A Cultural Sociology of Anglican Mission and the Indian Residential Schools in Canada:
The Long Road to Apology

Chapter 2:
The Meaning of Anglican Mission and the Creation of the Indian Residential Schools

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Introduction

In order to uncover the contested process by which representatives of the Anglican Church of Canada acknowledged the deleterious impact of the Indian residential schools, we must first reconstruct the meanings that informed the decision to become involved in their operation. Prior to the creation of the school system, Anglicans already had a long history of missionary work among indigenous communities in North America. The pattern of meanings that emerged from this long engagement structured how they subsequently viewed the residential schools. In this regard, it provided an underlying framework for action—a root paradigm, to use Victor Turner's words. In this chapter, I trace the making of this root paradigm, from its establishment until the creation of the residential schools. This will help shed light on why the church, which we might presume to be concerned above all with the spread of the Christian gospel, was so quick to become involved in a school system whose principal aim was cultural assimilation. Indeed, this will clarify why so many Anglicans were seemingly unable to see the destruction of the cultures of indigenous communities as anything other than a good thing.

A critical component of the pattern of meanings that came to inform the Anglican mission to the indigenous peoples of North America was that religious conversion was inseparable from cultural assimilation. Of course, the fact that religion and culture were combined is not entirely unique; all forms of religious conversion necessarily also involve non-religious cultural elements. Even in modern societies the myths, memories, practices, and values associated with religion are always entangled with other aspects of culture. And certainly, even before its embrace of the civilizing mission, Anglicanism was already involved in educational practices in Britain that combined sacred and secular. However, the difference is that the pro- vision of education in Britain occurred in a society whose culture was broadly assumed to be similar to that of the educators. By contrast, the Anglican mission to indigenous communities occurred in a context where the life worlds of the missionaries and the indigenous peoples were literally oceans apart. Moreover, in their encounters with such cultural difference, Anglican missionaries were assured of their own superiority. Indeed, it is this conviction that lay at the heart of their missionary ideology and practice, and which explains their subscription to the civilizing mission and their ready support for the residential schools.

Meaning and Mission in Pre-Revolutionary North America

As compared to their Protestant brethren as well as the Roman Catholics, Anglicans were slow to fully embrace evangelism, especially concerning non-Europeans. The latter did not become a core practice until the turn of the nineteenth century, at the height of the British evangelical revival and concomitant efflorescence of global missionary activity. Prior to this, as the established religion in England, the Church of England was inextricably woven into the social and political fabric of the country, and evangelism had always seemed somehow beneath it. Nevertheless, this being said, there have recently been several studies that make a compelling case for pushing back the start date of the Anglican missionary enterprise, pointing to a continuous, albeit low-level, engagement with mission from the outset of the eighteenth century onwards. And while they accept that the Anglican missionary effort in the eighteenth century generally failed to achieve much in the way of conversion, authors such as Rowan Strong (2007) nevertheless suggest that it should be accounted for because of the impact that it had on metropolitan understandings of the meaning of mission. In this respect, Strong's findings suggest that eighteenth century pronouncements on mission contributed to the construction of a symbolic framework that served to structure how the mission was conceived and carried out in subsequent centuries.

In fact, the history of Anglican thinking about the mission to the indigenous communities of the Americas begins even earlier—at least in the sixteenth century. Strong (2007: 4–6) readily acknowledges this, but suggests that as a result of its intermittence, pre-eighteenth century missionary thought and practice had little impact on the development of a broadly shared Anglican view of mission. For Strong, it is not until around the time of the turn of the eighteenth century and the establishment of dedi- cated organizations such as the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) when sustained engagement with mission begins and, as such, when the beginning of a general framework for mission is established. Yet, even if sustained engagement with mission does not begin until the eighteenth century, there are clearly several lines of continuity in missionary thought and practice, however intermittent, from the sixteenth century onwards.

What unites Anglican missionaries through the centuries is the view that indigenous communities are culturally inferior. From this view flows the abiding theory that successful religious conversion must be accompanied by cultural assimilation—the acquisition of the norms and practices of (English) 'civilization'. Hence, in the mid-seventeenth century John Eliot founded the so-called 'praying Indian towns'—by far the most ambitious effort in conversion until the nineteenth century. With support from the Company of the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America (commonly called the New England Company), Eliot established several settlements throughout New England designed to achieve the religious and cultural transformation of local Algonquin communities. The contravention of English customs and practices within the towns, particularly as they related to sexual practice, housing, clothing, and hair style, resulted in monetary fines. The towns were vacated following 'King Phillip's War', a violent conflict initiated by Wampanoag chief Metacomet (known as King Phillip), who was frustrated at the seemingly never-ending expansion of English settlement. Following Metacomet's defeat, the expansion of colonies proceeded apace, and the indigenous communities of New England subsequently tended to be seen less as potential objects of mission and more as hindrances to the rapidly expanding colony. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that when a renewed emphasis on mission returns in the eighteenth century, we see religious conversion again being twinned with cultural assimilation—premised as ever, on the idea of English superiority (on the Praying Towns, see Mandell 1996: Chapter 1; on King Phillip's War, see Mandell 2010).

Another important recurring theme whose origins long precede the eighteenth century is the view that the Christianization and 'civilization' of colonized peoples should accompany the expansion of empire. This theme always appears as a moral duty—initially theological and later inflected by a secular humanitarianism—that the providential expansion of empire obliges missionary work among the original inhabitants. Thus, from the beginning of English settlement of the Americas onwards, we find clergymen, such as poet John Donne, justifying the expansion of empire in the Americas on the grounds that it would enable colonists to spread the gospel among the 'natives' (see Strong 2007: 3). Later in this chapter, when we turn to the creation of the residential school system in Canada, we will see its proponents making a similar argument; that the creation of the new national state comes with certain moral obligations towards the indigenous communities within the territory.

A key event signalling that Anglicans had begun to think more seriously about evangelism was the publication in 1662 of the revised Book of Common Prayer. Notably, the revisions included a baptism liturgy for adults—those of 'riper years'. While this new liturgy was mainly aimed at providing a mechanism for admitting 'lost' Anglicans back into the church in a time of the rapidly increasing visibility of Protestant dissenters, the Book suggests that the service, 'may be always useful for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations, and others converted to the faith'. Thus, with the adoption of the new Book of Common Prayer any formal liturgical barrier to missionary work among the indigenous communities of North America was now cleared.

The reference in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer to 'our plantations' hints at the impact that the American colonies were having on metropolitan Anglican perceptions about the mission. In this period, the American colonies were undergoing rapid growth and there was growing anxiety about the settlers' spiritual well-being. A view had arisen that they were at risk of losing their Christianity in a country where 'licentiousness' was thought to be endemic. Indeed, it was principally in response to growing anxiety over the religiosity of the settlers that Thomas Bray founded the SPG in 1701 (see Ward 2006: 33).

The Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction included the colonies, had appointed Bray in 1695 to help with the oversight and organization of Anglicans in Maryland. In 1698, Bray founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), an organization primarily concerned with the supply of Christian literature to the colonies and the training of ministers, which continues to operate to this day. Three years later, Bray established the SPG specifically as a missionary organization. The SPG received royal charter as an independent organization, but in practice it was the de facto missionary society of the Church of England. It received annual funding from Parliament and its governing board was drawn from the upper echelons of the church leadership. Unsurprisingly, the SPG tended to be 'high church' in character, in that it subscribed to apostolic succession and catholic practices, and hewed closely to a belief in the indivisibility of church and state. The SPG vigorously supported the colonial church at all levels, from sending clergymen and teachers and paying their salaries, to building churches and supplying literature. It was also a vocal campaigner for the needs of the colonial church in Britain. The remit of the organization was initially limited to British imperial domains, which meant that after the American Revolution, the SPG refocused its energies on the part of North America that remained British (for an overview of the SPG, see O'Connor 2000).

The work of the SPG saw a reinvigoration of Anglicanism in the North American colonies. However, the full development of the church remained hindered by a reluctance to create a properly 'American' church. It was not until after the American Revolution, for example, that a Bishopric was created in North America. Until then, the Bishop of London had jurisdiction over the colonies. Similarly, the very vigour with which the SPG carried out its work had unintended downsides in creating an over-reliance on support from the metropole. This was particularly a problem in the 'second empire' of British North America (BNA), where the church relied heavily on the SPG for clergymen and resources well into the twentieth century.

The bulk of attention and resources of the SPG were focused on the English settlers. As W.P. Haugaard (1998: 22) puts it, citing the first annual sermon of the SPG, '…apart from sporadic beginnings of missions to native Americans and African slaves…most of the efforts of the societies were directed towards settling "the state of religion…among our own people" abroad. Anglicanism was still almost exclusively British.' Yet, if the SPG was largely focused on the settlers, it was not exclusively so. From the outset, the missionary society was also concerned with the Christianization of indigenous peoples. This dual responsibility is clearly stated in the SPG's first annual sermon, 'to settle the State of Religion as well as may be for our own People […] and then to proceed in the best methods they can towards the conversion of the Natives' (cited in Yates 1998: 485).

The SPG began its work among the latter in 1704, among Mohawk communities in upstate New York, four of whom were brought back to London and presented to the Queen (Yates 1998: 485). Subsequent efforts among indigenous peoples were sporadic and largely 'the inciden- tal product of personal initiatives by 'pious chaplains' (see Porter 2005: 46). As a result, the eighteenth century Anglican missionary enterprise was never able to match the efforts of the more evangelical Protestants, such as the Moravians or Methodists, let alone the Roman Catholic Jesuits. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, SPG missionaries were involved in forty-six separate indigenous communities, most of whom were Mohawk. And even if eighteenth century Anglicanism was always more concerned with the settlers' spiritual well-being, the meanings that became associated with missions to indigenous communities during this period nevertheless had lasting impact, particularly on Anglican understanding of mission.

Through close reading of the annual sermons of the SPG, Rowan Strong (2007) does much to uncover the meanings that informed, and arose from, Anglican missionaries' encounters with the indigenous peoples of North America during the eighteenth century. Until at least the 1720s, Strong shows that the indigenous peoples of North America were widely believed to share a common humanity with the English, irrespective of their beliefs and practices. This view was in keeping with the enlightenment thinking of the era and was also probably bolstered by the images and writings about the 'noble savage', which circulated widely through eighteenth century Europe, and which sees its ultimate expression in Benjamin West's depiction of the muscular warrior deep in thought in the 1771 painting, The Death of General Wolf.

The view that indigenous communities shared a common humanity with the English provided

missionaries with a rationale for conversion. Strong (2007: 47) writes that 'while some preachers affirmed that the natives were religiously inferior to the Christian English they did at least share a common humanity, and that common inheritance could be a further reason for mission.' In other words, the very humanity of indigenous peoples meant that there existed the potential for them to acquire Christianity. Thus, unlike scientific racism, which views the perceived superiority of white Europeans as the result of their inherent and unique biology, the idea of a common humanity paved the way for the possibility that indigenous communities could be 'saved'.

Strong (2007: 48–49) further finds that the rationale for conversion and assimilation tended to be seen through a theological lens, in which the distinction between Christian and Gentile provided a framework for understanding the developmental distance that separated the English from the indigenous Americans. Thus, the former represented light, Christian truth, morality, and civilization, while the latter represented darkness, superstition, idolatry, ignorance, and brutishness. Several churchmen pointed to the ostensible parallel between the indigenous peoples of North America and their own English pagan ancestors, with the implication that if the English had been brought into the 'light', so too could the indigenous peoples. Indeed, this logic was taken even further by some churchmen and transformed into a moral duty; if the English had themselves been 'saved' by missionaries from a previous era, they were morally obliged to do the same for the heathens of the Americas. Dean Waugh of Worcester, writing in 1722, expresses this logic well:

It should be remembered, that there was a Time when the Inhabitants of this Island…were as sottish Idolaters as the savage Indians are now; and might have continued to this day, if God had not put it into the hearts of the Apostles, or some of their Primitive successors, to plant the Christian Religion among us; And since we can give no other Account of this Difference, which God hath put between us and them, but that it is owing to his free grace and Mercy, we ought to express our gratitude to him, by our charitable Endeavours for all these, to whom he has not yet vouchsafed that Favour. (cited in Strong 2007: 48)

Like their predecessors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the idea that the Anglicans had a moral duty to bring Christianity to indigenous communities was also expressed in the context of the rapid expansion of empire in the eighteenth century. Imperial expansion was considered to have been guided by divine providence. In return for God's favour, the English were expected to extend Christianity's reach in the new lands. Strong (2007: 60) writes: 'the Anglican civilizing agenda was framed as a theological imperative of the English-British Empire…maximising oppor- tunities for heathens to accept the salvific requirement of belief in the Christian gospel was, in their view, the divine purpose of God in granting England her overseas territories in the first place'.

Despite their optimistic pronouncements about the Christianization of North America, SPG missionaries found to their dismay that indigenous peoples generally resisted their ostensible salvation. For all its resources, indigenous people seemed largely to reject Anglicanism. Yet, rather than trigger reflection on the prevailing ideology and practice of mission, missionaries instead pointed to the perceived 'barbarism' of indigenous people as the principal barrier. In other words, rather than finding fault in their philosophy or practice, blame was placed on indigenous communities, seen to be so barbaric that they simply could not grasp the benefits of what was on offer. Andrew Porter (2005: 26) theorizes that the context in which the missionaries encountered indigenous communities contributed to their arrogance. Unlike the other protestant missionaries, Anglicans rarely ventured too far from the settler communities. The indigenous peoples they encountered—known as 'settlement Indians'—lived on the margins of settler communities in generally poor social conditions, ravaged by disease, war, and alcoholism. For the missionaries, these 'settlement Indians' likely seemed a far distance from the images of the 'noble savage' in circulation throughout Europe, and more in line with Thomas Hobbes' depiction of life as 'nasty, brutish and short'.

The steady stream of reports from dejected missionaries, which depicted indigenous communities in a negative light, impacted upon how the missionary enterprise was represented in the metropole. If metropolitan Anglicans had initially emphasized the common humanity of indigenous communities, they now were more likely to focus on their barbarism. By the middle of the eighteenth century, their pronouncements congealed into a view that such barbarism would need to be replaced by civilization if indigenous communities were ever to be able to properly receive the Christian gospel.

