi}	\nwarrow_{yo}	\searrow_{ya}	y
$\cup_{\hat{s}e}$	$\cap_{\hat{s}i}$	$\supset_{\hat{s}o}$	$\subset_{\hat{s}a}$	$\circ_{\hat{s}}$
\exists_r	\top^1			

\vee pe becomes \vee . pew

Δ_i becomes \triangleleft_{wi}

\cap_{si} becomes \cap_{swi}

Table 6

Horden Watkins Style:

▽ e	△ i	△ ii	▷ o	▷ oo	◁ a	◁ aa	◦ w
▽ pe	△ pi	△ pii	▷ po	▷ poo	◁ pa	◁ paa	◁ p
○ te	○ ti	○ tii	○ to	○ too	○ ta	○ taa	○ t
○ ke	○ ki	○ kii	○ ko	○ koo	○ ka	○ kaa	○ k
○ ce	○ ci	○ cii	○ co	○ coo	○ ca	○ caa	○ c
○ me	○ mi	○ mii	○ mo	○ moo	○ ma	○ maa	○ m
○ ne	○ ni	○ nii	○ no	○ noo	○ na	○ naa	○ n
○ se	○ si	○ sii	○ so	○ soo	○ sa	○ saa	○ s
○ ye	○ yi	○ yii	○ yo	○ yoo	○ ya	○ yaa	○ y
○ le	○ li	○ lii	○ lo	○ loo	○ la	○ laa	○ l
○ se	○ si	○ sii	○ so	○ sooo	○ sa	○ saa	○ s
○ re	○ ri	○ rii	○ ro	○ roo	○ ra	○ raa	○ r
○ ve	○ vi	○ vii	○ vo	○ voo	○ va	○ vaa	○ v
○ the	○ thi	○ thii	○ tho	○ thoo	○ tha	○ tha	○ th

X for periods only.

△ i becomes △ wi

○ si becomes ○ swi

Table 7

Western Oblate Style:

	e		i		o		a	.	w				
	p	e		p	i		p	o		p	a	.	w
	t	e		t	i		t	o		t	a	.	w
	k	e		k	i		k	o		k	a	.	w
	c	e		c	i		c	o		c	a	.	w
	m	e		m	i		m	o		m	a	.	w
	n	e		n	i		n	o		n	a	.	w
	s	e		s	i		s	o		s	a	.	w
	y	e		y	i		y	o		y	a	.	w
	l	e		l	i		l	o		l	a	.	w
	r	e		r	i		r	o		r	a	.	w
	i	e	becomes		i	w	.	w					

Table 8

Western Style:

∇_e	Δ_i	$\dot{\Delta}_{ii}$	\triangleright_o	$\dot{\triangleright}_{oo}$	\triangleleft_a	$\dot{\triangleleft}_{aa}$	\circ_w
\vee_{pe}	\wedge_{pi}	$\dot{\wedge}_{pii}$	\succ_{po}	$\dot{\succ}_{poo}$	\prec_{pa}	$\dot{\prec}_{paa}$	\mid_p
\cup_{te}	\cap_{ti}	$\dot{\cap}_{tii}$	\supset_{to}	$\dot{\supset}_{too}$	\subset_{ta}	$\dot{\subset}_{taa}$	\diagup_t
φ_{ke}	ρ_{ki}	$\dot{\rho}_{kii}$	σ_{ko}	$\dot{\sigma}_{koo}$	b_{ka}	\dot{b}_{kaa}	\nwarrow_k
γ_{ce}	Γ_{ci}	$\dot{\Gamma}_{cii}$	\cup_{co}	$\dot{\cup}_{coo}$	\cup_{ca}	$\dot{\cup}_{caa}$	$-_c$
Γ_{me}	Γ_{mi}	$\dot{\Gamma}_{mii}$	\sqcup_{mo}	$\dot{\sqcup}_{moo}$	\sqcup_{ma}	$\dot{\sqcup}_{maa}$	\square_m
σ_{ne}	σ_{ni}	$\dot{\sigma}_{nii}$	σ_{no}	$\dot{\sigma}_{noo}$	σ_{na}	$\dot{\sigma}_{naa}$	\rightarrow_n
\curlywedge_{se}	\curlywedge_{si}	$\dot{\curlywedge}_{sii}$	\curlywedge_{so}	$\dot{\curlywedge}_{soo}$	\curlywedge_{sa}	$\dot{\curlywedge}_{saa}$	\cap_s
\curlywedge_{ye}	\curlywedge_{yi}	$\dot{\curlywedge}_{yii}$	\curlywedge_{yo}	$\dot{\curlywedge}_{yoo}$	\curlywedge_{ya}	$\dot{\curlywedge}_{yaa}$	y
\curlywedge_r	\curlywedge_l	x_{kh}	\parallel_h				
Δ_i becomes		$\dot{\Delta}_{wi}$					
\curlywedge_{si} becomes		\curlywedge_{swi}					

Table 9

Fonts or Type Used in Texts in Syllabic Characters:

Evans' First Press (1841-1845)

Rossville Mission Press (1846-1857)

W.M.Watts (Moose) (1853-?)

W.M.Watts (London) (1859-?)

Louis Perrault (Montreal) (1854-?)

*Beauchemin & Cie. (Montreal) (1883-?)

Gilbert & Rivington (London) (1874-?)

Oonikup Press (Touchwood Hills, Sask.)

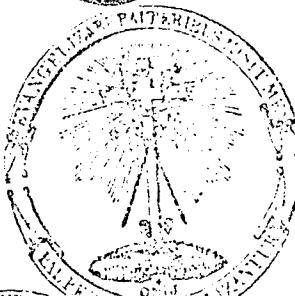
*This type was also used by presses of the Oblates at Wasweskisiw, Sask., Lake Athabaska, and Hobbema. Further identification can be found in Table 10.

