THE REVEREND GEORGE BARNLEY AND THE JAMES BAY CREE

JOHN S. LONG,
P.O. Box 334,
Moosonee, Ontario,
Canada, P0L 1Y0.

ABSTRACT/RESUME

An analysis of the impact of an early missionary reveals that the James Bay Cree were actors, not passive beneficiaries or victims, and the missionary's impact was limited. Barnley's career merits our attention as much for its failure as for its accomplishments; he proves the anthropological truism that basic beliefs and values are resistant to change.

Une analyse de l'influence d'un des premiers missionnaries révèle que les Cris de la Bale James étaient des acteurs, et non des bénéficiaires passifs ou des victimes, et que l'influence du missionnarie était limitée. La carrière de Barnley mérite notre attention autant pour son echec que pour ses réussites, il renforce le truisme anthropologique que les croyances et les valeurs de base résistent au changement.

THE CANADIAN JOURNAL OF NATIVE STUDIES VI, 2(1986): 313-331.

During the 1680's, when French forces temporarily captured the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, there was a very brief period of Jesuit missionary activity in the James Bay region. Father Antoine Silvy was pessimistic about the prospect of obtaining Native converts: "Since I could speak to them only in passing as they are continually on the move, it is scarcely probable that one can soon make Christians of them."[1] After the return of the territory to English hands in 1713, the Hudson's Bay Company sent no more clergymen to its James Bay posts. Even as late as 1810, the Company's official view was that "the nature of the Country & Service present some insuperable difficulties against sending out Ministers."[2] The arrival of the Reverend George Barnley at Moose Factory in 1840, a century and a half after the Jesuit interlude, ushered in a new missionary era. Yet he faced the same basic problem as Silvey before him in trying to "civilize" and reform the religious habits of the James Bay Cree.

According to standard church biographies, the Reverend George Barnley's arrival at Moose Factory in 1840 produced far-reaching results. The Indians' "old paganism was superseded by Christianity" and the syllabic system of writing, devised by Barnley's contemporary, the Reverend James Evans, was introduced; the missionary is the actor, and the Indians are passive beneficiaries or victims.[3] In recent years, however, a different story has emerged. Evans' writing system spread rapidly from Norway House to Moose Factory, brought there by Indians, and Christianity was re-interpreted and incorporated into existing Cree notions of power and a supreme being (Brown, 1982:53, 64; Long, 1986:170-206.

This account will examine Barnley's perceptions and priorities, his plans and activities, and his very limited effects on the James Bay Cree.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Dispatching the Methodist George Barnley to James Bay was a strategic move intended to forestall the advance of Roman Catholicism into the region. After the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and its rival, the North West Company, in 1821 it had been only a matter of time before missionaries penetrated Rupert's Land. The British Parliament had passed legislation designed to promote the moral improvement of Natives in the territory. Implementation rested with the London directors of the HBC who included Anglican Evangelicals like Benjamin Harris and Nicholas Garry.[4] It is not surprising that the directors, through their overseas Governor George Simpson, favored monopoly in religion as well as in trade.

HBC Governor Simpson accepted the inevitability of missionary activity - he had been called to defend the Company against charges made by the Aborigines Protection Society in 1836, and the Company's charter had been renewed in 1837 on condition that it improve the Indians' spiritual condition. But he was determined to establish denominational zones of influence (Mitchell, 1978:174-177; Pannekoek, 1974:3; Galbraith, 1949:325). Missionaries need not compete with the trade. Conversion might be advantageous to business if clergy induced the Indians to imitate European manners, dress, customs and

consumer tastes. Missionaries could be tolerated and given limited financial support - so long as the fur trade did not suffer.

Methodist biographers have tended to neglect George Barnley. Church historians have generally been embarrassed by Barnley because he abandoned the mission after seven years and was never replaced by the parent society. An analysis of Methodism's impact on the Cree hunters of James Bay is long overdue, for they were Barnley's first priority. The Reverend George Barnley was instructed by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to "promote the best interests of all classes of persons . . . but especially of the Indian tribes . . . To the latter your attention must be directed and you must especially spend and be spent for them."[5]

THE SOURCES

As James Mitchener states in his epic novel of missionaries in Hawaii, "They write. They have an absolute mania for taking pen in hand and writing a book, a memorial or a series of letters to newspapers" (Mitchener, 1959: 509). Twenty-three year old George Barnley was required to seek advice from his superiors through regular correspondence and keep a daily journal which he submitted annually to the headquarters of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London, England. These were perused for evidence of the writer's piety and Christian growth, and excerpts were published as propaganda in Society periodicals.

Missionary accounts are especially prone to bias, as the writers were not objective observers but ethnocentric antagonists deeply dedicated to changing Native culture; to compensate, the historian must become familiar with anthropological literature. Barnley is the author of most of the written evidence, and he freely admits to occasionally exaggerating his reports by always including "something encouraging and satisfactory."[6] Much of the supplementary material is written by Barnley's critic, Chief Factor Robert Miles. Careful interpretation is required.