So bleak did the view of indigenous communities in North America become that they began to be represented as uniquely primitive among the peoples of the world. In the 1732 annual sermon of the SPG, Bishop Smalbroke suggests the barbarism of the indigenous people of North America made them

a class apart, distinguishing them even from indigenous communities elsewhere in the Americas (who, he pointed out, had built cities, which ostensibly demonstrated a higher level of civilization) and placing them far below the 'civilized' peoples of India and China (cited in Strong 2007: 52). Smalbroke goes on to suggest that the conversion of indigenous people of North America could therefore only occur after they had been 'reduced' from their barbarism and acquired some rudiments of civilization (cited in Strong 2007: 52).

What did Bishop Smalbroke and others have in mind when they referred to 'civilization'? In practice, English civilization was equated not just with Christianity, English language and dress, but also, a settled, agricultural life. A nomadic lifestyle was seen as encouraging a dangerous level of freedom, whereas a 'settled', agricultural life would instil the virtues of hard work and the value of property. Strong (2007: 54) wryly observes that the attempt was to effect a transformation of indigenous people into English peasantry. This concern with transforming indigenous North Americans from nomadic to 'settled' peoples was to remain central to the thinking of church and state in the coming centuries, informing the curricula of residential schools in Canada and the USA.

As suggested in Smalbroke's sermon, the new emphasis on the culture of indigenous communities as the primary obstacle to their enlightenment planted the seed for it to become palatable, indeed, necessary for it to be removed and replaced with English cultural practices. Strong (2007: 55) writes that 'the eradication of the native way of life was possible because Anglicans did not view it as a culture as such—as they did in China or India—but as a brute state of subsistence, a life devoid of meaning'. In the view of the Dean of Wells, writing in 1732, indigenous people could not even comprehend the distinction between good and evil (cited in Strong 2007: 53). The representation of indigenous peoples was so pejorative that they were sometimes framed as barely human. Equating English civilization with what it means to be a man, Bishop Martin Benson wrote in 1739 that indigenous peoples needed to be 'made into Men before we can make them into Christians' (cited in Strong 2007: 53).

Interestingly, the highly negative view of the cultures and religions of indigenous peoples was also used by missionaries to invoke pity among British Christians and garner support for their activities. Laura Stevens (2004) shows how a common trope was that of the 'poor Indian' who ostensibly suffered under the baleful influence of his or her ignorance and therefore needed to be 'saved'. As Joseph Caryl declared, 'The poor, naked, ignorant Indians, who lately knew no civill Order, now beg to be brought into Church Order, to live under the Government, and enjoy the holy ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ' (cited in Stevens 2004: 18). In the view of Stevens, the association of indigenous people with pity contributed to a contradictory idea that subsequently emerged that they needed to be saved from themselves by force if necessary. Stevens (2004: 20) writes, '… pity, under the auspices of the word poor, can be linked to the very sorts of treatment that would seem to inspire it in the first place…the US policy of Indian removal could not have been established as easily as it was without the conflicted sentiment with which the British came to regard Indians'.

If indigenous North Americans began to be seen as uniquely primitive, the self-regard of the missionaries' own culture could not have been more different; indeed, they presumed themselves to be the bearers of the very apex of human culture. This perception seems to have amplified the view that indigenous peoples' cultures needed to be replaced. In this regard, James Axtell (1985: 25) suggests that the English missionaries' view of 'native peoples as savage who needed to be remade into real human beings…was exacerbated by their insular conviction of the superiority of their own culture and religion not only to that of the Native Americans but also that of other European nations, which made them especially intolerant of any retention of local ways'. Here Axtell interestingly contrasts the English missionaries with the Jesuits, who met with more success in the Americas using an approach that took a 'softer' view of indigenous cultures, allowing for Christianity to be added to elements of indigenous culture. Thus, as a result of Anglicans' combined high self-regard and their low regard for indigenous peoples, a kind of paternal or 'imperial' evangelism became de rigueur by the middle of the eighteenth century. Anglicans had become so high minded that they were seemingly unable to see the potentially negative impact of the destruction of indigenous life worlds.

The hardening of the Anglican view that indigenous peoples needed to be 'reduced' from their barbarism before they could become Christian appears to have effected a general transformation of missionary practices by the middle of the eighteenth century. There is initial evidence of mis- sionaries,

such as David Brainerd, who focused on conversion more than the inculcation of 'civilization'; he conducted his work in the manner of his protestant brethren by travelling widely among indigenous commu- nities and carrying out open-air preaching and baptism while stressing a personal and emotional connection with God. However, by mid-cen- tury it seems that most Anglican missionaries would have agreed with the practice carried out by Reverend Ogilvie, who, convinced that civilization needed to precede Christianity, took a Mohawk boy under his tutelage in order to teach the English habits and language (see Strong 2007: 50).

The missionaries' dim view of indigenous North Americans combined with their own high self-regard seems to have blinded them from seeing clear indications that another route to conversion might be possible. Time and again, missionaries ignored cases where potential converts expressed openness to Christianity, but were resistant to the wholesale transformation of their ways of life. Thus, we find Ogilvie in 1752 coolly dismissing the consternation of the parents of the boy under his tutelage who argued that when they had placed their son in his care, it had not been their intent that he be taught to 'despise his own nation' (Strong 2007: 50).

It is truly a powerful demonstration of the signal role played by meaning in the structuring of social behaviour that Anglicans continued to adhere to the view that indigenous communities needed to be 'civilized' to be 'Christianized', despite the overwhelming failures of the approach. Throughout the eighteenth century, SPG missionaries repeatedly reported low levels of success. While there were certainly instances of successful conversion and assimilation, these were the exception. As Stevens writes, Anglican missionaries were the least successful of the Christian missionaries in New England, lagging behind their Protestant and Catholic contemporaries. What makes this doubly surprising is that the Jesuits, who the Anglicans saw themselves to be in direct competition for heathen souls, were known to accept some aspects of indigenous cultures and beliefs, and also saw significantly more success (Gould 2005: 21). Yet the Anglicans stubbornly stayed the course. While there were recurring debates through- out the eighteenth century over what should come first, civilization or Christianity, by the time the Church of England had begun to refocus its energies on the part of North America that remained British after the American Revolution, the dual enterprise had become so blurred in practice that it could hardly be distinguished.

Meaning and Mission in British North America

The status of Anglicanism in British North America (BNA, now Canada) was upgraded following the American Revolution. Prior to the revolution, the colonial administration had been at pains to avoid being seen to privilege Anglicanism over other Protestant denominations. After the revolution, these concerns were put aside and Anglicanism was accorded a more prominent position to help ensure that the remaining North American possessions stayed loyal (Strong 2007: 119). Lands known as the clergy reserves were set aside for the church and for the first time in the Americas, an Anglican Bishop was appointed in 1787. If it was not quite an established church, the privileges accorded to Anglicanism during this period are enough for some historians to see the church as having been 'quasi- established' (see Westfall 1990).

The church's special status ensured that Anglican elites in nineteenth century BNA tended to be influential, conservative, and deeply commit- ted to ensuring that the colony remained loyal—they were Tory Loyalists par excellence. Indeed, even though the 'nationalization' of Anglicanism in the United States after the Revolution had shown a path towards greater autonomy for the church in BNA, and even though it had been accorded a Bishopric, church elites continued to hew closely to the 'mother church' and strenuously avoided straying too far towards independence. This loyalist tendency characterized Canadian Anglicanism well into the second half of the twentieth century, much as it characterized Anglicanism in the other settler colonies. In this regard, W. S. F. Pickering (1998: 407) writes: 'some of them [colonial Anglican Churches] developed a fixation on all things English and therefore tended to follow slavishly the ethos of the Church of England and the English nation…the Anglican church in Canada always prided itself on its ties with England; its original name, the Church of England in Canada, was not changed until as late as 1958, and that in the face of six years of opposition'.