Table 10

Identification of the Seals of Certain Mission Presses (Catholic):

Louis Perrault (Montreal)

Beauchemin & Cie. (Montreal)



Lake Athabaska: Mission de la
Nativité



Waweskisiw Lake Saskatchewan



Hobbema, Alberta

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF JAMES EVANS LIFE
AND OTHER RELEVANT EVENTS

The following chronology is a summary of the events in the life and times of James Evans as they are reported in the main literature. There are a number of conflicts between certain dates and other details. The least plausible dates and events are indented. These more plausible are chosen on the basis of support available in manuscripts, letters and other primary sources.

1801

Evans was born at Kingston-upon-Hull, England.
(MacLean: n.d.)

January 18, 1801. (Victoria University Library: 1975),
(MacLean: 1980), (Pierce: 1926), (Landon: 1930, 1932).

Hull, 1801. (Woodley: 1953)

1820

Evans' parents migrate to Canada. (Shipley: 1966)

1821

Evans' family emigrated to Canada near Lachute. (MacLean:
1890, n.d.)

1822

Evans emigrates to Canada. (Pannekoek: 1974),
(Ray: 1940)

and married Mary Blithe Smith. (Pannekoek: 1974),
(Shipley: 1966).

1823

Evans emigrated to Canada. (MacLean: n.d., 1890), (Burwash: 1911)

married Mary Blithe Smith. (Pierce: 1926), (MacLean: 1890).

1825

Evans and wife settled at Augusta on the St. Lawrence and felt a religious experience at a camp meeting. (Victoria University Library: 1975), (Pierce: 1926), (Landon: 1930).

Young Evans couple felt hand of God at camp meeting and moved to Upper Canada. (MacLean: 1890).

1826

Evans and wife meet William Case at camp meeting. (MacLean: 1890).

1827

School house erected at Rice Lake, Upper Canada. H. Biggar as teacher, then Miss Ashe, then Miss Barnes, who later became Mrs. William Case. (Graham 1975)

Evans became teacher at Rice Lake. (Pannekoek: 1974), (Ray: 1940), (Landon: 1930), (Pierce: 1926),

Evans meets Case during Conference at Kingston. (Ray: 1940), (Victoria University Library: 1975), (Shipley: 1966).

1828

The Indian village, later named Rossville by Evans, established. (Pannekoek: 1974)

Evans became a teacher at Rice Lake. (MacLean: n.d.), (Burwash: 1911), (Woodley: 1953), in the autumn, (MacLean: 1890).

1829

Metis demonstration at Fort Garry demanding facilities for a trade in tallow and hides and abolition of duty on goods brought from the United States. (Shortt & Doughty: 1914)

1830

Missionaries began to collect or attract Indians to communities and in several cases reserved lands for the Indians. The communities evolved were better able to resist government pressure to remove all Indians to Manitoulin Island. The Missionaries tried reducing the Indians' dependence upon the government of the time. (Graham: 1975)

Evans became the missionary-teacher at Rice Lake, (Pannekoek: 1974), (Landon: 1930, 1932), and received as a probationer in August 1830, (Victoria University Library: 1975), (Pierce: 1926), (Shipley: 1966), (Findlay & Holdsworth: 1917), on August 17, at the Conference in Kingston, (MacLean: 1890).

1831

Evans sent as missionary to Credit Indians, (MacLean: n.d.), (Burwash: 1911), (Victoria University Library: 1975), (Pierce: 1926), (Landon: 1930), by the Conference of 1831, (MacLean: 1890).

1832

The government of Upper Canada invited British Methodists to work in Upper Canada to counteract American Methodist influence. (Graham: 1975)

1832

Evans appointed to St. Catherines, (Pierce: 1926)

Evans sent to Ancaster. (Victoria University Library: 1975), (London: 1930), by the Conference of 1832, (MacLean: 1890).

1833

Evans ordained as a minister and stationed at St. Catharines, (MacLean: n.d.). (Landon: 1930), (Hutchinson: 1977), by the Conference of 1833, (MacLean: 1890).

British & Canada Conferences of the Methodist church amalgamated, British appointments were made to key positions in Canada. Joseph Stinson replaced William Case and became the Upper Canada representative, and Matthew Richey the Lower Robert Alder becomes Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Society (French: 1972) Canada

representative, and Dr. Robert Alder the Secretary in London. (Graham: 1975), (Hutchinson: 1977)

1834

Robert Alder visits Upper Canada to work on terms of union for British & Canadian Conferences of the Methodist Church (French: 1972).

HBC was granted Assiniboia for 615,000 of HBC stock by the Earl of Selkirk. This included the settlement Red River and thus it came under HBC control. (Shortt & Doughty: 1914).

The British Conference sent out 5 new missionaries to Upper Canada, Benjamin Slight among them. (Graham: 1975)

Evans was sent to Sarnia to work among the Indians of the St. Clair River, (MacLean: n.d.), (Burwash: 1911), (London: 1930, 1932), in the summer of 1834, (Victoria University Library: 1975), after the failure of Turner, (MacLean: 1890).

Northern Dept. of Rupert's Land drained of Indians attracted to Red River (Ross: 1833)

1836

Sir Francis Bond Head replaces Sir John Colborne as governor of Upper Canada, (Graham: 1975).