MISSIONARY PERCEPTIONS AND PRIORITIES

George Barnley left England with his own preconceived images of North America's Native people. He expected the James Bay Cree to be proficient with bow and arrow, and "ferocious" like his stereotype of Plains tribes. Instead he found they were very reticent, except when intoxicated, and making good use of gunpowder. After arriving at his post, Barnley had ample occasion to imbibe the current folk ethnology of Company officers like Joseph Beioley, Thomas Corcoran and Robert Miles. He certainly heard about the Hannah Bay incident of 1852, when a small group of Indians murdered the occupants of Hannah Bay post, and he wrote a book on the topic.[7] The specific cultural "problems" which Barnley identified -- that is, the images which he selected as targets of his program of reform were Native motivation, mental capacity, ingratitude, lack of cleanliness, domestic life, liquor and what he called superstitions. These

observations reveal more about the missionary's ethnocentrism than anything else, for he was unable to understand the Indians in their cultural context.

In Barnley's opinion the Indians were simple and lazy. They existed only "to satisfy the wants of the body, to eat, and drink, and sleep." As a would-be reformer he saw his challenge in discovering their hidden "spring" and liberating their "capacity for exertion."[8]

Barnley assumed that the Indians' brains had atrophied for lack of Christianity's "mental food." He considered the "pagan" mind a vacuum which, once injected with Christian "truth," would be able to use reason to resist the "false" dogma of Catholicism. His mission was a desperate fight against time. He had to sterilize the Indians' minds with the pure waters of Methodism, pre-empting the muddy stream of Rome.[9]

The missionary was repelled by the dirty conditions and habits of the Indians. He learned that they were sometimes infested with lice and "would always eat them, sometimes picking them out of each others heads & taking them from their bodies with the point of a knife." On another occasion Barnley witnessed further "contrast between the cleanliness of European manners and indifference of Indians." Goose intestines were boiled along with the carcass, the former "not having undergone the process of cleaning, and in that state eaten with great relish, some portion of the excrement being removed after cooking by passing it between 2 fingers while one end was held between the teeth."[10]

The Indians were also found to be an ungrateful lot, "not accustomed to give verbal expression to their thanks very frequently." When an Indian surprised the missionary by wishing him "Meosho tipiskaw" (Good evening) at Fort George, this was cited as proof that they had "feelings capable of improvement, and that the ameliorating influence of Christianity is quickly felt."[11]

At Moose Factory Barnley lectured to his Indian congregation on the "sinfulness of polygamy, which in a few instances prevails among them." To all he patiently explained the "rightful" claims of wives "on the affection and protection of their husbands," and the females' reciprocal duties of "kindness, obedience and fidelity." One in the audience is alleged to have "put away the youngest of his two wives." At Rupert House, Old Shewapo (Salt Water) had his family augmented by "removing two or three daughters with their children from husbands who had other wives."[12]

In another case The Swallow (William Atkinson) put aside a wife but, unable to find alternative accommodation, kept her in the family in what Barnley hoped was a purely platonic relationship. Given the economic and social functions of extra wives in fur trade society, it is unlikely that many of these new arrangements persisted once the Indians were out of the missionary's sight. The sinful stain of polygamy might be washed clean by the waters of Methodism, but in the missionary's mind the flaw was catalogued for future documentation. When Eliza Spence was baptised in 1843 she was listed as "an adult formerly second [polygynous] wife of Agenishkum."[13]

The extended family was a source of considerable concern to Barnley as well. He wrote that the "custom of living together in companies of 5, 4 or more

families occasionally must be very inimical to the morals of those who are yet young."[14]

Tales of murderous intrigues reached the minister's ears. After receiving a tongue lashing from him, murderers reportedly wept at the revelation of their depravity. A man "who had for many yeats had his own daughter to wife" and allegedly murdered two children of the union to conceal evidence of incest was encountered at Rupert House. Such behavior was not only highly unusual, but was considered reprehensible in Cree society as well. In consultation with Chief Trader Robert Miles, Barnley successfully obtained the man another mate, enticing her with a few trinkets. The liberated daughter was left in the care of an elder protector.[15]

During the early nineteenth century there was considerable concern in parts of British North America with temperance, so it is not surprising that the use of liquor in the fur trade came under scrutiny. As early as 1827 the Hudson's Bay Company had begun phasing out the trading of liquor. Still, Barnley considered the James Bay Cree of the 1840's "addicted to the practice of rum drinking." Goose hunters received a dram before departing for the marshes. Members of a canoe brigade from Lake Superior received, on arrival at Moose Factory, a quart of liquor: eight parts water to five parts rum. Barnley blamed the scarcity of beavers in the 1980's on a Divine judgement, God's punishment for the competitive trading of liquor before the Company's merger with the North West Company in 1821. Chief Trader Robert Miles of Rupert House was praised for his success in persuading the Indians to trade their furs for dry goods in 1841, thereby preventing the missionary from "witnessing the truly lamentable sight of a drunken Indian." Only those who promised to abandon their rum drinking could be admitted to baptism.[16] Once baptised, of course, there was nothing to prevent the return of old habits.