Despite its newfound privilege in BNA, Anglicanism was never the religion of the majority. The more

charismatic forms of Protestantism, such as Methodism, continued to enjoy the success among the settlers that they had seen in pre-revolutionary America, Catholicism remained the religion of the vast majority of the French Canadians, and mass migration from Scotland and Ireland led to a sharp increase in the numbers of Presbyterians. Moreover, a routine complaint of the lower ranked clergy-men was that Anglican parishioners were generally lacking initiative in the building of their community, a condition that Hayes suggests was in large part the result of a growing dependence on the generous support that the colonial church received from the SPG. It may also be due to the fact that, as high churchmen, the Anglican elites of BNA were less disposed to the kinds of itinerant preaching that was proving to be so successful for the Methodists. In reaction to the perceived lack of initiative among Anglicans in the colony, the SPG began to withdraw from the North American missionary field in the mid-nineteenth century. This decision opened the door for the increasingly influential evangelical Anglicans to enter the North American field (Trask 2008: 331).

If Anglican beneficence in post-revolutionary BNA initially continued to be concentrated on the settlers, with the Methodists proving to be much more successful among indigenous communities, this began to change as a result of the evangelical revival then occurring in Protestant Britain, which increasingly made its influence felt within Anglicanism. While the revival intensified struggles within Anglicanism over its identity, with its adherents more explicitly Protestant or 'low church', it also breathed new life into Anglican mission. This had particular bearing on missions to indigenous peoples in BNA. Indeed, the impact of evangelical Anglicans in BNA is difficult to overstate. Admonishing their brethren for ignoring their mission as Christians to spread the gospel, the 'evangelicals' strode forth into the north and west of the colony, beyond the pales of European settlement, in search of 'heathen' souls to save. As a result of their influence, I devote several paragraphs below to summarizing the origins and practices of evangelical Anglicanism.

The Anglican element of the evangelical revival began to reach its 'golden age' at the end of the eighteenth century and continued through the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The revival emphasized the importance of conversion, the supremacy of Scripture, and the preaching of the gospel (Butler 1998: 34). 'Itinerant preachers', many of whom were not ordained and hence not rooted to a particular parish, travelled the countryside, preaching to huge crowds in open-air fields, homes, and halls. John Wesley is particularly associated with the movement. He began his religious career in the USA as a high churchman, but went on to found Methodism. Interestingly, despite his predilection towards Protestantism, Wesley nevertheless insisted until his death that he remained within the bounds of Anglicanism. Providing an example that would be subsequently followed by thousands of missionaries, Wesley travelled extensively through Britain, Ireland, and North America, frequently preaching to people associated with the lower social classes—notably also preaching to indigenous communities while in North America. This type of activity was embraced by missionaries working among non-Europeans. The much publicized exploits of Scottish Congregationalist David Livingstone, as he made his way through Africa, exemplified the new genre of adventurer missionary.

What caused the explosion of British missionary activity? Timothy Yates (1996: 9–10) suggests that it was fuelled by contradicting millennial expectations regarding the return of Christ. Pre-millennialists believed that the world had entered a thousand-year period over which Satan would rule, to be followed by a thousand years of the reign of Christ. Post-millennialists believed that a period of darkness had already ended and the return of Christ was imminent. While the pre-millennialist mis- sionaries grimly sought to do battle with darkness by ensuring the survival of Christianity, the post-millennialists went into the world optimistically assured that the conversion of the world was guided by the coming of the reign of Christ.

Norman Etherington (2005: 17) dismisses the idea that the upsurge in missionary activity can be traced to a single source, observing that many missionaries ignored the reference to thousand-year periods in the book of revelation, and instead embarked on the mission in the belief that Christ would return once the gospel had been preached to the whole world. Etherington is probably right that the causes of British missionary explosion are multiple, yet the fact that deeply divergent versions of millenarianism arose contemporaneously points to the underlying ambivalence that characterized intellectuals' and theologians' attempts to interpret the dramatic social changes that were then occurring in Britain. Perhaps it is this very ambivalence that conspired to fuel the missionary enterprise. At same time that the millenarians expressed confidence in the progress of Christianity, they were also beset by doubts

about growing secularity and a loss of traditional morality. Both of these sentiments informed a desire to Christianize the world.

Whatever the precise confluence of ideas and social context that led to its emergence, the evangelical revival triggered a massive outpouring of missionaries from Britain. While many of the new breed of missionaries adopted an ideology deemed too Protestant for the Anglican hierarchy, many also sought to remain within the bounds of Anglicanism. At the end of the eighteenth century, a group of upper-middle class Anglican laymen under the leadership of William Wilberforce began to associate in southwest London, becoming known as the Clapham Sect. The Sect dedicated itself to social reform, the development of educational programs for the under-privileged, and the abolition of slavery, while also taking a keen interest in missionary work. Members of the Sect looked on with great interest at the successes of non-Anglican Protestants in the missionary field and sought to join them. In 1799, they formed the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, which was later renamed the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, and subsequently known as the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Although the CMS was founded specifically with the African and Asian missionary fields in mind, throughout much of the nineteenth century, it was also the key driver of Anglican mission among the indigenous communities of BNA.

As an organization founded by evangelical lay Anglicans, the CMS was resolutely 'low church' and, as such, provided a counterpoint to the 'high church' SPG. The remit of the two missionary societies was also distinct. The mandate of the SPG was to serve settlers and indigenous people under British authority, whereas the mandate of the CMS was merely to convert 'the heathen'. With this wider aim, CMS missionaries were encouraged to work beyond the confines of Empire. Notably, the CMS missionaries tended to be less connected and less educated than their SPG counterparts, and to be laymen rather than ordained clergy (Hayes 2004: 16–18). They were also generally drawn from the middle classes: 'literate and respectable but not highly educated' (Darwin 2013: 281–282). Indeed, many did not even have formal education. Overseas missionary activity thus not only offered an opportunity for fulfilment of religious zeal, but also to achieve a higher social status than would have been possible at home, as well as the possibility of adventure. It is notable also that missionaries were not exclusively men. The CMS actively recruited men and women, and among the men sent overseas, it was expected that they marry so that their wives could also contribute to the missionary enterprise. Unsurprisingly, the CMS was initially viewed by elite Anglicans with suspicion and not a little disdain. According to Andrew Porter, in the view of the institutional church, 'lay missionaries smacked of 'methodism' or the embarrassing and dangerous excesses of religious 'enthusiasm', and were disliked for their low educational and social standing' (Porter 2005: 46).

Despite the differences between the CMS missionaries and their High Church brethren, the meanings that informed their work among indigenous North Americans largely conformed to those that had been established by their SPG predecessors. As such, until around the 1870s, the CMS was very much committed to the idea that mission to non-European 'heathens' should combine evangelism with the inculcation of European culture and practices, or what Henry Venn, the long-serving Honorary Secretary of the CMS, famously referred to as 'the bible and the plough'. However, if the combined approach of the evangelical Anglicans was broadly similar to that of their SPG predecessors, its underlying motivation nevertheless differed. The evangelical Anglicans were much influenced by the humanitarian impulse that had taken hold among the 'social reformers' of the day.