Evans presented a syllabic type alphabet or orthography to the Canadian Bible Society in Toronto, but it is rejected, (MacLean: n.d.), (Peel: 1974),

1837

Upper Canada Rebellion

Evans and other Methodists were petitioning the Home Government in spite of Governor Sir Francis Bond Head's objections, through the influential Committee of the Society for the Protection of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the British Dominions. This committee included members of the Royal Family. Such political actions were able to secure the Saugeen lands under Chief Wawanoush, for as long as they were faithful to God. (MacLean: 1890)

Evans spent 4 months in New York overseeing the printing of his books, (MacLean: n.d.), left for New York, right after the 1837 Conference, Thomas Hurlburt taking his place at Credit Mission, (MacLean: 1890), expected to be absent only about 4 weeks; seven or eight of the last weeks he spent in New York, he did not have even 25¢ to his name. (MacLean: 1890).

Sir Isaac Pittman released his new phonologically based shorthand. (Leslie: 1964)

1838

Sir Francis Bond Head resigns after the rebellion in Upper Canada to assume management of Indian Affairs, (Graham: 1975)

Ephraim Evans relieved as editor of The Christian Guardian, and transferred as Chairman of the London District, all as of the 1838 Conference, (Landon: 1932)

July 13, Evans left St. Clair Mission heading for the Lake Superior country, (Shipley: 1966), (Landon: 1932), later Mary Evans goes to Coburg where Clarissa attends school. Evans writes of playing the accordion, (Landon: 1932)

August, Evans sent to Lake Superior country, (Victoria University Library: 1975), (Landon: 1932), on an exploratory mission, (Hutchinson: 1977).

August 20, Evans at Munedoowaning (Manitoulin Island), reported in letter to his wife at Cobourg, (MacLean: 1890)

August 23, Evans at Sault Ste. Marie, arrived in p.m. of August 22, (MacLean: 1890)

September 9, Evans, Hurlburt, & Peter Jones arrived at Michipicoten Post, (Cameron: 1838)

Hurlburt went to Fort William and stayed till 1842, (Landon: 1932). Hurlburt arrived at Fort William, October 30, one week after leaving Michipicoten. He started school November 6, (MacLean: 1890)

Evans went to Sault Ste. Marie October 29, returning on November 18, (Cameron: 1838)

1839

Sir Francis Bond Head was offended by a memorandum sent by Methodists on Indian land ownership, rights, and conditions. The memorandum proposed trusteeship of Indians under the

Simpson expressed concern to Donal Ross, at Norway House, March 1, 1840, from London, for the flow of Indians south to Red River from their hunting lands of the northern areas; he believed this to be caused by the attraction of Red River's church missionaries, (Ray: n.d.)

Barnley, Mason & Rundle left Liverpool, England, March 16th for New York on the Sheridan, arriving in New York on April 12th, (Wesleyan Mission Society Notices: 1840), MacLean: 1890).

April 7, Evans summoned to Toronto by Joseph Stinson and instructed to be in Montreal for May 2; Evans returned to Guelph, packed, drove to Toronto, hired a wagon to Kingston, from there took a stage-coach to Montreal, arriving in Montreal, the day after the Hudson Bay Company Brigade left, (April 23), (Hutchinson: 1977).

Evans was appointed but refused and then accepted the northern appointment, (Neufeld: 1940).

Evans arrives at Norway House in the fall (Cormie: 1940).

In May Evans left Lachine for the West on board the steamer Rideau, May 12, 1840. Evans had met Barnley at Montreal, (Shipley: 1966). The steamer stopped at Sarnia, Detroit, Lake Huron, and finally Fort William' (MacLean: 1890).

Evans arrived at Norway House in 1840, (Chapin: 1933) July 26, (Shipley: 1966, 1971).

May 18, Sarnie, taking on wood on board New England, (Shipley: 1966)

Evans arrives first week of August at Norway House, (MacLean: n.d., 1890), July 26, (Log Book for Norway House, Ross: 1840).

Church Missionary Society starts new mission at Cumberland Lake, under Henry Budd, first Cree catechist, (M.E.J.: 1875)

September 7, Rundle left Norway House for Edmonton House, (Shipley: 1966).

September, Clarissa leaves for Red River for school, (Shipley: 1966)

September 5, Evans arrives from York Factory.

September 28, Evans casting type,
 September 30, Evans cutting types,
 October 13, stereo-type plate made,
 October 15, printed sheets of hymns in syllabics,
 some boys know all of the letters
 Evans finally succeeded with oak letters or type,
 November 11, (Peel: 1974).

October 15, Evans printed syllabic chart,
 November 11, Evans printed hymn, "Jesus My All to Heaven Has Gone",
 300 copies,
 November 17, Hymn: "Behold the Saviour of Mankind",
 250 Copies,
 December 3, Hymn, "Blow Ye The Trumpet",

December 14, Evans & Hassel left for Red River & Fort Alexander
 via Swan River, (Ross: 1840), (Shipley: 1966).

Letitia Hargrave's letters show Mrs. Evans as "Sly, and given to
 backbiting", (Ramsay: 1940).

1841

January, Evans at Red River's junction with the Assiniboine,
 sending sleigh for Clarissa, (Shipley: 1966)

March 17, Evans returns to Norway House
 March 27, Evans sets out again for Red River where he met
 Simpson, Simpson wrote well of Evans in June by which time
 Evans had been at Swan River, Fort Pelly, Fort Ellice, and
 Red River during the winter, (Ray: n.d.)

In the June resolutions of the Council of the northern
 Department of Rupert's Land, meals, lodging, expenses and
 salaries were provided for missionaries; and the Norway House
 church and Evans residence were to be constructed within the
 fort. (Ray: n.d.)

