

Leon Fouquet, OMI

(1831 - 1912)

(Oblate Archives : Vancouver)

LEON FOUQUET AND THE KOOTENAY
INDIANS, 1874-1887

by

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ABSTRACT

Leon Fouquet was a nineteenth century missionary who spent decades ministering to the Indians of British Columbia. Born and raised in a working-class family in northeastern France in the aftermath of the French Revolution, at twenty he joined the Oblate missionary Congregation. After his ordination in 1854, he spent several years teaching theology, before moving to the Pacific Coast's frontier society when the gold rush was in full swing. Fouquet evangelized Indians and whites on Vancouver Island and the Mainland for the next fifteen years, and was then posted to the Kootenays in 1874. There he took over the work that had previously been carried out by Jesuits travelling from Montana and Idaho.

This study focuses chiefly on the Oblate's years of ministry in the Kootenays, and is concerned with assessing his work in comparison with that of his contemporaries then ministering in the province. It examines the missionary's and the Indians' activities and attitudes within the framework of their cultural and religious backgrounds. Account is likewise taken of the socio-economic, political, and personal factors which had a bearing on Fouquet's ministry, and on the Indians' response to his efforts. Similarities and differences between this mission and others are noted, as part of the evaluative process.

There were numerous resemblances between Fouquet and other missionaries, particularly his fellow Oblates, in their general outlook and

methods. The conclusion this thesis reaches, however, is that the missionary was distinguishable from many of his missionary confreres in both subtle and overt ways. These differences can be detected in his educational and teaching background, in the amount of time he was obliged to devote to physical labor, in his constantly miserable health, in his conservative juridicism, in the controversies he had with superiors and others, in the regard he had for obedience, in his influence on the Indians, and in the uniqueness of the Kootenay region and people.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	-	Archives Deschatelets, Ottawa
ADD. MS.	-	Additional Manuscript
ADM	-	Archives Departmentales de la Mayenne, France
AEL	-	Archives de l'Eveche de Laval, France
AEM	-	Archives de l'Eveche du Mans, France
AGR	-	Archives Generales des Oblats, Rome
FCSP	-	Filles de Charite, Servantes des Pauvres (Sisters of Charity of Providence)
MOMI	-	Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculee
OAV	-	Oblate Archives, Vancouver
OMI	-	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OP	-	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OSB	-	Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)
PABC	-	Provincial Archives of British Columbia
PAC	-	Public Archives of Canada
SJ	-	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SP	-	Sisters of Providence
SSA	-	Sisters of St. Ann
TRS	-	Transcript
TS	-	Typescript
UBCL	-	University of British Columbia Libraries

PREFACE

Only a few historians have studied British Columbia missionaries. Jean Usher's book on William Duncan, Anglican evangelist at Metlakatla, and David Mulhall's thesis on Adrien Morice, Catholic missionary in New Caledonia, are two instances of recent scholarly writing on the subject. Yet these works and similar studies - examples are Barry Gough's research on A. J. Hall, Charles Lillard's editions on A. J. Brabant and W. H. Collison, Clarence Bolt's work on Thomas Crosby, and Margaret Whitehead's book on the Cariboo mission - clearly indicate a burgeoning interest in the role that gospel emissaries played in the history of the province.

In recent decades Canadian religious historiography has been generally more prolific. To some extent it has provided an impetus to the growing interest by historians in this province. In any event, national concerns and standards concerning religious history are reflected in modern western Canadian studies. Bruce Trigger's ample study of early Jesuit missionaries to the Hurons, for instance, or John Grant's publication on Indians and Christianity, have raised a multiplicity of new questions.

Investigations of this kind render a service to students of religious history. By extending the parameters of inquiry to include a wide spectrum of social factors, they shed much new light on the activities and outlook of missionaries, and uncover a host of elements which circumscribed the churches' ministry. These studies both enrich and challenge conventional interpretations. In short, they broaden our understanding of missionaries.

And yet much remains to be done. Many missionaries are still virtually unknown to researchers. Fortunately, numerous primary documents on their lives have been preserved in church archives and are available to

researchers. This study draws largely on some of these records, and is presented as a contribution to our knowledge of the province's early missionaries.

Leon Fouquet was a Roman Catholic missionary belonging to the Oblate Congregation. He spent over half a century ministering to native peoples on both sides of the Rockies. A decade of that time was passed in Alberta, and the rest in British Columbia. Of the long years he spent on the Pacific, thirteen were devoted to the Kootenay Indians in the southeastern part of the province. This thesis explicitly deals with that period of Fouquet's ministry. Fouquet was sent to St. Eugene mission, close to modern-day Cranbrook, in 1874. The gold rush in the area had come and gone by then, and when he left in 1887 the development of other types of mining was just beginning. It was a time in which the railway came into the region, and one in which local native land claims came to a head.

These and other events had an impact on the religious life of the district, and on Fouquet's ministry. He labored to ensure that the impact was not harmful to the people, particularly to the Kootenay Indians. In his eyes, they were his main responsibility, a people whose ancestors had lived and loved, hunted and fished, worshipped and dreamed, and fought and died on the slopes and valleys of the plateau.

This work, however, is neither a biography of Fouquet, nor a study of the Kootenay Indians as such. Its chief concern is with the Oblate's efforts to Christianize the native people, and with the Kootenays' response to the gospel. It begins with a preliminary chapter on the missionary's earlier career as a backdrop to his years at St. Eugene. The central portion of the thesis then considers the Indian people that he served at the mission, the approach he adopted in evangelizing them, special aspects of the

situation he faced, and the many controversies that he engaged in as obstacles got in his way. A final chapter considers Fouquet's achievements.

How typical a missionary was Fouquet, alongside his contemporaries then ministering in the province? The question figures prominently throughout the pages of this inquiry. At first glance, many features of his ministry seem to indicate that he did not differ significantly from his ministerial confreres, especially his fellow Oblates. He had much in common with them, for example, in his background, outlook and methodology. The contention here, however, is that Fouquet's missionary career was unique in many ways because of his character, circumstances and charges. Both he and the people he served, and the conditions under which he labored, conspired to set him apart from his colleagues.

A large amount of source material for the present study has been drawn from the missionary's correspondence. These private letters, unlike those directed to the public in certain missionary journals, were not penned to promote the missions. As confidential exchanges between the Oblate and his religious superiors, they afford access and insights into Fouquet's thoughts and feelings as a missionary. From the pages of his correspondence emerges a detailed profile of the missionary's goals and values. In them are revealed the complex difficulties which beset him, as well as his strengths and weaknesses. Complementary documentation is derived from Oblate annals, government documents, newspaper articles, and anthropological and historical studies.

A caveat is in order, however, regarding limitations inherent in some of the above sources. Fouquet's letters, for instance, frequently fail to provide detailed information on a variety of points. The man had little leisure or energy to write extensively about the Kootenay people and region,

nor was he able to keep completely in touch with everything that was going on in the area. It is conceivable, therefore, that he may have been misinformed on some issues, or have misinterpreted others. Caution is also required when evaluating other material cited herein, such as government documents, newspaper articles, or works based on limited contact with the people and events described. Hopefully, further research on the Kootenays will amplify our present knowledge of the region's earliest residents.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND & EARLY MINISTRY

Léon Fouquet was forty-three years old when he was sent to minister in the Kootenays. By then he had been ordained for twenty years, and had become a seasoned missionary. Experience had taught him much about Indian missionary work, and rounded some of his rough edges. But his early background was also responsible for the approach he took to ministry in the southeastern British Columbia mission.

Léon was born on 30 April 1831, at Argentré in northwestern France. His father, Jean, had married Perrine Tribondeau in 1822, Their union ended in Perrine's death six years later. Five children were born of this marriage, but two of them did not survive infancy. Jean remarried in 1830. He and Renée Louise Talluau had three more children, of which Léon was the firstborn. Both parents were uneducated and came from peasant backgrounds, restricting their ability to provide for the family's needs.¹

Local residents worked at Argentré's marble quarries, lime-kilns and mills, or in farming.² But, during Léon's youth, work was generally hard to find in the Mayenne region. Conservative thinking prevailed in the Department, hindering economic progress,³ and affecting the people's political outlook.⁴ Léon's strong traditionalism, later so prominent in the mission field, probably owes its origin to this regional disposition.

Like Léon Fouquet, many of his contemporaries who joined the Oblate Congregation in France had been reared in poverty. They belonged, in other words, to the middle or lower classes of society as did candidates then presenting themselves in England for evangelical missionary work.⁵ No doubt, these missionaries' empathy for the lower classes was connected with

their own humble roots. Fouquet's origins attracted him to the Oblates, who had been founded to preach to the poor. As a young man he had heard Oblate missionary Nicolas Laverlochère preach on native missions in North America. Laverlochère had come to France from eastern Canada looking for mission recruits. Contact with the Canadian missionary fanned Fouquet's boyhood ambition to go to the foreign missions. Subsequently, though, his desire was temporarily thwarted when he was assigned to teach theology. Fouquet considered the setback "le sacrifice le plus pénible de ma vie." Teaching held no attraction for him, compared to working with Canada's Indians.

Missionary work attracted him for a variety of reasons. His acceptance of the unwanted classroom appointment had been motivated by faith. In boyhood, "a noble family" had sponsored his education. He had thereby come to value his faith, and wanted to share it with others who had not heard of Christ. The hardships of life in the missions, moreover, likely appealed to his sense of self-sacrifice. No doubt there were other reasons why Fouquet dreamed of overseas' ministry. Intrepid and lively by nature, far-away places would have appealed to his imagination, and motivated him in his studies. Mission work offered challenge and adventure.

After completing his primary schooling Fouquet devoted thirteen years to classical and theological studies in a series of institutions. His secondary education began at L'Institution de Marseul at Laval. While a boarder there, during a three year period, he received extra tutoring from a "précepteur privé." Regular classes for the boarders took place at the Royal College of Laval, and lessons were reviewed later in the day at the residence. An English course formed part of this program.

Little more is known about the education Fouquet received at the Marseul Institute, apart from some details on course options and costs, and

on staff members' qualifications. Three of the Institute's staff, for instance, had their "bachelier-ès-lettres" degrees. The Director also had his "bachelier-ès-sciences" and "breveté du degré supérieur", and was a "membre de l'Institut des provinces de France."¹⁰ Although the overall calibre of the nation's lycées and colleges was not high, Laval was most likely above average due to its Royal status. Thus, the quality of this phase of Leon's early education later gave him an advantage over others ministering in British Columbia. Few would have gone to private boarding institutions or attended Royal Colleges; and some, such as William Duncan, an Anglican lay minister, had only limited formal schooling. Fouquet's privileged training marked his ministry deeply - singling him out for teaching, giving him confidence in his intellectual ability, and prompting him to frequently¹¹ debate with others during his years in the mission field.

In 1846 Fouquet went from Laval to the Minor Seminary at Précigne to pursue his studies. At the time there were 300 students enrolled, accommodated in new buildings. Conditions were favorable to study and Leon¹² flourished under the competition. At the end of his first year at Précigne (in the "Troisième" grade), he ranked eleventh in a class of fifty. In Religion, Conduct, Application, and Character, he rated Excellent. For Talent and Performance on Easter and Year-End Exams he received a mark of¹³ Commendable. The next two years his marks were nearly identical.

As an adult, Fouquet looked back fondly on his years at Précigne. He spoke highly of the training he had received and how it had fitted him for his many missionary duties:

L'éducation que j'ai recue à Précigné m'a mis en état de faire tous les métiers...J'ai enseigné la théologie, le droit canon, la liturgie, la chimie, la physique...l'Anglais, j'ai été missionnaire parmi les blancs de toutes les races; J'ai visité plus de 40,000 sauvages, j'ai fait les métiers de bucheron, de fermier, de pêcheur, de maître d'école, de médecin même pour des Chinois, d'avocat, de juge arbitre, de meunier, etc. Je ne parle pas de

Vicaire général, chapelain d'hôpitaux de soeurs, de galère et de prison etc.¹⁴

Leon arranged to go to the Oblate novitiate at Notre Dame de l'Osier in eastern France in 1851, after receiving tonsure at Le Mans in June. A year later, on December 8th, he took final vows at the "Grand Séminaire de Marseilles", where Oblates were then lodging. He stayed there studying
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theology until June of 1854.

A study of the Marseille Major Seminary reveals that traces of Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Rationalism, were still found in seminary classrooms of the day. Oblates on the staff, however, strove to shield their protégés from these ideas. Fouquet absorbed the ultramontane and anti-rationalistic views of his Oblate mentors more thoroughly than many of his missionary companions. But, there is some evidence that he was slightly influenced by Jansenistic ideas. The Oblate's later tendency, for instance, to rigorously insist on principles, savored of Jansenism. At times too he was weighed down with the thought of damnation, a characteristic of Jansenistic piety. And, like the Jansenists, Fouquet was intolerant of the Church's human failings, persistently demanding reforms of various kinds. By today's standards, the type of intellectual formation received at the Marseille seminary might be considered narrow and conservative. Certainly, much more stress was laid on holiness than on learning, a priority it had in common
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with most nineteenth century seminaries. Yet, for the times, the Oblate's priestly training was of a high calibre, and fitted him well for ministry.

Fouquet's academic marks at the major seminary have not survived. Reports have been preserved, however, on Fouquet's moral and spiritual dispositions. These accounts contain important insights into his personality. In July 1853, for example, Oblate scholastic moderator, Père Marchal,

remarked:

Le frère Fouquet n'a de défauts que l'extérieur, il voit, il entend, il marche de travers; mais il est bon, généreux, dévoué, soumis, appliqué. Il va très bien.¹⁷

During his subsequent career the missionary did not relinquish these dispositions, although some became more conspicuous than others. One particular attribute, his tendency to go against the grain, especially when his principles were threatened, vividly marked his relationships with authorities in the mission field.

Other contemporary reports by superiors state that he had a great charity toward the sick. He worked hard, was detached, and had an upright, open nature. On occasion - though not often - his dealings with superiors or brothers caused tension. Normally, his health was good. At times he was "indécis et vague" in his piety, though faithful to his religious exercises. He was devoted to his studies, but sometimes applied himself excessively. Reports also note that Leon possessed a lively imagination. He was tempted to vanity, but he handled the temptation well, along with others against celibacy. He was dissatisfied with himself, but considerate with his fellow students. And lastly, he was greatly disturbed when he was turned down for the foreign missions.¹⁸

Of the above attributes, Fouquet's goodwill and dedication were the most noticeable in the mission field. There too his vitality, frankness, and religious fidelity were prominent. In ministry, chastity continued to cause him no problems, but intellectual vanity prompted him to be querulous. Physically, Fouquet's health remained on a par with other missionaries for several years, but then slowly it deteriorated as the rigors of his ministry accumulated.¹⁹

Like many of his fellow Oblates in British Columbia, Fouquet came

from a revolutionary environment. The era of his birth had been marked by massive upheaval. Strife, it seemed, loomed everywhere. Large segments of Europe were gripped by the revolutionary spirit. France's Ancien Régime had been toppled, and unprecedented confrontation and trauma ensued as the country endeavored to establish a new order. In its aftermath came the distressing years of the Napoleonic Wars, succeeded by the unsettling period of dissension after the restoration of the Monarchy under Louis XVIII. Then came in turn the 1830 and 1848 Revolutions, sparking uprisings throughout Europe. The French Church, stripped of its privileges and power, found itself embroiled in struggles that would last into the twentieth century.

Though many of his Oblate confrères in British Columbia had grown up in the midst of the same upheaval, Fouquet seems to have been more affected by it than they. Possibly, stories of local pillage and massacre which had occurred in the 1790s had impressed him keenly. ²⁰ The impact of upheaval on him appears also in the strong interest he took in political issues. It can be seen as well in his sensitivity to justice and conscience. The hopes of the poor, moreover, had been repeatedly stirred up by the sequence of events, among which was the rise of socialism. Fouquet could empathize with many of the poor's aspirations because of his own background. But the church he planned to serve was no longer widely esteemed in France. He hoped that it might be freshly appreciated abroad, but he would not know for certain until he had completed his first assignment.

On 25 June 1854, Fouquet was ordained to the priesthood by the Oblate founder. Five years of teaching followed, three at Ajaccio in Corsica and two ²¹ at Montolivet near Marseilles, where he taught Canon Law, Liturgy, Dogmatic Theology and possibly Moral Theology. While information is available ²² on the two institutions, there is little on Fouquet's teaching there.

Nonetheless the young priest's classroom experience clearly distinguished him from his future missionary companions. His life was shaped by the outlook and concerns it gave him. This transformation was accomplished in two ways. First, teaching reinforced principles and truths in his mind. Knowledge of theology both strengthened his convictions and bolstered his courage to defend them. Second, it cast him as an authority in dogma, and in juridico-moral matters. Fouquet was obliged to don the cap of expertise, and the habit stayed with him long after he left the classroom. Occasionally, it got him into trouble with others, but more often it was an irritant to himself.

An example of the way teaching affected Fouquet occurred early in his Kootenay ministry. The Oblate had written Bishop D'Herbomez upon learning that the Vicariate of British Columbia had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface. With restructuring, he asked, did certain regulations issued by D'Herbomez still apply in the Vicariate? His request was no scruple, he stated, or vain theological query. To prove his contention the missionary brought forward a similar case from his days as a professor. Presenting it as a lesson to the bishop, Fouquet wrote:

Je me rappelle les difficultés qu'eut l'Évêque d'Ajaccio dans de semblables matières. Ni le Concile d'Aix, ni son conseil, ni les professeurs de son séminaire ne purent lui répondre suffisamment. Pour l'acquies de sa conscience il dut venir à Rome.²³

D'Herbomez, however, had already looked into the matter. The Oblate could set his mind at ease: regulations in both places coincided. As the relationship between the men was strained, the bishop might have added some pointed comment. Instead, he concluded graciously by thanking Fouquet for citing the episode and asking him for further details. On another occasion in a letter to Father Joseph Fabre the missionary defended himself against accusations of

inflexibility. Obviously feeling he had been unjustly criticised by his companions, he protested:

Parce ce que je tiens mordicus aux principes, cela veut-il dire que je ne suis pas facile dans l'application des principes. Les séminaristes d'Ajaccio qui s'adressaient à moi en plus grand nombre qu'à aucun autre père; bien des Blancs et des Sauvages de la rivière Fraser me trouvaient plus facile et plus miséricordieux que bien d'autres pères, bien que tous disent que je sois très tenace pour les principes.²⁴

Fouquet was honest, although he sometimes overstated his point in the heat of argument. The truth of his statement to Fabre is borne out by his good relations with scholastics at Harbletown Island, and in his rapport with native peoples at New Westminster. That he could temper firmness with compassion may also be seen in his esteem for the Oblate founder, Eugene de Mazenod, a man of forceful character and affectionate heart. It can be detected as well in his regard for Alphonsus Liguori, an eighteenth century moralist. Liguori, according to Benedetto Croce, was remarkable for his moderation and gentleness. Fouquet so admired him that he requested his complete works for the Kootenay mission.

On the other hand, in his reflective moments the missionary acknowledged that he could be harsh at times. Writing from New Westminster to the Superior General in Paris, the Oblate confessed:

Dans mes rapports avec mes frères je pardonnera volontiers une faute contre les principes mais je tiens trop aux principes si on les nie ou les attaque...Je juge et je condamne avec trop de sévérité...Si le bon Dieu m'a donné un peu plus de tête qu'à la plupart d'entre eux, et plus de savoir faire surtout pour les missions sauvages, je ne dissimule que ce sera pour moi devant Dieu un sujet de condamnation.²⁶

These glimpses of the Oblate in the role of "expert" are taken from his years in the mission field. In 1859 Leon Fouquet had been granted his wish to go to the Canadian missions, arriving in British Columbia before Christmas. The Indian ministry he was about to begin was new to him.

Effective missionary effort by the churches was just beginning in the area that was to become British Columbia. Anglican, Methodist, and Roman Catholic ministers had arrived almost simultaneously in the late 1850s, and remained relatively few in number for decades. The Oblates had been working in Oregon since 1847. In 1858 they decided to come north in response to repeated appeals by Bishop Modeste Demers of Vancouver Island, and because of unsettled conditions in Oregon. With the arrival of Fouquet and his companions in 1859, there were seven of them to minister to the many Indians and growing number of whites north of the border.

Given the vastness of its area, missionary work in the colony of British Columbia was both demanding and draining. Fouquet's early labors there reveal his intense commitment to the work. He was frequently on the move, available to go where needed. As an energetic, dedicated missionary, he resembled his fellow missionaries in many ways, yet was unlike them in his responsibilities and travels.

Upon his arrival from France the Oblate was based for a year at Esquimalt. An assignment to New Westminster followed, and from that Oblate center he moved out into much of the lower mainland. In 1867 he was sent to Fort Rupert and Harbledown Island for a seven year term. Then, following the closing of St. Michael's mission there, he proceeded to the Kootenays.²⁷

A major segment of Fouquet's pre-Kootenay work was taken up with missionary journeys and new foundations which prevented him from exercising a lasting influence on any particular group of Indians. Other missionaries, like William Duncan, Thomas Crosby, or Adrien Morice, were more fortunate in this regard. Their long sojourns in one place made it possible for them to concentrate their efforts. Both Crosby and Morice travelled quite extensively, but they always had their home base and dealt with the same set

of people. For a number of years Fouquet was entrusted instead with investigating the new mission field. By contrast, therefore, with others, he was often on the road, visiting a variety of places, dealing with new situations and languages, ministering now to whites and now to Indians, and having the care of many projects and persons. All these things militated against pouring his energies into a single venture.

Fouquet was required to be an itinerant missionary, and to be itinerant was to be spread thin. Many people were reached in this way and a great number became Catholics. Some no doubt were deeply changed by these fleeting contacts, but others were probably not radically altered. That would require more intensive and sustained efforts by the missionaries who followed. Only an influx of more missionaries, or a curtailment of the church's outreach, would have made it possible for the Oblates to act otherwise. Still, a brief look at the diversity and range of Fouquet's early ministry will indicate its broad nature, and trace a few of its features.

The missionary's first year in British Columbia was devoted to learning the Chinook jargon, acquiring rudiments of native languages and culture, and to some exhausting missionary excursions - one an exploratory two-month trip to Millbank Sound. During this time, and then at New Westminster, the Oblate was introduced to the novelty and turbulence of colonial gold rush society. At Esquimalt, he likewise received his first exposure to Indians and ministered to settlers and sailors. Over the following half dozen years Fouquet kept up a steady pace, founding new missions, travelling thousands of miles, fulfilling important administrative roles, rendering emergency medical services, organizing huge native gatherings, maintaining an intensive correspondence, and performing a wide range of other duties.

The reports of Bishop D'Herbomez and his companions on the Oblate Congregation's works in these early years in the Pacific Northwest are rich in detail. The most interesting ones were published in the Oblate annals. These printed accounts were chiefly for the use of members, although some minor promotional use was made of them. They provide valuable information on the work of the Oblates in this period. They show, for example, that Fouquet and a few others were at the forefront of Oblate efforts during the 1860s, and that most of their colleagues were stretching themselves extensively in terms of activity and hardship. It was a trying but promising phase in which there was a great deal of response from the native peoples, and an eagerness by the missionaries to meet the challenges opening up before them.

The Oblates' major concerns were with building up newly established missions, reaching Indian peoples before Protestant ministers arrived, establishing schools for the Indians, and opening up new missions wherever the need was most striking. D'Herbomez was the kindly but firm spirit enkindling these pioneering efforts, and was chiefly responsible for charting the course the Oblates followed in these crucial years. As his health declined, however, he began to rely increasingly on his key missionaries. From the late 1860s onward, Paul Durieu, in particular, was asked to shoulder more and more of D'Herbomez's responsibilities. Durieu was also from France, and had preceded Fouquet in the missions. Later, he was named a bishop.

As Durieu rose in prominence, though, Fouquet began to fade from the limelight, beginning with his second major assignment to Fort Rupert and Harbledown Island in 1867. There he was faced with frustration, like the missionaries who preceded him, as he failed to win over the Indians. Fouquet blamed the Indians for the poor results, but he vigorously protested against abandoning St. Michael's. In fairness, he argued, the dispositions of the

northern peoples ought to be clearly ascertained before any move was made. It was by no means the Oblate's first protest, nor would it be his last. Justice meant too much to him, and his conscience was too sensitive, to remain silent when he disagreed with decisions.

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Justice and conscience come up often in Fouquet's letters. They underlie his controversies with government officials over the treatment of native peoples, and they figure largely in his debates with Oblate administrators in the mission field. For example, addressing himself to Oblate Bishop Louis D'Herbomez, Fouquet stated disenchantedly:

Je ne vous dissimule pas que je ferai mon possible pour n'avoir rien à faire dans l'administration...Ce que je puis vous dire c'est que ce n'est pas ni la crainte du travail, ni celle des ennuis et contradictions, ni même celle de la responsabilité qui me fais agir...il n'y a eu et il n'y aura que des motifs de conscience qui me feront agir. 32

The objections Fouquet had to Oblate administrative policies and practices covered almost every aspect of ministry. He raised questions, for example, about the validity of certain sacramental practices, about vicarial financial procedures, over lack of consultation by the Vicar, over the inadequate direction given by the authorities, and over irregularities in fellow Oblates' behaviour. In all of these disputes the missionary spoke out boldly unless conscience or superiors demanded restraint. Most of his differences with Oblate directors emerged early in his missionary career. Because of them he decided to withdraw from formal involvement in the administration - a role he had been called upon to exercise soon after he arrived in the missions. These disagreements also led him to curtail his correspondence with fellow Oblates so as not to be accused of inciting others against the administration. With D'Herbomez he disagreed openly and yet always obtained a hearing. With Paul Durieu, the bishop's auxiliary, he

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differed more sharply and did not have a warm rapport. Yet, with both he never argued in public, confining himself to private letters or to personal exchanges. By the end of his term in the Kootenays he and Durieu were completely at loggerheads, and his relations with D'Herbomez were distant and strained. In the meantime, he had been engaged in other nerve-wracking disputes, some carried on in public, involving government officers. Early in life, Fouquet began marching to the tune of a different drummer, and his non-conformity exacted its price.

A revealing comparison between Fouquet and Bishop Durieu is to be found in the former's obituary. Clearly, the author of the obituary had an intimate knowledge of the two men, or had access to those who did.

Attributing their differences to personalities, he writes:

Ils furent l'un et l'autre estimés hautement par leur Supérieur...quoique chacun gardat sa methode et sa maniere...Mgr. Durieu, inlassable travailleur, était prudent, parfait organisateur, ne faisant jamais le premier pas sans savoir où il poserait le pied, puis regardant, sondant le terrain avant d'en faire un second. Il a livré aux sauvages des batailles terribles qui ont été presque toujours victorieuses. Le P. Fouquet, lui, était bouillant, infatigable, mais ne possédait pas a un si haut degré le talent d'organisateur. Il attaquait le vice partout où il se montrait, et, il faut l'avouer, avec une obstination invincible et au moment le plus heureux. Presque jamais il n'est sorti d'une séance ou d'une scène battu ou croyant l'avoir été. 35

Paul Durieu was considered more of an organizer than Fouquet, but he was not a business man, a "desk-man" like James McGuckin in the Cariboo. Durieu was as deeply interested in the Indians as Fouquet, and spent a great deal of time with them. However, his approach to them was systematic while his colleague's was pragmatic. Although both were ordained in the same year, Durieu was slightly older than Fouquet and had a five-year head start in missionary work. Consequently, during Léon's early years in the mission field, his companion's knowledge of Indian languages and cultures, and his

experience with non-Indian frontier communities, was far superior. Durieu likewise had established relationships with veteran Oblate missionaries and with D'Herbomez much before Fouquet arrived in British Columbia. Thus, when the neophyte landed, the senior Oblate already had a network of peers in place, and a mentor in the bishop. D'Herbomez, nevertheless, thought highly of his new recruit, and for several years was very friendly with him.

Intellectually, Durieu was not as gifted as Fouquet nor did he have as good an education. Fouquet would have known this from their years together at Marseilles. His teaching experience made it harder still to take advice from the older missionary. At first they were on amicable terms, but not for long. Given the future bishop's prudent nature and concern for others, Fouquet was probably not blameless for the breakdown of their rapport. Unconsciously he perhaps competed with Durieu. The more seasoned missionary was of a happier disposition. He had learned not to be too hard on himself or others. Fouquet, who was more exacting, may have interpreted his confrere's attitude as lax.