The humanitarian impulse of the evangelical Anglicans was most visibly expressed through the work of the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS). William Wilberforce, who led the formation of the CMS, and who is now celebrated in the UK for his role in the movement against slavery, also played a key role in the creation of the APS alongside fellow abolitionist Thomas Fowell Buxton. The APS was created out of concern for the treatment of colonized peoples throughout the empire, and vigorously lobbied the UK government and the wider public opinion ostensibly on behalf of indigenous peoples' well-being. Its proponents saw their role as providing a stabilizing force to communities whose social worlds were in upheaval as a result of the encounter with colonialism. With respect to North America, the APS regularly decried the encroachment of settlers upon indigenous communities' lands. Perhaps its greatest impact in BNA occurred in 1870, when it went so far as to buy Lennox Island (located near the Canadian province of Prince Edward Island) on behalf of a Mi'kmaq community. As a result of its efforts, the APS often found itself at odds with colonial administrations, who were more interested in

the demands of white settlers. Yet, for all its concern for colonized peoples, the APS took a highly paternal position. It was not against colonization per se. On the contrary, its representatives expressed the hope that a more benevolent form of colonization could actually benefit indigenous peoples. In doing so, they added strength to the emergent liberal defence of Empire; that it could be a vehicle for civilizing the non-European world. As such, James Heartfield (2011) refers to the APS as espousing a form of 'humanitarian imperial- ism'. More broadly, we might refer to their ideology as that of the civilizing mission.

The reason for this 'humanitarian imperialism', or the civilizing mission, seems to derive from the deeply ingrained paradigm that can be traced to the eighteenth century representation of the 'poor Indian' in need of salvation—that the life worlds of indigenous people were a baleful and anachronistic hindrance. Within this paradigm, the only conceivable route to improving the well-being of colonized peoples was by adopting the superior culture, not by clinging to their ostensibly inferior culture. For missionaries and humanitarians, this undisputed 'fact' made their work all the more pressing in the settler colonies. Without proper inculcation into the beliefs and practices of a superior civilization that was rapidly expanding, it was widely believed that indigenous peoples would be cast into the dustbin of history; as the bearers of an obsolete culture they were seen to be doomed to extinction. The great paradox in this thinking is that the humanitarians presumed the only escape from extinction was by adopting the 'higher civilization'—replacing one's culture to avoid extinction. As John Webster Grant explains:

During the early years of the nineteenth century, humanitarians reached a fair measure of consensus about the application of their ideals to aboriginal peoples. They agreed that a lower culture coming into contact with a higher one was doomed to extinction. Aborigines could hope to survive only becoming like Europeans, therefore, and it was the responsibility of missionaries and administrators to give them all possible help. (Grant 1984: 75)

The grand idea driving the CMS missionary cum humanitarian project was that upon acquiring the rudiments of civilization and Christianity, indigenous communities would become self-supporting. Henry Venn was of the mind that the teaching of agricultural and industrial practices alongside other practices associated with 'civilization' was necessary to fuel economic growth and thereby facilitate the creation of self-supporting, self-governing indigenous churches, whose members would eventually take up the missionary baton, and evangelize to other communities (Porter 2005: 53). From this point, the CMS missionaries would continue their travels, spreading the Gospel and civilization to new communities.

In carrying out their mission, CMS missionaries were not necessarily opposed to indigenous languages. Quite the opposite. Under Venn's leadership, 'the Native Church Policy' of the CMS was to make the scriptures available in local languages. As such, CMS missionaries continued a long history of Christian missionaries transforming indigenous spoken languages into written languages. However, in doing so, the object was not necessarily to preserve the languages but rather to facilitate conversion.

In the service of mission, CMS missionaries, as with their Protestant and Catholic contemporaries, created 'mission schools', where non- European and non-Christian communities were taught the essentials of Christianity and civilization. While the use of institutionalized schooling to proselytize and civilize non-Europeans already had a long history in Christian missionary practice—used by various Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries at least as far back as the sixteenth century—in the nineteenth century it became the key element of mission. Indeed, so much did the provision of education to non-European 'heathens' become a part of missionary practice that by the mid-nineteenth century missionaries were the major—often the sole—providers of education to colonized peoples (Jensz 2012a: 294). The type and level of institutionalized schooling varied widely, from infant schools to universities and seminaries, and from day schools to boarding schools (Jensz 2012a: 295). In part this seems to have been dependent on the level of expertise of the missionary, who as noted earlier arrived to the field with varying levels of training. The key component of mission education shared across different colonial contexts seems to have been the importance of the missionaries and their families. They were to be role models—exemplars of how to live civilized Christian lives (Jensz 2012a: 295).

In a wide-ranging review, Felicity Jensz observes that mission schools were seen as a mechanism for instilling a 'moral technology'—'through schooling missionaries themselves hoped to enact a transformative process from 'heathen' and 'uncivilized' native to 'civilized' and Christian convert' (Jensz

2012b: 306). As such, in common with their eighteenth century predecessors, at its core, the missionaries' view of so-called 'primitive peoples' was that they shared with Europeans a common humanity, despite their lack of civilization and Christianity. As James Campbell writes, 'for all its manifest limitations, nineteenth century missionary education rested on assumptions of liberal universalism' (cited in Jensz 2012b: 307). Otherwise, missionaries would not have been convinced that transformation was possible.

Yet despite the underlying belief that indigenous peoples could be transformed, missionaries were also influenced by the racist thinking that had become essential to the British colonial enterprise. It might have been possible for non-Europeans to be civilized and Christianized, and they could even be ordained, but they were rarely allowed to take a leadership position and their salaries tended to be lower than their white counterparts. According to Grant,

Protestants found Indians useful in reaching their people, but preferred whites as mediators of civilization […] whatever the denomination, Indian congregations had no voice in the selection of missionaries. Moreover, even Indians who attained positions of local leadership had virtually no access to the centres of power of the agencies that controlled the missions. (Grant 1984: 174)

Thus, the first indigenous Anglican Bishop in Canada was not appointed until 1989. The belief that colonized peoples were at the bottom of a global racial hierarchy of peoples also affected school curricula. In short, this meant that missionaries often focused on the provision of vocational skills that would enable students to participate in working-class life (See Burnett 2007).

The first CMS missionary to operate in BNA was John West, who arrived in the Red River region (located in the southern portion of the present-day Canadian province of Manitoba, near the City of Winnipeg) in 1820 as a 'special representative' of the missionary society. Despite the fact that the attentions of the CMS were at the time directed towards Africa and Asia, the CMS agreed to sponsor West. The reason is that his costs were paid by Hudson Bay Company (HBC), for which he would also be working as chaplain. The HBC had a trading monopoly on the huge territory known as Rupert's Land (encompassing the Red River colony, as well as much of the northwestern portion of present-day Canada) until it was ceded to Canada in 1870.

The Red River region at the time of West's arrival was ethnically diverse and contentious. The dominant group, known as Métis, was French speaking, Catholic, and claimed a mixed European-Indigenous heritage— the result of the long history of fur trading in the area. Similarly, there were numerous communities of mixed Scottish-Indigenous heritage, in addition to Cree, Dene, Saulteaux, and Assiniboine First Nation communities. However, in the decades that followed, these groups were rapidly displaced by a flood of English-speaking Protestants from Britain and central Canada. The transformation of the ethnic composition of the area had already begun by the time of West's arrival. In 1811, Thomas Douglas, the Earl of Selkirk, had started a colonization project in the region for Scottish agricultural settlers. The arrival of the settlers resulted in recurring and increasingly acrimonious conflict. In addition to the workers and families affiliated with HBC and local Métis and indigenous communities, West was expected to minister to the Selkirk settlers.