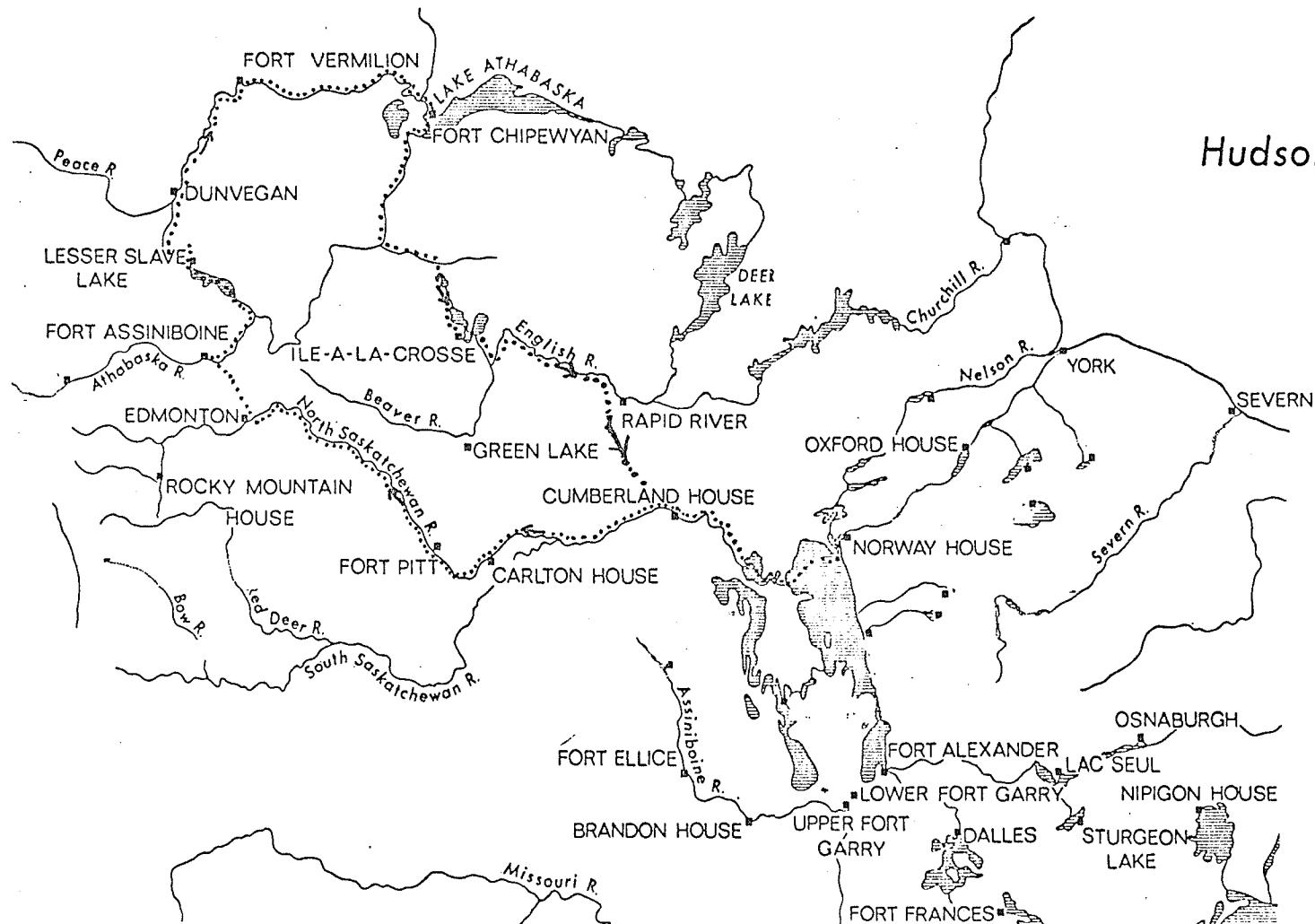
Evans had perfected the syllabary, June 1841, (MacLean n.d.)
 (Landon: 1930), (MacLean: 1890).

James Evans sent rough castings of syllabic type to Ephraim
 Evans in England, to prevail upon the H.B.C. to allow a press
 in the Territory, (MacLean: 1890)

Simpson complains to Evans of Rundle's gossiping and expressing
 critical opinions on HBC policy. (Simpson: 1841).

September 16, Evans set out for as far north as Fort Chipewyan,
 via Cumberland House, Edmonton House, Lesser Slave Lake,
 Dunvegan (arrived December, 15)

Hudson Bay



C.01 Map of James Evans Travels

December 20, left Dunvegan (Ray: n.d.), (Shipley: 1966) because he refused to be driven on Sundays, (Pannekoek: 1974).

October 13, brigade reached Fort Edmonton, (Shipley: 1966)

November, Evans, Rundle, and Harriott left Ft. Edmonton, (Shipley: 1966)

December 9, Evans leaves Lesser Slave Lake, (Shipley: 1966).

British & Canadian Conferences of the Methodist Church split' split lasts till 1848, (Graham: 1975)

1842

January 5 Evans arrives at Fort Vermillion,
January 17, Evans leaves for Fort Chipewyan,
January 26, Evans arrives with Thomas Hassells, at Fort Chipewyan,
February 14, Evans leaves Fort Chipewyan en route to Isle-a-la
Crosse, (Ray: n.d.), Shipley: 1966),

Evans visited Fort Chipewyan, (Hutchinson: 1977).

Evans' mission provided with press and types, (Burwash: 1911).

Mason spent most of the winter at Red River and Bas-de-la-Riviere, (Shipley: 1966).

January, Evans following the Saskatchewan River, (Burwash: 1911).

January 13, Evans marries Thomas Hassell to Nellie Sinclair, Anne Campbell joins Evans on return to Norway House, (Shipley: 1966)

April 14, Evans returns to Norway House, June 13, moves into house. Spent most of the 1842-43 season at the mission, (Ray: n.d.), (Shipley: 1966)

Letitia Hargrave's letter to Scotland notes that many Indians did not go out for furs, therefore, there were fewer furs traded, (Shipley: 1966).

September, Evans awaits the press at York Factory, (Peel: 1974).