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Conflict between clergymen of differing faiths was also widespread in the nineteenth century. Churches were antagonistic to one another and their ministers vied for souls. Denominational rivalry was rooted in religious differences, but it could easily take on a political hue where Catholic missionaries were mostly French and their Protestant counterparts English-speaking. Fouquet, of course, was affected by the current inter-church prejudices. He did not, however, go out of his way to dispute with other faiths, or denigrate their teachings in public. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to defend his views when they were challenged. His reply to Reverend R. Jamieson, a Presbyterian minister, for instance, was characteristic. Jamieson in his letter to the New Westminster Daily

Columbian had charged Fouquet with misrepresenting Calvin's teachings in his pamphlet on education. Jamieson doubtless was not appeased by the Oblate's response:

When past experience tells me how pleasant it is to have any sort of intercourse with the many members of that respectable class with which my reverend opponent is connected, I could not possibly confound him with them; yet as it gives his reverence some sort of importance I cannot permit such a rude attack as he has made upon me to pass unnoticed. 37

One of the most vexing problems British Columbia's aboriginal people had to deal with in the last century was the land question, and it has remained a burning issue for them to this day. Had Governor James Douglas's policy of settling Indian claims been followed there would have been far less outcry during the intervening years. But his successors were not so far-sighted, nor did they share his empathy for native peoples' concerns. During the 1870s and 1880s Indians' needs were largely ignored, as lands were parceled out with settlers' interests chiefly in mind. By the 1890s Indians were outnumbered by the rest of the population and relegated to background status. There they remained, by and large, until their post-World War II resurgence.

During the decades after the gold rush the Indians had few allies to uphold their cause. Apart from a handful of public sympathizers, plus some backing from the Dominion government, they had to rely on their own strategems, and on the support of missionaries. The latter wanted the Indians to be protected from the unsavory elements of European society, and to develop an agricultural way of life. They realized that to be able to do this the Indians had to have sufficient lands. Given the missionaries' feeling of cultural superiority, they thought they knew what was best for the Indians.

Without realizing it they habitually acted paternalistically toward native peoples, as did government officials and a large segment of society. But the missionaries were also motivated by a strong sense of justice, and could not stand idly by as their protégés were being despoiled of their ancestral lands. Obviously, the missionaries' stance on the issue did not endear them either to the government or the settlers.

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Fouquet felt strongly about the Indian land question. His desire to "civilize" the Indians, his paternalism, his sense of justice, and his regard for the native peoples, moved him to become involved in the issue. Awareness of the church's loss of property in France after the Revolution, of the disastrous effects of the Indian Wars in Oregon in the 1840s and 1850s, and of the spiritual and financial losses sustained by Oblates after the Yakima War in particular, made him anxious to prevent similar tragedies north of the border. Indians, moreover, unfamiliar with the laws and language of the newcomers, were bringing their bitter complaints to the missionaries.

The Oblate therefore proceeded to help them, and he and his fellow missionaries became co-advocates with the Indians, their mediators with government officials. Various tactics were tried. Missionaries advised Indians to pre-empt land, for instance. They wrote indignant letters to government representatives, and to the press. They composed petitions and they kept Indians informed of changes in the law. They offered counsel, they acted as interpreters and peacemakers, they accompanied delegations to Victoria or journeyed there alone on the Indians behalf, and they educated native leaders to defend their rights for themselves. Fouquet took part in many of these well-meaning efforts, especially during his early years of ministry. For example, as a member of the Oblate Vicarial Council, in 1862 he co-authored a decision to support native aspirations. Minutes of the meeting

state: "il a été décidé que l'on protégerait les Indiens auprès du
Gouvernement, nos pères d'Angleterre ayant offerts leurs services pour
cela."³⁹

Some time later, in a communiqué to the bishop, Fouquet reiterated his views on the aboriginal land question. After mentioning that he had acted as advisor to Squamish Indians in New Westminster, the missionary urged that more be done by Oblates:

Cette question des terres des Indiens...me parait demander que nous nous en occupions activement. Mr. X a déjà écrit en Angleterre en son propre nom, le duc de Newcastle a du voir la lettre. Je désire vivement que nous protégeions les droits des pauvres Indiens, chaque jour on les dépouille de leurs meilleurs terres. Les limites d'un rapport ne me permettent pas d'entrer dans tous les détails de cette question quelque urgente et importante qu'elle me paraisse et sur laquelle j'aimerais à insister. J'espère être à même de vous entretenir plus longuement dans une de mes prochaines lettres. 40

This was not idle talk, as the missionary's many letters and trips on behalf of the native cause certify. In effect, his involvement cost him considerable time, energy and expense. In addition, he believed that his interventions on
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the issue permanently discredited him with the government

Fouquet was marked by his national background and peasant origins, by his temperament, education, and religion. Through their interplay he had cultivated his intelligence and moral fibre, acquired attitudes of tenacity and ardor, and had committed himself to a life of faith. These qualities had a noticeable bearing on his ministry. They were qualities common to most missionaries, though others had been molded in different matrices. Yet, fine differences existed: in Fouquet's academic training, in his sensitivity to conscience and justice, and in his compliance, albeit reluctant, with superiors' orders. Missionaries were not usually as outspoken as he, nor had they the same responsibilities to carry at the outset of their ministry.

Theology had absorbed him for years. Teaching gave him specialized

knowledge, and probably a feeling of superiority. The knowledge he acquired seemed crucial to the work of evangelization. Vital as some of it was, in the missions Fouquet stressed juridical matters, a focus which appears cramped today, when love, not law, is emphasized. But legalities were important to a church which was centralizing its authority, an anti-modernist church. Yet, the Oblate's efforts to uphold aspects of traditional teaching met with resistance from confrères - leaving Fouquet frustrated and critical. His appointment to the Kootenays, he suspected, was a mode of banishment for his "sins".⁴² In reality, exile was not the principal reason, but it was likely a consideration that his superiors had discussed. Eventually, Fouquet came to regard his move to the Kootenays as a hidden blessing, but his nature needed time and effort to adjust to this optic of faith.

Notes

1. Léon Fouquet, Acte de Naissance, no. 10, France, Archives Départementales de la Mayenne (Laval), (hereafter ADM), Registres d'Etat Civil d'Argentré, cote: 4E 7/13 photocopy. Information on the number of children is contained in a personal letter from the Director of ADM, 20 November 1984 (see Appendix 1 for further family details). Fouquet refers to the town of Argentré as Argentré-les-Laval, and gives one of his mother's names as Marie. See Léon Fouquet, curriculum vitae (c. 1900), p. 1, Archives Deschâtelets (hereafter AD), HEB 5771 .L57C, photocopy.
2. Alphonse Angot, Dictionnaire Historique, Topographique et Biographique de la Mayenne, Reprint by L'Imprimerie de la Manutention (Paris: L.A. Goupil, 1900-1903), 1 : 64-65; see also M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, Nouveau Dictionnaire du Géographie Universelle (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1879), p. 205.
3. Theodore Zeldin, France 1848 -1945, Oxford History of Modern Europe (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 1: 145. However, agricultural production in the Department of Mayenne rose well above the national average from 1852-1892. See *ibid.*, p. 183.
4. George Duby and Armand Wallon, Histoire de la France Rurale (Paris: Seuil, 1976), 3: 65, 81, 84, 122, 167, and 169. David Mulhall refers to Mayenne as "militantly Monarchist and Catholic" in "The Missionary Career of A.G. Morice OMI" (Ph.D. Dissertation: McGill University, 1978), p.6.
5. Yvon Beaudoin, OMI, Le Grand Séminaire de Marseille 1827-1862 (Ottawa: Editions des Etudes Oblates, 1966), pp. 60-61; see also Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 37-43.
6. F. Lardon, OMI, "Oblate Pioneers in B.C.," The Monthly Bulletin 1, no. 9 (1917): 18. In 1853 - 1854 Fouquet's religious superior, Father Mouchette, OMI, remarked that the student's attraction for the foreign missions dated back almost a dozen years. Laverlochere, though born and raised in France, spent his missionary life in Quebec and Ontario for the most part. He made two trips to France to raise funds for the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. This group provided money for the church's missionary work. See Gaston Carrière, OMI, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1977), 2: 265-266
7. Fouquet, curriculum vitae (c. 1900), p. 1, AD, HEB 5771. L57c, photocopy.
8. Missions de la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée (hereafter MOMI) 51 (1913): 407. It was probably rare for a noble family to sponsor a student from a peasant home. Possibly the sponsor employed Leon's father as a laborer.

9. Fouquet, curriculum vitae, p. 1; see also MOMI 51 (1913): 407.
10. An 1842 prospectus entitled, "Institution Dirigée par M. L'Abbé de Marseul", contains detailed information on the Institute, ADM; the 1846 leaflet titled, "Distribution des Prix Faite aux Élèves de l'Institution de M. l'abbé de Marseul", lists professors' qualifications, ibid.; for further information on the institution see J. Cahour, "Les Ecoles et Pensionnats Privés au XIX Siècle," La Semaine Religieuse de Laval (1925): 11-13.
11. Theodore Zeldin, Histoire des Passions Françaises 1848 - 1945, (Paris: Seuil, 1980) 2: 275 - 390; Jean Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia (Ottawa: National Museums of Man, Publications in History No. 5, 1974), pp. 3-10.
12. Typescript article on the Minor Seminary of Précigné, drawn largely from La Semaine du Fidèle 21 - 24 (1866): 329 - 379, France, Archives de l'Évêché de Laval (hereafter AEL).
13. Personal, undated letter to author from Abbe Moulin, received 25 January 1985, France, Archives de l'Évêché du Mans (Le Mans), (hereafter AEM).
14. Fouquet to the Superior of Précigné, 21 May 1890, AEM, photocopy.
15. N.B. Very little information is available on the period after Léon left Précigné prematurely in 1849 up to his entry into the Novitiate on Sept. 27, 1851, but it appears probable that his absence had to do with finances or illness. He also spent some time at Le Mans Major Seminary. See Fouquet to Monsieur le Supérieur, 21 May 1890, AEM, photocopy; Fouquet, curriculum vitae, p. 1; "Registre des Formules d'Admission au Noviciat de Notre Dame de l'Osier, 1851 - 1911," Rome, Archives Generales des Oblats de Marie Immaculée (hereafter AGR), Hb20, no.28, photocopy.
16. Beaudoin, OMI, Le Grand Seminaire de Marseille 1827 - 1862, pp. 11, 58 - 60, 67, 85, 89, 95 - 116, 146, 167; see also "Jansenistic Piety," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 7: 824 - 825.
17. "Copie des revues générales sur la conduite des frères qui ont passé sous ma direction depuis le 17 octobre 1849, jusqu'au 13 juillet, 1853," review of July 1853, (Père Marchal, OMI), AGR, Dossier provincial du Midi: Montolivet, photocopies.
18. "Compte-rendu sur les dispositions des frères Oblats scolastiques de 3 et 2 années de théologie (1853 - 1854)," AGR; "Compte-rendu de la direction des frères scolastiques Oblats, 1 septembre 1853," (Père Mouchette, OMI), ibid.; "Compte-rendu des Novices Oblates, 1853 -1867," (Père Mouchette, OMI), ibid., Hb18. Photocopies.
19. Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 112 - 117; Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A.G. Morice, OMI," pp. vii, 247.
20. Angot, Dictionnaire Historique, Topographique, et Biographique de la

Mayenne, 1: 68.

21. Fouquet, OMI, curriculum vitae, pp. 1 - 2.
22. Theodore Ortolan, OMI, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée durant le Premier Siècle de leur Existence (Paris: Librairie Saint-Paul, 1914), 1: 310-323, 376; see also Yvon Beaudoin, OMI, "Le Scolasticat de Montolivet," Études Oblates 27 (1968): 133 - 175, 238 - 270.
23. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 12 February 1876, AD, III-G-57, P-2748, photocopy; D'Herbomez to Fouquet, 10 March 1876, *ibid.*, HPR 5282. H53L . 99, photocopy.
24. Fouquet to J. Fabre, OMI, 31 July 1876, AGR, photocopy.
25. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 30 May 1875, St. Eugene, AD, III - G - 45, P-2710, photocopy; see also "Alphonsus Liguori, St.," New Catholic Encyclopedia 1: 336-341.
26. Fouquet to Fabre, 11 August 1867, pp. 5-6, AGR, photocopy.
27. Fouquet, curriculum vitae, p. 1; MOMI 3 (1864) : 131 - 134. Fouquet arrived in Esquimalt in the company of fellow Frenchman Charles Grandidier on 12 December 1859, after travelling via Southampton, New York, Panama, and San Francisco. Regarding the journey, see Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, 3d. printing (Toronto: Mission Press, 1976), pp. 74-75; Fouquet to Monsieur le Supérieur, 21 May 1890, AEM, photocopy. Concerning the Fort Rupert and Harbledown mission see note 31 below.
28. Crosby had his center of operation at Port Simpson for 23 years. See Clarence R. Bolt, "Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian of Port Simpson, 1874 - 1897," (M.A. Thesis: Simon Fraser University, 1981), p. 153; Duncan spent 25 years at Metlakatla among the Tsimshian. See Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. viii-ix; Morice worked among the Carriers for 19 years out of Fort St. James. See A. G. Morice, OMI, History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia (Smithers: Interior Stationers Ltd., 1978), p. 9.
29. Fouquet to Tempier, 13 December 1860, MOMI 3 (1864): 169-172; see also *ibid.*, pp. 131-134; and MOMI 1 (1862): 141-144; Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, pp. 24, 77-79. Based at Esquimalt at the time there were two other missionaries besides Fouquet: Louis D'Herbomez, Vicar of Missions, and Gaspard Janin, an Oblate Brother. Elsewhere the Oblates had other missions at Tulalip, Olympia, and the Okanagan, manned by an additional nine men.
30. MOMI 1 (1862): 172; and MOMI 3 (1864): 104, 110, 131, 200-207; and MOMI 4 (1865): 298-302, 307, and 331-40; and MOMI 6 (1867): 248, 251; see also George Forbes, OMI, "Léon Fouquet, OMI", AD, HEB 5771 .L57c, 5, Ex. 2, pp. 1-3, typescript, photocopy; see also Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, pp. 77-80, 89, 91-92, 102-105. The long trips Fouquet made in the early years were important for the future of the missions and a mark of the bishop's confidence in him. Fouquet was also appointed to replace the bishop while the latter was away in Europe in

61-1862, though he had only been in the missions for less than two years. Newspaper reports speak favorably of Fouquet and the Oblates at this time. See for example, The British Columbian, 24 May 1862, p.2; ibid., 29 April 1863, p.3; and ibid., 27 May 1863, p.3.

31. The St. Michael's Fort Rupert Mission among the Kwakiutls had been founded by Fathers Charles Pandosy and Jean-Marie Lejacq, along with Bro. Georges Blanchet, in August 1863. In January 1866 the mission centre was moved from Fort Rupert to Harbledown Island, and in March 1874 St. Michael's was abandoned by the Oblates. Various other missionaries were assigned to this mission over the eleven years of its existence, including Paul Durieu, John Burns, Francois Jayol, and a few others. The reasons the missionaries gave for the failure of the mission were the immorality of the people, their rejection of civilization and firm attachment to native customs, and the negative influence of Protestant missionaries. see "Mission St. Michel chez les Kakwals," AD, HPK 5102. B80c, 18a, photocopy. This is an undated typescript of an original manuscript in AGR. It is an eight page document seemingly written by Paul Durieu OMI; E. Palmer Patterson II, The Canadian Indian. A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier MacMillan Canada Ltd, 1972), pp. 155-160; Philip Drucker, Cultures of the North Pacific Coast (Scranton: Chandler, 1965), pp. 110, 224-227. On the Oblate's departure from Fort Rupert see Daily Colonist, 26 March 1874, "Mission Abandoned," p. 3.

32. Letter of Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 5 October 1873, St. Michael's, AD, photocopy. The two Oblate administrators the missionary had to deal with up to 1889 were Louis D'Herbomez and Paul Durieu. D'Herbomez (1822-1890), had come to the Oregon Missions from France in 1850. In 1856 he was placed in charge of the Oregon and British Columbia Missions, and in 1864 he was ordained a bishop and named Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia. From 1858 to 1888 he also exercised the role of Oblate Vicar of Missions. Paul Durieu (1830-1899), likewise came to the Oregon Missions from France in 1854. In 1870 he was appointed D'Herbomez's Vicar General and five years later was ordained his coadjutor bishop. In 1888 he replaced D'Herbomez as Oblate Vicar of Missions, and then as Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia in 1890. Later that year he became the first bishop of New Westminster. see Carriere, OMI, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée, I: 285-286, 326-327.

33. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 13 February 1874, AD, photocopy.

34. Fouquet dates his difficulties with Durieu back to 1860. see Fouquet to Fabre, 29 September 1888, AGR, photocopy.

35. MOMI 51 (1913): 410.

36. P.Besson, "Un Missionnaire d' Autrefois: Monseigneur Paul Durieu OMI," Oblate Archives, Vancouver (hereafter OAV), unpublished typescript, France, 1962, pp 1-4, 20-23; Carriere, OMI, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada, I: 326-327; ibid., 2 : 42-43; Margaret Whitehead, Cariboo Mission. A History of the Oblates (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981), pp. 58-59, 84-85, 112.

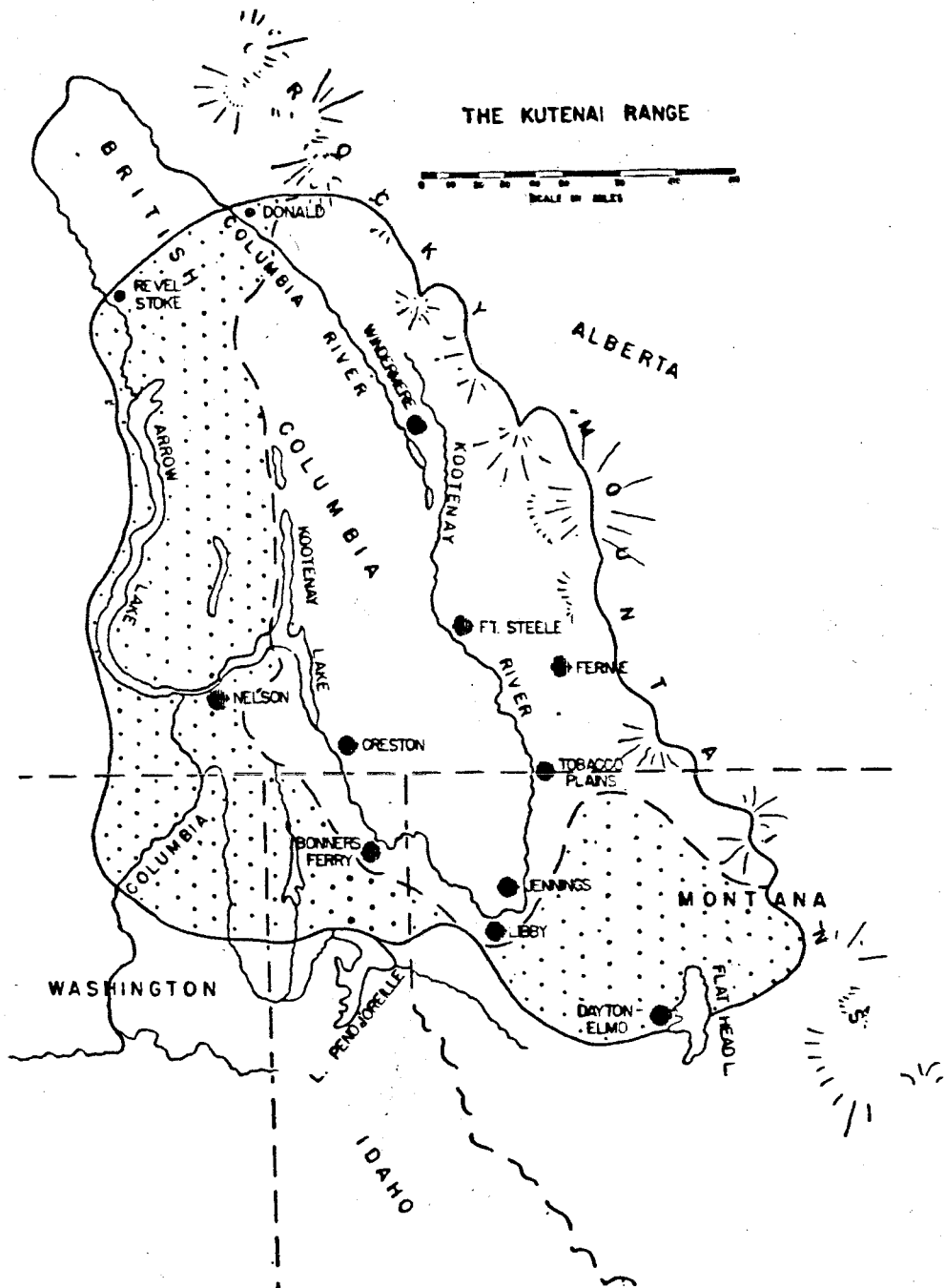
37. See his exchange of letters with the Reverend R. Jamieson, in New Westminster Daily Columbian, 22 April 1865, p. 3, 27 April 1865, p. 3, and 29 April 1865, p. 3, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter PABC), newspaper indexes under "Fouquet", photocopies.
38. For an overview of the complexities of the land question in British Columbia see Robert E. Cail, Land, Man and the Law. The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia. 1871 - 1913 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974), pp. xi - xv, 244-249. An historical summary of government policies and legislation regarding the province's Indians is given by Peter A. Cumming and Neil H. Mickenberg, eds., in Native Rights in Canada, 2d ed. (Toronto: Indian - Eskimo Association, 1972), pp. 171-193. On the impact that land policies had on the Indians see Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict : Indian - European Relations in British Columbia 1774 - 1890 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977), pp. 162, 175 - 211.
39. "Délibérations du Conseil Provincial 1851 - 1892, and 1916", p. 37, AD, Minutes of 3 November 1862.
40. Undated Report of Fouquet to Mon. Révérend Père (D'Herbomez), c. 1863 - 1864, p. 10, AD, III-G-5, P-2608, photocopy.
41. "Rapport sur la disposition de certains esprits," c. 1881, AD, II-H-279, P-2183, photocopy.
42. Fouquet to Peytavin, 25 May 1887, AD, III-G-85, P-2836 - P-2839, photocopy.

CHAPTER TWO

THE KOOTENAY INDIANS

Fur traders and settlers of British Columbia regarded the Indians of the interior of British Columbia more highly than those of the lower coastal region by reason of their appearance, behaviour, and lifestyle. They saw interior native peoples as stately hunters, in contrast with the ignoble fishermen along the sea coast. They perceived them as procurers of pelts, and not just lowly dealers. To many people interior Indians were "noble savages", uncorrupted by European vices. Traders and settlers also approved of the interior Indians because they were unknown entities. The Kootenay Indians (termed Kutenai, Ktonaxa, Ktunaxa, Tunaxa, or San'ka, and a Sanka), more than most other interior groups, clearly fell into that category of the unknown - a point which is of relevance here, since various features of their culture and history distinguished them from other Indian groups, and had a decisive impact on Fouquet's ministry. Before examining his work in the Kootenays, therefore, it is essential to consider what the people whom he dedicated himself to were like - historically, culturally, and spiritually.

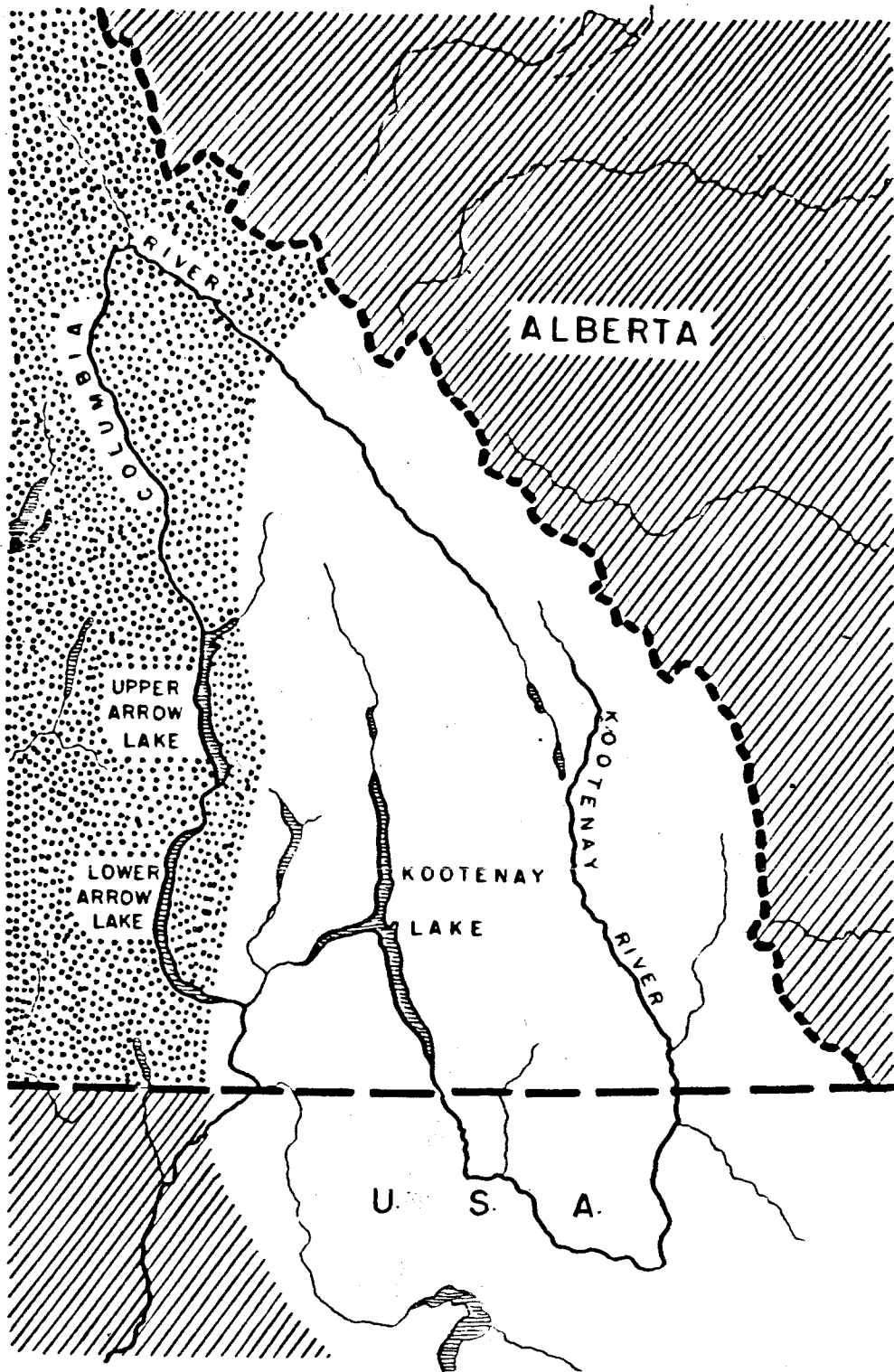
Traditional Kootenay territory covered an extensive range of land: nearly 200 miles in breadth and 270 miles in length according to some informants (figure 1). The western boundary, however, is usually placed somewhat east of the Arrow Lakes (figure 2). Modern Kootenay country, in any case, stretches farther into Montana than in the past, as a result of the American reservation system. Central to the territory was the Kootenay River, which travelled from its headwaters in the Rocky Mountains to its terminus in Kootenay Lake. There, it met the mighty Columbia on its journey to the



(Note: Broken line encloses territory usually acknowledged, and dotted area embraces territory that is more controversial. Rayed areas are mountainous).

Figure 1: The Kutenai Range

(H. Turney-High : Ethnography of the Kutenai)



Home of the Kootenay Indians.

Figure 2: Home of the Kootenay Indians

(B.C. Heritage Series : Kootenay)

Pacific. These great rivers watered the forested mountain slopes and fertile valleys, and flowed into the region's many sizeable lakes. The remainder of the country was semi-arid. Big game, fish, and edible bird life were plentiful. The climate of the range, though cooler than on the coast, was moderated by the Pacific Ocean, by Chinook winds, and by low valley² floors.

Kootenay Indian villages were politically autonomous. Nevertheless, cultural and emotional ties linked them to one another. The major division of the people was between Upper and Lower Kootenay, a reflection of linguistic and cultural variations. The Upper Kootenays were the eastern branch, living in the upper reaches of the Kootenay River, and associated with the bison hunt on the Prairies. The Lower Kootenay Indians inhabited lower expanses of the river, and relied heavily on fish for survival. A line separating the two groups would run roughly north and south of Libby, Montana. Prior to the establishment of the reservation system, six Kootenay "bands" were³ recognized, north and south of the border. Modern band listings for Canadian Kootenay show four realigned groupings: the Lower Kootenay group (formerly Creston), and three Upper groups at Tobacco Plains, St. Mary's and⁴ Columbia Lake (the last two previously Fort Steele band).

The pre-historic background of the Kootenay Indians remains somewhat unclear. Their speech and their migratory roots are especially puzzling. In practice, the Kootenay language is usually treated as a separate tongue. Most authorities admit a rather lengthy Plains residency at a distant stage of Kootenay history, with one author placing it about 3000 B.C. In the eighteenth century the Kootenays were definitively pushed back into the mountains and onto the Columbia Basin by the Blackfoot Confederacy and by⁵ smallpox.