Despite his myriad duties, West took particular interest in missionary work among indigenous communities. In doing so, West was committed to the view that Christianization needed to be accompanied by civilization. West wrote in his journal, 'I had to establish the principle that the North American Indian of this regions would part with his children, to be educated in the white man's knowledge and religion' (cited in Porter 1981: 17). As such, West enticed parents to send their children to him to be educated in British culture and practices. West founded several mission schools in the service of this effort, which are often cited as the forerunners of the Indian residential school system.

West was committed to the CMS philosophy of training 'native helpers under European supervision', who would then also join the missionary effort. He found an exceptional pupil in Sakachuwescam, a Swampy Cree boy, who was renamed Henry Budd upon his baptism. Budd founded missions in present-day Saskatchewan and Manitoba. He also became the first indigenous person to be ordained as an Anglican Priest and translated the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into the Cree language. However, George Simpson, governor of the Northern Department of the HBC, became increasingly concerned that West's efforts among indigenous communities in the region would have negative consequences for the fur trade and terminated West's contract in 1823. Nevertheless, his efforts at

'establishing schools and missionaries all over the country' pro- vided a framework for the many missionaries that would follow. Moreover, as we shall see in forthcoming chapters, West would take on particular significance as an inspirational symbol for subsequent generations of Anglican missionaries in the North American field (on West, see Grant 1984: 98–99; Willie Online).

A steady stream of CMS missionaries followed West into the former Rupert's Land and Province of British Columbia—many of them, such as William Cockran, William Duncan, and William Bompas, now comprise a part of Anglican and Canadian mythology, and their impact among indigenous communities is hotly debated. The acquisition of Rupert's Land in 1870 by the Government of Canada, and the subsequent signing of treaties with indigenous peoples, which aimed to settle them in territories known as Indian reserves, created new opportunities for missionaries and reinvigorated the interest of the CMS. In this regard, Grant (1984: 156) writes, 'the CMS, after a rather dry period in the 1860s, rejoiced by 1871 in a "sudden upturn of candidates"'. Anglican interest in missionary work among indigenous peoples was also sustained locally. John McLean, who was appointed Bishop of Saskatchewan in 1874, was committed to the missionary enterprise. He founded Emmanuel College in 1879 for the purposes of training indigenous catechists and teachers (Grant 1984: 156).

We have seen that in the nineteenth century, the pattern of meanings informing Anglican mission largely conformed to those that had informed their eighteenth century predecessors. Despite the growing pervasiveness of a racist depiction of indigenous communities, at the core of the mission was a belief that indigenous communities shared a com- mon humanity with the missionaries. As such, Christianization was possible. Nevertheless, indigenous communities were seen to be hindered by an anachronistic and inferior culture. To be successfully Christianized, they therefore also needed to acquire the rudiments of 'civilization'. In a deviation from the eighteenth century enterprise, this view was given further impetus by the rise of 'social concern' for the well-being of colonized peoples in the nineteenth century. Mission was thereby depicted as an effort to spread the Gospel and as a humanitarian project—a mechanism for ensuring the survival of communities who were widely seen to be doomed to extinction as a result of contact with 'civilization'. Education in British culture and practices, which would be preferably aimed at children, was seen as the best route to 'saving' indigenous communities. As such, missionaries became involved in the creation of mission schools throughout the non-European world, including Canada. John West's schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan were an exemplar of this model. As I will now discuss, this understanding of the mission made Anglicans in Canada very amenable to entering into a partnership with the Canadian government in the running of the Indian residential schools.

The Creation of the Indian Residential Schools

The historic relationship between the missionaries on the one hand, and the traders, settlers, and colonial state on the other hand, is marked by recurring friction. When their interests coincided, their relationship ran smoothly. However, the fact that they were ultimately motivated by differing aims in their relations with indigenous communities meant that the relationship could also break down. As we saw in the case of John West, HBC governor George Simpson became concerned when it seemed that West's civilizing efforts might negatively impact the fur trade. The HBC had an interest in indigenous communities retaining their specialisms in hunting rather than learning agricultural practices, let alone deepening their literacy skills and knowledge of European (trading) practices. When it became clear what West had in mind, he was replaced. But the possibility of friction did not simply fade away after West returned to England. It resurfaced several years later when William Cockran, who was the third CMS missionary to enter the Red River region after West, also began to focus on 'civilizing' indigenous communities. Cockran's efforts also raised the ire of Simpson, who subsequently seems to have encouraged Wesleyan Methodists, who were known to evangelize but not 'civilize', to embark on missionary work in the territory (Foster Online). As the cases of West and Cockran illustrate, as long as indigenous communities were perceived by traders and colonial administrators as allies, 'civilizing' missionaries risked being seen as unwanted meddlers.

The potential for conflict between the missionaries and the colonial state increased in the nineteenth century with the rise of the APS and the corresponding view that colonized peoples needed to be protected from the predations of the colonies. Thus, when Sir Francis Bond Head, who was installed as lieutenant governor of Upper Canada in 1836, introduced a policy of relocating indigenous

communities to a remote island in Lake Superior, it provoked an outcry from religious and humanitarian groups. Head's appointment was revoked and the policy was suspended (see Miller 1996: 131).

Head's proposal to displace indigenous communities illustrates the dramatic changes in how indigenous communities were perceived in BNA in the decades following the War of 1812. If indigenous communities in Rupert's Land continued to be seen as vital allies in the fur trade, in fast-growing BNA, in which agriculture seemingly pointed the way to the future, there was no such demand. And in the new era of peace, there was no longer a need for indigenous communities as comrades-at-arms against the Americans or the French. In this context, they began to be seen as impediments to the growth of the colony. As such, Head made his proposal. Interestingly, as we shall discuss shortly, the new perception of indigenous peoples also brought about a change in how the missionaries were perceived.

The revocation of Head's proposal demonstrated the growing influence of the view that the well-being of colonized peoples could not simply be disregarded, and that, rather, empire should be to their benefit. In other words, the tenets of the civilizing mission were then becoming ever more central to how empire was framed. According to the proponents of this view, Britain's rapidly expanding empire should be used to facilitate the 'progress' of colonized peoples. Empire was the mechanism by which non-Europeans would be guided towards (British) 'civilization'. In the service of this mission, education was accorded special priority. In 1835, Thomas Macauley penned his now infamous 'Minute on Indian Education', suggesting that the aim of education in British India should be 'to form…a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in morals, and in intellect' (see Kumar 2003: 190–95).

The civilizing mission was similarly gaining ground as a framework for the treatment of indigenous communities within BNA. By the mid-nineteenth century, it was not just the missionaries that subscribed to the view that indigenous cultures would soon be rendered extinct in the face of mass settlement—it had become widespread (Francis 1992: Chapter 2). For some observers, such as economist Stephen Leacock, this was the 'natural' result of the collision of an ostensibly superior culture with a lesser culture, and there was therefore little that could be done, except perhaps to relocate them to a remote island, as Head had proposed (Francis 1992: 54). However, many other observers took the position that even if their culture was dying, indigenous peoples might nevertheless be saved.