MISSIONARY PLANS AND ACTIVITIES

To overcome these "problems," Barnley employed interpreters, assigned memory work and attempted to provide his clients with a system of writing. He also planned to collect them together in a village and dreamed that their children would form a captive audience in a residential school system.[17]

For the most part, Barnley had to content himself with exhorting his Native proteges during their brief visits to the trading posts. Bilingual Company employees of mixed ancestry, like Joseph Turner and William Linklater Jr., were often required to serve their employer inland or were too busy with other tasks to assist him. This proved to be a serious obstacle to Barnley and another source of friction between him and HBC authorities.[18]

He found that the Indians learned very quickly, but soon forgot the truths of Methodism. To aid their retention Barnley used a system of memory drill aided by a mnemonical stick. The Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments had to be committed to memory, thereby occupying the so-called pagan vacuum. To inject this dogma Barnley would arrange the Indians in rows and assign "one sentence to each person consecutively till the whole [was] dispensed of."

The stick helped remind the students how many people were required to recite a given routine. First introduced at Fort Albany in 1842, this technique was reported to be "pursued with the same or rather enlarged success" elsewhere.[19]

During the lonely winter months spent separated from his flock of hunters, Barnley confidently wrote his superiors that converts were "deeply convinced of the truth of the Gospel &, solitary as is their conviction, earnestly engaged in seeking the mercy & the approving smile of... God." Still, privately knowing their forgetfulness, he worried that they had to spend most of the year exempt from his surveillance. A printing press was required. The written word would be an "authority for constant reference where memorys [sic] report solicited confidence in vain, or more probably pointed out the path of error for that of truth, and it would prove an antagonist to Popery."[20]

While teaching the Ten Commandments in 1842, Barnley remarked that "Their method of remembering is very curious, a number of hiroglyphics being marked with the finger nail on a piece of birch bark"; they evidently had an indigenous recording system, or else the Evans syllabic system had already diffused to the area. Several weeks later, Barnley began teaching them an alphabet based on Byron's stenography. The system employed "primitive characters . . . formed of a line, and a semi-circle, placed in various positions" supplemented by loops, dots and extra lines. With chalkboard and chart, Barnley unsuccessfully attempted to teach the system to his audience. One boy became adept at reading short words, but he was an exception. The Indians' pronunciation errors in attempting to learn the minister's writing system caused "many a hearty laugh among themselves."[21]

In October of the same year two Indians from Fort Severn, on western Hudson Bay, arrived at Moose Factory with a sample of James Evans' syllabic writing obtained from Norway House at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. Brown has speculated that the two travellers may have been Abishapis and Wasetek, key figures in the syncretic religious movement which reached James Bay a short time later. Barnley abandoned his own system of Indian writing and adopted the Evans syllabics, first introduced to the James Bay region by these Fort Severn Indians, for the sake of uniformity in translations.[22]

He experimented in casting lead type, carving small blocks of wood and inscribing nuggets of plaster of Paris made from nearby gypsum deposits. Eventually Barnley succeeded in casting plates and producing Cree primers. Meanwhile his colleague William Mason arranged to have a proper press in operation at Norway House and sent fifty prayer books to Moose Factory.[23]

EVALUATING BARNLEY'S IMPACT

Assessing the impact of Methodism on the Indian hunters of James Bay requires a judicious interpretation of the records. Chief Factor Robert Miles claimed that the Moose Factory Indians "bitterly" complained of Barnley's inattention. Barnley wrote that at Rupert House "one decrepit old man *crawled* across the *portages,* so intense was his anxiety to hear the words of life." Both statements are suspect, however. Barnley's claim was used to support his criti-

cism of the lack of transportation to Rupert House, while Miles' contention served to justify the missionary remaining at headquarters.[24]

At Rupert House one hunter offered Barnley some furs in the expectation that his son would be taught to "read the Great Spirits book." The man may have been Testahmaw, whose son John Smith later served as the minister's chore boy and apprentice.[25]

The Indians' interest in Christianity is demonstrated by the numbers admitted to certain rites of passage for the first time. At first Barnley had postponed Indian baptisms until there was evidence of striking change in their conduct. Three years later he admitted not having yet witnessed one case of real conversion among his reticent flock. Nevertheless, in a leap of faith or desperation, Barnley decided to baptise record numbers of Indians while admitting that none were "actually justified."[26]

One hundred and forty-eight baptisms were performed in four days at Moose Factory, eighty-nine at Fort Albany in two days, two hundred and thirty-five in a single day at Rupert House, and similar numbers at Fort George. Christian names were allocated. In one family, four sons were renamed Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. One couple was baptised Adam and Eve. The Frog and his wife were called Simeon and Hannah Jones. Tekokumaw (Caribou Boss?) was renamed Adam Goodwin, whose son Isaac Hardisty assisted later missionaries. Wapunewoetum (Morning Cry) and Shkwashesh (Small Woman) were baptised John and Susannah Wesley. Tahkoonahkun (Cradle Board) had the dubious distinction of being renamed Jabez Bunting after an influential figure in the British Methodist Conference. The Hudson's Bay Company recognized these names, entering them as aliases in its Indian debt ledger.[27]