In 1835, British Columbia's Kootenay Indian population was reckoned to be about 1000, lower, no doubt, than it had been before the smallpox epidemic in 1781. By 1885 the population was estimated to be around 625. These figures vary considerably, however, according to sources.

The traditional Kootenay economy revolved around hunting and gathering. Upper Kootenay Indians regularly crossed the Rockies to hunt buffalo, while Lower Kootenays favored deer hunting on the southern plateau. Woodland caribou, moose and elk, were likewise stalked. Smaller game, fish and fowl, and vegetable foods contributed to the Kootenay diet as well. Food gathering for both groups followed a cyclic pattern. Dogs and horses - the latter obtained from Plains Cree in the late eighteenth century - were used to assist in the hunt. These subsistence patterns remained largely intact until the 1880s.

Pierre De Smet, SJ, writing in 1861, relates that the "Indians (Kootenays, and Flatbows or Lower Kootenays) have devoted themselves to agriculture for some time. They cultivate little fields of maize, barley, oats, and potatoes." But, farming was severely restricted by customary food-gathering activities, and by the shortage of agricultural implements. By 1875 not much change had occurred.

Ongoing contact with white people began in the early nineteenth century. Some of David Thompson's men came into Kootenay lands in 1800, and Thompson then built Kootenai House for the North West Company in 1807. Afterwards, Indians would rendezvous annually on the Kootenay Plains to trade with merchants from Saskatchewan forts. Kootenay Falls House, in Montana, set up in 1808, offered additional opportunities for contact. Further, later in the century the Hudson Bay Company had sent Iroquois Indians to the Northwest to teach the Plateau Indians the economics and techniques of the

fur trade. These fur trade contacts introduced the Kootenays to European values and ways, but did not seriously affect them culturally.

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Gold-seekers followed the fur traders into Kootenay lands, arriving in the 1860s and departing in the early 1870s. Places like Wild Horse Creek and Big Bend drew hundreds, perhaps thousands, to the region. Fortunes were made while ore lasted, and were probably squandered here as elsewhere. Alcohol, prostitution, and some opium appeared, attended by the usual rowdiness, and punctuated by occasional violence. All this was somewhat disruptive for the Indians. Yet the miners there were a transient group, often quickly moving on, or quitting the camps for the winter. Populations would skyrocket, then plummet, sometimes within weeks or months. Meanwhile, the Kootenays carried on with their hunting and fishing, and had little to do with the mining. More importantly, as Fouquet's letters from the 1870s testify, the Indians did not succumb to the heavy drinking and prostitution. Elsewhere in British Columbia Indians were often less fortunate, but here, remoteness, a less desirable terrain and climate, and the native peoples' disposition and lifestyle, combined to prevent widespread contamination. With the advent of a world-wide depression in 1873, mining in the Kootenays came to a virtual standstill. Few miners stayed on (apart from some Chinese), and the country was calm again until the 1880s, when the railway, steamboats, and the search for minerals began to renew activity in the region.

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Assuredly, the latter developments were of great long-range significance for the region, ushering in a new economic era and an increase of population. Almost certainly they had some negative impact on the Indians. But, changes were slow to take effect in the area. The total population in the Kootenays reportedly rose from 863 in 1881, to 3405 in 1891, but much of this growth took place at the end of the decade after Fouquet's term was

completed. In his 1888 report, for example, North West Mounted Police Superintendent Steele indicated that "settlers in the Kootenay district were few and far between," and estimated that the district would "take many years....to settle up" because of poor transportation and markets, and the high cost of food. The impact of settlement upon the Kootenay Indians, then, was not substantial during the Oblate's residency.¹²

Up to the final decade of the nineteenth century, it may be concluded, contact with European civilization exerted no substantially harmful influence on Kootenay Indian culture - excluding the harm wreaked by smallpox and other non-directed cultural changes. This was especially true of the Upper group with whom Fouquet spent most of his time. Ethnologists, on the whole, concur. A.F. Chamberlain, writing in the early 1890's affirmed: "The Kootenays have enjoyed...freedom from contact with lewd and dishonest white men...to a much greater extent than have many of the neighboring tribes."¹³ Decades later, Diamond Jenness judged that:

The Kootenays have adjusted themselves to European domination more successfully than any other tribe in British Columbia; for the isolation of the country prevented much settlement until the second half of the nineteenth century, when they had already taken to ranching and the raising of horses, an operation that closely corresponded to their earlier pursuits. They have continued ever since, although a certain number of the men find employment as guides for sportsmen and as labourers for white farmers and ranchers.¹⁴

More recently, H. Turney-High, reached a similar conclusion, based on different considerations. In his view, Indian culture was in a way even helped by contact with Europeans:

One could state with some emphasis that the tribes of the Northwest have become more generally 'Indian' under the white man's auspices than they were before. That is especially true since white inventions and white peace have increased the range...and speed of Kootenay mobility. They were men of the Plateau, marginal, therefore, and have always been cultural borrowers. There is more to acculturation than the adoption of European ways.¹⁵

Culturally, Kootenays differed considerably from coastal tribes. Their

dress, economy, and social mores contrasted sharply with the former. In many ways the Kootenays closely resembled Plains Indians, yet in other respects they were akin to the Interior Salish. Kootenay society, for instance, had no clans or crests or totems, no secret societies or masked dances, and no separation into castes, as was common in Northwest Coast societies. Several public sodalities existed, however, relating to war or illness, and each band had its own leader who was supported by an informal council of elders. Generally, it was a more loosely organized society than on the coast.

Kootenay mobility and gambling, and a few ceremonial practices such as dancing, were among customs that affected Fouquet's ministry. Other customs did not disturb him, or had previously been abandoned.

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Most traders and travellers who came into early contact with the Kootenays spoke of their praise-worthy character. De Smet, for instance, had this to say of them:

I visited these good savages for the first time, in the summer of 1845...(and) again in 1859. They were especially distinguished by an admirable simplicity, a great charity, and a rare honesty in all their dealings with their neighbours, and an innocence of manners worthy of the primitive Christians.¹⁷

Later, visitors commented on Kootenay hospitality, superior mental and artistic ability, their bravery and sense of humour, and on their pride and anger. As a people they were described as "emotionally stable," interested in their surroundings, and capable of applying themselves. The Lower Kootenay were less advanced, it was said, and more addicted to gambling, than their upper kinsmen.

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Fouquet's first impression of the Kootenays was that they were quite different from the Indians of the coast. He found their behaviour edifying, and noted in particular their temperance. (He also quickly perceived that, like their coastal counterparts, they were sensitive about their lands).

Nevertheless, several things began to bother him about their behaviour. In letters to his Superior, for instance, he ventured the opinion that they were lazy, mendicant, and over-rated. This premature assessment, however, partly based on a poor understanding of their customs, was soon revised. Before long, he spoke of their bravery, magnanimity, and strong-mindedness, and of the consolation they brought him. Fouquet attributed less attractive aspects of their character - such as their excessive gravity and undemonstrativeness¹⁹ - to their sadness over the recent loss of the buffalo.

Like other native peoples, the Kootenays had a religion and mythology of their own before they embraced Christianity. Their folklore contained beliefs about the heavens, the origin of the world, the flood, Kootenay beginnings, and death. Supernatural elements pervaded the stories concerning their world. These myths bore many resemblances to those of the Plains Indians, and to Interior Salish beliefs.²⁰ As on the Prairies, for example, the sun occupied a special position of veneration, and a form of the Sun Dance was practiced. Guardian spirits, fasting, prayer, ceremonial rites, and shamans, likewise exerted influence on the spirits which inhabited all things. Reality, for the Kootenays, was charged with the supernatural. They strove to live in harmony with the gods who peopled and governed their universe.²¹

Often, with the coming of the Europeans, Indian religions began to be questioned and challenged. Frequently, the old belief systems, unable to prevent the new diseases or account for the new technology, were not fully able to cope with the changes. These things opened the Indians to the power that Christianity claimed.

Native peoples in the Kootenays, however, were not pressured into accepting the Christian teaching by the collapse of their old lifestyle, as

happened with some of the coastal Indians. They were able to retain many of their former ways, allowing them considerable freedom of choice towards the new religion. Also, the Kootenays' acceptance of Christian teaching was gradual, extending over decades, with little outside influence. The new faith thus appeared less foreign in their eyes. Indians in the region had no resident missionary for some forty years after the first rudiments of Christianity had been presented to them in syncretized form. When Fouquet arrived in 1874 to set up the first permanent mission, virtually all were already baptized by his Jesuit predecessors who had served the area intermittently since 1845. The absence of a resident missionary in the preceding decades had let them decide at their leisure which traditional religious practices would be kept, and which were incompatible with the new beliefs. It was significant for Fouquet's mission, therefore, that when he took up his abode in the Kootenays, he was largely satisfied with religious practices as he found them, possibly an indication that the Kootenays had relinquished any customs the missionary considered offensive.

Christianity did not entail a traumatic upheaval for the Kootenay Indians, moreover, because their creedal complex was more compatible with Christianity than were the belief systems of some other indigenous peoples in British Columbia. John Webster Grant has pointed out ways in which traditional Indian spirituality in general paralleled Christian spirituality. This, of course, does not deny certain fundamental differences. Most of the convergences he notes - stories of creation and the flood, a shared experience of living as nomadic peoples subsisting in a wilderness, a recognition of the spiritual dimension of life and the sense of a transcendental realm, taboos, and festive occasions to thank the creator - readily apply to the Kootenays. To these might also be added in their

case, other beliefs, such as their quasi-sovereign, solar spirit, guardian spirits, charms and medicine bundles (broadly resembling sacramentals), daily prayers and sacrifice, shamans as spiritual mediators, and kindred moral values. Unencumbered by many of the features of coastal religions like potlaches, secret societies, totems and castes, the Kootenays found it relatively easier to accept Christianity. De Smet met with a people delightfully open to the new faith, referring to them as "the best disposed of all the mountain tribes."²³

Kootenay openness to Christianity was also fostered by the active participation of Indians in the spread of Christian teachings and observances. Before and after the arrival of missionaries, indigenous peoples paved the way for Christianity, and helped to secure its acceptance. Sources indicate, for example, that Christian forms of worship were introduced among Indians of the Columbian Plateau well before the first official gospel emissaries. While Christian fur traders were partly responsible, native peoples played a major role in the Christian initiation. Converted Iroquois, for instance, had come among the Flatheads in 1816, "taught Catholic doctrine and practice, and literally Christianized an isolated tribe buried in a mountain valley." Even these Iroquois catechists were, according to anthropologist Harry Turney-High, preceded by a Flathead prophet, called Shining Shirt, who had heralded the new religion. This tribal visionary, local tradition stated, had foretold the coming of "Black Robes" almost a century before the arrival of Iroquois. As well, Chief Three Moon, a Kootenay headman at the coming of the white man, was said to have asked his people to accept the religion of the men of black robes.²⁴

Then, in the 1830's a new phenomenon appeared. Religious observances, blending Christian and pagan rites, began to show up in the Plateau.

Christian elements in the rites were said to be due to the Catholic Iroquois, to Indian students who had studied at Red River (including Kutenai Pelly and Kootenay Collins), and to a pair of Kootenay youths (named Wolf Coming Up and Spirit of a Cow Bison) who had probably made contact with a Christian mission in the Southwest. Kootenay Indians favored the new belief in a Supreme Being from the start. Other Christian elements, such as the sabbath observance and daily prayers, gained ground as well, along with the adapted pagan Prophet Dance with which they were intermixed. A decade or so later, on the advice of Edward Berland, a Christian trader at Kootenay Post, the sabbath dance was transferred to a seven-day New Year's ritual. By then, the pagan-Christian cult had spread rapidly from the Kootenays over a wide area: westward as far as the Dalles on the Columbia, south to southern Idaho, and northward to the northern interior of British Columbia. These peoples, like the Nishga, Cree and Inuit all "lent a hand in their own conversion."²⁵

De Smet was the first missionary to make contact with the Kootenays in New Caledonia. In 1845 he journeyed through their country, establishing a mission at Tobacco Plains, and baptizing all of the children and many of the adults. Fourteen years passed before de Smet could spend some time with the Kootenay again. In the meantime they had remained "fervent and zealous Christians", thanks in a measure to annual or semi-annual missionary visits by Jesuits from south of the international boundary. Another fifteen years elapsed before Fouquet became the Kootenays' first resident missionary. In the interim, they held onto Christianity, helped by the missionary visits, but thanks mainly to the Indians themselves, whose leaders catechized and exhorted the people, and assembled them for prayer. That they adhered to Christianity in such circumstances, for approximately thirty years, reveals²⁶ their determination to follow it.

Earlier it was affirmed that native peoples in the Kootenays were not pressured into accepting Christianity by the collapse of their old lifestyle. To a degree this goes contrary to the opinion of anthropologists that "a native society must undergo social dislocation before it is ready for conversion to Christianity." But, as the debate over the conversion of the Maoris in New Zealand shows, not all historians attach the same importance to this factor.

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What then prompted the Kootenays to take up the new Christian religion? What incentive did they have, in other words, to exchange elements of their old belief system for gospel teachings? At this point, no definite answer can be given, barring further research on the first stage of Kootenay exposure to Christianity. It is likely, however, that several elements had at least some bearing on the process. Certainly, smallpox and other diseases contracted from Europeans could have begun to weaken the Indians' confidence in the power of their old beliefs. Seeing that their spirits and shamans could not preserve them from the diseases, and that Europeans were relatively immune from the fatal illnesses, Indians often concluded that the newcomers were protected by higher spiritual powers. The acquisition of horses and rifles may also have led the Kootenays to engage in increased warfare with their traditional enemies, the Blackfeet. The loss of life entailed would have spurred them to question their old patterns of behaviour. Also, other native peoples' openness to Christianity - the Iroquois or the Flatheads for example - would make it appear more acceptable to the Kootenays, particularly once some of their own people had become convinced of its power. Besides, Plateau peoples were cultural borrowers; because of their marginal existence they were open to foreign ideas and ways. Other factors may also have been involved. Some Christian ideas, such as those noted as compatible with their

own, apparently had a strong appeal for the Indians. In time these might have led them to acquiesce in others. De Smet and some of the Jesuits who came after him must also have had a persuasive influence on the Kootenays. In any event, it is likely that no one single reason persuaded them to become
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Christians. By Fouquet's time they had firmly opted for Christianity, or as he put it, they were "entêtés dans la foi."

Kootenays of the Northwest Plateau were unique in many respects. Their Plains residency in the pre-historic period, their extensive but thinly populated range, their dress and customs and subsistence patterns, their character, their non-sedentary existence, their isolation from whites, their aboriginal belief system, and the level of their participation in their own Christianization, rendered them distinct from other Indians in British Columbia. In consequence, Fouquet's missionary work amongst the Kootenays differed a great deal from his efforts with native peoples elsewhere. Of course other elements were contributing factors, yet clearly the Kootenays' historio-cultural and spiritual odyssey imprinted its own special stamp on his ministry.

Notes

1. Fisher, Contact and Conflict, pp. 82-84. For a more comprehensive treatment of Kootenay ethnography refer to Harry Holbert Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 56 (1941): 1-202; see also an earlier study by Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," British Association for the Advancement of Science 1892 (London: John Murray, 1893), pp. 549-614.
2. The territorial data and figure 1 are taken from Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 22-27, 44; figure 2 comes from Kootenay, British Columbia Heritages Series, Series 1, vol. 8 (Victoria: Provincial Archives, 1952), p. 10; cf. also Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 5 (Victoria : Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1964), 1: 14.
3. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 11-21. There does not appear to be a consensus regarding the Upper and Lower Kootenays' respective areas. See, for example, Robert MacDonald, The Uncharted Nations. A Reference History of the Canadian Tribes, The Romance of Canadian History Series (Vancouver : Evergreen Press, 1978), 3: 98, who places most of the Lower Kootenay in the United States. Chamberlain, in his "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," p. 550, states that the Upper Kootenay included the Columbia Lakes, Fort Steele, St. Eugene Mission, Tobacco Plains, and Lake Pend d' Oreille groups, while the Lower Kootenay River Indians lived partly in British Columbia and partly in Idaho. With regard to Governor Steven's treaty with the "Flatheads, Pend d' Oreilles and Kootenais" on 16 July 1855, see Wilfred P. Schoenberg, SJ, Paths to the Northwest, A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), pp 60-62; see also maps in Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), p. 428, and Hilde Heun Kagan, ed., The American Heritage Pictorial Atlas of United States History (New York : American Heritage Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 250-251.
4. Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, 1: 32-33. Fouquet also mentions a "small band of Shuswaps" in his mission. They were all Catholics except for two or three who were then receiving instruction. This group is generally referred to as "Kinbasket's Band", and came from Shuswap Lake about the mid-1800s. They lived on the right bank of the Columbia River about five miles below Lower Columbia Lake, and there were thirty five of them in 1883, according to A.S. Farwell's report. Cf. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 9 February 1875, AD, III-G-38, P-2686 - P-2689, photocopy; British Columbia, A.S. Farwell, "Report on the Kootenay Indians," British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 4th Parl., 3d. sess., 1884, pp. 326-327; George M. Dawson, "Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia," Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, 9, section II (1891) : 5; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Report, "Annual Report ... 1887," Canada, Sessional papers, 6th Parl., 2d sess., 1888, no. 15, part I, p. 122; "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook 1884 - 1948," pp. 41-42,

47, 49, (1884-1887), pp. 11, 19, (1889 - 1890), AD.

5. MacDonald, The Uncharted Nations..., 3: 99-102, 204, 250. For a probable linguistic connection between the Kootenay language and Algonkian, see Mary R. Haas, "Is Kootenay Related to Algonkian?," Canadian Journal of Linguistics 10 (1964/1965): 77-92.
6. Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, 1: 39. Lower figures are cited, for instance, in the Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report ... 1885," Canada, Sessional Papers, 5th Parl., 4th sess., 1886, no. 4, part 1, p. 199. There, the number for 1885 is set at 400. See also pp. 29, 48-49. The figures must be used cautiously.
7. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 33-55, 69-74.
8. Pierre De Smet, SJ., New Indian Sketches, E. Kowrach, ed., (Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1985), p. 101; see also Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 9 February 1875, AD, III-G-38, P-2686 -P-2689, photocopy.
9. MacDonald, The Uncharted Nations ..., p.102.
10. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," p. 20.
11. Edward L. Affleck, Columbia River Chronicles, A History of the Kootenay District in the 19th Century (Vancouver : A. Nicholls, 1977), pp. 21-71; references to a "Mexican harlot", and to opium, are contained in the letters of Fouquet, dated 20 November 1874, and 2 August 1877, both in AD. In MOMI 18 (1880) : 279, he speaks of two native people stealing some rice and some opium. Otherwise, the Oblate's letters speak favorably of the Indians' dispositions. See for example, Fouquet to Lenihan, 9 February 1875, AD, III -G-38, P-2886 -P-2689, photocopy; and Fouquet to Fabre, 19 March 1877, *ibid.*, P-2810 - P-2813, photocopy. Indian Commissioner I.W. Powell confirms the morality and devotion of the Upper Kootenays, and the virtue of their women at the end of the gold rush. Cf. I.W. Powell to the Hon. A. Campbell, Minister of the Interior, 3 November 1873, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3738, file 28013-1, p. 7, photocopy.
12. Census of Canada 1880- 1881 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1883), 3: 112-113, table XXII, and Census of Canada 1890-1891 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893), 1: 8, 10, table II. Note, though, that the actual returns come to about 1204 (including 210 estimated omissions) and 3436 persons respectively. See microfilm reels C-13285 and T-6292, PAC. Gilbert Malcolm Sproat's "Report on the Kootenay Country" in 1884 anticipated a temporary influx of seven to eight thousand men in the region that year to work on railway construction, but acknowledged at the same time that failure to adjust the Indian Land Question had repulsed incoming capital and settlers. See "Report on the Kootenay Country," 15 January 1884, British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 4th Parl., 3d sess., 1883 -1884, pp. 322-323. The lode mines of the Kootenays were not discovered until the latter part of the 1880s and the mining boom did not really get underway until the 1890s. See G.W. Taylor, Builders of British Columbia, An Industrial History (Victoria: Morriss Publishing Company, 1982), pp. 12, 144-145;

- see also Canada, "Report of the Commissioner of the N.W.M.P. 1888," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 3d. sess., 1889, no. 17, p. 2. A more detailed treatment of Kootenay mining may be found in W.A. Mackintosh and W.L. Joerge, eds., Canadian Frontiers of Settlement (Toronto: MacMillan, 1936) : 9, part 2: 270-320.
13. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," pp. 552-553; see also National Geographic Board of Canada, Handbook of the Indians of Canada (Toronto : Coles Publishing Co., 1974), p. 256.
 14. Diamond Jenness, Indians of Canada (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 361.
 15. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 199-200. Plateau peoples were those living between the Rocky and Cascade Mountains. They were comprised of many native peoples, including the Interior Salish, Shuswap and Carrier. See Verne F. Ray, Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America, Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1939), 3: 2.
 16. Jenness, Indians of Canada, pp. 358-361; see also Harold Driver, Indians of North America, 2nd edition, revised (Scranton: Chandler, 1965), maps 32 and 29, wherein bilateral descent, and patri-centred land tenure are indicated. Verne F. Ray, in his Cultural Relations in the Plateau of North-Western America (Los Angeles: the Southwest Museum, 1939), p. 66, describes the chieftanship as "loosely hereditary", and indicates that slaves were rare. On the question of government sanction of chiefs see, Canada, "Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Mounted Police...1888," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 3d sess., 1889, no. 17, p. 90. See also Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," p. 151. For information on other cultural features, cf. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," pp. 556-571; cf. also Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 90-161; and Jenness, Indians of Canada, pp. 358-361. Ray, in Cultural Relations in the Plateau..., pp. 66, 124, shows that there were no puberty ceremonies or intense training for girls, but that some of them went on the guardian spirit quest.
 17. De Smet, S.J., New Indian Sketches, pp. 99.
 18. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," pp. 552-555; and National Geographic Board of Canada, Handbook of the Indians of Canada, p. 256. See Chapter 3 on Upper Kootenay morality. The Lower Kootenay Indians are usually portrayed less favourably than the Upper group from economic, cultural, and moral points of view. Cf., Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3738, file 28013-1, pp. 6-7, I.W. Powell to Hon. A. Campbell, 3 November 1873; British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers 1883-1884, Farwell, "Report on the Kootenay Indians," 31 December 1883, p. 327; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1884," Canada Sessional Papers, 5th Parl., 3d sess., 1885, no. 3, part 1, p. lxxv; idem, 1887, Canada, Sessional

- Papers, 6th Parl. 2nd sess., 1888, no. 15. part 1, p. 133; and Franz Boas, "First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889 (London: Murray, 1890): 807; Canada, Dept. of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report... 1888," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 3d sess., 1889, no. 16, part 1, pp. 110-111; "Codex Historicus Cranbrook 1884 - 1948," pp. 43, 45, 48 (1884-1885). AD.
19. MOMI 15 (1877), pp. 79-80; see also letters of Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 20 November 1874, to Lenihan, 9 February 1875, to D'Herbomez, 29 March 1875, to D'Herbomez, 23 Sept., 1875, AD; Fouquet to Fabre, 19 March 1877, and 1 Jan., 1880, AGR; Photocopies. Also see MOMI 18 (1880): 274 - 275; MOMI 21 (1883): 349.
 20. Kootenay. B.C. Heritage Series, Series 1, vol. 8, p. 30; and Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," pp. 575-579.
 21. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenays of Southeastern British Columbia," pp. 559-560; Jenness, Indians of Canada, pp. 359-361; Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 170-188; and Kootenay, B.C. Heritage Series, pp. 28-30.
 22. Cited in Bob Bettson, "Native Spirituality blends with Christianity," Indian Record 48 (Jan., 1985); 15.
 23. De Smet, S.J., New Indian Sketches, p. 101.
 24. Cited in Schoenburg, S.J., Paths to the Northwest, pp. 2-3; Paul E. Baker, The Forgotten Kutenai (Boise: Mountain States Press, 1955), p. 64.
 25. Claude E. Schaeffer, "Early Christian Mission of the Kutenai Indians," Oregon Historical Quarterly 71 (1970): pp. 325-348; Philip Goldring, "Religion, Missions, and Native Culture," Journal of Canadian Church Historical Society 26 (1984) : 48
 26. De Smet, S.J., New Indian Sketches, pp. 99-106; see also Robert J. McGuinness, "The Missionary Journey of Father Peter De Smet, S.J., In What Are Now the Dioceses of Nelson, B.C., and Calgary, Alberta, and the Archdiocese of Edmonton, Alberta, in the years 1845-1846," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1941-1942: 35-46; cf. also MOMI 15 (1877): 79.
 27. Judith Binney, "Christianity and the Maoris to 1840, A Comment," The New Zealand Journal of History 3 (October 1969), : 143. Binney's article argues that social dislocation must precede conversion. Advancing a similar view is Harrison Wright's New Zealand, 1769-1840. Early Years of Western Contact (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). J.M.K. Owens takes the opposite view in his article, "Christianity and the Maoris to 1840," The New Zealand Journal of History 2 (April 1968): 18-40. Lastly, Robin Fisher maintains that Maori conversion was due to multiple factors, including Henry Williams' leadership. see Robin Fisher, "Henry Williams Leadership of

the C.M.S. Mission to New Zealand," The New Zealand Journal of History
9 (October 1975): 142-153.

CHAPTER THREE

MISSIONARY POLICIES AND METHODS

Léon Fouquet was an able missionary, and recognized as such by his contemporaries. A. G. Morice, for instance, thought he was "perhaps one of the most efficient missionaries to the Indians of the Pacific."¹ Louis D'Herbomez, his bishop and religious superior, entrusted him with numerous positions of responsibility; and Paul Durieu, the auxiliary bishop, could refer to him as "l'excellent père Fouquet",² though the two were by no means friends. Outside the Oblate community the missionary was less well known, but his capabilities were not wholly ignored. About a year after his arrival at St. Eugene, for example, a Victoria newspaper correspondent from the Kootenays wrote:

The Roman Catholic Mission established here under the superintendence of the Rev. Father Fouquet has proved in every way a success. The morals of the natives are much improved; their temporal and spiritual welfare is strictly attended to; the males are totally temperate; the females are comparatively virtuous. The rev. (sic) Father is a man of much energy, and seems wholly devoted to his calling. He has taken the country by storm, and made friends of everyone. Even those who talked of emulating Bismark have no ambition to start in on the old gentleman. Probably they think he might not drive easily and no doubt they are right.³

The columnist's assessment, though based on limited knowledge of Fouquet, is suggestive of the missionary's real ability. Much earlier, in the 1860s, the Oblate had made a very favorable impression on the public by gathering thousands of Indians for the Queen's birthday in New Westminster. He would receive further public commendation for his work in the Kootenays.⁴

Fouquet's effectiveness as a missionary can be attributed to dedication and tenacity, intelligence and "savoir-faire" (as he called it),

and most significantly, to empathy for the Indians. The head of the Kootenay mission never set his missionary views down in writing in any systematic way. Planning his activities on paper was not the way he operated. As a teacher he probably followed textbooks, rather than composing his own lessons. Yet, he was not bereft of organizational skills. His organization of the Indians for the Queen's birthday, and his management of the St. Eugene farm, prove otherwise.⁵ Still, Fouquet was better at organizing an event than he was at devising programs.⁶

There was an impetuous element in the missionary's temperament, inclining him to act on the spur of the moment. A number of people thought he was rash. The Oblate agreed, but likewise saw that the trait could redound in his favor. Speaking of a case in point to the Oblate superior general, he commented:

Ce matin un officier du gouvernement me blâmait pour mes imprudences. Je répondais a ce bon Catholique: J'avoue que je suis tres imprudent, tout le monde me le reproche mais j'ai un puissant protecteur au ciel dans le fondateur de notre société et il m'a sauvé des centaines de fois...quand le devoir m'appelle, avec sa protection, je risque tout et toujours j'échappe sain et sauf.⁷

On another occasion, Fouquet had gone to Victoria on business. While there he decided to try to get Sisters for his mission. Upon inquiry, the prospect seemed much better than he had hoped. Considering his investigation providential he remarked to Father Fabre:

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que c'est une des folies Fouquet; mais comme je ne réussis jamais quand je compte sur ma sagesse et mon habilité, ne me grondez pas trop fort pour mes folies.⁸

Novelty, however, rarely appeared in the missionary's repertoire. Although he was an imaginative person, his value system would not allow much creativity. Conviction impelled him to be a protagonist of traditional values, curbing his spontaneity, and disposing him to follow directives. Fouquet could and did advance his views on matters that affected his

ministry. Occasionally he even appealed his superior's decisions. He felt he had a responsibility to do so, since local authorities were limited, and were subject to higher authorities. But, when all was said and done, the proper authority was to be obeyed. Others, like William Duncan, Jean-Marie Lejeune, or Adrien Morice, could introduce innovative evangelical programs, or launch special forms of ministry. He would follow methods and policies put forward by his Oblate superiors.