Evans makes a tin canoe at York Factory, according to letter of Letitia Hargrave Sept. 9, 1842, (Ramsay: 1940).

Peter Jacobs arrives at Norway House, (MacLean: 1890).

Father Thibeault made his own way to Fort Edmonton during absences of Simpson and Rowand. Simpson returned in 1843 from his world tour and had to accept a fait accompli, (Hutchinson: 1977).

Ross, Simpson, Hargrave, Finlayson, lost heavily in Norway (Europe) trade: Finlayson and Ross had no other money, (Ready: 1949)

Rossville Mission crops had failed, (Pannekoek: 1974).

1843

Evans met Simpson at H.B.Co. Council Meeting at Fort Garry, threatening him with the Aborigines Protection Society in England, by petitioning before Queen & Parliament, (MacLean: 1890).

Rivalry reported between Evans woman and Ross women, Letitia Hargrave to Dugald McTavish, September 9, 1843, (Pannekoek: 1974).

Gladman taking notes of conversations with Evans and sending them to Gov. Simpson, (Ramsay: 1940).

Ross complaints to Simpson, August 17, 1843 of snowballing costs of missions, suggesting that the missionaries be put on their own expenses, (Ray: n.d.)

mid-July, John MacLean, a H.B.C.o. employee was betrothed to Clarissa, Evans daughter, (Shipley: 1966)

rumours abound that Evans encouraged a relationship between his daughter and a clerk John Findlayson, the engagement is mentioned by Nicol Finlayson in July (Hutchinson: 1977)

Simpson complains to Evans of Miss Campbell's arrival, resistance to Sunday travel, instructs Evans to move to Rossville, and discouraged further missions, all in letter of June 29, (Simpson: 1843)

Spring, Mrs. Donald Ross gives birth to tenth child Clementine, conflict between Ross daughters and Evans girl over "beau's, (Shipley: 1966)

Steinhauer transferred to Norway House, (Burwash: 1911) with Mason, (Shipley: 1966).

Mason comes to Norway House, (Finlay & Holdsworth: 1917)

William Mason marries Sophia Thomas, a half-Cree half-H.B.Co. employee's daughter, (Burwash: 1911), marriage performed by William Cockran, C.M.S. on August 10, 1843, (Boon: 1958), at Middlechurch, between Red River and the Lower Fort Garry, (Shipley: 1966), afterward they joined the Rossville Mission (Peel, 1974), (Boon: 1958), sent by the Conference (MacLean: 1890).

Matthew Richey inspected Rice Lake and Alderville Missions, and was impressed, (Findlay & Holdsworth: 1917).

1844

Mason arrives at Norway House, (Burwash: 1911).

Clarissa Evans marries Jean Ross's former fiance, John MacLean, (Pannekoek: 1974),

Rev. James Hunter and first wife joined mission at Cumberland House, (M.E.J.: 1875),

Evans writes to Simpson of mission progress: 19 Indian houses, population 200, 20-60 bushels of potatoes, small patches of barley, fishery very productive, several thousand fish feed cows, 57 scholars, teaching population to farm.

Simpson writes to Evans, June 20, regarding the opposition to Sunday travel and the bad relations between Evans and Ross, (Ray: n.d.)

During late July, early August, Sir Henry Lefroy's expedition to the North-west arrives at Noray House. He reports on Evans zealous efforts, poor approaches to teaching students, and Hassel's death only a few weeks later, (Wallace: 1938)

Evans tries to establish a mission at Isle-a-la-Crosse without Governor Simpson's approval, asks Ross's help---refused. Ross advised Simpson in August 14, 1844, Simpson replied from London, December 2, (Ray: n.d.)

Summer, rivalry between the Catholics and Methodists pronounced, (Hutchinson: 1977).

January, Mason Kisses, Clarissa, caught by James and Mary Evans, (Shipley: 1966), (Ross: 1844)

August, Evans leaves for Fort Chipewyan, will send for his wife and daughter in spring, Bernard Rogan Ross witness to Mason kissing Evans' daughter, Mason and Evans fighting, (Ross: 1840)

Mason back-bites Evans at York Factory, as reported by Letitia Hargarve, Sept. 9, 1844, (Pannekoek: 1974).

Evans accidentally kills Hassels at the junction of the Pine and Churchill River, September 11, 1844, (Hutchinson: 1977), (Shipley: 1966), and late in September set out for Chipewyan country.

Barnley leaves Moose Factory, September arrives London, Ont.
October 14, 1844 (Lang: 1979)

Ross writes to Hargrave that the beaver are wiped out,
(Shipley: 1966).

Evans & Oig set out on return in October, (Shipley: 1966).

1845

Barnley arrives New York, March 25 en route to Moose Factory with wife (Lang: 1970) May 20, Ross complains to Simpson that he was delayed by Evans over Indians' refusal to travel on Sundays.

June 10, Evans writes to Simpson on progress of the mission: wants manual labour school for manufacture of woolens, takes on 3 boys and 2 girls and wants ration from H.B.Co., not yet received press, mentions sale of furs by mission Indians, suggests mission at La Ronge, (Ray: n.d.), (Hutchinson: 1977)

Simpson writes to Alder asking for Evans' recall for meddling in other than religious matters, and complaining constantly; Alder refers the matter to Richey and Stinson, (Hutchinson: 1977) June 16.

June 20, Simpson wrote to Ross limiting missionary credit to 200 starting June 1, 1845, to cover all expenses, (Simpson: 1845).

August, John Isbister writes to Donald Ross of John Finlayson rumoured to have passed the night with Evans daughter, (Hutchinson: 1977).

Fur trade unrest especially bad during 1845, (Hutchinson: 1977)

Summer, Simpson brought in troops to protect against American interference with fur trade, and to suppress the unrest in Red River, (Pannekoek: 1974).