In a discussion about the introduction of European names among a northern Ojibwa group, anthropologists Edward S. and Mary Black Rogers have suggested that the missionary's appellations were adopted by the Indians because they provided an additional source of "guidance, protection or power." The same explanation seems reasonable in interpreting the response of the James Bay Cree, although free tea and sugar issued to converts provided a more immediate incentive. Chief Factor Robert Miles told Barnley's successor that "it would be a great grief to the Indians" if he would not baptise their children at the end of the summer, "as during the winter many children die." If the Cree associated protective power with the rite, they were not unlike many Britons during the Middle Ages and later who believed that baptism could guarantee the wellbeing of humans, dogs, cats, sheep and horses (Rogers and Rogers, 1980:198-250; Thomas, 1971:37).

Some of the Cree sobriquets recorded by Barnley are recognizable as permanent "surnames" which survived until well into the twentieth century. These surviving Cree namer, more or less frozen in time, seem to have been originally selected on an intimate, individual basis and not inherited. Although they no longer serve their original function, they are considered to be authentic "Indian" names today. It is not uncommon to hear James Bay Cree speak with regret of how missionaries changed the authentic Indian names of former generations. At the same time, it must be noted that it is not uncommon for a person to have

a tree or English nickname. From this evidence it could be argued that the earlier Cree naming system survives. The European system of names was adopted to facilitate communication with Europeans. As far as the Indian hunters of the 1840's were concerned, nothing of importance was lost by conforming to the missionary's expectations in what was really a trifling matter. A Cree was still known to his kinsmen by his nickname, and to Europeans by his adopted names.

It was a common practise in mid-nineteenth century for poles to be set in the ground to mark a burial site. Barnley described these wands at Moose Factory as being "decorated with ribbons &... pieces of tobacco suspended on them." He saw a cradle at the site of a child's grave. Besides tobacco, food was frequently hung nearby.[28]

European burial practises had been adopted long before Barnley's arrival. In the early 1700's a Cree trading captain's wife was buried in a solemn ceremony at Moose Factory.[29] In comparison with the number of marriages and baptisms, one is struck by the rarity of Christian burial records. Unlike the rites of baptism and marriage, death and burial could not be scheduled. Few Cree hunters died while at the posts. Those who died within several miles of the post could be brought in for burial. For the most part, however, the immediate locale of the camp became their cemetery.

The rarity of Christian burial records can be best understood from Barnley's observation that "An Indian does not expect much success during the year after a relative dies, & manifests reluctance to take possession of his property." Unlike baptism and marriage, the Cree had strong beliefs about death and burial which evidently prevented the easy adoption of Christian forms. It was believed that the deceased could communicate with the living, and could influence their hunting for better or worse. Ghosts could make trouble, even attempting to take people with them. If someone became too morose.over a death, mental breakdown could result. Anthropologist Richard Preston concludes, "Death is a risky business for the living. One really sees by the empirical consequences of a death - how your hunting goes, whether you are depressed - how this mysterious process works out . . . The idea that animals somehow know how they are treated after death carries over to human-people too. The idea that animals can react carries over too... As we have to respect the death of animals and show that respect through hanging the bones, we have to respect people by making sure that they are buried well and promptly.[30]

Barnley's elaborate plan for a residential school complex reflected current thinking by his fellow Methodists and by an evolving Indian administration in Upper Canada. In James Bay, however, these ideas could not easily be instituted. When Simpson and members of the Southern Council met with Barnley in 1845 to discuss his proposal, the scale of the enterprise was greatly reduced. The collection of half a dozen boys for agricultural training was sanctioned, but in the end only the lad John Smith received Barnley's tutoring. Poor John seems to have sometimes frustrated his master, if Robert Miles' anecdote can be believed. During Barnley's last winter in the country he became "very wrath with his Servant Boy" and "with his hand thrashed him well about the head." Miles piously observed that "those who are desirous to asperse others should

themselves exhibit a more peaceful demeanor."[31]

Until John Smith was able to live with Barnley, in 1847, the boy was exempt from what the missionary considered proper surveillance and "necessarily far less *under control"* than was desirable. If an adult translator could not be secured from the James Bay area, Barnley envisaged an Indian graduate of one of the Methodist schools in Canada being obtained. In any event, the relationship between English minister and Indian translator was fraught with social ambiguities. Barnley worried whether his interpreter should be treated as a servant, companion or laborer. He complained that too much of his own energy was taken up with physical labor which ought to be delegated to an assistant.[32]

As an experiment, a few Indians were provided with seed and allowed to begin gardening. The plan involved so many restrictions that Barnley despaired of ever establishing a settled village of converts. The small-scale gardening experiment was judged a failure.[33] The James Bay Indians could not easily be transformed into farmers. The environment was not suitable and the Hudson's Bay Company opposed all efforts to wean the Indians from the hunting life they preferred.