The approach adopted by Oblates with the Indians of British Columbia was based on their Constitutions and Rules. In 1853 an Appendix was added to them on the Foreign Missions, and five years later a Directory of Missions was issued by Oblate authority in Oregon, both complementary guides for Oblates in the Pacific Northwest. Oblate methodology favored, for instance, intense sessions of preaching and prayer lasting a week or more in each place. These "missions" had been promoted by their founder in France. They also advocated such measures as strict preparation of candidates for the sacraments, and the learning of native languages. Also shaping Oblate missionary policy were ideas and methods that French-Canadian diocesan priests and Jesuit missionaries had initiated in Oregon territory, and which the Oblates there had subsequently adapted. From the Quebec priests, for example, they borrowed the Blanchet Catholic Ladder and temperance organization, and the Jesuit-style reductions, or model villages, appealed to them for intellectual and political reasons. Throughout his missionary career Fouquet was guided by these sources, more so than many confrères. He was inspired as well by theology and church directives, which he had labored to pass on to his students. In his view, these were paramount.

Oblate community life constituted another important aspect of Fouquet's ministry. The society's Constitutions and Rules placed great

emphasis on communal living as an integral part of Oblate missionary work. In
 subscribing to this principle, however, ¹² Fouquet lost many of the intended
 benefits, partly because he was hard to live with. ¹³

~~The aim of Oblate missionary policies was to "lead men to act like
 human beings, first of all, and then like Christians, and finally (to) help
 them to become saints."~~ ¹⁴ ~~In Fouquet's time the first part of this
 injunction was thought of in terms of "civilizing" native peoples.~~ The 1853
 Appendix on Foreign Missions, for instance, spoke of missions to "heretical
 and civilized" nations, and in "infidel and barbarous countries." ¹⁵ Again,
 Francois Xavier Bermond's Directory of Missions took a pessimistic view of
 native peoples' dispositions, and urged ample testing of neophytes who were
 desirous of receiving baptism.

Que les pères...n'aillent pas de suite donner une entière créance
 aux promesses des Indiens; elles sont souvent trompeuses parce
 qu'ils sont naturellement hypocrites, intéressés, et que leur
 prétendre amour de la prière prend fréquemment sa source plus bas
 que le coeur.¹⁶

In the same vein, Aimé Martinet's Act of Visitation of the Kootenay mission
 recommended that the missionaries should "faire travailler les Indiens afin
 de les former peu à peu aux habitudes de la vie civilisée." ¹⁷

~~Oblates varied considerably in their attitudes towards native
 peoples, and in their efforts to "civilize" their charges, yet as a group
 they were firmly persuaded of the superiority of their own culture.~~ ✓

Deliberately or unwittingly, therefore, they promoted European culture in the
 process of evangelization, as countless missionaries had done before them.

~~Different measures were taken by Oblate superiors to "civilize"
 native peoples. Agriculture, for instance, was encouraged.~~ Missionaries, like
 most people at the time, simply "knew it was necessary to the future of the
 Indians." ¹⁸ Bishop D'Herbomez clearly favored teaching Indian people to

farm, and in his correspondence with the Federal Government he cited what had been accomplished in this area under Oblate auspices. He was conscious, however, of native resistance to agriculture, and so did not attempt to implement this policy uniformly.

In the Kootenays little was done by the government in this regard while Fouquet was there. The missionary was unable to do much either, apart from his own example, and his limited employment of Indians on the mission farm. In its annual report for 1884, the Department of Indian Affairs mentioned that "until the last few years (the Upper Kootenay Indians) ...had seen nothing of farming operations", that they were growing wheat, peas, and potatoes, and packing the wheat to the flour mill at the mission. Sixteen acres were then under cultivation by local Indians, according to the same report. Possibly, Fouquet and his associates had influenced the Indians in this direction, offering them the enticement of obtaining flour in the area.

Several months after his arrival in the Kootenays, the Oblate superior sent a report to Indian Superintendent James Lenihan. In it Fouquet answered Lenihan's questions on the Indians of the mission, and supplied information on their agricultural pursuits. Regarding the people's agricultural needs, the missionary observed:

All the tribes of Kootenays need assistance in the way of agricultural implements, seeds, tools for building houses, which they intend to do, a grimming (grinding) mill, articles too expensifs (sic) for them to buy.

The Oblate was also concerned about the absence of government regulations on farming and ranching by the Indians, and told the superintendent:

They cultivate more patches of land; those patches will be all over the country as long as there is no regulation on the matter; it is the same for the pastures.²²

Fouquet wanted the Kootenay Indians to give up their mobile way of

life for agriculture. But the Indians saw things differently. Long before his arrival they had acquired horses, and a decade or so prior to his coming they had gone into cattle ranching. Neither horses nor ranching tied them to the land, as agriculture would have done. In the priest's first year along the St. Mary's River, one family of Indians already owned hundreds of horses, and every other one of the 340 to 350 Kootenays of the "Toonara tribe" had from one to twenty. One man had 21 head of cattle, and about fifteen others had from one to eight head each. On the other hand, about thirty Kootenay families were working the soil but this was "on a very limited scale." ²³ By the end of Fouquet's term at the mission, with no great change in the population, there were 30 oxen, 238 cows, 156 young cattle, and 2450 horses ²⁴ in the Kootenay agency, yet only 49 acres under cultivation.

~~The civilizing program approved by the Oblate Vicar of British Columbia sought to establish Indian villages segregated from whites.~~ The plan had been inspired by the Jesuits in Oregon, and had a long history going back to the Latin American "reductions". ²⁵ It was intended to protect the Indians from harmful outside influences, to teach European civilization, and to facilitate church control. ~~Underlying this scheme was the desire to thoroughly Christianize the Indians according to a European pattern.~~

D'Herbomez favored the concept, yet, remembering the Yakima war in 1855 - 1856, realized that Indian demands could not be brushed aside. Indians in British Columbia, he remarked, wanted to preserve their ancestral villages. They were opposed to having all Indians of one language situated on one large reserve, as the American system advocated, or as William Duncan ²⁶ envisioned.

Fouquet endorsed D'Herbomez's ideas regarding model Indian villages but the results he achieved at St. Eugene were minimal. When his term was

BC natives taken away to be civilized

completed there were 77 Kootenay houses in the agency to accommodate 568 native people, but these were situated in half a dozen locations considerably distant from one another. ²⁷ Most, if not all, of these dwellings had been built after the missionary had taken up residence in the area. The Oblate no doubt had encouraged the Indians to build them, but did not pressure them, and it does not seem that he interfered in the style of homes they constructed, or that any conflict arose over the layout of the buildings - the majority small wooden structures (figure 3). These residences, in effect, were only temporary quarters. In 1884, for instance, close to 50 houses existed on the mission property, yet the mission was still a place where "the Indians congregate(d) during the winter months". ²⁸ This was not the kind of settled, self-sufficient village the missionary had wanted to establish.

~~Although Fouquet's settlement policy failed at St. Eugene, its goal was partly realized by the isolation of the area. This helped to protect the Indians from corruptive influences, and to facilitate their adherence to Christianity.~~ Admittedly, drinking and gambling were not wiped out completely, and there was some persistence of "tribal habits" contrary to Christianity, as references to these practices in some reports indicate. Franz Boas, for example, in his 1889 report on the Indians of British Columbia, maintained that "the lower Kutona'qa still adhere, to a great extent, to their ancient customs." ²⁹ Previously, A.S. Farwell's report had likewise observed:

Some of the Upper and Lower Kootenays...and other Indians, frequently rendezvous at Old Kootenay Fort...about fifty miles south of the line. At this place the Indians meet to trade horses, etc., gamble, drink whiskey, and dissipate generally.³⁰

Kootenays travelled across the American border often. The poor condition of the province's trails made it easier for them to travel south



Figure 3: St. Eugene Mission in Early Days

(Oblate Archives : Vancouver)

for supplies. Hence, they were in frequent contact with American Indians. Fouquet knew of these trips and of the opportunities they offered for dissipation. On several occasions he reported that drinking and gambling occurred among the Flatbows and Tobacco Plains. However, these references to Indian "dissipation" should not be exaggerated. They show, not that the Kootenays had been corrupted en masse, nor that Fouquet had failed miserably, but that the Oblate's efforts were not an unqualified success.

Traditional gambling persisted especially among the Lower Kootenays. Some instances of it are cited among the Upper Kootenays in the 1880s, but anthropologist A.F. Chamberlain believed it had been "entirely suppressed" amongst the upper group by 1891. Fouquet made efforts to eradicate gambling and alcohol not because they were inherently evil but because of excesses, although drinking was less frequent than gambling. Further, native dancing, "superstitions" and "jongleries" were maintained with variations, chiefly in the Lower Kootenays, at Tobacco Plains, and among Kinbasket's band of Shuswaps at Columbia Lake. Interestingly, midwinter festival dances survived in a small way at St. Eugene. However, Fouquet regarded them as insignificant and observed that they were on the wane in the
 31
 late 1880s.

St. Eugene mission embraced all the Kootenay Indians north of the United States border. In practice, however, it required some contact with those who were south of the line as well. The places that were farthest removed from St. Eugene posed the biggest problem for the missionary. Both the Lower Kootenay and Tobacco Plains groups received few visits from the Oblate in the first ten years of his ministry. In addition, the Flatbows were deprived of Jesuit visits for a dozen years after the Oblates came into the region. At the time, the Jesuits were shorthanded, and American bishops were

urging them to care for both white settlers and Indians on the frontier. Meanwhile, Fouquet, overworked and ailing, had great difficulty in obtaining jurisdiction south of the border because of a confusion of jurisdictions, and unanswered letters. Due to these factors both southern Indian groups received little attention for long periods.

A last point, bearing on references to Kootenay "dissipation", is that, according to the mission journal, the guilty parties were habitually recalcitrant. At each mission, the offenders - in many cases a minority - responded to the missionaries' appeals to amend their ways. Where relapses occurred, they were succeeded by renewed goodwill. Thus, fines were levelled and punishments taken, shamans' artifacts were burned, chiefs requested the missionary to visit, and offending parties pledged to renounce their
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misdeeds.

To achieve their goal of civilizing and christianizing Indian peoples, and of helping them to become saints, Oblate directors urged the missionaries to set up temperance organizations, choose native people to act as catechists and watchmen, and enlist the disciplinary aid of native leaders. A number of these measures came to them from the Jesuits, and had proven successful elsewhere. Among Oblates, Durieu gained renown for this celebrated missionary system, but even in Oblate circles Durieu was not the first to use it - although he was one of its major proponents. Since Durieu's system has been described by several authors it need not be explained in
33
detail here. Fouquet incorporated elements of that system into his own ministerial methodology before he came to the Kootenays. Features he used or endorsed at former missions included choosing Indian leaders as policemen, setting up separate villages for Indians, the Blanchet Catholic Ladder for
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catechetics, temperance pledges, and festive processions and ceremonials.

At St. Eugene, Fouquet doubtless followed a similar pattern of ministry.

The Temperance Society, an organization used by Quebec missionaries in Oregon, caught on among the Oblates, and they widely promoted it in their British Columbia missions. Fouquet had established the organization in several villages on his 1860 trip with Oblate E.C. Chirouse up the northwest coast, and at New Westminster and surrounding area. He set one up in the Kootenays as well. There, the police commissioner, his aide-custodian of morality, was also involved in the society, since policemen were part of its structure. At Oblate posts, the society was taken for granted by the missionaries. Drunkenness at the Kootenay mission, however, was not nearly as much a problem as in some other Oblate missions.

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Apparently, native catechists were not employed at St. Eugene during the first half of Fouquet's directorship, although part of Oblate policy. The priests instructed the Indians themselves in preparation for the sacraments with the aid of native interpreters. The Oblate was not opposed to using native catechists, but his imperfect mastery of the Kootenay language, the people's limited usage of the Chinook jargon, and his physical workload prevented him from training them. The Directory of Missions insisted on stringent testing of adult candidates for baptism, and required that they be well instructed in the faith.

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The missionaries undertook this catechesis, building upon the foundation laid by their Jesuit predecessors. In some cases Fouquet was obliged to correct misunderstandings of the faith the Indians had acquired, a phenomenon all missionaries had to cope with when dealing with new converts. It was a matter that could have costly consequences, as the Jesuits in New France discovered when working with the Iroquois. There they were accused of witchcraft and incurred the Huron's hostility because baptism was thought to be the cause of some deaths.

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At Fouquet's outlying

mission stations it did not cause serious problems. In those places the Oblate possibly had catechists and prayer leaders to sustain the people's faith in his absence. He and his companions had used them at other mission stations on Vancouver Island and in the lower mainland. There, they led morning and evening prayer in the villages when the missionary was away. Others rang the bell for services and led the chanting of native hymns. ³⁸

Church records, preserved since 1876, show that Fouquet baptized fifty individuals and married fifty-one couples, during his remaining eleven years in the Kootenays. For the preceding period, figures are incomplete, but it is known he had baptized sixteen persons and married six couples by the beginning of 1875. ³⁹ Few of the baptisms were of adults, who usually underwent a probationary period, and were thoroughly instructed. In the case of children's baptisms, parents and sponsors were prepared beforehand. Couples wanting to marry were likewise instructed at length, but what programs Fouquet followed is unknown. More is known, however, about how he readied candidates for first communion. Writing to the bishop just after he had arrived at the mission, he stated:

Sur mon refus de nourir les enfants pendant leur préparation à la première communion, celle-ci a été différée pour eux...j'exige un mois d'instruction et de catéchisme.

Upon completion of the classes, candidates were required to pass an examination. Fouquet insisted on this point. It was the one thing he demanded of Father E. Peytavin, one of his assistants in the Kootenays, after an argument with him over missionary methods. ⁴⁰ As a teacher the missionary laid a great deal of emphasis on instruction, as much or more than on preaching. Preaching took place mainly during the Sunday Mass, or when retreats or "missions" were held - before Christmas and Easter, for instance. These missions were intense spiritual renewal sessions that lasted for up to

a week, and were adapted from the lengthier missions the Oblate founder had launched in post-revolutionary France. Catechetical sessions were based on Thomistic theology, and patterned on the Council of Trent's catechism, evidence of the missionary's preference for traditional sources. In the earlier years, the Oblate employed an interpreter for large gatherings, and discussed the lessons with him in the presence of those who were being catechized. The strategy was to engage his catechumens more actively in the learning process.

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Once candidates for first communion had been adequately instructed and tested, decorum and respect were emphasized to highlight the grandeur of the sacrament. The missionary prescribed, for example, that communicants should wash well beforehand, comb their hair, and clothe themselves in their finest. Similar standards of cleanliness were required of families when Viaticum was brought to their sick.

Caring for the infirm was a ministry that Fouquet found consoling. Kootenay serenity in the face of death deeply impressed him, as did the joy the dying manifested when they were able to receive the eucharist. Often, the families of those who were dying would have the missionary recite all the prayers in the ritual on the sick person's behalf. Sometimes they had him repeat them, believing perhaps that it would double their effectiveness. These litanies and petitions were often preceded by solemnities, which the Oblate described as follows:

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Quand le temps permet, nous portons toujours le saint Viatique avec grande solennité. Deux enfants de chœur revêtent la soutane rouge et le surplis. C'est le privilège du chef de la tribu de porter la croix, en soutane noir et en surplis. La foule suit en chantant des cantiques pour la communion. La loge du malade doit être ornée de tentures propres, le malade lavé et couvert d'une couverture blanche.⁴³

Fairly frequent confession was practiced by those Kootenays who had

received the sacraments of baptism and eucharist. Although only a few had become frequent communicants by 1880, all confessed several times a year. Thus, the missionary did not find it necessary to preach on its importance, wary as he was, nonetheless, that the practise should not become mere routine. One misconception the Indians had regarding confession revolved around its frequency prior to receiving communion. Referring to their mistaken notion, the priest was not disturbed.

Ils ont une coutume qui disparaîtra à mesure qu'ils seront mieux formés aux pratiques de la vie chrétienne, et qui n'est du reste qu'une exagération dans le bien, c'est de vouloir se confesser trois fois avant de communier, quand même la dernière absolution ne daterait que de huit jours.⁴⁴

Public confessions and penances periodically took place in Oblate missions on the Pacific. These practices had existed among some of the Indian peoples of the Columbia before the coming of the missionaries. Consequently, missionaries cited established usage as an argument for continuing them. In De Smet's time, for instance, whipping was used by the Chilcotin, and among the Kootenay it was administered as a punishment for attempted seduction. By supporting these practices the missionaries thereby engaged the chiefs to buttress their authority, and to uphold christian morality at the mission.⁴⁵

Ethnographic evidence for the practice of public penance among Indians of the Plateau is provided by Thomas R. Garth, whose article deals specifically with the Plateau whipping complex. Garth points out that "the Columbia Plateau tribes stand unique in whipping to correct adults as well as children", and that "Plateau whipping apparently antedates white entry of the area." The author further acknowledges that "it has generally been considered a purely native development", but goes on to argue that it was probably diffused from the Spanish Southwest. Correctional whipping occurred, he

shows, among various indigenous groups in the region, as well as among Plains Indians. Traders and missionaries in the Plateau encouraged the chiefs to use whipping as a mode of control, but they "were probably following a long established Indian custom."⁴⁶

As far as the Kootenays are concerned, however, Garth is of the opinion that they were an exception to the rule, refraining from the use of the whip to maintain discipline in the tribe. H. Turney-High, on the other hand, while arguing that the Kootenays had a minimum of social control and had "no need of the Flathead chiefly whip", admits that the "right to flog the people unmercifully" existed, attributing its origin to the "Salish and the Christian priesthood."⁴⁷ Dewald Walker also maintains that the practice existed among the Kootenays in the early part of the nineteenth century, and that it was promoted by the Hudson Bay Company and the missionaries. This testimony confirms the reports of the missionaries. It may be taken, therefore, that public penances were practiced on the Plateau (the Kootenays included) prior to the missionaries' arrival, and that the missionaries⁴⁸ incorporated them into their religious training program.

Fouquet adopted some elements of this disciplinary system into his ministry at St. Eugene, in conjunction with traditional chiefs, Joseph and Isadore, as well as one or more police or watchmen. To back up his authority, the missionary turned at first to Chief Joseph. Initially, Joseph was reluctant to use his authority, and both whites and Indians reproached him for his apparent weakness. It was in sharp contrast, they said, to his predecessor's firmness. To get him to cooperate, Fouquet announced that the chief would judge a case of wife-beating. Joseph, taken aback because he had not been consulted, nonetheless agreed to judge the case, and the missionary offered to assist him with his counsel. Everything went better than expected,

and the priest was overjoyed. Recounting the incident afterwards, the missionary exulted:

Me voilà désormais assuré d'avoir à ma disposition un excellent moyen de faire observer la discipline dans la tribu, sans exposer mon ministère à être odieux. Dorenavant le chef infligera les punitions pour les fautes extérieures; c'est là un point capital; le 25 janvier, anniversaire solennel dans notre congrégation, j'ai obtenu pour mes sauvages ce que nous appellerions un bon gouvernement.⁴⁹

Joseph's cooperation, however, was not yet fully assured. A few months later the missionary met with resistance. He had tried to oblige the needy who came to him for help to see the chief beforehand, but the chief did not want to be involved in the issue. Discouraged, the priest now feared that the chief might prove to be a stumbling stone. Fortunately, some agreement must have been reached, for no further difficulties were reported.⁵⁰

Punishments for wrongdoing at the mission varied according to the seriousness of the offence committed. Some sentences entailed a whipping, which could be administered by the Indian police - delegated no doubt by the chief. Fouquet was ambivalent about this form of punishment. On the one hand, seeing that the "chat à neuf queues fait merveilles", and "ici...n'est point contesté", he was glad of the good results. On the other hand, he was concerned about the legality of whipping, and was probably instrumental in modifying its usage at the mission. In the Spring of 1875, just months after his arrival the matter of whipping arose. Fouquet related the incident to his superior, and told him of the position he had taken:

Trois femmes ont volé des blancs, l'une d'elles a été fouettés et les deux autres vont l'être; ayant trouvé le fouettage établi je le maintiens; c'est la première mission où mes sauvages ont été fouettés. Je me contente de leur dire de suivre leurs usages car je tiens de source certain que le juge Begby (sic) ne considère comme prudent de la part d'un Européen de faire fouetter les Indiens, il peut simplement leur dire de suivre leurs usages.

Five years later, after referring to lengthy parliamentary debate on the issue a year before, the missionary indicated that "le règlement avait été modifié" at St. Eugene.⁵¹

Public penances constituted a kind of holding action for the missionaries, an "action de repression", as Durieu called it. Lasting results required a whole system of positive training, an "action de formation". Major nineteenth century missionary groups looked upon education of the young as an indispensable part of their total program. By the turn of the century, for instance, there were 100 Roman Catholic, 87 Anglican, 41 Methodist, 14 Presbyterian, and 41 undenominational Indian schools in Canada.⁵² Oblates were associated with many of these schools, especially in western Canada. Their involvement corresponded with the concern that the Oblate founder had shown for the direction of youth. De Mazenod considered youth ministry an essential work of his congregation, and included it in his Constitutions and Rules.⁵³ Oblates in Oregon would have been encouraged in this direction too by their Jesuit counterparts, for whom it was such a priority. In British Columbia, Bishop Louis D'Herbomez promoted Catholic schools, launching St. Mary's at Mission in the 1860s, and planning others in each of his mission districts. Where possible, he wanted to establish industrial and agricultural schools. Vigorously recommending these to the federal government, he hoped, naturally, that the church would receive government grants to establish them. As might be expected, other churches were simultaneously intent on establishing schools of their own.⁵⁴

Fouquet's letter of obedience to the Kootenays spoke of a school to be established at the new mission. As a former teacher he was keener than many Oblates about education, and had been responsible for starting schools in his previous mission posts. Circumstances, however, never permitted him to

make much headway in the Kootenays, and it was not until 1890 that an industrial school was opened at the mission under his successor, Nicholas Coccola. The many efforts Fouquet made to start a school there, nonetheless, helped to pave the way for this establishment.

The scattered nature of Fouquet's missions was another factor which had a bearing on his work. Annual visits to outlying mission posts were prescribed by Oblate policy, as Bermond's Directory indicates. The Oblate loved to travel and hitherto had gone on numerous missionary journeys. As he was anxious to evangelize the Indians, it galled him when adverse conditions hindered him from carrying out this policy in the Kootenays. On his first journey up to the new mission he had given a week-long retreat to the Flatbows. Over 200 confessions were heard, instructions and prayers were held, and sacraments were celebrated. In the next year or two the missionary went on two more visits to outlying mission villages, and his associates undertook a couple of others. One of the Oblate's journeys lasted 21 days, 18 of which were spent on horseback.

Over the next five years Fouquet invited distant Indians and several Jesuits to St. Eugene for services, but was unable to go on any further pastoral trips, claiming obedience placed him in that predicament. Reluctantly, he had to content himself with visiting the mission stations when travelling through the south on business. Indian villages would be bypassed if they were far removed from his route, or if he were pressed for time. Regular visits could only be again taken up in the missionary's final years, thanks to a lessening of his physical workload. Nothing came, however, of Fouquet's desire to accompany the Kootenays on one of their buffalo hunting trips to the prairies. Farm work and construction continually prevented him from going, and a valuable opportunity for sustained contact

was thereby missed. It was a disappointment for the Oblate, who envied missionaries, such as Lejacq at Stuart Lake, who were "on journeyings
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often" .

Much of Fouquet's missionary activity, therefore, was confined to
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St. Eugene, and to the forms of evangelization already mentioned. One organization , however, that Fouquet established at St. Eugene seems to have been unique. The missionary called the group Kenoukklakalka Palki, meaning The Women Who Watch, and was very pleased with the good they accomplished, as the following excerpt manifests.

Rien n'a fait autant de bien parmi les Kootanys que ces graves
matrones qui veillent sur l'enfant depuis sa naissance jusqu'à
l'âge de sept ans.60

The regulations the missionary drafted for the society have vanished, but his successor, Nicholas Coccola, laid down a set of rules for the women which were elaborations of his predecessor's guidelines. Coccola, though, seems to have wrongly thought that the role of the women had been hitherto limited to midwifery, and that its thrust was not sufficiently spiritual. At Christmas 1888, therefore, he drew up new provisions for the members. A six-month postulancy would be required before acceptance into the group. The women would meet at least twice a year, and more often when their "chieftess" thought necessary. Community watchmen would take note of the women's ministry at these reunions. Members would communicate on all the major feasts of Mary, and would do so wearing their blue veils. All were to give an example of cleanliness to children, notify the chief if pregnant women carried heavy burdens, visit and care for those who were ill, send for the priest if needed, and have a Mass said for a deceased member, receiving communion as a body on the occasion. Should a member be found guilty of adultery her veil
61
would be taken from her, and she would be expelled from the society.

Many of Leon Fouquet's policies and methods of evangelizing the Indians, particularly those which differed from other missionaries, elude detection. He was not inclined to describe them, it seems, and opportunities to do so were rare. Or else pertinent documents have been lost. They were effective, however, chiefly benefitting the Upper Kootenays. Helped by the Kootenays' isolation and personal qualities, his ministry sustained their goodness, and solidified their faith. But the missionary was hampered tremendously by the negative conditions he had to work under.

While Fouquet followed the missionary views and means proposed by his superiors and employed by his associates, he imprinted them with his own emphases. Thus, he was more concerned about legalities regarding the sacraments than were his superiors, and repeatedly, called principles and procedures into question when they seemed to disagree with the directives of higher authorities. And he was innovative in the face of specific needs, with groups like the Women Who Watch. Further, Fouquet's contentious personality set him apart from many of his colleagues. A zealous battler, he was hard on himself and others. These dispositions caused him untold suffering in his interpersonal relationships. The Kootenay, however, were an exception. With them he was firm but friendly, and each party accepted the other. Not being used to a resident priest, the Indians did not expect a lot of service, and Fouquet's preoccupation with farm work allowed them the freedom they were accustomed to.

Notes

1. A.G. Morice, OMI, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada (Toronto: Musson, 1916), 2: 306.
2. Durieu to D'Herbomez, 15 March 1869, AD, photocopy.
3. Daily British Colonist, August 25 1875, "Kootenay Correspondence," p. 3, photocopy.
4. Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, pp. 121-123; George Forbes, OMI, "Some Notes on Father Leon Fouquet, OMI, (1831-1912)", AD, HEB 5771 . L57c 6, photocopy; The Daily Colonist, 18 June 1881, "Outlawry at Kootenay," p.3, photocopy; British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 3d Parl., 3d sess., 1880, "Proceedings of the Kootenay Royal Commission," pp. 146, 149.
5. A.G. Morice, OMI, Histoire de l'Église Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien (Saint Boniface: Chez l'Auteur, 1923), 4: 239 - 241.
6. MOMI 51 (1913) : 410
7. Fouquet to Fabre, 19 March 1877, AD, P-2810 - P-2813, photocopy.
8. Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1879, AGR, photocopy.
9. Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, p. 2; Lejeune is noted for his Kamloops Wawa newspaper, a teaching tool for Indians, and Morice for his scientific and historical writings. See William Harold Gurney, "The Work of Reverend Father J.M. R. Lejeune OMI" (M.A. Thesis: University of British Columbia, 1948), pp. 112, 120-123; Walter N. Sage, "Some Early Historians of British Columbia," Presidential Address delivered before British Columbia Historical Association Annual Meeting, 17 January 1958, cited in Morice, OMI, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, pp. 8-10.
10. Marcel Dionne, OMI, "Histoire des Methodes Missionnaires Utilisées par les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Évangélisation des Indiens du 'Versant Pacifique'" (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1947), pp.15, 20-21, 54-5; Jacqueline Gresko. "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia: A Reappraisal of the Lemert Thesis," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 24, (1982) : 52 - 54.
11. Extract of founder's letter of 1825, Constitutions and Rules of the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Rome : 1982), p. 48.
12. Letter of Fouquet, no addressee, no date (c. 1889), 12 pages of manuscript entitled "Isolement du Missionnaire", AGR, photocopy.
13. Peytavin to Fouquet, c. July 1879, AD, P-2971 - P-2974, photocopy.
14. Constitutions and Rules (Rome: 1892), p. 12.