Mid-August, John MacLean marries Clarissa, (Ready: 1949), August 18, and headed to Sault Ste. Marie, (Shipley: 1966).

According to letters of Letitia Hargrave, Norway House people Consider Evans to be "odd" (Ready: 1949)

During summer Evans had purchased trade goods to trade with Indians. Wanted Indians to retain furs to sell in Red River. Attempted to illicit the support of British newspapers, (Pannekoek: 1974)

Fall, rumours of affairs begin to circulate about Evans, (Pannekoek: 1974).

Evans examined by Dr. Smellie at York Factory, and chronic kidney infection is diagnosed, (Shipley: 1966), Letitia Hargrave wrote in September of Evans bad health, rumours of Immoral conduct, attributed to remorse; Dr. Smellie says dangerously ill. (Hutchinson: 1977)

Printing press and types arrive, (Peel: 1974), in November (Shipley: 1966), (Hutchinson: 1977).

November 25, press at Norway House, (Ray: n.d.)

December 26, Stinson & Richey both write after consultation "piety unimpeached", suggesting that Evans should be appointed to St. Clair mission; most of the problems are blamed on Mrs. Evans, (Hutchinson: 1977).

1846

January, rumours of affairs between Evans and Maggie Mamenawatum, (Shipely: 1966).

February, (Hutchinson: 1977), 5th, (Shipley: 1966), Evans on trial for rumoured behaviour. February 9, verdict of not-guilty on all three charges but Mason added "acted imprudently & becoming...", (Hutchinson: 1977).

In March, (Shipley: 1966), in April, (Hutchinson: 1977) Dr. Alder wrote to Evans inviting him to visit in England, and speak at rallies. Evans received the letter at the end of June (Hutchinson: 1977).

In April, Alder wrote to Simpson in London, advising him of Evans' recall.

During the spring, Evans concentrated on a project to relocate Chief Koostatak's band to Fisher River, to farm; In April, Mason went to Red River, (Shipley: 1966).

347 men under Major Crofton were sent to Red River via the Hudson's Bay, under instructions to defend British settlements against the Americans. Troups were withdrawn after peace was assured in 1848. These troops were transferred to B.C., (Shortt & Doughty: 1914), August 13, (Hutchinson: 1977)

A noted conjurer and his wife from Lac-La-Ronge were baptized by Rev. James Hunter at Cumberland House, (M.E.J.: 1875).

Simpson wrote to Alder from H.B.Co. Territory of Evans' indiscretions, June 15, (Ray: n.d.), Hutchinson: 1977).

June 29, Evans left Norway House saying he would return
(Pannekoek: 1974).

Late June, early July, Simpson wrote to Ross to suggest that Hassels death was not an accident; visited Norway House later to take statements from a woman in the presence of John Harriott, wrote to Alder August 13, while awaiting on the arrival of the troops at York Factory. A further report was mailed in September., (Hutchinson: 1977).

October 2, Evans & wife Mary reached London, (Shipley: 1966), given heavy schedule of speaking.

Fall epidemic of measles and dysentery carried off 29 persons from Rossville, including some trial witnesses (Hutchinson: 1977).

James Evans died of exhaustion at Keilby, Lincolnshire, England, November 23, at age 45 yrs., (MacLean: n.d., 1890), (Pannekoek: 1974), (Shipley: 1966), (Neufeld: 1940), (Pierce: 1926), (Landon: 1930), (Hutchinson: 1977), Nov. 2, (Peel: 1974), at age 46 yrs. (Ray: n.d.), (Burwash: 1911).

A CHRONOLOGY OF ACCULTURATIVE STRESS SUFFERED BY JAMES EVANS DURING THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER 1838 TO DECEMBER 1841:

The following are excerpts from the diaries and letters of the Rev. James Evans, found in the Special Collections of Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario. Together they show a pattern of the acculturative stress suffered by the missionary during his trip to the Lake Superior region in the years 1838 and 1839; and his trip to Edmonton House and Fort Chipewyan in the years 1841 and 1842.

Diary: Thursday September 13, 1838

"O how unfit I am for this great work. My heart is too corrupt. I need more grace and more victory over my sinful heart. I will through grace devote my self more to God....."

Letter: James Evans, Michipicoten Post, to wife and daughter, October 2, 1838

"I have had some very severe trials since I left you and you know that is something strange--but true. I have been made to pray more and I have been Blessed more, however my trials are I believe over and the cloud is gone past, and I hope they may never returnO dear! may God bless you all. I kiss you in my heart and would give all I ever may to see you one hour but I'll see you for ever in heaven when are toils are thru. Blessed hope! While I drop a tear at your absence I feel God is present and while a kind of earthly sorrows in spite of every exertion agitates my mind, I feel a heavenly comfort which more than counterbalances the same."

Letter: James Evans, Michipicoten Post, to Ephraim Evans, October 15, 1838

"I enjoy in this remote region favour of God. I am free from all political and Clergy reserve strife. I am however deeply interested in the prosperity of religion and of Methodism in particular. I am glad to see by The Guardian that the church is speaking may they speak aloud."

Diary: Wednesday October 24, 1838

"This day I have spent alone. I enjoy my mind better than usual. I have read my Bible and prayed, read

Missionary Record kindly handed by Mr. Fingleson,
and 'done considerable tailoring'."

Diary: Thursday October 25, 1838

"Chopping wood today, and preparing for winter.
I enjoy a much greater peace of mind since alone."

Diary: Wednesday November 7, 1838

"The day has been severely cold....our paddles and oars and canoes coated with ice, and when we landed our clothes and our loading were nearly an inch thick with ice, nor could we erect our tent until it had lain nearly an hour before the fire. But it is all over thanks to God. We are now warm on the fire side and by changing sides can keep comfortable. I feel no desire to be any where else than here. I am happy while in God's service. O were I more Holy, that I might be more useful."