Barnley had little access to the Indians except during their brief visits to the various posts. In winter they were dispersed. In summer many of the men were engaged in freighting operations for the Hudson's Bay Company. Though their wives and families camped near the trading posts in summer, the Company frowned on them hanging about the factory. Later in the summer the men were employed harvesting marsh grass for the Company's cattle. And when the geese began collecting in their staging grounds, the Cree were off hunting for subsistence or trade. When Barnley attempted to prevent some Cree tripmen from travelling on Sundays while employed by the HBC they ignored him, following tradition and the dictates of their employer.[34]

Barnley's missionary cicuit stretched from Great Whale River on eastern Hudson Bay, around the rim of James Bay as far as Fort Albany, and inland to the dependent posts of Martin Falls and Matawagamingue. During his seven year ministry the coastal establishments at Fort George, Rupert House and Fort Albany were visited four times, Great Whale River twice and the inland posts once. By the end of his period in James Bay, however, Barnley was rendered immobile by his wife's health and a serious conflict with Chief Factor Robert Miles (Long, 1985b).

One might expect that Barnley's greatest influence on the Indians of James Bay was at his headquarters, Moose Factory. In 1852 Barnley's successor, John Horden, discovered that two of Barnley's early Moose Factory converts, Adam and Eve, still possessed their Methodist probation card: "They had taken great care of it, having it between two boards with some other papers."[35] Though the card, issued annually to all who attended the distinctive Methodist class meetings, would have expired it was treasured by its owners. Whether it served as a talisman or merely a memento, it served as tangible evidence of Barnley's efforts.

Following Barnley's abrupt departure in 1847, the mission remained vacant

for four years. During this time, visiting Oblate priests made little headway at Moose Factory. Though a cross was erected there to visually symbolize Roman Catholicism's ubiquity, the records show only twenty-three baptisms from 1848 to 1851; many of these must have been conferred on visiting tripmen from Abitibi and Timiskaming. In 1851 John Horden claimed that at Moose Factory there were not "ten Papists in the place," among them HBC carpenter James King. At Fort Albany quite the opposite was true. Horden wrote that "nearly all . . . were rebaptized." Two hundred and ninety-nine entries in the Oblate register confirm a differential rate of success at Fort Albany. The contrast can be partially explained by the influence of resident chief officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. At Fort Albany Chief Trader Thomas Corcoran, a Roman Catholic, and his wife Sophie sponsored many of the baptisms. In contrast, Chief Factor Robert Miles' wife Betsey urged the Moose Factory Cree not to abandon Methodism. A tubercular epidemic in the Timiskaming district, Oblate headquarters, may also have played a role.[36]

Horden and his colleagues who succeeded Barnley freely acknowledged the Methodist's accomplishments. Though Horden later complained of Barnley's translational errors, he had the advantage of studying the Evans syllabic system and a Cree dictionary, compiled by Barnley, while en route to his posting at Moose Factory. And upon arrival, Horden saw at once that the syllabic system of writing had gained a decided foothold among the Cree of James Bay.[37]

Methodism did not prevent the advance of Roman Catholicism towards James Bay. Governor Simpson of the HBC was only partially successful in establishing denominational zones of influence, although the Protestants were given every advantage. Oblates were kept out of the region until the summer of 1847, and then restricted to annual summer visits until 1892 when a permanent mission was allowed at Fort Albany Paul-Emile, 1952; Saindon, 1928).

CONCLUSIONS

George Barnley identified problems and devised strategies for remedying the deficiencies he perceived. The Evans system of syllabic writing was introduced - first by the Fort Severn visitors and then by Barnley - and enthusiastically adopted by the Cree. Christian rites were introduced and European names systematically allotted. But these were essentially additions to Cree culture which need not have replaced or threatened tradition; the writing system was surely an improvement. Baptism and new names may have connoted additional sources of power. In contrast, aboriginal burial practises resisted change. The Indians of James Bay escaped the missionary's plans for mass indoctrination of their children and conversion to a sedentary life. They were able to laugh at his absurdity.[38] The James Bay Cree were not easily manipulated.

The Moose Factory burial register for 1926 contains a marginal notation beside the name of the deceased Isabel Patoosh, indicating that she was "evi-

dently the last person who could remember Barnley the Methodist Missionary." A few years later, anthropologist John Cooper found few Cree who remembered Barnley, though the two Indian visitors from Fort Severn were vividly recalled. Cooper claims that Barnley achieved only a very superficial indoctrination of the Cree. Self-serving as Oblate Cooper's assessment may appear, it is independently confirmed by the Reverend E.A. Watkins who was stationed at Fort George in the 1850's. Watkins considered Barnley's Christian Cree to be mere baptised heathens.[39]

John Horden was told, in the 1850's, that some Cree converts remembered Barnley's "words," but he gives no specifics. Asked by Horden about Barnley's influence on the Indians during his tenure of office, old Eve replied: "'Some attended to what was told them, but a great many merely laughed at him, they liked their rum too well."[40]

Until residential schools were established and their economy was transformed in the twentieth century, the James Bay Cree could choose to behave as church-going Christians while at the post for a few weeks, and do as they pleased while dispersed in their hunting or fishing camps (Tanner, 1979: 210-211). Barnley's career merits our attention as much for its failure as for its successes. He proves the anthropological truism that basic beliefs and values are resistent to change. He also demonstrates that the James Bay Cree were actors, not victims, during this early missionary encounter.