15. Constitutions and Rules for the usage of Lay Brothers of the Congregation of the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary (Publishing information missing; c. 1859), p. 114. This would be a condensed translation of the 1853 latin edition (Marseilles), p. 471, which reads: *Missiones exterar suscipit Congregatio in partibus, sive hereticorum sive infidelium. Priore locum habent apud populos jam humanitatis, et civilis vitae usibus excultos, posteriores autem apud gentem saepe primis tantum, aut nullis etiam Religionis et civilitatis rudimentis instructam.*
16. Directoire des Missions, Registre de la Mission de St. Charles à New Westminster, p. 1. art. 1, AD, photocopy; for a résumé of Bermond's life see Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique, 4 : 83 - 84.
17. A. Martinet, OMI, "Acte de la Visite de la Mission de St. Eugène des Kootenays," 8 July 1882, AD, HPK 5102. B86C, p. 4.
18. John W. Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 109.
19. Letter of D'Herbomez to Hon. H.L. Langevin, 29 September 1871, cited in Gresko, "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia..." p. 60, note 32; letter of D'Herbomez to Hon. J. Cauchon, 4 February 1876, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, PAC, Black Series, RG 10, vol. 3627, file 6176.
20. Government visitations were made to the Kootenays in 1874, 1883, 1884, and 1887. The 1883 visit was on behalf of the provincial government. Reports on these visits indicate that very little agricultural activity was going on during this period, that some of it was unproductive, and that there were complaints about not receiving seed, implements and other items. See Indian Affairs Annual Reports for 1874, 1884, and 1887, and A.S. Farwell's report on the Kootenay Indians, British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 4th Parl., 3rd sess., 1884, pp. 325 - 327.
21. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1884," Canada, Sessional Papers, 5th Parl., 3d sess., 1885, no. 3, part 1, p. lxxiv.
22. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 9 February 1875, AD, P-2686 - P-2689, photocopy. This letter was written in English and was intended for Lenihan. D'Herbomez's letter to Lenihan, 23 March 1875, follows Fouquet almost verbatim. Cf. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3621, file 4780.
23. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 9 February 1875, AD, P-2686 - P-2689, photocopy. No statistics were available for other Kootenay groups belonging to the mission.
24. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1887," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 2d sess., 1888, no. 15, part 1, pp. cxii - cxiii.

25. Gresko, "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia..." p. 53; Grant, Moon of Wintertime, pp. 58 - 63.
26. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, D'Herbomez to Hon. J. Cauchon, 4 February 1876, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3627, file 6176, photocopy; Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, p. 140.
27. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1887," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 2d sess., 1888, no. 15, part 1, pp. cxii - cxiii; see also map of reserves allotted to the Kootenays in accordance with Dr. I.W. Powell's Report to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1886, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3738, file 28013-3, p. 21.
28. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1884," Canada, Sessional Papers, 5th Parl., 3rd sess., 1885 no. 3, part 1, p. lxxiv. In the preceding year Farwell's report to the provincial government observed that the Indians had erected 55 houses at the mission which were occupied by their families during the winter. It also noted that the Lower Kootenay Indians had no houses, living year-round in lodges. British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 4th Parl., 3d sess., 1883-1884, pp. 325 - 327. The Oblates usually had no set design for these settlements. The Indians would therefore have followed the pattern they had used in laying out their tent lodges.
29. Boas, "First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia," p. 807; see also note 18, chapter 2.
30. Farwell, "Report on the Kootenay Indians," p. 326.
31. See Fouquet to Fabre 3 July 1883, AGR, photocopy; "Codex Historicus Cranbrook 1884-1948," AD, pp. 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 51, (1884 - 1887), and pp. 1, 2, 3, 11-13, 15, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, (1887 - 1890); Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenay Indians of South-Eastern British Columbia," p. 561; Jenness, Indians of Canada, p. 359.
32. Regarding the goodness of the Kootenays see Horatio Hale, "Remarks on the Ethnology of British Columbia: Introductory to the Second General Report of Dr. Franz Boas on the Indians of that Province," British Association for the Advancement of Science 1890 (London: Murray, 1891) : 561, S. B. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1914), p. 250, Sylvia L. Thrupp, "A History of the Cranbrook District in East Kootenay" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1929) p.43-45, 57-59 ; on the Jesuits see "Codex Historicus Cranbrook, 1884 - 1948," pp.43-6 (1884-1887), and pp. 1, 3, 11, 13, 15-17, 48, AD, photocopy; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 30 May 1875, *ibid.*, P-2709-P-2710, photocopy; Schoenberg, SJ, Paths to the Northwest, pp. 94-95, 112, 120-121.
33. Gresko, "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia..." pp. 51-62. On the system as refined by bishop Durieu see also Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, pp. 160-163, and E.M. Bunoz, "Bishop Durieu's System," Études Oblates/Oblate Life 1 (1942) : 193-209

34. MOMI 3 (1864) : 178-182, 196-197, 201, 205.
35. MOMI 3 (1864) : 178-182, 196-197, 200-202, 205; MOMI 18 (1880) : 274, 279
36. Fouquet reported only one person spoke the Chinook jargon well in 1875, and in the 1880s William Baillie-Grohman maintained that they were "perfectly unacquainted with any language but their own, not even Chinook". Cf. Thrupp, "A History of the Cranbrook District in East Kootenay," p. 58 ; on the important role exercised by Indian catechists see Margaret Whitehead, "Christianity, a Matter of Choice: the Historical Role of Indian Catechists in Oregon Territory and British Columbia," Pacific North West Quarterly 72 (1981) : 98-106. See also Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 29 March 1875, AD, III-G-39, P-2690-P-2693, photocopy; MOMI 18 (1880): 277-278; Directoire des Missions, Registre de la Mission de St. Charles à New Westminster, arts. 2, 9, 22, 24, AD.
37. Bruce Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic : A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal: Queen's Press, 1976), 2: 534 - 538, and 541.
38. Gresko, "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia..." p. 54; MOMI 3 (1864) : 165-6, 175, 187, 201.
39. Baptism Register, St. Eugene Mission Cranbrook, B.C., 1877 -1899, and Marriage Register *ibid.*, 1877-1909. These records are now deposited at St. Mary's Parish, Cranbrook, B.C.; Letter of Fouquet, 22 January 1875, AD; MOMI 15 (1877) : 81.
40. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 6 April 1875, AD, III - G - 40, P-2694 - P-2697; see also Fouquet's observations written on Peytavin's letter to him, c. July 1879, *ibid.*, P-2971 - P-2974. Photocopies. Quite a few missions took place in the Lower Mainland, but those in the Kootenays rarely involved participation of outside missionaries because of the remoteness of the mission. See also Thrupp, "A History of the Cranbrook District in East Kootenay," p. 59, and Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 250.
41. MOMI 18 (1880) : 277-279.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.* Note that religious hymns were sung for communion. There can be little doubt the Jesuits taught the Indians hymns and prayers in their own language. Jesuit P. Canestrelli published a "Kootenai Grammar" in 1894. Cf. Schoenberg, SJ, Paths to the Northwest, p. 171.
44. *Ibid.* pp 275 - 276.
45. Dionne, " Histoire des Methodes Missionnaires," pp. 87 - 91; Morice, OMI, Histoire de l'Église Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien, 1912 ed., 3: 369.

46. Thomas Garth, "The Plateau Whipping Complex and its Relationship to Plateau Southwest Contacts," Ethnohistory 12 (1965) : 141-147.
47. Ibid. p. 166; Turney-High, "Ethnology of the Kutenai," p. 154.
48. Dr. Deward Walker, Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, personal communication with author, 28 December 1985; Sam Steele of the N.W.M.P. refers to the "custom" of annual whipping among the Kootenays in 1888, and describes one particular incident in detail. Cf. Canada, Report of the Commissioner of the N.W.M.P 1888, Canada, Sessional Papers, 1889, 6 Parl., 3d sess., no. 17, p. 92; see also Steele, Forty Years in Canada, pp. 250-251, and Jean LaBissioniere, SP, Providence Trail Blazers (Edmonton: Sisters of Providence, 1978), p. 8.
49. MOMI 15 (1877) : 80 -81; MOMI 18 (1880) : 274, 278. There is no clear indication of Coccola's direct influence when Isadore's successor Francois was elected in 1894. See "Codex Historicus Cranbrook 1884 - 1948," AD, pp. 48-49, 51 (1894).
50. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 29 March 1875, AD, P-2690 - P-2693.
51. Ibid.; and MOMI 18 (1880) : 280
52. Grant, Moon of Wintertime, p. 177.
53. Constitutiones et Regulae (Massiliae: V. Marius Olive, 1853), pp. 44 - 45.
54. D'Herbomez to Hon. H. L. Langevin, 29 September 1871, Canada, Department of Public Works, Canada, Sessional Papers, 1st Parl. 5th sess. 1872, no. 10 Appendix BB, pp. 159-160; on Anglican educational work cf. Frank A. Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959), pp. 58-75. Educational efforts sponsored by the United Church are described by F.E. Runnalls in It's God's Country (Ocean Park: n.publ., 1974) pp. 39, 49-50, 80, 116, 117, 140-142.
55. Concerning the Oblate's efforts to open a school at the mission, cf., Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 8 February 1875, AD, III - G - 35 -III - G - 37, P-2674 - P-2685; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 27 July 1876, ibid., P-2772 - P-2779; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 10 October 1876, ibid., P-2786 - P-2787; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 1 May 1877, ibid., HPK 5242 .D96L13, Ex. 1 and 2; D'Herbomez to Fouquet, 30 June 1877, ibid.; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 5 September 1877, ibid., P-2841 - P-2844; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 26 November 1877, ibid., P-2845 - P-2847; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 30 June 1879, ibid., P-2865- P-2868; Photocopies; MOMI 18 (1880) : 280; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 20 March 1881, AD, P-2906 - P-2915; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 December 1881, ibid., P-2936 - P-2939; Photocopies; F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1964) pp. 48-49. Regarding attempts to obtain the Sisters of Providence to teach at St. Eugene, see, LaBissioniere, SP., Providence Trail Blazers, pp. 1 - 2. The

Sisters of Providence were founded in Montreal in 1843 by bishop Ignace Bourget, and were dedicated to the service of the poor. A widow, Mme. Emilie Gamelin, was their first superior. In western Canada they zealously served in a number of missions, including St. Eugene. In all they spent 39 years in the Kootenays, from 1890 to 1929.

56. Directoire des Missions, Registre de la Mission de St. Charles à New Westminster, art. 15. AD.
57. MOMI 15 (1877) : 79; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 29 May 1875, AD, III - G - 44, P-2705 - P-2708, photocopy.
58. MOMI 21 (1883): 345; Fouquet to Fabre, 3 July 1883. AGR, photocopy; Morice, OMI, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, pp. 342-343. The missionary invited Jesuits up to St. Eugene on several occasions during his first few years at the mission. Other Oblates seem to have had little to do with the Jesuits, there being no occasions for contact after coming to British Columbia. See also Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 22 August 1874, AD; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 8 February 1875, *ibid.*; *idem* to *idem*, 30 May 1875, *ibid.*; *idem* to *idem*, 31 October 1875, *ibid.*; *idem* to *idem*, 28 May 1876, *ibid.*; *idem* to *idem*, 27 July 1876, *ibid.*; *idem* to *idem*, 25 November 1876, *ibid.*; *idem* to *idem*, 2 April 1877, *ibid.*; Peytavin to Fouquet, c. July 1879, *ibid.*; Photocopies; Schoenberg, SJ, Paths to the Northwest, pp. 107-108. Mulhall, in "The Missionary Career of A.G. Morice, OMI," pp. 19, 466, indicates rivalry between Jesuits and Oblates, but is mistaken on this point.
59. Several additional means of evangelization employed by Fouquet are referred to in the following sources. By and large, they were of a conventional type. Fouquet to Marc Sardou, 24 September 1887, AGR, photocopy; MOMI 18 (1880) 279; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 10 April 1876, AD, P-2753 - P-2755, photocopy; "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook 1884 - 1948," pp. 41, 46 -47, *ibid.* See also "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook 1884 - 1948," pp. 41 - 42, 46, AD; Gresko, "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia," p. 55; Mary McCarthy, "The Missions of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate to the Athapaskans 1846 - 1870 : Theory, Structure and Method," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1981).
60. MOMI 18 (1880): 280; "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook 1884 - 1948," 46-47 (1885), AD.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7 (1888), AD; cf. also Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, p. 196.

CHAPTER FOUR

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF MINISTRY

Missionaries often accomplished difficult tasks by looking upon obstacles as challenges to be overcome in faith. Fouquet's situation in the Kootenays surpassed that of many of his fellow missionaries in the combination of difficulties it posed. Particularly vexing for him was the need to establish the mission on a solid financial footing. Economic factors, of course, have always had a bearing on missionary expansion, and have caused church societies much anxiety. ¹ Prior to the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic missions were dependent on the favor and financial support of rulers. This system of Patronato had certain advantages, but it also had been the source of serious difficulties for the church. With the establishment of the Propagation of the Faith in the second decade of the nineteenth century, ordinary Christians began to play a larger economic role in the Church's missionary outreach. ² For example, channelled through Oblate administrators, grants from the society helped support the Kootenay mission. Other monies occasionally trickled in to the mission from collections and private benefactors. Notwithstanding these revenues, Fouquet and his missionary companions had to live in fairly straitened circumstances. The director of the mission bemoaned the situation in his letters, but little came of his complaints. The only hope of keeping afloat, it seemed, lay in building up a mission farm. But therein was a major drawback, with little gain, since Fouquet did not want to create a model farm. Day by day, time and energy would have to be spent tending the soil, leaving the missionaries unavailable for gospel-related activities. Not that it was uncommon for

missionaries to spend a lot of time on secular matters in order to keep a mission afloat. ³ What was unusual in the Kootenay missionary's case, in comparison with other British Columbia missionaries, was a trio of factors: the extent of his physical labours, his deplorable state of health, and the limited help he received.

When Fouquet arrived in the Upper Kootenays in the autumn of 1874 accompanied by Brother John Burns, no material groundwork had been laid at the mission. Jesuits who had paid periodic visits to the Indians in the preceding decades had built only one log church "on the great Tobacco ⁴ Prairie". The legacy they left to the Oblates who succeeded them was chiefly spiritual. Fouquet's first several years, therefore, were demanding ones, and were largely taken up with purchasing and improving land, fencing, farming, and building. Even with the arrival of an extra missionary, Father Napoleon Gregoire, OMI, in June of 1875, and the help of hired casual laborers, progress was painfully slow - for reasons that soon became apparent.

In a letter written months after the missionaries had reached their destination, Fouquet described the new mission territory, its people, and the property he had purchased (figure 4).

Notre nouvelle mission est située sur le versant ouest des Montagnes Rocheuses, à 20 lieues au nord de la quarante-neuvième parallèle; elle est limitée à l'ouest par le ruisseau de Saint-Joseph; au nord par la rivière Sainte-Marie, qui se jette à 2 lieues de là dans la rivière Kootenay; cette dernière s'appelle Arc-Plate, avant d'aller se perdre dans la Colombie. Je ne sais pas encore jusqu'où s'étendra notre territoire vers l'est et le sud. Les limites du district qui doit être desservi par cette mission, touchent, à l'est, au diocèse de Mgr. Grandin; au sud, aux diocèses d'Idaho et de Nesqually; ce sera le district le plus petit et le moins peuplé. Il renferme une partie de la tribu des Kootenays, quelques fugitifs de celle des Shushuaps, et peut-être aussi quelques familles de celle de Colville, avec une soixantaine de blancs; une centaine de blancs y restent encore, mais ils disparaissent de plus en plus avec les mines

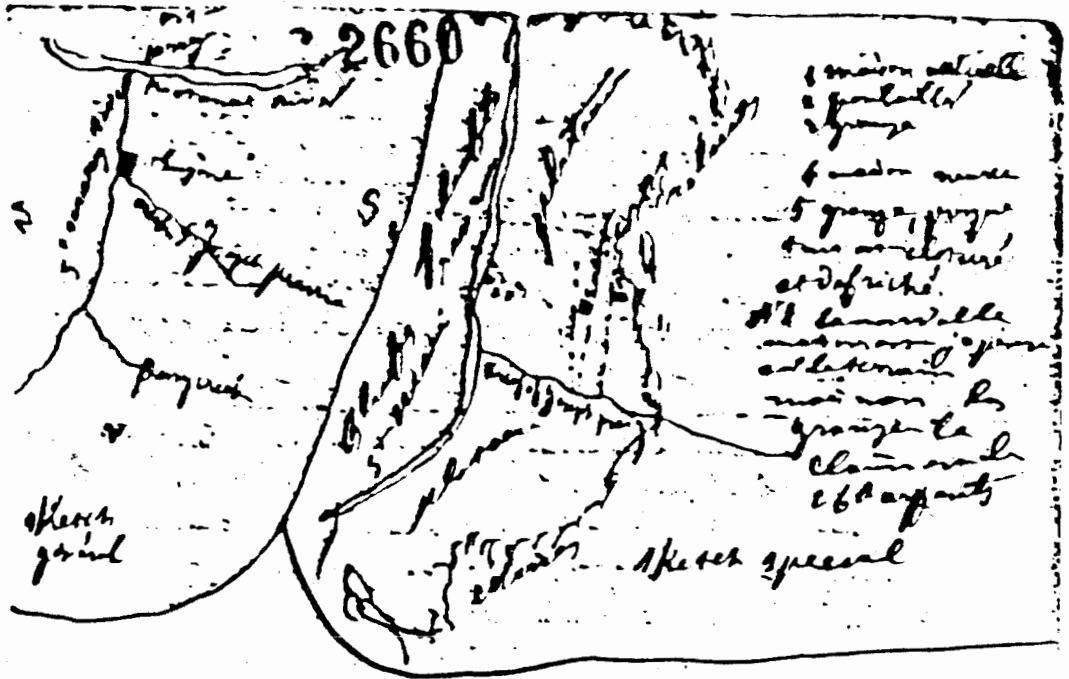


Figure 4: Fouquet's sketch of Mission property

(Lot 1, Group 1)

(Archives Deschâtelets : Ottawa)

d'or...Au bout d'un mois de séjour à notre nouvelle résidence nous nous trouvâmes installés convenablement, après avoir acheté, d'un yankee protestant, un bel emplacement à un prix fort modique, et cela contre toute espérance.⁵

The choice tract Fouquet had acquired was a 160 acre farm belonging to John Shaw. The asking price had been set at \$2500.00, but the missionary persuaded the "yankee protestant" to settle for \$1100.00. Jesuits, white people, and the Indians, had recommended the property as appropriate for the mission, and Fouquet was pleased with the bargain.⁶ Three years later, an adjoining 320 acre claim was acquired by the mission, and the year following a third parcel of 72 acres was added next to the others. All were spread along the south bank of the St. Mary's River. Although no further lots were acquired by the mission until long after Fouquet left the Kootenays, in its first five years the farm had already mushroomed into a sizeable venture, and was a time-consuming, costly enterprise throughout the Oblate's term. (figure 5).⁷

Working the farm absorbed many of the missionaries' waking hours, and sapped their limited strength. To a degree they were its prisoners, unable to leave the mission at will - for retreats, confession, or other needs - or to meet with other missionaries. It monopolized the time they could have spent learning the Kootenay language and culture, visiting the people's homes, or in other pastoral activities. In a letter to his Parisian superior, written in 1876, Fouquet acknowledged dryly that

N'ayant pas 400 sauvages dans la mission il n'y a de besogne que pour un missionnaire...malheureusement commes fermiers nous avons trop de besogne pendant les 12 mois.⁸

For a missionary who wanted to dedicate himself fully to spiritual and pastoral matters, farming could also be highly exasperating.

Occasionally, Fouquet gave vent to the frustration he experienced. Towards

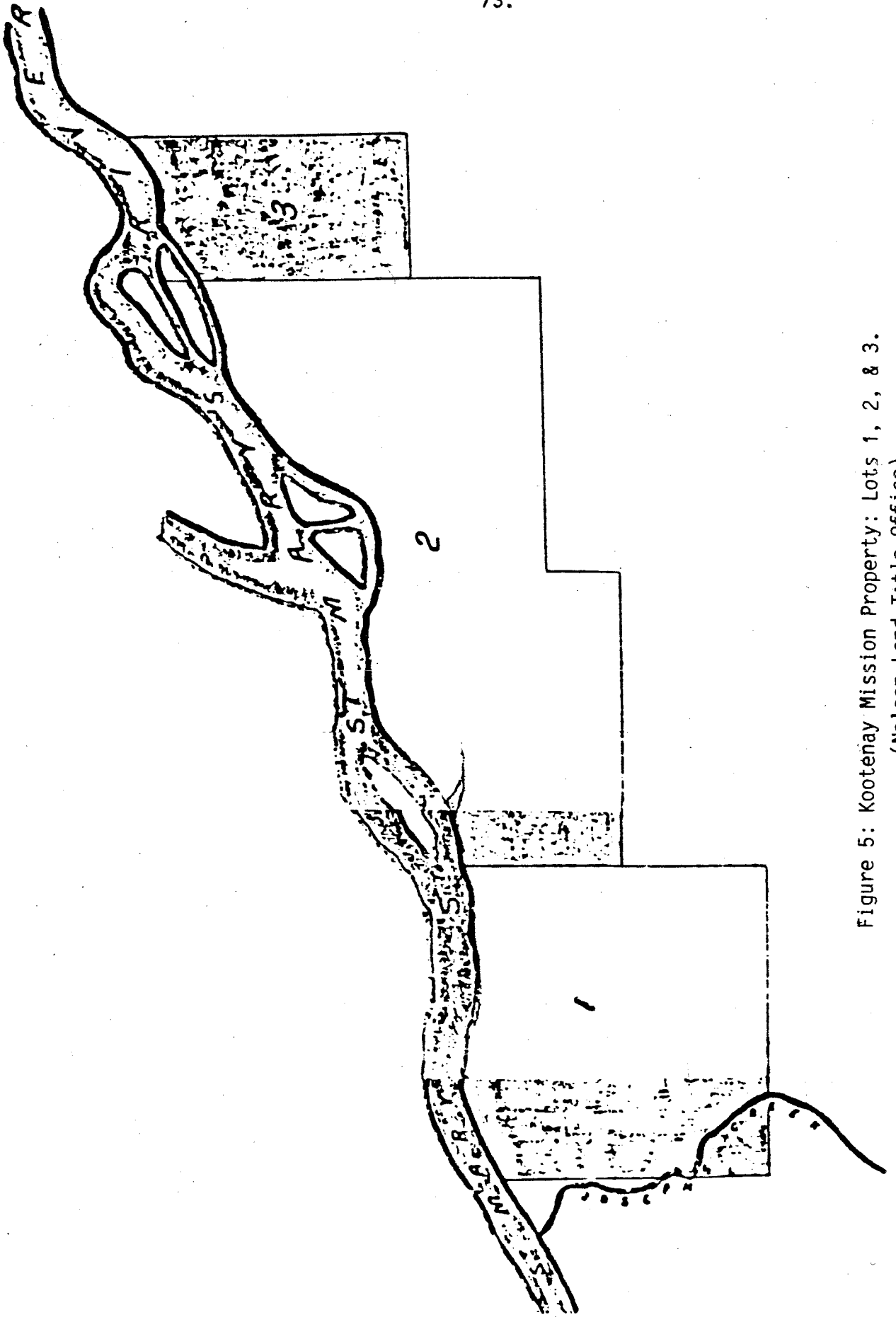


Figure 5: Kootenay Mission Property: Lots 1, 2, & 3.
(Nelson Land Title Office).

the end of his term in the Kootenays, for instance, he wrote to the Oblate Superior General:

Je vous avouerai du reste que je suis déterminé à laisser tomber la mission plutôt de recommencer à travailler comme un mercenaire. Il y a long temps que je me suis plains à vous de la nécessité où l'on m'avait mis de faire le métier de fermier contrairement aux instructions formelles que m'avait donné Notre Vénéré Fondateur à mon départ et aussi contrairement à mes propres idées et inclinations. Tout le monde a pu dire que je le faisais par goût, j'ai toujours senti le contraire.⁹

Oblate Visitor, Father Aimé Martinet, had acknowledged the primacy of this spiritual dimension in his Act of Visitation in 1882. The Visitor had come out from Paris on an official visitation of the Vicariate as representative of the Superior General of the Congregation. In his report on the Kootenay mission, he noted some irregularities. For instance, the house and church and some of the farm buildings were in poor condition. Not enough was being done, moreover, by the missionaries to become fluent in Kootenay and English. Martinet blamed this neglect on the priests' habitual involvement in farm labour, and recommended that Indians be hired to take over. On the other hand, the visitor considered it fitting for Fouquet to supervise the farm operation, and for Father Adolphe Martin to assist him as bursar.¹⁰ This advice offered some relief for Fouquet, who had been both managing the farm alone, and spending long hours in the fields.

Overseeing the mission operation entailed purchasing cattle, machinery, and provisions, undertaking arduous journeys, hiring extra help, keeping the accounts, worrying about costs and bills, and even hosting hundreds of visitors. With mission holdings in an early stage of development, there were problems and decisions to be faced, and permissions to be obtained from superiors. Of necessity, then, Fouquet had to write lengthy, frequent letters to his superior, concerning almost every facet of the business. In

them he appears as a man who took his responsibilities seriously, who was continuously hard-pressed to make ends meet, who felt obliged to keep the bishop fully informed on proceedings, who pleaded and argued with him over mission funding, and who protested when he felt mistreated. The correspondence depicts Fouquet also as a strong-minded, blunt-spoken individual, a grim, uncompromising, but tender-hearted man, who was determined to make a success of the operation for the sake of the people he served. A sample of activities and costs connected with running the farm is outlined in Appendix II, for a six-month period. Here, one particular aspect of the operation will be touched on to illustrate what the missionary had to endure.

Fouquet had in mind to set up a mill at the mission. Towards the end of his first year at St. Eugene he had only a "moulin a vanner". Sixteen months later he purchased another mill for a total of \$200.00. In the spring of the following year the Oblate was hopeful that the mill would increase revenues, but was troubled about the money still owing on it. The situation appeared more promising in 1880. Fouquet was then planning to set up a flour mill at the mission, and was awaiting the parts from England. It would cost up to \$2000.00 to have the wooden mill built, and would take over three years to pay off, but he was sanguine about its ability to soon pay for itself.

A year later the missionary was sadly disappointed. Dejectedly he wrote to the Bishop:

Je ne saurai vous dire combien je regrette de n'être pas allé moi-même chercher notre moulin en profitant de vos autorisations. Une pièce est perdue et je ne sais pas si elle est importante le père Horris ayant négligé de me faire parvenir un bill of invoice or lading. Pour la première fois depuis 20 ans je ne vois aucune porte pour sortir d'un embarras sérieux. Je vais tâcher de vendre pour 500 piastres d'animaux. Je ne saurai vous dire ce que je pense des gens

qui tirent toute l'eau possible à leur moulins et nous laissent a sec. C'est déplorable.¹³

Not long after, Fouquet had to go to Victoria regarding "outrages" he had suffered in the Kootenays. Stopping in Portland on his way home, he purchased a smut-mill and a reaper for the mission. These were delivered, along with the mill, a few months afterwards, and all the machinery arrived in good order. Understandably, Fouquet was elated.

However, the Oblate's troubles were not over. The man he had hired to assemble the mill was hopeless. A journey to Walla Walla or to Colville for a millwright would now be necessary, though he was "tué de besogne de travail et de soucis", and had been deathly ill. To aggravate the situation, he had learned that the Visitor from Paris might be arriving soon. If he went south he might miss the Visitor; if he stayed he would disappoint those who were counting on getting their flour from him for the winter - and leave him with 50,000 lbs. of unsold grain. In addition, he wanted to stay and make a preached retreat, the first in twenty years. What is more, he feared leaving the mission in the care of his companions, judging them incapable of looking after it. After mulling over his dilemma for weeks, Fouquet finally decided to make the difficult trip, convinced that the mission's future hinged on the building of the mill. In the end, the missionary's perseverance paid off. The following year in a letter to the Superior General, Fouquet wrote with a sigh of relief:

Sous tous les rapports mon horizon parait s'éclaircir. Notre petit moulin après quatre ans de difficulté incroyables est enfin terminé, les trois derniers mois nous avons vendu pour cinq mille francs de farine, dont au moins deux mille de profit. À Kootenay il nous faudrait dix mille francs par an pour que deux pères Oblats puissent y vivre pauvrement mais convenablement, et cela sans aucun oeuvre à soutenir, nous n'en sommes pas encore là.¹⁷

In contrast to other missions, the position in which Fouquet and his companions found themselves at the Kootenay mission was detrimental to

apostolic ministry. A comparison with the Cariboo Oblate mission indicates some of the differences which distinguished it from others. The Cariboo ranch was regarded as "the best farm in the country", but no such claim could be made for the Kootenay property. Each was extensive, yet the Cariboo acreage rapidly surpassed St. Eugene's, expanding steadily for fifteen years. St. Joseph's also acquired a "strong, versatile team" of two brothers and two priests at an early stage of its development. Brothers Georges Blanchet and Phillipe Surel were thus able to devote themselves to farmwork, while Jean-Marie Lejacq concentrated on Indian work, and James McGuckin oversaw the ranch, ministered to miners and Indians, and labored to provide education for local children. By contrast, there was a shortage of personnel at St. Eugene's. McGuckin, moreover, was a gifted manager and fund-raiser with previous business experience, while Fouquet was a capable but reluctant administrator. McGuckin, too, was able to generate enthusiasm and support for his plans, whereas Fouquet did not attempt to do so. McGuckin thereby drew labor and funds from Indians and miners, and the backing of the bishop; Fouquet received only modest sums and did not win D'Herbomez's strong support. The Cariboo Indians and miners, of course, were in different situations from their counterparts in the Kootenays. Contact with Europeans and settlement had taken place earlier in the Cariboo, and on the whole probably had a more negative impact than in the southeastern region. As well, Lejacq was a more capable Indian missionary than Fouquet's companions. By looking after a large portion of the native ministry, Lejacq relieved McGuckin of anxiety and freed him to develop the ranch. Although Lejacq had to deal with the Chilcotins' elusiveness, it was not as much a problem as the Kootenays' mobility. And, next to Fouquet's, McGuckin's differences with Durieu paled because he had D'Herbomez's sympathy.