Diary: Thursday November 8, 1838

"The roar of the lake, soaring eagle, howling wind, and binding forest, crackling fire and Indian language with many accompaniments tell me I am far from home? No this is my home---but far from the haunts of civilized man---but I'll meet them again perhaps on earth if not in heaven. Blessed hope!"

Diary: Friday November 16, 1838

"Last night was almost the first in my life that my heart failed me. I was as my two Indian boys say Murisedaâa or cast down in my heart. Partly through our disagreeable voyage and partly through temptation to doubt the Divine Protection over my family. A thousand unhappy possibilities presented themselves to my mind which doubtless the enemy knew was at present particularly open to his suggestion."

Letter: Mary Evans, Cobourg, to James Evans, December 5-6, 1838

"My dear James when you wright(sic) let it be so that any one can read it. Let all your plesantry(sic) to Clara and bad spelt words be on one side. I will call it partly back. Let it all be mixt(sic) with plesantry(sic) and religion. I am fearful your(sic) are rather melacaly(sic). Try and bear up under every difility(sic) and trial. The time seames(sic) very long. I want to see you and give you a thousand kisses....."

Letter: Mary Evans, Cobourg, to James Evans, December 6,
1838

"I now(sic) not how to exprece(sic) my feelings when I received your long and full letter. I read it and wept and wept and read it again. Well never mind if I am a little babyish when you know it was from my dear dear Missionary husband. The Lord as(sic) greatly taken care of us this far. Blessed by his Holly(sic) name. When I think a great distance we are from each other it makes me tremble and all most distrust our blessed and heavenly(sic) Father and think at times we shall never meet each other on the shores of time but my dear I am. Pray for me that I may have grace and fathe(sic) to bear this trial for I asure(sic) you this is the severest one that I ever had to pass throw(sic) to be saprated(sic) from him that I love better than all earthly good. But when I think wear(sic) has he gone that I love better than any earthly good and think he has you to call the poar(sic) perishing Pagans Indians to repantans(sic) to carry the glad news of the blessed Gospel to this I am led to wonder and say, 'the Lords will be done'. I will wait pasently(sic) a five month to see him that is my earthly comfort."

Diary: January 1, 1839

"Welcome another year. My faithfulness during the past is subject matter of deep regret and my many resolves and reresolves without due improvement and amendment almost deter me from any new resolutions, at least rash ones. Bent on much improvement in knowledge I entered on the past year with my mind intent on study--- but the cares of my former charge, the business of the mission, the business of conference, and a three months canoe excursion and last of all in the wilderness a dearth of books has left me 'to die in Bagdad'. My want of love to God---the corruptions of my heart---my stsrtling sceptical temptations and my strong attractions to leave the wilderness and settle in society sometimes greatly alarm me---but still I desire to love God more. I groan to be delivered from the indwelling sin of my nature. I am determined through grace to believe in the Truth and to

live and die in the ministry into which
God has been pleased to bring me."

Diary: February 1, 1839

"How are Holyness and sin combined. I really cannot comprehend these things on neither Methodist nor Cal. premises---but I hope to be able to serve God through grace in deep humility through life. I trust if I am wrong God will right me---and save me. I am not worthy of his notice, too poor and ignorant and yet vain. Lord save me."

Letter: James Evans, Michipicoten Post, to Ephraim Evans,
February 9, 1839

"O could you see the misery and degredation of these outcasts of Society. Your heart would bleed. For my own part, I hope I shall roam through these remote regions until I can no longer roam. O were I but younger and holier. The former is hopeless---the latter I look for, through Jesus Christ. My dear family are all that burden my mind---how can I drag them from society. My whole heart I trust is in this blessed work but nature and social ties and friendships and brethren in Christ and all are against me---but I have not a moments hesitation in saying 'here am I, send me'. My work will soon be done and I trust then to go 'home'---blessed be God! I can say most truly I have no home but heaven. I dare not write to my dear Mary that I am often melancholy lest it should make her uneasy and unhappy but we always feel relieved by revealing our griefs, and to whom can I tell mine more readily than to Ephraim---I am indeed very downhearted. I have little society---this perhaps is good. My dear family is far distant. The country is in an uproar. The Academy, I often fancy, is a hated place by a strong party and worst of all my poor Eugenia is in a bad state of health. I sometimes never sleep a wink all night and when I do, I dream everything but I would wish. In fact I never knew any trouble or perplexity of mind before last conference, but since which I have known nothing else. I fly to the throne of grace and often after find a relief that fills my soul with great joy. In God's mercy is my trust.

Write to my dear family, I fear from Mary's cautiously couched style---that Clarry is in a low state of health. I am fully prepared for any news---perhaps the Lord sees fit to loose me a little more from the civilized world. Thanks to His name, although I should feel severely her loss yet I think I can most humbly say---that if it will tend to his glory, and to the spread of His Gospel among the poor poor lost heathen, 'Lord thy will be done'."

Diary: February 11, 1839

"I pray on and preach on, I believe against ten thousand thousand obstacles. I either know too much or much too little. 'A little learning is a dangerous thing'. I know this may at some time meet the eye of my fellow men when peaceful in dust my ashes sleep, but what is that to me. Will they blot my names as an unbeliever. No. I deny the truth of such a charge. I do not believe and will believe much that I cannot comprehend ---and I am more than ever resolved to make a creed simple. All men are sinful and sinners. Xt.(Christ) died for all men. Repent and believe the Gospel by grace and through Grace do the best you can, and God will do the best for you. I believe this to be the substance of Christianity."