It was in the context of the idea of the civilizing mission that the residential school system was framed. By learning industrial and farming practices in a Christian environment, indigenous communities would be 'saved' from their obsolescence. Making use of the expertise and labour provided by the missionaries, who had already long been involved in indigenous education, was seen as the best way of putting the new ideology into practice. In the new era, missionaries were thusly upgraded from their prevailing representation as meddlers to partners.

Yet, from the outset, there was also a harder edge to how the new policy was framed; the provision of education to indigenous peoples would not only 'save' them, it would also lead to their absorption into the colony. In this regard, the residential schools can be read as an alternative solution to the 'impediment' posed by indigenous communities in the light of Head's failed attempt at forced relocation. Here, then, was the paradox of the civilizing mission and the difficulty of formulating a humanitarian policy underwritten by the steadfast belief in the inferiority of indigenous cultures. Historian James Miller (1996: 75) writes: 'assimilation through evangelization, education, and agriculture would have to be the policy after 1830, because more coercive methods of achieving the "Euthanasia of savage communities" [here Miller cites Sir George Murray, former Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, an early proponent of this position] were inimical, expensive, and politically dangerous'. By the time of the inauguration of the residential schools, the dark side of the civilizing mission—as an ideology of assimilation—had become ever more apparent, with their proponents using words like 'save' and 'kill' interchangeably. As with the language used in Macauley's 'Minute on Education', the assimilation of indigenous communities became synonymous with helping them.

For their part, many indigenous leaders in Upper Canada endorsed European-style education for their people—at least initially. Indeed, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, it was often the indigenous leadership that campaigned for European-style education. For example, Shingwaukonse

(Little Pine), an influential Ojibwa Chief who had fought on behalf of the British in the War of 1812, travelled with his son to the fast-growing town of York (now the City of Toronto) to petition the Church of England to set up a school for his people. However, in contrast to the aims of the missionaries and the colonial administration, it was not Shingwaukonse's desire that his people be assimilated. For Shingwaukonse, a rapidly changing social context signalled that, in order to survive and compete, his community needed to learn the practices of the settlers whose numbers were swelling daily. Thus, he sought education for his people so that they could cope with new circumstances, not so that they could be assimilated (Miller 2000: 129).

The first systematic attempt to put the new policy into practice occurred following a meeting in 1846 in the burgeoning town of Orillia. Colonial administrators, missionaries, and several indigenous leaders agreed to the establishment of 'Manual Labour Schools' designed to educate male chil- dren in industrial and farming practices (Miller 1996: 61). However, deeply divergent aims among indigenous leaders, colonial administrators, and the religious groups ensured that the new school system very rapidly became the object of conflict. James Miller (2000: 130–31) describes a situation where would-be missionaries arrived at the schools with little knowledge of, and disregard for, the cultures of the communities they were charged with educating. Unsurprisingly, indigenous leaders expressed their dismay. The failure of the manual labour schools to achieve their aims led the government to abandon them in the subsequent decades.

The context of the 1846 meeting at Orillia, when colonial administrators felt it necessary to discuss their plans with indigenous leaders, changed drastically in the following decades, as the perceived relevance of indigenous peoples quickly faded. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the weight of social power swung ever more towards the colonial government and it began to systematically override the expressed concerns of the indigenous leadership, while progressively taking control of nearly every aspect of their peoples' lives. It is in this period that we see the ideals of the civilizing mission increasingly come to mean assimilation. A succession of policies suggests that the overarching aim of governmental policy was the elimination of indigenous peoples as distinct cultural and political communities.

In 1857, Sir Edmund Walker Head, Governor General of the Province of Canada, signed the 'Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes in this Province', which required the 'enfranchisement' of all indig- enous men over the age of 21 'able to speak, read and write either English or the French language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt'. The new law denied indigenous men the right to vote or own property unless they sought enfranchisement, which, if they did so, meant that they would lose all 'Indian rights and habilities'. Legally, they would therefore become the same as any other British subject in Canada. From thenceforth, until the law was changed in the mid-twentieth century, indigenous people had to decide whether to retain their 'Indian status' or become full citizens—they could not have both. Citizenship was to be a tool of assimilation (on the 1857 Act, see Miller 2000: 140).

Later, the 1867 Act that led to the creation of the Dominion of Canada assigned the new political community full power to legislate for indigenous people and their property, despite protestations from indigenous leaders. Indigenous peoples subsequently became 'wards' of the Canadian state. In a telling example of how they were now viewed, Sir John A. MacDonald, first Prime Minister of Canada, interpreted the 1867 Act as assigning to the new government, 'the onerous duty of… their guardianship as of persons underage, incapable of the management of their own affairs' (cited in Milloy 1999: 21). In the years that followed, 'the government took for itself the power to mould, unilaterally, every aspect of [indigenous] life and to create whatever infrastructure it deemed necessary to achieve the desired end – assimilation' (Milloy 1999: 21). Palmer Patterson writes poignantly: 'for the Indian it was the period of his irrelevance to Canadian life' (Patterson 1972: 107).

After being ceded Rupert's Land, as prescribed in the Rupert's Land Act of 1868, the Canadian administration acquired de facto sovereignty over approximately 100,000 First Nations, Inuit and Métis, whose life worlds differed sharply from the British cum Canadian civilization that it hoped to establish in the new territory. To resolve the potential obstacle that they posed to the mass settlement of the territory envisioned by the government, officials again looked to the possibility of their assimilation via education.

And again, it was envisioned that missionaries would be the educators.

There were initially two types of schools: industrial schools and residential schools, with a focus on expanding the former. Although the two types of schools were broadly similar, there were differences. In general, the industrial schools were aimed more at providing training for working-class jobs, whereas the residential schools were focused on literacy and numeracy. Also, the industrial schools tended to be located in urban settings, further from the children's communities than the residential schools. However, in time, the aims of the two types of schools blurred and, after a reorganization of indigenous education in the 1920s, they collectively became known as residential schools (on the differences in the industrial and residential schools, see Smith 2001: 256–59). Notably, the grand idea behind the school system can be traced to the reformatory and industrial schools for the urban poor rather than the boarding schools for upper class children. The harsh practices in the residential schools and the tendency to treat children as 'inmates' rather than as residents align with the practices of the reformatory and industrial schools of the era (see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015: 57).

As had been the case with the manual labour schools, European-style education was initially championed by the indigenous leadership. A dramatically changing social context, characterized by an influx of settlers and a concomitant rise of a smallpox epidemic and decline of traditional eco- nomic systems, meant that indigenous leaders were forced into a position of needing to learn the practices of the newcomers to secure the continuity of their communities. In return for ceding land to the government, indigenous leaders often negotiated for the provision of education as a part of their compensation. Thus, Weekaskookwasayin (Sweetgrass), a Cree chief involved in the treaty negotiations for communities in a huge territory encompassing what is now central Saskatchewan and Alberta, demanded schooling as part of the package of compensation for ceding land. Like his predecessors in Ontario, Weekaskookwasayin sought education in Euro-Canadian practices for his community in order to secure its future. However, this was a far cry from what the government had in mind. And despite the protestations of his successors, the balance of power was now so firmly in the hands of the state that they were simply ignored.