Another factor that handicapped the Oblate's missionary work at St. Eugene was his chronic sickness. For years his health had been slowly declining. Now, farm work, strained community relations, the remoteness of the mission, and the feeling of ostracization from his fellow Oblates wore his health down further. Apart from possible hereditary factors (Fouquet's father had reportedly died from "rheumatism of the bowels, heart and stomach"),²⁰ diet and climate may also have contributed to his poor condition.

While at St. Eugene mission, Fouquet seldom failed to mention his poor health to the head of the Vicariate. Previously, he had been bothered by rheumatism, and it and other ailments now began to impair his work noticeably. In his first letter from the mission post in 1874 he lamented that his health was nearly ruined, and that he felt at the end of his strength. His trip there from New Westminster had completely exhausted him. Many of the hardships of the journey might have been avoided, he thought, had²¹ the Oblate administration exercised more foresight.

In the next half dozen years Fouquet described his condition in such terms as "far from good", "as good as can be expected", "miserable", "always poor", "holding", "kept up by miracles", "poorer than you think" and "riddled with rheumatism".²² Late in 1875 the missionary consulted doctors in New Westminster and Victoria, but received no help from them. He also contacted a doctor in Paris, but no mention is made of the outcome. In the winter of 1875-1876 his health was the worst it had ever been, and he came close to death. Months later he began to suffer insomnia, said he was completely at the end of his strength, and had to spend half of his time in bed. Then in the beginning of 1880 he was diagnosed, perhaps by the Parisian doctor, as

having a liver ailment. Fouquet thought that might have been why he had suffered so much since coming to the Kootenays. By the summer his health had picked up slightly, but he was still not strong.²³

In the course of his final seven years at the Kootenay post Fouquet's health continued to go downhill. Frequently, he was in severe pain and unable to sleep soundly. It was a puzzle to him how he managed to stay on his feet at all. Rheumatism, he stated, had begun to invade some of his internal organs, and doctors warned that he was threatened with paralysis. At the end of his term he was hardly able to undertake anything, and was advised by the doctor to take two months' rest and a leave of absence.²⁴ His poor health, till then an impediment to his missionary work, now threatened to curtail it drastically.

The help Fouquet received from associates was also a restrictive factor on his ministry. Few aides were assigned to the mission at any one period. Moreover, most of his companions were physically frail, and to compound matters, none were of much help pastorally either. In the first six years, for example, Brother John Burns, who had been with the missionary at Fort Rupert, was suffering from infirmities. Every so often Burns was ill in bed, down with recurring attacks of an unspecified nature. Fouquet relied on Burns a great deal for the farm work, and spoke of him as "more than a right arm". Burns, however, was unable to be of any pastoral help to the missionary because he was neither gifted nor trained for ministry. His health, in effect, was an ongoing source of concern to the director. Seeing him decline physically, and watching him age rapidly, Fouquet feared that Burns would be unable to continue work much longer.²⁵

Throughout the second half of his term along the St. Mary's river, the superior no longer reported regularly on Burns, suggesting little change

in his condition. In the spring of 1881 Fouquet noted that Burns had been badly influenced by former community members. By then, the director felt as if he was Burns' servant, rather than his superior. Months later, he pointed out again that the brother was no longer his former helpful self, and thought that he might as well be recalled. Fouquet's only caution was that Burns be stationed some place where he would not be negatively influenced by others; otherwise, it would be better to leave him where he was. Several years later, the Irish brother was still not free of the influence of former priests, and appeared to be aging fast. Yet, Burns did not pass away until 1908, after ²⁶ thirty-four years in the Kootenays.

Father Napoleon Grégoire was a member of the Kootenay Oblate community from June 1875 till the Fall of 1878. While at the mission he completed his theology and exercised some ministry among the Shuswaps. Unfortunately, his constitution was delicate, and he was often infirm, unable to be of assistance with the farm. Fouquet felt that Grégoire was likewise morally frail, and it was not long before he ran into difficulties with him. Grégoire, he said, was not of the same school as himself. Grégoire too easily dispensed himself from saying Mass, was lazy and disobedient, and was of no help to him with his counsels. Things came to a head when Grégoire decided to abandon the mission on his own initiative in the midst of rumors of wrongdoing. Fouquet suspected the rumors were partly true, but had no solid ²⁷ proof to go on.

Grégoire's place in the Kootenays was taken by Father Edmond Peytavin who arrived in the spring of 1879. Born in North Africa, the son of a consular official, Peytavin had been one of Fouquet's students at Fort Rupert prior to his ordination in 1872. Fouquet was aware of his companion's limitations and sickly state when he accepted him, but he was also conscious

of his good qualities, and hoped he would rally in the Kootenays. Given Peytavin's poor health Fouquet merely asked him to take on a few duties. He was to be in charge of the church, give Brother Burns some spiritual direction, and do some farm chores. Peytavin became bored, and resented his former teacher for a report Fouquet had written about him while he was in training. Peytavin's higher class background may also have made it difficult for him to accept the director as an equal. He complained that Fouquet had evicted him from the mission, that the director was hard to live with, and that Fouquet would not accept him because he was a follower of Bishop Durieu. Fouquet denied the younger man's allegations, and maintained that Peytavin himself had asked to be recalled from St. Eugene. Within a year the junior priest talked of leaving the Oblates, and Fouquet requested that either Peytavin or himself be replaced. Bishop D'Herbomez did not think there was danger of Peytavin's leaving, and urged the superior to be reconciled with his associate. Their relationship did not improve over the next while, however, so the bishop moved Peytavin. By the summer of 1880 he had replaced him with Father Adolphe Martin.

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Father Martin had arrived at the mission after Peytavin's departure. A French Canadian, he had been ordained at New Westminster in 1877, and had served there and at Kamloops before coming to St. Eugene. In the beginning he was a good companion to Fouquet, and was able to do a great amount of work. The director was pleased, for instance, when Martin spared him a trip to Tobacco Plains, and again when the associate was appointed bursar. Initially, Fouquet praised Martin's intelligence, good sense, and faithfulness to his exercises, but a year and a half after his coming, he became critical of his assistant. Martin's health was now not so good. Fouquet chided him, moreover, for his large appetite, and was especially disturbed by Martin's "hardened

liberalism". Inevitably the gap between them widened. It bothered the superior, further, that Brother Burns was swayed by some of Martin's viewpoints. At one stage, Fouquet complained that his priestly associate was treating him as a hypocrite. Eventually, he concluded that it would be best if Martin were transferred. Fouquet's recommendation was once again approved,²⁹ and his assistant was posted to Mission City in 1883.

The next Oblate to be assigned to St. Eugene, under Fouquet, was Father Pierre Richard. Of all Fouquet's priestly assistants, Richard pleased the director the most. Richard, a veteran missionary, had already served many years in the Oregon and British Columbia missions, and was in his late fifties when appointed to the Kootenays. In the summer of 1883 Fouquet was cautiously hopeful about the arrival of his new companion:

L'envoi du r.p. Richard a Kootenay va probablement mettre fin aux misères et inquiétudes que m'ont causées ses predecesseurs.³⁰

Over the next several years the director was content with Richard, and his associate's health flourished. In his last letter from the post, however, Fouquet indicates that Richard's assistance left something to be desired, "le bon pere Richard ne m'etant presque d'aucun secours".³¹ But what Fouquet seems to mean here is that Richard was no help in his illness. After Fouquet was transferred from the Kootenays, in any event, Richard stayed on at the mission for another five years. From there he was assigned to minister at other British Columbia missions until his demise in 1907.

Fouquet's conflict with his first assistants would recur with those who replaced them. Legitimate concerns were at issue, but underlying these, on Fouquet's part, was a certain inability to work with other missionaries. This was a problem for numerous nineteenth century missionaries. In British Columbia, for example, William Duncan was said to be hard on many of his

associates, and most were unable to stay with him for long. Adrien Morice likewise had tremendous difficulty collaborating with his fellow missionaries, and was happiest when he worked alone. Elsewhere, missionaries had similar trouble when they had to cooperate closely with one another.

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Missionaries, like Fouquet, clashed with others for various reasons, not the least of which were temperament and convictions. The missionaries, like most humans living in close quarters for long periods, were bound to quarrel. By and large they were sturdy individualists, directing their energies to achieving goals and neglecting inter-personal relationships. Mission work at the time tended to attract non-conformists with an aversion for routine, and a penchant for independence. It appealed to the self-reliant who could handle the hardships mission life imposed. Missionaries, moreover, usually came from lower-class backgrounds where financial insecurity often created tensions, and their training encouraged competitiveness. Often they were socially ambitious and intent on self-improvement, traits many of their Victorian contemporaries shared. As well, Christian teaching of the day stressed personal salvation rather than the social dimension of the gospel. And religious communities, such as the Oblates, assigned members to live together in community on the basis of the mission to be accomplished, not on compatibility. At the time, obedience and faith were uppermost concerns, and human factors of lesser importance.

Overall, the health and calibre of the Kootenay missionaries impaired their effectiveness. Three able-bodied men could have done the necessary farm work, and ministered to the regions' Indians, more capably than Fouquet and his partners. The frequent turnover of missionaries, moreover, hampered evangelization, a problem which plagued many a mission and was not confined to Canada. Given the poor state of the men's health, the personalities

involved, and the heavy pressure Fouquet was under, some conflict was inevitable. That it was so pronounced detracted from the good the missionaries accomplished.

Compared with itinerant missionaries, such as William Collison and Thomas Crosby, or Paul Durieu and Adrien Morice, Fouquet's situation set him at a disadvantage as a missionary. Because he was not as free to travel as they were his contact with the Kootenays who roamed widely in their quest for food, was limited. To carry out his ministry, nonetheless, he had to contend with Kootenay mobility.

En route to the Joseph's Prairie region in the summer of 1874, the Oblate missionary pencilled a letter to Bishop D'Herbomez from Bonner's Ferry, Idaho. In it he told the vicar that he intended to spend a month or two with the Flatbows. He was in no hurry to get to the future site of Cranbrook. The chiefs had come down to meet him and informed him that their people would be leaving in a week or so for the buffalo hunt. They would not be back for two months. In the last week of October only a handful of Kootenays and some visiting native groups were at the Prairie, awaiting the return of the hunters. That winter was extraordinarily cold and caused the missionaries much suffering. Yet, almost all the Indians again went hunting for buffalo and marten, and were not expected back till Easter. Fouquet's account of these winter trips reveals how arduous they could be, and shows the fortitude needed to bear them.

L'hiver c'était autre chose. Il leur fallait traverser de hautes montagnes, couvertes de 20 à 30 pieds de neige, voyager à pied et à la raquette; souvent le ventre vide ou à peu près; et ils n'avaient pas la chance, les pauvres gens! de rencontrer sur leur route des chiens du mont Saint-Bernard. Toutefois n'exagérons pas le sentiment de commisération; ils sont moins délicats que nous, et ils en remontreraient peut-être, en fait d'endurcissement, aux chiens même de Saint-Bernard; dans les détresses de la faim, du froid et de la fatigue, ils seraient capable de leur porter secours au lieu d'en recevoir.

In early April, having returned with the meat and skins from their strenuous trip, and rested near the mission, the Indians were all gone again, probably on fishing expeditions.

Much of the Indians' travel revolved around subsistence-related activities. Other purposes were met by it too, such as the desire to socialize with neighboring Indian groups, or to deal with political concerns. Kootenay contact with American Indian groups grew more frequent from the time of the fur trade onwards. With the advance of the mining and settlement frontiers, conflicts over land arose, which the Indians sought to resolve by consultation or alliances with other groups. In the mid 1870s, for instance, while treaties were being negotiated on the Canadian Prairies and Indian wars were brewing in Montana, the Kootenays had many contacts with their native counterparts, both east of the Rockies and south of the border. This afforded them a sense of solidarity in pursuing their demands. It also made them aware of conditions existing elsewhere, and the way they contrasted with those prevailing at home. Fouquet was conscious of these contrasts and saw them as an urgent reason for settling the land question speedily.

This pattern of Kootenay mobility continued throughout most of the remainder of the decade, according to the missionary's correspondence. In one of his annual communiqués with Paris, Fouquet estimated that the Indians were absent from the mission for as much as nine months of the year. In the spring of 1877, probably noting that the buffalo were declining and sensing that they would not be able to move about so freely in the future, the Kootenays began to build homes on Fouquet's claim. Four had already been built, a dozen more were going up, and several more were anticipated. By September, the native people had departed anew on the hunt. Thereafter, the Oblate said nothing more on the topic of the hunt until the spring of 1883. Then, Fouquet

wrote that the bison were all but gone and the hunt was coming to an end, a sad situation for the Indians. ³⁷ All hunting did not then completely cease, but began to revolve more heavily around smaller game. Fishing continued as formerly, and gradually ranching was taken up more seriously. The overall effect of the disappearance of the bison, however, reduced the amount of time the Kootenays spent away from their home territory. More or less coinciding with this change of Kootenay lifestyle, was Fouquet's decreased physical workload. But his health also kept deteriorating, preventing his ministry from benefitting.

Reference has already been made to the strong-mindedness of the Kootenays. This quality rendered Fouquet's missionary work more challenging than it had been among less adamant native peoples. Kootenay firmness, however, did not lead them to reject Catholicism. Rather, it showed itself subtly in the way the Indians pursued their self-charted course, sometimes eschewing acculturation, sometimes accepting it. Judging by Fouquet's assesment, the Kootenays had resolutely embraced Catholicism. They had done so, it seems, without the pressure of social upheaval, and by involving themselves in their own Christianization. They were, in Fouquet's eyes, ³⁸ "entêtés dans la foi comme dans tout le reste, gens qui ne reculent pas".

Not all Indians in the province accepted Christianity as readily as the Kootenays ostensibly did. The energetic Kwakiutl, for instance, resisted the best Oblate missionaries for over a decade. Also, the Tsimshian proudly took their time adopting Christianity, and it took many years to bring the northern Nootka into the church. Indians in the Fraser Valley responded with alacrity to the first missionaries, under some pressure from a breakdown of ³⁹ their culture, but vacillated in their adherence after accepting it.

Most of Fouquet's relationships with the Indians were cordial. Their

good qualities, and the director's esteem for them, created a good rapport between pastor and people. But since both were head-strong, it was to be expected that there would be differences between them. Indeed, Indians did resist him. Fouquet, for example, cites the case of an elder named Nilkoutaho, who acted as his police commissioner. This man, he relates, had been a warrior all his life, and was still fearless, despite his old age and debility. "C'est à peine", he observes, "s'il plie devant le prêtre, qui est ici l'autorité la plus haute. Plus d'une fois il a essayé de me résister, non⁴⁰ cependant sans céder à la fin."

It was not the first time the priest and his people saw things from differing standpoints. When he had been in the Kootenays a few months he was faced with having to supply food to the Indians on various occasions. This began to annoy him, as his lines to the Bishop show:

J'ai annoncé plusieurs fois que je donnerai aux malades, veuves, et orphelins mais non aux paresseux. J'ai donné beaucoup à ses gens affamés. J'ai mis pour règle qu'ils s'adresseraient au Chef qui devrait me parler et faire connaître les vrais nécessiteux des paresseux; le chef ne dit rien mais ne se prête nullement à cela. Je crains bien que nous ne trouvions là une pierre d'achoppement.⁴¹

A short time later the Indians circulated a petition to have Fouquet replaced by the Jesuit, Father Paschal Tosi. Fouquet had merely heard about it, but as far as he was concerned there was but one issue: the Indians had the notion that the priest should feed them gratis. This was a measure he stoutly opposed on the grounds it would ruin the mission, and would foster⁴² Kootenay indolence. The Oblate's poor understanding of Kootenay sharing⁴³ was at the basis of the disagreement. Fouquet must have discovered this, for the matter does not recur in his letters.

A newspaper article, published in the Mainland Guardian in 1882, alleged that the Indians were again upset with the Oblate director. Chief Isadore and other Indians had "complained of their treatment by Father

Fouquet" to Bishop Durieu, according to the anonymous correspondent, "Pioneer". He claimed that the Indians contradicted a number of the director's statements, and that the feeling against the missionary's action was "very strong". Apparently, the Kootenays were upset by Fouquet's statement to the government that the Indians were agitated because the Oblate had been abused by local malefactors. Casting doubt on the credibility of the account, however, is the article's contention that bishop Durieu "seemed disinclined to accept their statements...and abruptly concluded the interview." At least, the bishop must have told the Indians he would discuss the matter with Fouquet. The correspondent also remarks that "the mission ...is very popular both with Indians and whites." That would hardly have been likely if feelings against the Oblate were as strong as the writer pretended. Still, admitting the report may have had some basis in fact, the incident shows that the Indians were far from passive in upholding their own interests.

Another instance of Kootenay strong-mindedness had to do with their reluctance to exchange their gambling games for amusements that Fouquet was trying to introduce. On one particular occasion, after more than eight years in the Kootenays, the missionary confessed what little headway he had made:

Je me heurtais toujours à quelque difficulté; nos dévots surtout me faisaient une opposition qu'il eut été imprudent de briser; à peine pouvais-je obtenir un peu de liberté pour les enfants.⁴⁵

The attachment of the Kootenay Indians to the buffalo hunts led them to maintain them as long as the animals lasted, even though the missionary thought these long expeditions were "peu favorables aux progrès de la civilisation chrétienne".⁴⁶ Strongwilled as Fouquet was, he had to bide his time, hoping that the Indians might eventually settle down to agriculture. But, when the buffalo disappeared, they preferred to take up horse and

cattle ranching, an option for mobility over a more stationary way of life.

Farming, ill health, the quality of his companions, Kootenay mobility, and their independence were special factors limiting Fouquet's missionary work at St. Eugene. Some of his personality traits handicapped him even further. These elements curtailed the missionary's movement, drained his energies, or occupied his time to a degree other missionaries were spared. The Oblate's situation afforded him little time for studying the Indians' language and culture, for coming closer to the Indians, and for deepening their faith and spirituality. At St. Eugene, the missionary could not control the people's lives in the way that William Duncan did, for instance, at Metlakatla. From the Kootenay viewpoint, however, constraints on Fouquet were beneficial to themselves. Culturally, the Kootenays were thereby enabled to carry on facets of their ancestral lifestyle which they wanted to preserve. More responsibility was also thrust on them for their Christian faith than if they had remained more completely under the tutelage of the missionaries. The Kootenays had opted for Christianity under relatively little pressure, and were required to exercise greater leadership in maintaining it. In the special circumstances surrounding their early Christianization, they enjoyed considerable freedom. They had the liberty, most importantly, to integrate their new faith with their culture. And they had the time to do this leisurely, with plenty of circumspection. For the Indians and for Fouquet, the Oblate's mission station differed from other missionaries' posts.

Notes

1. Warren, Max, Social History and Christian Mission (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 132-53.
2. Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (Aylesbury: Watson and Viney Ltd., 1982), 6: 399-400. The author places the foundation of the Propagation of the Faith Society in 1817 instead of 1822. See also Bernard De Vaulx, History of the Missions, transl. Reginald F. Trevett, (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961) 99: 86, 127; Grant, Moon of Wintertime, p. 74
3. Judith Binney, The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall (Christchurch: Oxford University Press, 1968) pp. 32-37.
4. Pierre-Jean De Smet, SJ, Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, SJ, 1801-1873 (New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1969), 3: 962-963.
5. MOMI 15 (1877), pp. 77-79.
6. The land was to be paid for in three instalments: a \$250.00 down payment, \$250.00 in January 1875, and \$600.00 in July 1875. See Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 25 October 1874, AD, III - G - 27, P-2657 - P-2660, photocopy. Six hundred dollars of this money was to be given to a "Mr. Mariley", who had rented or bought the farm but did not have legal title. Cf. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 20 November 1874, AD, III -G-30 - 31, P-2663 - P-2666, photocopy.
7. The three parcels of land, surveyed as lots 1, 2, and 3, Group 1, Kootenay District, were firmly secured as Crown Grants on 11 May 1881 (lot 1), and 2 November 1880 (lots 2 and 3). Cf. British Columbia, Ministry of the Attorney-General, Nelson Land Title Office, Crown Grants 2328, 2259, and 2258, photocopies; according to Fouquet lot 2 was claimed by Grégoire prior to July 1875. See Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 10 July 1875, AD; and F.W. Laing, "East Kootenay Preemptions", East Kootenay, Fort Steele Historic Park, Additional Ms. 23: p. 2. Note that lot 2 is erroneously described by Laing as being 280 acres; a number of Fouquet's letters refer to the troubles he had securing the above-mentioned lots. See, for example, Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 24 November 1876, 2 April 1877, 25 May 1877, 2 October 1878, and 1 July 1880, AD, photocopies.
8. Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1876, pp. 2 - 3. AGR, photocopy.
9. Fouquet to Fabre, 20 June 1886, AGR, photocopy.
10. Martinet, OMI, "Acte de Visitation de la Mission de St. Eugène des Kootenays, Colombie Britannique, du 1 au 8 Juillet, 1882," AD, HPK 5102. B86c 8, pp. 3-7, photocopy.
11. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 April 1877, AD, III-G-79 - III-G-80, P-2817 - P-2823; MOMI 18 (1880): 280-281; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 25

November 1876, AD, III - G- 73, P - 2796 -P -2799; 25 May 1877, III G - 83, P - 3836 - P-2839. Photocopies.

12. Fouquet to Durieu, 19 February 1880, AD, III - G- 101 - III-G-103, P-2879 - P-2890, photocopy.
13. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 20 March 1881, AD, III - G - 110-113, P-2906 - P-2915, photocopy.
14. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 27 June 1881, AD, III - E - 117, P-2926 - P2929, 14 September 1881, *ibid.*, III - G- 118, P-2930 - P-2931, photocopies.
15. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 December 1881, AD, III - G - 122, P2936 - P-2939, 15 March 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-126, P-2948 - P-2951, photocopies.
16. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 11 June 1882, AD, III - G - 129, P-2957 - P-2960, photocopy.
17. Fouquet to Fabre, 3 July 1883, AGR, photocopy. Interesting comments on the hardships Fouquet endured with the farm and mill may be found in an undated, unsigned three page typescript on St. Eugene Mission in the Nelson diocesan archives. Internal evidence lends credibility to the brief report which mentions Jesuits, Fouquet, Barnaby and chief Eustice. *ibid.*, photocopy.
18. Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates, pp. 36-37; Jenness, The Indians of Canada, pp. 261, 351, 358, 361, 363; see also Gordon R. Elliott, Barkerville, Quesnel and The Cariboo Gold Rush (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1980) pp. 45-57; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 29 March 1875, AD, P-2705 - P-2708.
19. Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates, pp. 27-65.
20. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 December 1881, AD, P-2936 - P-2939.
21. Fouquet to Fabre, 8 October 1874, AGR, photocopy.
22. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 19 January 1875, 8 February 1875, 29 May 1875, 10 July 1875, 23 September 1875, 2 December 1875, 4 December 1875, AD; Fouquet to Fabre 1 January 1876, 1 January 1880, AGR; Fouquet to Baudre, 28 May 1876, AD; Fouquet to Peytavin, 25 May 1877, AD; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 12 February 1876, 10 April 1876, 28 May 1876, 27 July 1876, 29 September 1876, 28 January 1877, 26 November 1878, 24 August 1880, AD. Photocopies.
23. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 December 1875, P-2743 - P-2744, 27 July 1876, P-2772 - P-2779, AD; Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1876, 1 January 1880, AGR; Fouquet to Baudre, 28 May 1876, P-2766 - P-2769, AD. Photocopies.
24. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 December 1881, AD, P-2936 - P-2939, photocopy; Fouquet to Fabre, 1 September 1887, 9 November 1883, 20

June 1886, 4 July 1887, AGR, photocopies; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 December 1881, 15 March 1882, 3 July 1883, AD, photocopies.

25. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 8 February 1875, 29 May 1875, 29 September 1876, 2 April 1877, 10 August 1879, AD; Fouquet to Baudre, 28 May 1876, *ibid.*, Photocopies. See also Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique, 1: 150; Fouquet refers to Brother John as John Burns, although his name, seemingly, was John Burn.
26. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 20 March 1881, 2 December 1881, AD, photocopies; Fouquet to Fabre, 20 June 1886, AGR, photocopies.
27. After leaving St. Eugene, Grégoire served in other British Columbia missions until 1882. Then he left the Oblate Congregation and went east. After a short time there as a diocesan priest, he subsequently left the priesthood, and became a non-Catholic minister in Quebec. In 1908 he reconciled himself with the Catholic Church on his deathbed. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 23 September 1875, 25 November 1876, 31 January 1877, 26 November 1878, AD; Fouquet to Baudre, 28 May 1876, *ibid.*; Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1876, 31 July 1876, AGR; Fouquet to Grégoire, 2 October 1878, AD; Photocopies. See also Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique, 2: 111-12.
28. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 13 May 1879, c. July 1879, P-2971 - P-2974, 10 August 1879, 22 November 1879, 23 April 1880, 24 August 1880, AD; Fouquet to Peytavin, 6 August 1879, AD; Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1870, AGR; Photocopies. See also Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique, 3: 71-72. Peytavin did not, it must be noted, remain at Cranbrook until 1886, as Carrière has indicated. According to Fouquet's correspondence there is no doubt that he departed in 1880, seemingly returning to New Westminster. Peytavin served in other British Columbia missions, ministering as an Oblate until his death in 1918.
29. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 24 August 1880, AD, P-2893 - P-2896, 13 December 1880, *ibid.*, P-2901 - P-2905, 20 March 1881, *ibid.*, P-2906 - P-2915, 2 December 1881, *ibid.*, P-2936 - P-2939, 15 March 1882, *ibid.*, P-2948- P-2951; Fouquet to Fabre, 9 November 1883, AGR; Photocopies; see also Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique, 2: 371.
30. Fouquet to Fabre, 3 July 1883, AGR, photocopy.
31. Fouquet to Fabre, 1 September 1887, AGR, photocopy.
32. Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 94-95; Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A. G. Morice, OMI," pp. 25, 68, 87, 137-138, 300, 304-305, 482-483; Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, pp. 76-86; J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban: T.W. Griggs and Company(Pty) Limited, 1975), pp. xvi, 27-30, 35-42, 65-68, 89, 102-108, 117, 120-121, 126, 130-139, 145, 180; Binney, The Legacy of Guilt, pp. 29, 36.
33. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond, p. 107.
34. William Henry Collison, In the Wake of the War Canoe, Charles

Lillard, ed. (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981); Thomas Crosby, Among the An-ko-me-nums of the Pacific Coast (Toronto: Briggs, 1907); Louis Le Jeune, OMI, "Durieu", Dictionnaire Générale du Canada (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1931) 1; Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A.G. Morice, OMI".

35. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 22 August 1874, AD, P-2653 -P-2656, 25 October 1874, *ibid*, P-2657 - 2659, 19 January 1875, *ibid.*, P-2669 - P-2673, photocopies; MOMI 21 (1883): 346.
36. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 9 February 1875, AD, III-G-38, P-2686 - P-2689; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Louis D'Herbomez to James Lenihan, 23 March 1875, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3621, file 4780, photocopy. Anthropologist H. Turney-High points out, however, that the Kootenay Chiefs "were far too wise to join Nez Perce Chief Joseph's War" and considered Joseph a "rebel and a traitor, as well as a wishfully - thinking fool." Cf. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 20-21.
37. Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1876, AGR, photocopy; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 April 1877, AD, P-2817 - P-2823, 5 September 1877, *ibid.*, P-2841 - P-2844, photocopies; MOMI 21 (1883): 348.
38. Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1880, AGR, photocopy.
39. Fisher, Contact and Conflict, pp. 128-131, 140-141; Patterson II, The Canadian Indian, pp. 155-160; Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 32, 50, 52, 112, 119, 134-135; Gresko, "Roman Catholic Missions to the Indians of British Columbia," pp. 57-58; Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, 1: 90, 102.
40. MOMI 18 (1880): 274.
41. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 29 March 1875, AD, P-2690 - P-2693, photocopy.
42. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai", pp. 194-98.
43. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, Fête de la Maternité 1875, AD, III -G -53 -P-2735 - P-2738, photocopy. Father Paschal Tosi, SJ, went on an expedition to the Spokane in 1866. The Spokanes became fond of him, and the Kootenays too came to like him. Apparently he was from the Turin Jesuit Province. In 1869 he was placed in charge of the Colville mission and worked with "the Spokanes, the Kalispels, and the Kootenais". He was still there in March 1873. He later served in Alaska, where he died in 1898, acclaimed by some and criticized by others. Cf. Schoenberg, SJ, Paths to the Northwest, pp. 89, 91, 94, 99, 187, 213; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 30 May 1875, AD, P-2709 - P-2710, photocopy.
44. Mainland Guardian, 9 August 1882, "From Kootenay," P.3.
45. MOMI 21 (1883): 349.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFLICT AND OPPOSITION

Numerous social issues, ranging from pacifism to temperance, were debated by nineteenth century reformers.¹ Canadian missionaries were interested in these great issues of the day, but their energies were often taken up by more immediate concerns, such as the establishment of schools, the "race for the northern Sea", or involvement in the Indian land question.² These regional issues also prompted heated controversies.