Letter: James Evans, Michipicoten Post, to Mary Evans,
March 3, 1839

".....I do not sleep quite so soundly as I used to sleep as I often find my sleep disturbed by the thoughts of those who are far away....My home is in the wilderness---in the deep deep wilderness. Here I would hunt the benighted soul and hold out to him the lamp of Gospel light. O how I long for spring to 'go on' and I expect to see some good and encouraging seasons if God spare my life to reach Rainy Lake and Nipigon. I have just received a letter from Br. Hurlburt, he is doing well at Fort William and will be down early in the spring. I think he is a little gus gun dum. Poor fellow, he's like myself, he loves his distant family but Heaven will, if we are faithful be our eternal home."

Letter: James Evans, to Mary Evans, May 2, 1839

"....We are very apt to conclude that a class of men who have spent their days in the wilderness among the savages must be very deficient in general information, and partake to a large degree of the character of those with whom they transact business, and to conclude that in entering the Indian country we are leaving all civilization---but I can tell you for encouragement that the gentlemen of the Company are not a whit inferior in manners morals or intelligence to any class of men in Upper Canada..... May God Bless you. Hold yourselves in readiness for this country of peace---no radicals no Reserves here---only the poor lost savages to interest us."

Diary: Sunday May 27, 1839

".....About 3 or 4 o'clock Br. Jacobs inquired whether we should go on tomorrow if we had a fair wind. I at once answered no, we shall lay by. We talked over the matter---but I remained inflexible, determined to keep the Sabbath and trust the Lord for a good wind afterward. After about half an hours reckoning by Br. Jacobs and his wife---he asked me what today was. Saturday said I. No, its Sunday he replied and Sunday it was sure enough. This was surely a sin of ignorance and error I suppose from my only putting down the date and not the day of the week in my journal."

Diary: Sunday July 1, 1839

"Determined to remain over Sabbath. My men determined to go on being afraid of being hungry..... I this morning lamed my back, but hope soon to recover God willing. O if I had my dear family here, no more would I see care for one seven year, but I shall soon be back. Please the Lord."

Diary: Tuesday July 3, 1839

".....My back lame and my belly empty. Blessed be God I am well except my lameness, and my soul is blessed in believing that God designs to make me

useful in saving the poor lost savages.
O Lord let me labour for thee who died
for me and all men. Hallelujah.

During the summer of 1839 Evans returned to Upper Canada. The following spring as the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territory, he set out for Norway House.

Letter: James Evans, on board the New England, to Ephraim Evans, May 17, 1840

"I met one of the young men from England in La Chine, a fine fellow. I am however a little down---something below par but nobody knows it but the Lord and myself. I am bringing my dear Clary and her mother could not leave her and they could not leave me and I could not stay. So I've given Mrs. anew to God and his care and trust he will guide her in life, and home to heaven. Her health is much improved, indeed she is 'quite rugged', Thanks to God. I expect to see many of the poor savages converted to God. I am saved by the disappointment, 1500 miles canoeing, besides getting Mary & Eugenia along with me. God does all things well.....Be faithful to God my Dearest Ephraim. I part with none so reluctantly as with you* and while the tear of brotherly affection drops on my sheet I most devoutly pray that we may meet again on earth if God will--if not in his blessed kingdom above. I expect (but why I know not) it will be there. I have some sort of foolish feelings I never had before on going into the Indian Country but God is my trust. I mean by grace to love him and live for him. May He help me.....*'Days of childhood I recall; Days that ne'er can be forgot'.....Write me a long letter just after Conference and tell me everything."

The letter from which the above is taken still shows two large tear stains which Evans traced out with a pen and refers to in his text.

Evans arrived at Norway House, August 1840. Most of the first year was spent in his invention of and publication of hymns in Cree syllabic characters. Though he travelled extensively, he remained within the approximate area of what is now Manitoba. In September of 1841, the missionary set out for Edmonton House and Fort Chipewyan. The following excerpts are from that expedition.

Diary: Sunday August 29, 1841

"Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. Much pained in mind, from being necessitated to proceed today. But the boat having so long and dangerous a voyage, the hands being all inexperienced, and unable to make any great exertion, I fear to take responsibility of detaining the boat, as should not escape severe censure."

Diary: Thursday September 16, 1841

"Started at day light leaving once more my dear family having spent two days at home. My mind is much depressed and broken down... but I hope that God will support and comfort both them and me. I never felt so sensibly at parting and made me exit with all speed after the parting kiss and painful adieu. Oh may God preserve and bless them during my long absence---it almost looks like an age to think of---but it will soon roll away. May my heart be more loosened from earth and more drawn toward God....I now write with aching heart and although I am never tempted (thanks to God) to think I will not yet though this trip I often feel something like a wish never to leave home again, Lord save me from ever refusing when thou callest! I am thine, and all I have and am.

Diary: Sunday September 19, 1841

"Thanks to the Lord we have a head wind, so we all stop in peace over the Sabbath! Oh how often has the peaceful and refreshing seasons which I have spent in God's house, rushed in my mind this day and sometimes a tear has stolen down my cheek while thinking that I

shall perhaps never more meet those assemblies until we meet above. Blessed be God for this hope. O let me spend my life all for thee."

Diary: Sunday October 3, 1841

"In a busy encampment. Prayers and service in the forenoon. Read portions of the 14 Chap. John and made remarks therefrom. Enjoying much peace of mind."

Diary: Friday December 31, 1841

".....My agitations while sitting steaming tonight before a large fire, wet through, burning before and freezing behind are not easily penned. I thought and wept while thinking of the blessed seasons I have spent on watch night at Hamilton, St. Catharines, St. Clair, Guelph, and several other dear spots, now far away and my spirit seemed for a moment to be in the midst of some of those happy assemblies while here I am about 3000 miles distant, my family 1500. I found prayer and grace necessary, to make me contented and happy."