Through the residential schools, indigenous children would ostensibly acquire the culture and practice of 'civilization' and thereby be saved. Assimilation was thus represented as a humanitarian policy in line with the ideals of the civilizing mission. Nicolas Flood Davin's (1879: 11) oft-cited statement, 'kill the Indian to save the man', which was contained in the 1879 report that led to the creation of the residential school system, illustrates this rather contorted idea well. In a statement that echoes the sermons of sixteenth-century priests, Davin also represented the residential schools as the fulfilment of a sacred obligation. In this view, it had been 'divine providence' that had bequeathed the vast northwest to the new nation, and there was therefore a sacred duty to be discharged in relation to its original inhabitants. Hence, Davin (1879: 11) argued that the 'Government of Canada had a sacred trust with which providence has invested in the country in the charge of and care for the aborigines committed to it.' Similarly, a Methodist proponent of the school system wrote, 'the Indian is the weak child in the family of our nation and for this reason presents the most earnest appeal for Christian sympathy and co-operation' (cited in Milloy 1999: 28).

It was not just the possibility of bequeathing an enlightened civilization upon indigenous communities that motivated Davin. If they were allowed to endure without becoming 'civilized', the nascent national community put its own civilization at risk. In this regard, it was untenable that Canada should, '…harbor within its borders solid masses of heathenism, such as Indian reserves are, without suffering the contamination which must come from the peculiar moral and social ideals entertained in these com- munities' (cited in Grant 1984: 183). To maintain Canada's ostensible purity, the indigenous communities contained within its borders thereby needed to be transformed.

In the running of the residential school system, the staff and their administration were to be provided by the churches, whilst the government was to provide funds and oversight. Why did the government choose to partner with the churches at a time when the idea of secular education was already gaining ground? One reason is surely instrumental: missionary societies had already long been involved in indigenous education. By enlisting the churches into the residential school enterprise, the government would build on a long-running practice and avoid the day-to-day administrative aspects of the schools, as well as the need for training and hiring staff. But there was also another, more cultural, logic for

partnering with the churches: Christianity was believed to be integral to the 'civilizing' process.

Because the residential schools would be introducing to the children a wholly new ontology of the world, it was thought that Christianity needed to play a role in their education (Milloy 1999: 36). The logic informing this view was the reverse of that which had informed the missionaries. If the missionaries had taken the position that the successful Christianization of indigenous peoples could only occur if they acquired 'civilization', the proponents of the residential schools took the view that the acquisition of civilization could only occur alongside Christianization. Hence, Prime Minister MacDonald wrote in 1883, 'secular education is a good thing among white men but among Indians the first object is to make them better men, and, if possible, good Christian men by applying proper moral restraints, and appealing to the instinct for worship that is found in all nations, whether civilized or uncivilized' (cited in Miller 1996: 103). Thus, in contrast to the trend towards secular education in English Canada at the time, in the view of the administration, 'the [residential] school system…could not be secular; the process of civilization must be a partnership between church and state' (Milloy 1999: 38).

The lofty ideals that informed the creation of the residential schools justified the separation of children from their parents. By placing children in schools far from their parents, Davin suggested that they would be an improvement on the failed manual labour schools, in which the pupils had continued to live in their communities. According to Davin, it simply was not possible for the adults to grasp the intricacies of civilization because they were already too deeply enmeshed in their own culture and practices. They could 'be taught to do a little farming and at stock rais- ing and to dress in a more civilized fashion, but that is all… [they had]…the helplessness of mind of the child…there is too, the child's want of perspective; but there is little of the child's receptivity' (Davin 1879: 25). Moreover, as long as the adults were near their children, they were also seen as a potentially malign influence who might entreat their children back to 'savagery'. Thus, Davin suggested that 'the more remote from the Institution and distant from each other are the points from which the pupils are collected, the better for their success'. No matter that this separation might be painful. The initial pain of separation would ostensibly soon be alleviated by a virtuous process in which the children would be lovingly brought into the 'circle of civilization' by school staff guided by the principles of Christianity.

Conclusion

Schooling was central to the Anglican missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century. Missionaries in BNA used education as a mechanism to Christianize and 'civilize' indigenous people. At times, their efforts brought them into conflict with other Europeans in the field—settlers, traders, and agents of the colonial state who had other designs for indigenous people. This changed with the consolidation of the Canadian state at the end of the nineteenth century. State elites embraced the civilizing mission as a way of absorbing indigenous people into the emergent polity. The work of the missionaries was seen to be critical to the process. A system of residential education for indigenous people involving a partnership between church and state was proposed.

For their part, the Anglicans were 'delighted' to enter into the partnership (Hayes 2004: 29). The prospect of stable funding for work in which the church was already engaged was too tempting to pass up. Yet, the partnership nevertheless came with risks. Anglican missionaries, along with the other Christian denominations, had often taken care to distinguish themselves from the agents of empire. Missionaries tended to present themselves as interlocutors between empire and indigenous peoples, even occasionally acting as brokers and translators in the writing of treaties (see Grant 1984: 154). Through the rise of such institutions as the APS, the missionaries further staked their claim as distinct social actors. The risk, then, was that a formal partnership with the state would upset this delicate mediating role, particularly from the perspective of the indigenous communities. There was also the fact that while the aims of church and state had broadly converged, there nevertheless remained underly- ing differences. At its core, the mission of the church was to expand the 'empire of Christ'; cultural assimilation was the means of achieving this end. On the other hand, the chief aim of the state was the creation of 'civilized' working-class subjects, with Christianity providing the means for this being achieved.

Crucially, the partnership with the state also meant that the church was beholden much longer to a particular kind of missionary practice than it otherwise might have been. Interestingly, around the

1870s, the centuries- old twinning of Christianization and civilization finally began to undergo serious criticism. Andrew Porter (2005: 54–55) describes a context where the missionary movement at the end of the nineteenth century appears to be losing steam. Moreover, low rates of conversion continued to frustrate. Venn's dream of a world of self-governing churches seemed as distant as ever, to say nothing of the dream of a world united by Christianity. In order to revitalize their mission, a rising chorus of evangelists wondered if the process of Christianization might be made easier if missionaries were to focus solely on the spread of the Gospel. After centuries of being conjoined, the aims of Christianization and cultural assimilation thereby began to be prised apart. As a part of this, indigenous cultures began to be reappraised. Missionary societies began to take the view that 'any association of Western culture with Christianity should be minimized … missionaries should assimilate themselves as far as possible to native ways of living' (Porter 2005: 55).

Yet, just as the leadership of the CMS in the metropole was beginning to question the merits of the civilizing mission, Canadian Anglicanism entered into partnership with the Canadian government in the running of the Indian residential school system. As a result, the many failures of past practices were repeated for much longer than might have been. In the running of the residential schools, the church also found itself taking the civilizing mission further than its predecessors. For example, whereas it had long been a practice for missionaries to learn and use indigenous languages to help with the task of proselytization, within the residential schools generally only English was permitted.

Whereas there has been a push in recent scholarship, most notably in the work Andrew Porter (2004), to bring to light the ways in which missionaries were motivated and acted in ways that distinguished them from empire, we find in Canada that church and state became particularly bound. For these reasons, it seems that the Canadian context shares similarities with the African context, in which Norman Etherington (2010: 133) suggests that government funding of mission schools was often a 'poisoned chalice'—one that in Canada was to have terrible consequences.

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