Fouquet's controversies with members of his religious congregation span most of his missionary career and fill many pages of his correspondence. In this he resembled the Oblate founder who was noted for his combativeness, and wrote extensively. Fouquet's battles, however, were waged with fewer Oblates and on a smaller scale than Eugene de Mazenod's, and were carried on in private, or confined to letters. The recipients of many of these letters were Bishop Louis D'Herbomez, the Vicar, and Father Joseph Fabre, the Superior General (who succeeded De Mazenod in 1861 and remained in office till 1892). But, excluding his companions, it was largely about D'Herbomez and Paul Durieu that the writer's complaints revolved (figures 6 and 7).

Fouquet's disagreements with D'Herbomez throughout the years are too numerous to treat in detail here. They dealt with a wide array of problems concerning finances, legalities, and personnel. A few instances are presented here, however, to illustrate their impact on the Oblate's ministry.

Oblate administrative practices in the Vicariate of British Columbia became a sore point with Fouquet early in his missionary career. Soon after his arrival at Esquimalt in 1859, the missionary was named one of Bishop D'Herbomez's consultors, a position he continued to hold for seven years.



Figure 6: Louis D'Herbomez, OMI

(1822 - 1890)

(Oblate Archives : Vancouver)



Figure 7: Paul Durieu, OMI

(1830 - 1899)

(Oblate Archives : Vancouver)

Towards the end of his term on council he wrote to Father Fabre in Paris about the rift that had grown up between himself and the bishop:

Nos vues, nos principes d'administration sont toute à fait opposées, de là ces difficultés dans l'administration. Dans presque toutes les affaires importantes Mgr. le Vicaire s'est écarté des principes qui m'auraient guidé et a agi contrairement à mon opinion. J'ai toujours soutenu avec entêtement mon opinion, mais une fois que Mgr. le Vicaire avait pris une décision formelle, j'ai presque toujours fait tout mon possible pour faire réussir ses vues; de là est venu dans le Vicariat l'opinion générale que c'était moi qui réglait tout et non pas le Vicaire. Ce n'est que cette année que je me contente en conseil de donner mon opinion; Mgr. le Vicaire se prononce presque en tout contre; et sans insister sur mon opinion je me borne à ne pas me mêler des affaires; c'est une protestation silencieuse que je fais pour ne pas accabler Mgr. le Vicaire.³

Their relationship had gone through several stages. In the beginning, D'Herbomez told the Oblate founder that Fouquet was "exactly what I need and what I have repeatedly begged you for". His sole regret was that the newcomer had not been appointed Vicar of Missions in his place.⁴ Over the next several years a mutual confidence prevailed, and the vicar entrusted the younger missionary with several important posts. But, by 1867 their relationship had grown strained. Fouquet was uncertain how this had come about,⁵ but eventually he withdrew from all involvement in administrative matters. This decision had been reached before he had been sent to the Kootenays, but was renewed many times thereafter. Undoubtedly, it hurt the saintly, sensitive bishop, as well as Fouquet.

As Fouquet's associations with Bishop D'Herbomez deteriorated, at times he spoke disrespectfully, or made caustic comments. When corrected he accepted the rebuke, and now and then even remarked that his superiors did not correct him enough. Nevertheless, he could not in conscience keep silent when some new disturbing situation arose. For example, when Paul Durieu was named auxiliary bishop in 1875, D'Herbomez wrote Fouquet, "avouez que vous l'avez échappé bel. Comme l'on dit, vous serrez, peut-être, moins heureux

dans une autre fournée - Il est vrai que vous êtes dur à cuire." Giving no indication of his feelings about the appointment, Fouquet answered that he was pleased that the nomination would lighten some of D'Herbomez's burdens, asked to be informed whether Durieu was going to be his ecclesiastical and his religious superior, and added crisply:

Je n'hesite pas à vous répondre respectueusement que votre Grandeur se trompe quelque soit le sens qu'Elle attache à cette reflexion soit pour le passé, soit pour le present, soit pour l'avenir. Intelligenti pauca (A word to the wise).⁶

Was the Oblate miffed by the bishop's innuendoes about him? It certainly seems so. Fouquet's record of compliance with directives was high. He prided himself on his performance of assignments, though his attitude was not slavish or passive. Like Ignatius of Loyola, the Jesuit founder, he believed in the value of making his views known to superiors. Compliance was his bottom line, but it was not his only line. For him, obedience presupposed both the inviolability of conscience, and faith in the supernatural origin of authority. Humanly, the missionary granted that his motivations were sometimes tainted. He failed in various ways, he conceded, though rarely ⁷ against obedience.

Was the Oblate also disturbed because he had not been named bishop? Some evidence does exist that Fouquet half-expected the nomination. According to an Oblate who knew missionaries acquainted with Fouquet, "some held that Fr. F. felt that he should have been bishop; that he spoke of Bp. De ⁸ Mazenod's telling him he was destined to be Bishop". In support of this statement is an allegation by D'Herbomez that Fouquet would have liked to be free of both bishops, and remarks by the Oblate that he was a nobody in the ⁹ Kootenays. There is a problem, however, with this interpretation. Fouquet had not actively sought the appointment in any manner. He had deliberately

removed himself from administrative roles, sought repeatedly to be relieved as the director of various missions, cut off communication with his Oblate peers, and challenged authorities with their failings - poorly suited ways of acting for a man who wanted to be named bishop.

The low point in Fouquet's relationship with D'Herbomez was reached in the early 1880s amidst troubles the director was then having with officials in the Kootenays. Having to go to Victoria, he stopped over in New Westminster and had long talks with the bishop. From them the bishop came to the conclusion that Fouquet was behind the opposition against himself and Bishop Durieu, and that Fouquet should be forbidden to correspond with anyone¹⁰ but his superiors. Fouquet certainly had acted disrespectfully towards the vicar, and contravened him on a matter of principle, but it does not seem¹¹ he was part of a conspiracy against the administration.

More than a dozen Oblates are cited in Fouquet's letters for their failings. Little wonder that he felt unpopular, and had a hard time in¹² community. Fouquet was most negative towards Paul Durieu. Tension between¹³ them began soon after Fouquet's arrival in British Columbia, and continued throughout his years in the Kootenays. Their exchanges, it appears, were oral. Durieu wrote little on the subject because he could talk directly with D'Herbomez. Fouquet, on the other hand, wrote to both D'Herbomez and Fabre about Durieu. At St. Eugene, his rapport with the auxiliary bishop remained strained, but stable. A couple of serious incidents, however, did occur, and led to Fouquet's leaving the vicariate.

The basis of Fouquet's conflict with Durieu was ideological. In some respects Durieu's theology was too liberal for Fouquet, and his pastoral approach faulty. In addition, their personalities apparently clashed, fostering misunderstandings and hostility. But this element was not the

primary cause of their alienation. Principles meant much more to Fouquet than did feelings. Ultimately, principles were the deciding factor in his behaviour, misguided as he might have seemed to Durieu. Details concerning their relationship, however, are scarce. Yet Fouquet was consistently forthright on issues, which suggests that some of his letters may have gone astray. The brief account of their differences which follows, therefore, requires some reading between the lines.

Shortly before leaving for the Kootenays, Fouquet wrote to Durieu. At the time both were at New Westminster. He could not regard Durieu as his local superior, he said. He would not, therefore, attend the Chapter of Faults or the spiritual conferences, if Durieu presided over them. It was a question of jurisdiction, he told Durieu, and not a personal matter, something he had been trying for fourteen years to have the Superior General of the Oblates settle. Had that been done, he would be glad to have Durieu as rector, more than any other in the vicariate ¹⁴ - an unexpected statement, given their many differences. Strangely, Fouquet's respect for Durieu persisted over the next fifteen years, notwithstanding their animosity.

During his sojourn in the southeastern mission Fouquet did not have much contact with Durieu. He did, nonetheless, make several condemnatory statements about him. In the course of his first winter at St. Eugene, for example, he remarked to Bishop D'Herbomez:

Ce que Votre Grandeur me dit des santés de votre personnel sans me surprendre m'afflige, et je serais le dernier à vouloir augmenter vos difficultés, mais après la manière dont j'ai été traité à Saint-Michel par le r.p. Durieu et connaissant son genre accapareur, et son axiome chacun pour soi et Dieu pour tous, je croirai de mon devoir de défendre nos intérêts.¹⁵

Other remarks about Durieu, of a more serious nature, were made about a year and a half later. They were part of a series of salvos fired at a handful of

Oblates. Fouquet told the superior in Paris:

Je ne vous ai jamais parlé de ce que j'appelais l'école Pandosy-Durieu dont les deux maîtres ont fini par se quereller, je me résigne à vous en dire un mot. C'est une école de faux mysticisme...La finesse du premier Visiteur avait éveillé un de ses principes qu'il faut gagner l'amour des femmes pour les gagner à J.C. Le fait est que partout où cette école a passé on offrait des femmes aux pères (J'en suis certain pour les pp. Durieu, Lejac et Marchal) ou on tentait sous ce rapport des pièges aux pères, chose inouïe là où cette école n'avait pas passé.¹⁶

What truth do these two statements contain, and how are they to be interpreted? Firstly, no information can be found on the incident at St. Michael's, which obviously rankled Fouquet. D'Herbomez's high regard for his auxiliary seems to show that Durieu was not the "grabber" Fouquet considered him to be. Because of D'Herbomez' poor health, Durieu had to carry out many of his responsibilities. Fouquet himself admitted that Durieu had not lost the spirit of sacrifice. The assistant bishop, however, fostered his own missionary projects. To Fouquet, he appeared ambitious, gathering "devotees" about him and wanting to make a name for himself. At the same time though, Fouquet was very vocal on behalf of his own missions, yet failed to see the similarities in their behavior.

The second charge against Durieu is also questionable. The Kootenay missionary's antipathy for the auxiliary and his followers, and his tendency to stereotype people, led him to an untenable conclusion. The Oblates Fouquet names were doubtless not as strict as Fouquet in their relationships with women. That women were offered them may be true, but no evidence is presented that the missionaries accepted the offers. Fouquet thereby discredits Durieu and the others by innuendo. In his view, no allowances are made for variations in the missionaries' upbringing, attitudes, or personalities. Admittedly, the Oblate Constitutions and Rules were strict about relationships with women, but the members had to apply the principles they

enunciated to the circumstances of their ministry. Vastly different situations prevailed in the congregation's many mission fields, hence there were bound to be differences of judgment on the topic among Oblates. In the last analysis, the issue was a matter of good judgment, and there is no clear evidence that Durieu or the others acted reprehensibly with women. Indeed, Durieu's overall behaviour seems to have been exemplary. What is more, neither D'Herbomez nor Fabre appear to have taken these statements of Fouquet at face value. They were accustomed to his criticism, to what his colleagues referred to as "Fouquet's exaggerations."¹⁷

In the spring of 1877 the Oblate complained that Durieu had not had the courtesy to answer some of his letters. Not long after, Durieu visited St. Eugene to bless the church, and administer confirmation. While there, he and the director got into an argument, and Durieu threatened to have the Oblate recalled to France. Months later Fouquet brought this up with the superior general, requesting a transfer out of the vicariate.¹⁸ But the request was turned down by Paris, and the Oblate accepted to carry on where he was. No further crisis developed in the relationship until after Fouquet's departure from St. Eugene. In the meantime, Durieu seemingly did not hold anything against the director. Later, for instance, he publicly stood by the missionary when some Indians levelled accusations against him.¹⁹

Years later, with D'Herbomez's health failing and Durieu slated to replace him, the St. Eugene missionary again wrote to Father Fabre about a transfer. This time Fouquet presented persuasive arguments for a move out of the vicariate. There were irreconcilable differences between himself and Durieu: he could not, in conscience, conform to many of the pro-vicar's principles of ministry. More important, his continuing presence in the vicariate would cause many difficulties for Durieu. The Oblate's struggles,

moreover, would provide no aid to others in their relationships with the future vicar. Besides, with Fouquet gone, it would be easier for the superior general to settle long-standing problems of ministry in the vicariate. Durieu would feel vindicated over Fouquet on these issues and, as a result, would be more accommodating with the superior general. In conclusion, Fouquet magnanimously conceded: "Je crois toujours (après tout et malgré tout) que Mgr. Durieu est le plus capable de tous les Oblats de ce Vicariat de remplacer Mgr. D'Herbomez."²⁰

Weeks later, Fouquet was assigned to the Vicariate of St. Albert. Parting with Bishop D'Herbomez was painful. Durieu on the other hand, could not conceal his satisfaction. Fouquet had no further regrets. D'Herbomez's death followed in 1890, and Fouquet then remained in Alberta until after Durieu's death in 1899, when Durieu's successor, Bishop Augustine Dontenwill, recalled Fouquet to the vicariate. The most troublesome of the missionary's trials had ended with his exile. Unlike Morice's exile from Stuart Lake, it had come about by his own wish; yet at the root of both was the pressure of conflict, the same thing which forced William Duncan to depart from Metlakatla.²¹

No doubt, personal factors played a part in the missionary's blustery relationships with Bishops D'Herbomez and Durieu. Temperament and background, for example, made the Oblate a fearless fighter. But over and above these factors, justice, conscience, and concern figured prominently in his criticisms. Fouquet, it will be remembered, registered his complaints in private, and carefully avoided communicating his views to others, apart from a chosen few. His challenges to the status quo hurt feelings, tried his superiors' patience, and fostered tension. They also took up valuable time and energy, already in short supply on account of farm work and illness. They

put him at odds with authorities, spoiling his chances to receive extra manpower or revenues. And they restricted his pastoral vision to matters of a juridical nature; which is faintly reminiscent of Adrien Morice who focused on special interests at the expense of his primary duties.

Nevertheless, Fouquet's protests served a good purpose. They alerted his superiors to numerous problems that might otherwise have been neglected. By insisting on accountability, and refusing to tolerate complacency, the missionary called his fellow Oblates to live up to their commitment to the gospel. In these disputes, Fouquet was concerned for the Indians, who were said to appreciate his efforts generally, and who probably admired his determination because they themselves were resolute. Fouquet himself also benefitted from his outspokenness: misunderstanding, criticism, resistance, and ostracization forced him to purify his motives, reconsider stances, and recognize his own weaknesses. The Oblate nonetheless did not relish the role of gadfly. When it was taken from his shoulders he again experienced lighthearted moments, something he had hardly done in years.

Besides his disputes with religious superiors, the missionary ran into some stiff opposition from outsiders, particularly in the early 1880s. He was so vexed by the resulting "outrages" which he blamed on local officials, that he raised a storm in the newspapers, and sought redress from the provincial premier. In Fouquet's mind William Fernie, the government agent, and the Galbraith family, a prominent family in the region, were behind these troubles.

The first intimation of trouble came when the Oblate was subpoenaed to appear before a provincial Royal Commission in 1878. It had been called to investigate charges of bribery against the Andrew Elliott government, charges in which Fouquet was also involved as an intermediary. The commission cleared

Elliott personally of the charges and affirmed Fouquet's integrity, but revealed that bribery was widely practised in the Kootenays. Among those who were found guilty of political corruption was Robert Galbraith, Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Kootenays.²⁵

Following the investigations, Fouquet had no particular difficulties with any local officials for over a year. By the spring of 1881, however, he was convinced that efforts were being directed against the mission by both the government agent, William Fernie, and by Robert Galbraith, then the member of parliament. Communicating with the bishop, Fouquet wrote:

L'agent du gouvernement se trouvant ligué avec les Galbraith, fait tout ce qu'il peut contre la mission; il n'y a à Kootenay ni loi ni justice...Il est indispensable que nous empêchions les Galbraith d'être agent des Indiens. C'est une affaire assez importante pour que le Supérieur local la defère au Vicaire.²⁶

Two days later the Oblate forwarded copies of his correspondence with Fernie to Premier Walkem, and to the Indian department. The letters had been written around the beginning of the year, and contained charges against local Kootenay officials, including Fernie. Fouquet had requested the government agent to forward the letters to the government, persuaded that no justice could be had in the Kootenays. But Fernie declined, saying that all charges and evidence must first be submitted to the local law enforcement officers. The Oblate, however, thinking it futile to comply, simply registered his indictments and bided time. One accusation was that John Galbraith, J.P., and his brother James, had incited Indians to expel a French guest of Fouquet from the country. The visitor, a man named Perbose, was a writer and a cousin of better-known Jules Verne. Another charge complained that the Indians were being paid for government or court services in goods, instead of cash. A third charge protested Fernie's handling of cases in which liquor had been given to the Indians. Inevitably, the exchange between Fouquet and Fernie

reached an impasse, neither giving the other satisfaction. In the end, Fernie refused to consider further letters from the missionary without supportive evidence, and the Oblate warned him he would ignore the letters at his own risk.

A few weeks later, after Fouquet and one of his employees had been assaulted by an associate of the Galbraiths, the missionary went to see the premier in Victoria. After sending a report on the "outrages" to Walkem, the missionary waited for an interview with the premier. Meanwhile, he wrote explanatory letters to the newspapers, to his religious superiors, and to a friend in Paris. When Fouquet had his interview with Walkem, the premier assured the missionary that matters would be investigated immediately. But nothing whatever was done.

Half a dozen other incidents involving the Galbraiths' and Fernie were documented by the missionary. The episodes cover such items as naming a man to a government post who had supported a raid against British possessions, stealing of horses from the mission, the opening of a "whisky den" at Joseph's Prairie, accusations that Fouquet had lied to the premier and had assaulted an Indian with a pitchfork, mischief of a bogus priest at the mission, and the assault of a woman by one of the Galbraiths.

No investigation was held into the "outrages" the missionary suffered, and so some aspects remain unclear, yet Fouquet was prepared to substantiate his case with witnesses and documents. In gathering evidence for Dr. Powell, D'Herbomez obtained forceful statements corroborating Fouquet's assessment of local officials. These were submitted by J.G. Norris, the customs collector, and Edward Kelly, who succeeded Fernie as government agent in 1883. In addition, Fouquet had received a letter from Mr. Perbose, his

French guest, which was reproachful toward government officials. After reading Galbraith's and Powell's letters, for example, Norris testified as follows:

I feel sorry this good devoted missionary should have to defend himself and his mission against the machinations of a lot of dangerous and unscrupulous conspirators as the Galbraiths, for if it was not for this courageous and most persuading clergyman no respectable man could live in Kootenay...The Galbraiths as well as Fernie the constable were in the habit of circulating the most vile falsehoods, not caring for the consequences; and I know personally some of John Galbraith's statements to be false (uterly [sic] false) and I have no doubt the balance are so...I hope it will be unnecessary for me to enter into details; but should my government wish me to do so, I would take the trouble to do it, although it is unpleasant to have to sift the vilianies [sic] of such a loin [sic] and vile lot of people.³⁵

Kelly's letter reads much the same. For instance, he wrote:

His (Fouquet's) zealousness to bring order, honesty, and morality into the district of the Kootenay made him many enemies and amongst them no more bitter enemies than Mr. John Galbraith and his brother.³⁶

Perbose refers to the premier and his "gang of malefactors" in his farewell letter to Fouquet. After thanking the missionary, he added:

Were it not for you...I would have been long since maltreated as you have been, perhaps assassinated as you are threatened to be even at this hour while I write...Being a witness during two years of the outrages of all kinds you have been made to suffer, my heart revolts with disgust and indignation; with disgust for such base villains, and with indignation for a minister of the government who fears not to make use of them.³⁷

This triad of testimony corroborates Fouquet's view that Fernie and the Galbraiths were at the root of the opposition against him. Several factors, however, make it difficult to determine the degree of their interference. Firstly, documents and witnesses in their defence are not available. Secondly, Fouquet was inclined to label people, and may have aggravated the episodes by his own attitudes - a conclusion his superiors imply when commenting on these affairs. Thirdly, the testimonial letters by

Norris, Kelly, and Perbose, are obviously influenced by their regard for the missionary. And lastly, much of the evidence connecting the local officials with the "outrages" is general or circumstantial.

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Apparently, several reasons prompted the Galbraiths and Fernie to oppose Fouquet and his missions. Norris, Kelly, and Perbose attribute the opposition to the threat that Fouquet's moral values posed to the local officials. Economic reasons could have been a factor as well. The abuses that the Oblate suffered took place when the missionary was about to complete his grist mill. The Galbraiths, who operated various business ventures, such as stores at Walla Walla and Joseph's Prairie, and packed supplies in and out of the Kootenays, may have perceived Fouquet's plan to sell flour as unwelcome competition. Religious reasons may also have prompted their opposition. Both John and Robert Galbraith were Freemasons, as was Dr. I.W. Powell; and

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Fernie, possibly, was an Orangeman. Since French Freemasonry tended to be atheistic and anticlerical, Fouquet was probably suspicious about the brothers when he discovered their affiliation. The anti-clerical laws of the French Masonic government leaders who controlled the French government from 1877 until World War II, would have reinforced these feelings in the missionary. Masons in North America, while not as antagonistic towards Catholics as their counterparts in France, did not have much regard for sectarianism, as Catholicism probably seemed to them to be. The Orange Order, on its part, "perceived Catholicism as a threat to its version of a

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British-Canadian state". Whatever his adversaries' sentiments, the Oblate's own are clear. After the conflict, for instance, he wrote: "je ne suis plus a la merci de notre canaille Orangiste et FrancMaconne". And later, when ministering in Alberta, he was so concerned about Freemasonry that he

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composed a pamphlet against it.

Another sphere which engendered controversy involving Fouquet was the Indian land question. Missionaries, of course, could not completely stay free of politics. Nor was it to their credit when they were neutral. They and their people were affected by government policy, and tried various means to shape it. The Jesuits in New France, Le Loutre in Acadia, Lacombe in Alberta, and Duncan at Metlakatla, were all involved in politics, though in vastly different ways. ⁴² French missionaries in British Columbia did not enjoy the same favourable association with the government as their English-speaking counterparts, yet Indian lands was a matter that most missionaries were concerned about. Fouquet had to deal with the question in his early years of ministry. His main concern, then and later, was that the matter be settled quickly and fairly. His involvement in the issue continued while he was in the Kootenays, but there he was curtailed by restrictions imposed on him by his superiors.

Soon after his arrival in the Kootenays, Fouquet expressed his views on the subject to Indian Commissioner James Lenihan. The missionary's reply urged the government to act quickly in settling the problem:

I beg to mention that I was told by several persons the Kootenays are very sensitifs [sic] upon the land question. Their numerous intercourse with the Indians of the other side of the Rocky Mountains who are said to be liberally treated by the Dominion and local governments, as well as their intercourse with those of the United States who have reservations said to be nearly one hundred miles long, the amount of the horses and cattle they will soon have, will give to the Kootenay the persuasion they are right. I think that the sooner the question is settled the better and with time it is bound to be more difficult.⁴³

In the provincial elections held in the Kootenays in 1875 and 1876, the Oblate became personally involved, and was instrumental in having candidates Charles Gallagher and W.C. Milby elected in the riding. The chief concerns on which he questioned the candidates were the Indian land question

and the matter of schools. The government's position on land was unfair to the Indians, he stated. It was also dangerous to the security of the white population, exposing the country to the possibility of bloodshed, and to heavy expenses. He had taken initiative in this area, he told the bishop, because of its importance, but superiors ought to be taking the lead. As an indirect result of his canvassing, Gallagher offered Fouquet the position of Indian Agent in the Kootenays. The missionary was reluctant to accept the offer, but said that he would do so on certain conditions. In making the offer Gallagher had been acting on advice from Edgar Dewdney, Conservative M.P. in Ottawa. Dewdney had said an agent would be appointed in the region, proposed Fouquet for the job, and instructed Gallagher to find out the missionary's disposition. As it turned out, however, the offer never materialized.

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At the start of 1877 the Oblate reminded the bishop that it had been a long time since he had received instructions on the Indian land question. He wanted to know if there were any changes in the vicar's earlier directives on the subject. Those guidelines, issued by the Oblate Vicarial Council at the beginning of the previous year, declared that the missionaries should keep the Indians informed on government proposals regarding Indian reserves, and explain to them the likely consequences of the government's plans. Apart from that, the missionaries were to remain completely neutral, and let the Indians make their own arrangements with the government's representatives. In a sense, this policy restricted the 1862 policy issued by the Oblate council, whereby the missionaries were to do all they could to protect the Indians with the government. In another sense, the new position amounted to a recognition of native autonomy in the matter: in effect it acknowledged that native peoples themselves had to decide what would constitute a fair

settlement of the land question. But the missionaries would still play an advisory role, as they had when treaties were negotiated on the Prairies after 1871. Presumably, Fouquet was also allowed to advise Indians, but he was more restricted by the bishop than his colleagues.⁴⁵

Evidence of special restrictions imposed on the missionary can be found in documents by D'Herbomez and Martinet. D'Herbomez's undated report, composed about that time, speaks of curbing the missionary's communications in order to check his outspokenness. In his Act of Visitation of the Kootenay mission, issued in 1882, Martinet directed the Oblate to live in peace with all, especially the authorities, and to do so even if the authorities acted unjustly. Martinet also ordered Fouquet not to take part in elections without consulting the vicar beforehand, nor to write to the newspapers unless absolutely necessary; and then only with the approval of the bishop. The Oblate accepted these provisions, though they cost him much effort. Later, to his dismay, he discovered that in some particulars the printed Act of Visitation did not match the handwritten one Martinet had given him.⁴⁶ These problems, however, did not completely deter Fouquet from being involved in the Kootenay Indian land question which arose around that time.

Peter O'Reilly, the pro-settler, pro-government Indian Reserve Commissioner was responsible for laying out Indian Reserves in the province in the 1880s and 1890s. When O'Reilly arrived in the Kootenays in 1884, Fouquet refused to have anything to do with the settlement process, even as an interpreter. He had taken this decision notwithstanding the appeals of the commissioner, who had paid him three visits on the matter. The mission journal states that Fouquet stayed out of the proceedings in conformity with instructions from his superiors, the bishop possibly having written him beforehand. Chances are, however, that Fouquet still talked things over

privately with the chief and offered him his opinions. In 1886, the Indian superintendent and the premier came to the region and invited him to take part in discussions with the Indians. Once more the missionary demurred,
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invoking the restrictions of his superiors.

In March 1887, Fouquet returned from a trip to Montana where he had visited the Tobacco Plains Kootenay, and learned that chief Isadore and some Indians had broken into the local jail to free the Indian prisoner, Kapula. In subsequent dealings with Isadore and others, the Oblate also learned of disturbing developments among the white settlers. Fearful of bloodshed, he advised caution and regard for the law. A few weeks later he noted that a whiteman had been in the area to settle debts with the Indians, and was offering to sell them cartridges. The Indians, he added, seemed calm, except that seven or eight young Indians were keeping their distance from him. Dr. Powell, Colonel Herchmer, and Mr. Vowell came "in the fourth week after Pentecost" (latter part of June) to settle the Kapula matter. This time Fouquet acted as one of the interpreters at Dr. Powell's request, but during the course of the negotiations he repeatedly reminded the officials of his instructions. In his report on the sessions, Herchmer, the Assistant Commissioner of the N.W. M.P., passed over Fouquet's presence as an interpreter, noting simply that Isadore, "after several days interview", handed over Kapula to the authorities. But Father Richard, less reticent about the role of his superior, observed: "En tout cela Isadore s'était montré tres docile aux avis du r.p. Fouquet". Seemingly, the missionary had
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gone beyond his position as interpreter.

It is hard to tell whether Fouquet exceeded his instructions or not, but it does appear that he advised Isadore as much as he thought necessary. Between sessions there was ample opportunity to confer privately with the

chief, and during these lulls the Oblate could have cautioned Isadore that his chances of settling the land question were slim unless he turned over the released prisoner. Fouquet, in any case, felt he had confined himself to orders, and told Martinet so when he wrote to Paris. He also mentioned that Colonel Baker and other whites had tried to persuade him to take an active part in the meetings, arguing that war and peace hung in the balance. The Oblate himself believed that the situation was indeed serious. He had written to Father Lacombe and Bishop Grandin in Alberta, advising them to take precautions lest the tragedy of Frog Lake be renewed. In his opinion, fears of a great uprising "there and here" were well founded. Some Indians, he said, were keeping him fully informed of developments on condition that he not tell the whites.