NOTES

1. Kenyon and Turnbull, 1971:92. The Jesuit Charles Albanel visited the eastern coast of James Bay in 1672, baptised some Indians near the mouth of the Eastmain River and erected a cross near the entrance to Lake Nemiscau, (Paul-Emile, 1952:23-28). See biographies of the Reverends John French and Thomas Anderson, and Jesuit Fathers Charles Albanel, Claude Allouez, Antoine Dalmas, Pierre-Gabrial Marest and Antoine Silvy in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* 1966 and 1969, vols. 1 & 2.

2. Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), a.6/17, f.69.

3. John Maclean, 1918:62; Riddell, 1946:14; McNab, 19S9:20-22; 47. For other authors on the Barnley years see Stephenson, 1925:90; Maclean, 1890; Young, 1900; Shipley, 1966; Pannekoek, 197S; Hutchinson, 1977; Pugh, 1971; Brooks, 1972; Thompson, 197S; Mitchell, 1978:177-184; Van Kirk, 1980:216; Brown, 1981:xv; Francis and Morantz, 1982:16I-166 For a more general review, see Rhonda and Axte]l, 1978.

4. Great Britain, Parliament, *An Act for Regulating the Fur Trade, and Establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction Within Certain Parts of North America,* 1 & 2 George iv, c. 66, 2 July 1821; Rich, 1960, 2:344-345; 3:557; Long, 1985b.

5. A typescript copy of Barnley's instructions is contained in Barnley's Journal, Public Archives of Canada (PAC), MG24 J20.

6. United Church Archives (UCA), Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Correspondance (WMMS), Barnley to Society, 3 February 1847.

7. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February 1841), p. 448. Fur trader's observation on Cree religious practises are in Morantz, 1978, and in Cooper, 1933.
   On the Hannah Bay murders see Bamely, c. 1898: John Blackened's Cree oral traditional in Preston, 1975: 142-146; Wallace, 1952:99-100 and Hind, 1863 (2):16-17. See also a compilation of contempory HBC records in Paddy Doran's unpublished manuscript "Preliminary Investigations into the Narratives of the Hannah Bay massacre: 1832," ed. by Richard J. Preston.

8. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February 1841), p. 448.

9. UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Alder, 29 May 1846; Barnley to Society, 25 September 1843 and 7 July 184].

10. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 24 June and 22 September 1840; UCA WMMC, Barnley to Society, 25 September 1845. Ironically, the roles were reversed in earlier times: see Author et al., 1973, and Hudson's Bay Company Atchives (HBCA) B. 135/a/11, £67 cited in Francis et al., "An Historical Chronology of Eastern James Bay, 1610-1870," (unpublished), pp 25-27.

11. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 16 August 1841 and 15 January 1842.

12. Wesleyan Missionary Notices (February 1841), p. 449.

13. UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 23 September 1843; Archives of Ontario, Methodist Register, Ms. 161.

14. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 8 December 1840 & 10 July 1841. On cross-cousin marriage see UCA, Barnley's "Journal of Snow Shoe Journey from Moose Factory to Matawagamingue 1844," 15 March 1844.

15. Evans Collection, Pratt Library, Victoria University (Toronto), Barnley to Evans, 21 June 1842; UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 7 July 1841, emphasis in original.

16. Garland and Talman, 1931; Ray, 1978:7-19; Mitchell, 1978:183; Francis et al., "James Bay," p. 68; Regional Collection, Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario (UWO), Barnley to Evans, 12 January & 23 February 1843; PAC, Barnley Journal, 11 June 1840.

17. HBCA, B. 135/z/3, fos. 272-279; Gerald A. Falk refers to another copy of this plan, which I have been unable to locate, in his "Missionary Education Work Amongst the Prairie Indians, 1870-1914" (M.A., University of Western Ontario 1972), p. 151n.

18. PAC, Barnley Journal, 15 January 1842:26-27, October 1843; UWO, Barnley to Evans, 1 July 1841 (no. 100), 15 July 1844 (no. 170) 18 June 1844 (no. 178) 16 July 1844 (no. 186); HBCA Barnley to Simpson, 29 May 1846, D.5/17, los. 298-300. For a list of the various interpreters employed by Barnley, see his letter to Simpson, 7 September 1846 HBCA D.5/18, los. 216-218.

19. Wesleyan Missionary Notices (February 1841), p. 447; UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 23 September 1843; *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February 1845) pp. 24-27; *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1845), pp. 201-204; PAC, Barnley's Journal, 30 June 1841.

20. UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 20 January 1846.

21. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 10 August 1842; UCA, Barnley to Society, 23 September 1843 (also printed in *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* February 1845.

22. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 3 October 1842; Brown, 1982; UCA, Barnley to Society, 23 September 1843 (also in *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* February 1845).

25. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 29-30 October & 6 November 1843, 8 February 1844; Victoria University, Barnley to Evans, 4 & 16 July 1844; UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Alder, 29 May 1846, Mason to Society, 26 June 1847. For an exhaustive source on syllabics see Murdoch, 1981.

24. UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 7 July 1841; HBCA, Miles to Simpson, 21 February 1846, D.5/16, fo. 248.

25. UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 7 July 1841; Barnley to Society, 23 September 1843 (also in *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* February 1845 and *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 1845); Archives of Ontario, Methodist register.

26. UWO, Barnley to Evans, 1 July 1841 (no. 100); PAC, Barnley's Journal, 24 February 1843.

27. Archives of Ontario, Moose Factory Register; HBCA, 1845-1846 Albany Indian Ledger, B.3/d/144.

28. PAC, Barnley's Journal, 5 June 1840.

29. Van Kirk, 1980:]5-16; Rogers et al., 1972. See Also Axtell, 1980:96 112.

30. PAC, Barnley's Journal; Honigmann, 1956; transcript of an interview with Richard Preston, 10 November 1985.

31. HBCA, Barnley to Simpson, 24 February 1846, D.5/16 f. 261d-262, UWO Barnley to Evans, 1 July 1841 (no. 100), 27 June 1842 (no. 122) and 2 January 1843 (no. 140).

32. UCA, WMMC, Barnley to Society, 23 September 1845; *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February 1845), pp. 24-27; HBCA, Miles to Simpson, 21 February 1846, D.5/16, f. 249d & 8 January 1847, D.5/19, f. 43.

    John Smith's career as mission interpreter was short-lived. After Barnley's departure, he served the HBC on Lake Superior for four years and then was recalled to Moose Factory for two years of training as a schoolmaster under John Horden. In this capacity he showed signs of "unsteadiness" which culminated in charges of drunkenness and sexual misconduct. Smith was dismissed, resumed employment with the Company and drowned at Osnaburg in 1861. Church Missionary Society records, (GSA, CMS) Horden to Wright, 2 February 1854, A-88; Thomas Vincent's journal, 2 February 1862, A-98.

33. UWO, Barnley to Evans, 15 February 1844 (No. 170); PAC, Barnley's journal, 25 February 1845; Great Britain, Parliament, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *Report ... Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence,* Appendix and Index (London, 1858). On twentieth century Indian farming at Moose Factory, see McLeod, N.D.:I4.

34. HBCA Miles to Simpson, 12 May 1847, D.5/19, los. 550-553 See also Francis & Morantz *Partners in Furs* p. 163.

35. CMS, Horden Journal, 30 April 1852, A-88.

36. Judd, c.1981:106; Archives Nationales du Québec, Centre Regional de l'abitibi-Témiscarningue, "Témiskamingue Régistre des Baptêmes Depuis 1843 Jusqu'à 1878"; CMS Horden to Venn, 8 September 1851, A-79, Van Kirk, 1980:161; Mitchell, 1978 :193.

37. CMS, Venn to Bishop of Rupert's Land, 7 June 1851, A-76, Horden to Wright, 15 February 1878, A-103; Horden Journal, 12 June 1851, A-88, Venn to Horden, 21 June 1851, A-76; Horden to Venn, 8 September 1851, A-79.

38. See, for example, their reaction to his criticism of suspending caribou bones: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January 1843), p. 82, 234, PAC, Barnley's Journal, 21 September 1840. The practise is explained in Speck, 1977:122-123; Preston, 1964.

39. St. Thomas Anglican Church (Moose Factory), Register of Burials 1914-1964, no. 166; Cooper "Supreme Being," p. 103; CMS Watkins Journal, 24 & 31 December 1852, 9 February 1853, A-97; Long, 1985a:91-118.

40. CMS, Horden Journal, 30 April 1852, A-88.

REFERENCES

Arthur, Eric et al. (Editors)
1975 *Moose Factory 1673 to 1973.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Axtell, James
1980 Last Rights: The Acculturation of Native Funerals in Colonial America, pp. 96-112, in William Cowan (Editor): *Papers of the Eleventh Algonquian Conference.* Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Bafnley, George
c.1898 *Kenooshao: A Red Indian Tragedy.* London: Charles H. Kelly

Brooks, William Howard
1972 Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century. Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation.

Brown, Jennifer S.H.
1981 *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

1982 The Track to Heaven: The Hudson Bay Religious Movement of 1842 - 1843, pp. 53-63, in William Cowan (Editor): *Papers of the Thirteenth Algonquian Conference.* Ottawa: Carleton University.

Cooper, John N.
1933 The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being. *Primitive Man* 6(3-4): 88-93.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volumes 1 & 2
1966 & 1969 Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Doran, Paddy
n.d. Preliminary Investigations into the Narratives of the Hannah Bay massacre: 1832. Richard J. Preston (Editor): Unpublished manuscript.

Falk, Gerald A.
1972 Missionary Education Work Amongst the Prairie Indians, 1870-1914. University of Western Ontario, unpublished Master of Arts Thesis.

Francis, Daniel et al.
n.d. An Historical Chronology of Eastern James Bay, 1610-1870. Unpublished manuscript.

Francis, Daniel and Toby Morantz
1982 *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Galbraith, John S.
1949 The Hudson's Bay Company Under Fire. *Canadian Historical Review* 30(4):323.

Garland, M.A. and James J. Talman
1931 Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada Prior to 1840. *Ontario History* 27:341-364.

Hind, Henry Y.
1863 *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula.* London: Longmans, Green, Vol. 2.

Honigmann, John J.
1956 The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree: An Ethnographic Reconstruction. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 5(1):78-80.

Hutchinson, Gerald M.
1977 James Evans' Last Year. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19(1-2):42-56.

Judd, Carol
c.1981 The Changing Faces of Moose Factory. Unpublished report to Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

Kenyon, W.A. and J.R. Turnbull
1971 *The Battle* for *James Bay 1686*. Toronto: Macmillan.

Long, John S.
1985b The Reverend George Barnley, Wesleyan Methodist and James Bay's Fur Trade Company Families. *Ontario History* 77(1):43-64.

1986 Shaganash: Early Protestant Missionaries and the Adoption of Christianity by the Western James Bay Cree, 1840-1893. Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation. University of Toronto: Department of Education.

1985a Rev. Edwin Watkins, Missionary to the Cree: 1852-1857, in William Cowan (Editor): *Papers of the Sixteenth Algonquian Conference*. Ottawa: Carleton University.

Maclean, John
1890 *James Evans.* Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms.

1918 *Vanguards of Canada.* Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church.

McLeod, Herbert F.
n.d. *Memories of Fur Trading Days in* Moose *Factory and Vicinity,* compiled by John S. Long, Kapuskasing: Marc Plouffe.

McNab, John
1959 *In Other Tongues: Tales of Triumph* of *Canadian Translators of Scriptures.* Toronto: Thorn Press.

Michener, James A.
1959 *Hawaii.* New York: Fawcett Crest.

Mitchell, Elaine Allan
1978 *Fort Timiskaming and the* Fur *Trade.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Morantz, Toby
1978 Pratiques religieuses des Cris de la Bale de James aux XVlIIe et XIXe siècles (d'après les Europeans). *Recherches Amerindiennes au Québec* 8(2):115-122.

Murdoch, John Stewart
1981 Syllabics: A Successful Educational Innovation. Unpublished M Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba.

Pannekoek, Frits

1973 The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Queens University.

1974 The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846, in Richard Allen (Editor): *Religion and Society in the Prairie West,* Canadian Plains Studies 3. Regina: University of Regina.

Paul-Emile, Soeur

1952 *La Baie James: trois cent ans d'histoire.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

Preston, Richard J.

1975 *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events.* Ottawa: National Museum.

1964 Ritual Hangings: An Aboriginal Survival in a Northern North American Trapping Community. *Man* (64): 142-144.

Pugh, Donald E.

1971 First Missionary at Moose Factory. Moose *Talk* (15 June).

Ray, Arthur J.

1978 Fur Trade History as an Aspect of Native History, in Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith (Editors): *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Rich, Edwin E.

1960 *Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870* (3 vols). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Riddell, J.H.

1946 *Methodism in the Middle West.* Toronto: Ryerson.

Rogers, Edward S. et al.

1972 A Cree Burial, Moose Factory, Ontario. *Arctic Anthropology* 9(1):27-34.

Rogers, Edward S. and Mary Black Rogers

1980 Adoption of Patrilineal Surname System by Bilateral Northern Ojibwa: Mapping the Learning of an Alien System, pp. 198-230, in William Cowan (Editor): *Papers of the 11th Algonquian Conference.* Ottawa: Carleton University.

Ronda, P. and James Axtel
1978 *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Saindon, Emile
1928 *En Missionant: Essai Sur les Missions des Peres de Marie Immaculee a la Baie James.* Ottawa: Imprimerie du Droit.

Shipley, Nan
1966 *The James Evans Story.* Toronto: Ryerson.

Speck, Frank G.
1977 *Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Stephenson, Mrs. Fredrick C.
1925 *One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions* 1824-1924, Vol. 1. Toronto: The Methodist Society of the Methodist Church.

Tanner, Adrian
1979 *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters.* St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Thomas, Keith
1971 *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Scribner's.

Thompson, Arthur N.
1973 The Wife of the Missionary. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 15(2):35-44.

Van Kirk: Sylvia
1980 *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society* 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer.

Wallace, W.S. (Editor)
1932 *John McLean's Notes of Twenty-five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory.* Toronto: Champlain Society.

Young, Egerton Ryerson
1900 *The Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans.* Toronto: William Briggs.