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With the arrival of the N.W.M.P. at the end of July 1887, the situation calmed considerably. All the same, the Oblate was not happy with the way some things were being handled. While the police were on their way, Fouquet went on a fortnight trip to visit the Indians at Columbia Lake. In his absence all was normal at the mission. By the beginning of September, the missionary felt that the horrors of inter-racial conflict would be avoided. Matters were beginning to settle, he stated, "en dépit des sottises qui ne cesse de faire le gouvernement". Towards the end of the month there was only the question of lands to be settled, and he was convinced that "les Kootenais préféreront se laisser voler plutôt que de se battre avec les blancs". On November 1st, the missionary was officially replaced at St. Eugene by Father Nicolas Coccola, but before leaving on the 4th Fouquet went with Isadore to see N.W.M.P. Superintendent Sam Steele. At Isadore's request he read a letter to Steele requesting the government to check the spread of alcohol which was being sold to the Indians by "unscrupulous whitemen, half-breeds, and

Chinamen". After the missionary's departure, Steele met with Isadore on the 7th of November. Subsequently, Isadore reluctantly agreed to give up Joseph's Prairie, and other grievances were settled with an overall allotment of 1,038 acres. Although some trouble flared up again in May, Coccola, Fouquet's successor, then intervened with Isadore to finalize the agreement.

Fouquet's controversies with civil officials were somewhat similar to those he had with his religious superiors. Again his combative nature came to the fore, as well as his sense of justice. Once more he was intemperate in language, and inclined to categorize his opponents. Here also he drew attention to abuses, and was sharply criticized by religious authorities. On their part civil officials resisted him, causing Fouquet both injury and insult. Further, his outspokenness encouraged the native peoples' insistence on justice. Yet he likewise cautioned the people against violence and was heeded. Fouquet also allowed the Indians to set their own terms in the land issue, and he refused to be used by the government for its own purposes. If obedience prevented him from exercising a broader influence on the land question in the Kootenays, it also protected him from fostering further division. All things considered, his ministry played a part in the process which brought some justice and peace to the Kootenays.

Notes

1. Kenneth S. Latourette, A History of Christianity, Revised edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 2: 1072, 1229.
2. See Grant, Moon of Wintertime, pp. 96 - 118. One of many examples of interdenominational rivalry was the controversy between Dean Edward Cridge and Bishop George Hills within the Anglican communion, ending in Cridge's suspension and separation from the church in 1874. See Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, pp. 76 - 86. On the land question, British Columbia government officials were incensed over Methodist missionaries on the Northwest Coast, for instance, and accused them of stirring up the Indians. Much earlier, missionaries in the Fraser Valley, representing rival denominations, raised a storm with the government over their respective chiefs' entitlement to land. See British Columbia, Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question. 1850 - 1875 (Victoria : Wolfenden, 1875), pp. 71 - 74; "Troubles on the Skeena," Missionary Outlook 8, no. 93 (1888): 130-131.
3. Fouquet to Fabre, 11 August 1867, AGR, photocopy.
4. Cited in Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, 3d edition (Toronto: Mission Press, 1976), p. 75.
5. Fouquet to Fabre, 11 August 1867, AGR, photocopy.
6. D'Herbomez to Fouquet, 26 August 1875, AD, HPK 5282 .H53L g8, photocopy; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 23 September 1875, *ibid.*, III-G-50 - III-G-51, P- 2727 - P-2732, photocopy.
7. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 27 September 1875, AD, III-G-50 -III-G-51, P-2727 - P-2732, photocopy; Fouquet to Fabre, 11 August 1867, AGR, photocopy.
8. Forbes, OMI, "Léon Fouquet, O.M.I.," AD, HEB 5771 .L57c, 6, Ex. 2, p. 4, footnote, photocopy.
9. "Rapport sur la disposition de certains esprits," AD, III-H-279 - III-H-281, P-2182 - P-2190, photocopy. This report is in D'Herbomez's handwriting, but it is unsigned and undated. Internal evidence indicates it was most likely a draft of a report sent to the Oblate Superior General, and written around the time of Fouquet's visit to New Westminster in mid-June 1881. See also Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 23 September 1875, AD, III- G-50 - III-G-51, P-2727 -P-2732, photocopy; Fouquet to J. Baudre, 30 or 31 October 1875, *ibid.*, III-G-54, P-2739 - P-2740, photocopy. These last letters by the way were written shortly after the missionary received word of Durieu's appointment.
10. "Rapport sur la disposition de certains esprits," AD, III-H-279 - III-H-281, P-2182 - P-2190, photocopy.
11. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 4 December 1875, AD, P-2745 - P-2746; Fouquet

to Fabre, 19 March 1878, AGR; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 1 July 1880, AD, P-2897 - P-2898; Fouquet to Fabre, 9 November 1883, AGR. Photocopies. See also the following letters to D'Herbomez and Fabre: Fouquet to Fabre, 31 July 1876, AGR; Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1880, *ibid.*; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 13 December 1880, AD, P-2901 - P-2905. Photocopies.

12. Fouquet to Fabre, fête du Saint Sacrament 1874, AGR, photocopy.
13. Fouquet to Fabre, 29 September 1888, AGR, photocopy. Here, Fouquet states that his difficulties with Durieu go back 28 years, and that his correspondence in the first years showed what he thought of what he called the "Pandosy-Durieu school".
14. Fouquet to Durieu, 7 May 1874, AGR, photocopy. A Chapter of Faults was an Oblate monthly community exercise at which members brought up each other's failings against the Oblate Rules.
15. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 8 February 1875, AD, III-G-35 - III-G-37, P-2674 - P-2685, photocopy.
16. Fouquet to Fabre, 31 July 1876, AGR, photocopy.
17. All the men Fouquet named were reputed to belong to the same "school" of thinking. Father Georges Blanchet was likened to them for his liberalism, and Morice presumably was of the same school since Durieu was his model. Yet clearly they were not cut from the same piece. Cf. Fouquet to Fabre, 31 July 1876, AGR, photocopy; Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A. G. Morice, OMI," pp. 87, 106, 113, 120-121, 138, 149, 300, 304, 306-307.
18. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 2 April 1877, AD, P-2817 - P-2823; Fouquet to Fabre, 19 March 1878, AGR. Photocopies.
19. Mainland Guardian, August 9 1882, "From Kootenay," p. 3, col. 1.
20. Fouquet to Fabre, 29 September 1888, AGR, photocopy.
21. Fouquet to Fabre, 13 November 1888, AGR, photocopy; see also Carrière, OMI, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada, 1: 285, 326; Forbes, OMI, "Léon Fouquet, OMI," p.4; Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A. G. Morice, OMI," p. 489; Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 122 - 123, 133.
22. Fouquet to Fabre, 29 September 1888, AGR, photocopy.
23. Fouquet to Fabre, 5 December 1887, AGR; Fouquet to Fabre, 5 December 1888, AGR. Photocopies.
24. According to Robert Galbraith, William Fernie was a dour but kind and even-tempered man, the son of an English doctor. This assessment does not fully match Fouquet's opinion of Fernie. In 1871, Fernie was appointed Constable in the Kootenay district, and on the 1878 list of voters in the riding he was referred to as a "free miner". From

1879 to 1882 he served as the Government Agent in the Kootenay district and was later responsible for the exploration and development of the Crow's Nest coal deposits. See B.R. Atkins, "Some B.C. Biographies, Robert Galbraith of Galbraith's Ferry," in The Daily Province, 12 August 1922; Affleck, Columbia River Chronicles..., pp. 41 - 42; British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 3rd Parl., 2d sess., 1879, "List of Persons Entitled to Vote in the Electoral District of Kootenay," p. 92. The main source of information on the Galbraiths is the sympathetic history of the family by a grand-niece of R.L.T. Galbraith, MPP for the Kootenays from 1878 - 1886. There is a great divergence of opinion between Fouquet's view of the Galbraiths and the author's. See Candace L. House, The Galbraiths and the Kootenays (New York: Vantage Press, 1969); see also Vancouver Daily Province, 29 July, and 6th and 12th August 1922, "Some B.C. Biographies, Robert Galbraith of Galbraith's Ferry "; Canadian Parliamentary Companion 1883 (Ottawa: J. Durie and Son, 1883), p. 318. Note however that R.L.T. Galbraith is there said to have been first returned to Parliament in 1876, but that this conflicts with information on Kootenay representatives in the Canadian Parliamentary Companion 1878, pp. 328 - 329.

25. For a fuller examination of the whole matter the following sources may be consulted. Daily British Colonist, 1 March 1878, p. 3; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 8 August 1878, AD, P-2849, photocopy; British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 3d Parl., 3d sess., 1880, "Proceedings of the Kootenay Royal Commission," pp. 143 - 156; the following newspaper articles in the Daily British Colonist: 1 March, 1878, p. 2, idem, p. 3, 3 March 1878, p. 2, idem, p. 3, 18 April 1878, p. 3, 19 April 1878, p. 2, 6 July 1878, p. 3, 28 August 1878, p. 3, and 31 August 1878, p. 2; Canadian Parliamentary Companion 1879. (Ottawa: Citizen Publishing and Printing Co., 1879) : 381; ibid., 1883 : 323; ibid., 1887 : 354; S.W. Jackman, Portraits of the Premiers. An Informal History of British Columbia. (Sidney: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1969), pp. viii, 48 - 50.
26. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 20 March 1881, AD, III-G-110 - III-G-112, P-2906 - P-2915, photocopy.
27. Fouquet to Walkem, 22 March 1881, PABC, R 429, box 1, file 10; Fouquet to Fernie, 17 January 1881, ibid.; Fernie to Fouquet, 18 January 1881, ibid.; Fouquet to Fernie, 19 January 1881, ibid.; Fernie to Fouquet, 20 January 1881, ibid.; Fouquet to Fernie, 24 January 1881, ibid.; Fernie to Fouquet, 26 January 1881, ibid.; Fouquet to Fernie, 29 January 1881, ibid. Photocopies.
28. Fouquet to editors of Colonist, 11 June 1881, P-2916 - P-2917, AD; Fouquet to John Robson, 17 June 1881, P-2918 - P-2919, AD; Fouquet to Walkem, 14 June 1881, P-2923 - P-2925, AD; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 11 June 1882, P-2957 - P-2960, AD. Photocopies.
29. Unfortunately, no documents have been preserved in the Oblate Archives on the raids on the British possessions, nor was anything received from the New York Public Library or the Library of Congress on Gallagher's or Russel's involvement in the New York fund. On this

- and other points in the chapter, see Fouquet to Walkem, 20 June 1881, PABC, GR-429, box 1, file 10; Fouquet to Postmaster General of British Columbia, 15 December 1881, AD, P-2944 - P-2947. Photocopies.
30. Fouquet to Robson, 26 September 1881, AD, III-G-119 - III-G-121, P-2930 - P-2935; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 18 December 1881, *ibid.*, P-2940 - P-2943; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 15 March 1882, *ibid.*, P-2948 - P-2951. Photocopies.
 31. Fouquet to Robson, 26 September 1881, AD, P-2932 - P-2935; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 11 June 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-129, P-2957 - P-2960. Photocopies.
 32. John F. Galbraith to I.W. Powell, 6 December 1881, AD, III-G-155, P-2995 - P-2996; Galbraith to Powell, 18 March 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-156, P-2997 - P-2998; Powell to D'Herbomez, 13 April 1882, AGR; D'Herbomez to Powell, undated, AD, III-G-154, P-2993 - P-2994. Photocopies.
 33. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 14 May 1882, AD, III-G-127, P-2952 - P-2955; Fouquet to Mr. Editor, 14 May 1882, AD, III-G-128, P-2956. Photocopies.
 34. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 11 June 1882, AD, III-G-129, P-2957 - P-2960, photocopy; House, The Galbraiths and the Kootenays, pp. 24 - 25.
 35. Norris to D'Herbomez, 1 July 1882, III-G-158, P-3001 - P-3004, AD. Photocopy.
 36. Kelly to Rev. visitor, 7 July 1882, III-G-159, P-3005 - P-3008, AD. Photocopy.
 37. Norris to D'Herbomez, 1 July 1882, AD, III-G-158, P-3001 - P-3004; Norris to Martinet, 8 July 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-160, P-3009 - P-3012; Kelly to Martinet, 7 July 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-159, P-3005 - P-3008; Perbose to Fouquet, 16 May 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-157, P-2999 - P-3000; Affleck, Columbia River Chronicles, p. 41; For an indication that Jenkins was used to disturb business opponents, see Griffiths to Galbraith, 20 February 1886, PABC, Norbury Family Papers, ADD. MSS. 877. box 2, folder 2, photocopy; On Norris' background see The Daily Province, 29 July 1922, "Some B. C. Biographies."
 38. Martinet, "Analyse du Rapport du P. Fouquet sur les outrages commis à St. Eugène Mission des Kootenays B.C. 1881, adressé à l'honorable Mr. Walkem, Premier de la Province", AGR; "Rapport sur la disposition de certains esprits", AD, II-H-279 - II-H-281, P-2182 - P-2190; Martinet to Fouquet, 8 October 1882, *ibid.*, HPK 5263 .F772 70. Photocopies.
 39. Norris to D'Herbomez, 1 July 1882, AD, III-G-129, P-2957 - P-2960; Kelly to Martinet, 7 July 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-159, P-3005 - P-3008; Perbose to Fouquet, 16 May 1882, *ibid.*, III-G-157, P-2999 - P-3000. Photocopies. House, The Galbraiths and the Kootenays, pp. 21 -24, 63, 79 - 85, 119-121.

40. Regarding the Orange Order and anti-Catholic feeling in the country, see J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," Canadian Historical Review 66 (1985) : 477 and passim; on the Masons see "Freemasonry", New Catholic Encyclopedia, 6: 135; Freemason certificates relating to I.W. Powell, PABC, AF P87 F87.9, photocopies.
41. Fouquet to Fabre, 25 January 1885, AGR, photocopy; MOMI 51 (1913): 414.
42. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic, 2: 544 - 546, 597 - 598; L.F.S. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists. Indian - White Relations in the Maritimes 1713 - 1867 (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1979), pp. 33, 35, 49 - 50; James C. MacGregor, Father Lacombe (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975), pp. 259 - 268; Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 119 - 135.
43. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 9 February 1875, AD, III-G-38, P-2686 - 2689, photocopy.
44. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 23 September 1875, AD, III-G-51, P-2727 - P-2732; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 31 October 1875, *ibid.*, III-G-55, P-2741 - P-2742; Fouquet to W. Milby, 1 October 1875, *ibid.*, III-G-52, P-2733; Fouquet to Robert Galbraith, (c. 1 October 1875), *ibid.*, III-G-52, P-2734; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, (11 October?) 1875, *ibid.*, III-G-53, P-2735 - P-2738; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 24 September 1876, *ibid.*, III-G-68, P-2780 - P-2781. Photocopies; Canadian Parliamentary Companion 1878, pp. 328 - 329; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 12 February 1876, AD, III-G-57, P-2747 - P-2750; Fouquet to Gallagher, 12 February 1876, *ibid.*, III-G-78, P-2751 - P-2752. Photocopies.
45. Fouquet to Baudre, 28 May 1876, AD, III-G-64, P-2768; Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 25 January 1877, *ibid.*, III-G-75, P-2803 - P2806; "Délibérations du Conseil Provincial", *ibid.*, .PB 517. P47R, 23 February, 1876 Minutes, p. 78. Photocopies; Cumming, and Mickenberg, eds., Native Rights in Canada, 2d edition, pp. 118, 121, 123. The Oblates' 1862 policy was not unlike the Ultramontane clergy's political outlook in Quebec in the same period. Oblates were Ultramontane in thinking. The shift in Oblate policy at the beginning of 1876 may have been influenced by controversy preceding the 1877 decision by Pope Leo XIII that priests in Canada ought not to interfere in politics. See Chapter 1, footnote 38; see also John S. Moir and Robert E. Saunders, Northern Destiny. A History of Canada (Dent & Sons Canada Ltd., 1970), p. 314; Joseph Schull, Laurier: The First Canadian (Toronto: MacMillan, 1966), pp. 113-122; Ramsay Cook, T. Saywell, and John C. Ricker, Canada. A Modern Study (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1969), pp. 114-115.
46. D'Herbomez, "Rapport sur les dispositions de certains esprits", AD, III- H-279 - III-H-281, P-2182 - P-2190; Martinet, "Acte de Visitation de la Mission de St. Eugène des Kootenays, Colombie Britannique, du 1 au 8 Juillet, 1882", *ibid.*, HPK 5102, .B86C 8. Photocopies. No copy of the printed Act was found to compare with the manuscript and Fouquet does not provide details of any differences.

47. Fisher, Contact and Conflict, pp. 199-204; "Codex Historicus Cranbrook B.C. 1884 - 1948," pp. 43, 49, photocopy; Cail, Land, Man and the Law, pp. 217-220, 227.
48. "Codex Historicus Cranbrook," pp. 51 -53, AD; Fouquet, "Memorandum on the troubles in Kootenay", no date, no signature, *ibid.*, P-1128 - P-1133. Photocopies. This memo, and the accompanying letter to Mr. Dole are obviously incomplete. Both are clearly in Fouquet's handwriting; Law and Order. Being the Official Reports to Parliament of the Activities of the Royal N.W.M.P. from 1886 - 1887, Coles Canadiana Collection (Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1973), 1887 : 19, 60. Interestingly, Fouquet noted in the *Codex Historicus* that he had insisted on following the instructions of his superiors, but Father Richard then added the entry about Fouquet's advice to Isadore.
49. Fouquet to Mon révérend et bien chère père (Marc Sardou), 4 July 1887, AGR, photocopy. Re the seriousness of the situation, see also The British Columbian, weekly edition, 9 November 1887, vol 32, no. 19, "The Kootenay Indians," p.7, col. 2.
50. Law and Order..., 1887, pp. 55, 61, 63 - 64; Fouquet to Fabre, 1 September 1887, AGR; Fouquet to M. Sardou, 24 September 1887, *ibid.* Photocopies; Fisher, Contact and Conflict, p. 204; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1887", pp. xc - xcvi; Canada, Report of the Commissioner of the N.W.M.P., 1888, Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 3d sess., 1889, no. 17, p. 91. Indians were not paying customs duty in November 1887. Cf. The British Columbian, weekly edition, 2 November 1887, vol. 32, no. 18, "The Kootenay Indians", p. 5, col. 3; Unpublished Memoirs of Rev. Nicholas Coccola, OMI, OAV, Cranbrook file, box 3, file 14, pp. 29 -30, photocopy; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1888", p. 110.

CHAPTER SIX

MISSIONARY IMPACT

Discussion of a missionary's impact on the people he served poses the problem of criteria. How is a missionary's effectiveness to be gauged? What makes him a success or failure? J.M.R. Owens, speaking of New Zealand missionaries who ministered to the Maoris in the first half of the nineteenth century, raises several points which are relevant to the issue in British Columbia. He indicates, first of all, that religious phenomena have a dimension about them that eludes measurement, an irreducible sacred element. Missionary activity, consequently, cannot be evaluated solely in socio-economic terms: account must also be taken of religious factors - the missionary's faith, for example. Sufficient emphasis must also be placed, Owens notes, on the decision that native peoples made to accept or reject Christianity. That decision is downplayed by claims that missionaries "imposed" Christianity on the Indians, or that native peoples had to accept it. Indians were more than passive victims of the missionary's proselytization. A last point Owens makes is that missionaries are often held accountable for changes which were the consequence of much wider influences, influences which were underway when the missionaries arrived, and which were beyond their power to arrest.

James Axtell argues that the Indians' standpoint must also be considered when evaluating a missionary's effectiveness. Often it is neglected, he notes, and only the missionary's view of things is presented. Thus, much is sometimes made of numbers - the number of those baptized or the number who attended church - or the focus is placed on the missionaries' "ethnocentric intolerance and muscular evangelizing." Stressing the

missionaries' negative cultural impact seems to be adopting the Indians' viewpoint, Axtell observes, but that was not necessarily the view of the Indians at the time. In some cases it merely represents the writer's own assumptions, and is therefore anachronistic.²

In appraising Leon Fouquet's impact on the Kootenay Indians several further points need to be noted. In the first place a great deal of information still has to be gathered to be able to situate his work in perspective. More research is essential, for instance, on the first phase of the Kootenays' exposure to Christianity, as well as on the period after Fouquet departed from the interior of the province. Additional attention might also be paid to those who were in frequent contact with the Indians during the 1870s and 1880s. Studies of this kind would help to contextualize the Oblate's efforts, and to highlight his specific contribution to the growth of the Kootenays' faith. Also, the missionary's time at St. Eugene represents but a quarter of his missionary career. It cannot simply be assumed that his Kootenay ministry "tel quel" is representative of his other forty years in the mission field. Further, the meagre references in Fouquet's letters to his evangelical labors make it more difficult to compare them with those of other missionaries. In practice, then, his success or failure as a missionary has to be evaluated to some extent on the basis of extrinsic evidence - others' testimonies, for example, or his own statements. Moreover, it should be remembered that the Kootenay mission differed from other early missions in the province served by Oblates in that the Indians there were already baptized when Fouquet began his ministry in the region.

Fouquet certainly did not consider himself a resounding success, as Morice appears to have done.³ About halfway through his term at the mission, however, he intimated that his success had been in proportion to his

"crosses". As these were chronic and burdensome, Fouquet obviously thought that he was achieving valuable results. In another letter he wrote:

Vous dirai-je mon révérendissime père, que je cueille à pleines mains dans mon jardin des Montagnes Rocheuses les consolations les plus douces au coeur d'un prêtre. Oh! Oui. Je puis bien vous le dire en toute vérité. Mes Bas Bretons, nom que je donne à mes Kootenais, me font dire superabundo gaudio [with superabundant joy]. Profondément et sincèrement religieux...ils comptent parmi eux de bien belles ames. L'écorce est houlouse comme chez tous les sauvages peu civilisées, elle pique de cent facons la main qui la touche pour cueillir le fruit, mais qu'il est doux ce fruit à qui a le courage de le cueillir et de goûter. Comme prêtre je n'ai rien à désirer de plus.⁵

These words manifest Fouquet's affection for the Indians. Without it his dedication would have lacked credibility and depth. But, for the Oblate, caring expressed itself more in actions than in words. The Indians apparently recognized it in his labors and sufferings, and reciprocated by their fidelity. Occasionally they were more demonstrative. When the missionary was recalled from St. Eugene, for instance, "the mission house was crowded with natives eager to get parting advice from their pastor...the stoics of the woods shedding tears when they bade the reverent [sic] gentleman

farewell".

The Oblate never spoke directly of his dedication to the Indians, either during his early years or later. At St. Eugene, it appears in his reluctance to leave the mission when he did not think it would be properly looked after. Or it can be deduced from the long hours he put in on the farm along with his regular ministry. His protests regarding personnel, finances, and the validity of native marriages were levelled at superiors because he cared about the people's spiritual welfare. Very little went Fouquet's way in the Kootenays, yet he was delighted to stay there for thirteen years, until his health gave out. On several occasions, it is true, he asked to be moved from the mission, but this was because his conscience was badly troubled over

policies he could not sanction, policies affecting the Indians' spiritual well-being. Yet Fouquet obeyed when directed to stay on at his post - once his conscience had been appeased. His fidelity under the circumstances required considerable dedication.

There were no heroics about the Oblate's work in the Kootenays to give it the aura of great success. Apart from the demanding trips he made on business and ministry, and the imbroglio he was forced to deal with as a result of the Jenkins' assault, most of the Oblate's activities were of a routine nature. But Fouquet did not neglect his regular duties, as Mulhall charges Morice with doing.⁷ Farm work, of course, did not allow him to devote as much time to spiritual tasks as he wanted, much as it sometimes hampered missionary work at Williams Lake in James McGuckin's time. One difference there was that while McGuckin was taken up by administration of the ranch he had others to do the labor. McGuckin, further, was both a willing administrator and a reluctant Indian missionary. By contrast, Fouquet⁸ found farm work irksome and was eager to do Indian ministry.

In addition, the Oblate launched no striking pastoral programs at St. Eugene - at least none that are recorded in any detail. Had he kept a diary or written his memoirs there would be more information to go on. As it is, we can be sure only of the programs he mentions, and lacking details, estimate their relative merits. Without question, he objected to some of Durieu's practices. Since Durieu's "system" was regarded by many as the norm, this does say something about Fouquet's methods. It indicates, for instance, that he was somewhat unorthodox in the approach he took to ministry; but it does not say what measures he used in their place. Lejeune, it is said, was also among those who did not fully agree with Bishop Durieu, but he developed an⁹ unusual method of catechizing. In any event, the Indians responded to

Fouquet's ministry. The missionary praised them, for example, in letters to superiors and friends. Many received the sacraments regularly, and most of them accomplished their Easter duty. Consistently, their devotion consoled him. He was pleased too with their morality, so different from the "immorality that would make Sodom and Gomorrah blush" which he had initially encountered in the coastal region. The following lines, mailed shortly after he had left the mission, are representative of his spiritual reports:

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À Kootenay j'avais beaucoup souffert comme homme et eu beaucoup de consolation comme prêtre. De mes 400 paroissiens il n'y en avait pas un qui n'eut l'habitude de se confesser, hommes, femmes et enfants sans aucune exception le faisaient; de 5 à 10 ne faisaient pas leur Pâque et cela se comprend, le nombre changeait chaque année, tantôt plus, tantôt moins.11

With the Lower Kootenays and Tobacco Plains groups, Fouquet had no great impact. His inability to visit them often, and the trouble he had obtaining jurisdiction in the United States, were factors partly accounting for the lean results. His visits to the area picked up considerably in his last few years at the mission, and good was accomplished on those occasions. Approximately a dozen journeys, for example, were undertaken to outlying stations from 1884 to 1887, with about half of these to Indians near the border. But these trips did not cancel out the effects of a decade or more of neglect. A long-time resident in the region, Michael Philipps, noted as well that the Flatbows had contact with miners in the late 1880s, and were employed by them as canoeists. Possibly, they and the Tobacco Plains group had performed similar services for miners in the 1860s and 1870s. If so, these associations would have encouraged drinking and gambling, rendering the Oblate's work more difficult. On the other hand, about a quarter of the St. Mary's group of Upper Kootenays relied on non-Indians for subsistence by 1887. But, there were fewer miners in the neighbourhood of St. Eugene than in Montana and Idaho, according to gold and silver production figures for the

region in 1886.

Contemporaries frequently judged the missionary favorably. Their testimony, by underlining the Indians' goodness, or the chief's and the missionary's authority, indicates that the Oblate's ministry was effective. For example, William A. Baillie-Grohman, who was involved in the Kootenay "reclamation scheme" in the 1880s, wrote in 1884:

...to a great extent I found the Kootenays to be in 1883 just what De Smet described them to be in 1845, the only exception being perhaps that gambling among themselves had increased to a dangerous degree. They are without exception, the only tribe perfectly untrammled by white man's presence in close proximity...They are all devout Catholics, and Father Fouquet, the present missionary, has them seemingly well in hand...The evening prayer bell...now sounds in every little Kootenay camp.

Baillie-Grohman did not expect this simple Kootenay lifestyle to last long.

14

Settlement was imminent, he figured. It came, of course, as anticipated, but more slowly than expected.

Superintendent Sam Steele's account of the strict discipline that prevailed among the Indians in the Fort Steele region, and his praise of Kootenay morality prior to the departure of his troops from the area in 1888, stresses the influence that Isadore exerted on the Indians. Steele relates, for instance that

During the whole time, over 12 months, that we were in the Kootenays, there was not a case of theft nor one of drunkenness brought to our notice. Crime was rare amongst the Indians, and it was the opinion of the best whites that the Indians were very good. They often packed large quantities of liquor into the district for white merchants and carried whiskey from the stores for white men, but none of them were known to meddle with any that was placed in their charge...Isadore was the most influential chief I have ever known. Crowfoot, the Blackfoot chief, or Red Crow, dare not, in the height of their power, have exercised the discipline that Isadore did.¹⁵

Anthropologist A. F. Chamberlain was cited earlier, in connection with the Kootenays' relative freedom from contact with "lewd and dishonest white men". He also noted that the Kootenays' level of morality in the early 1890s was

high, and that the missionaries' "influence is now greater than that of the old chiefs".¹⁶ Chamberlain indirectly attributes the Indians' ongoing goodness to the missionaries' sway. Since Fouquet had left the mission just four years before the anthropologist's visit, he deserves much of the credit for maintaining their morality.

Elsewhere, Chamberlain lists several features of Kootenay life that have been influenced by Catholic missionaries, starting with Pierre De Smet. Fouquet is not named in the article, but plainly had a hand in the process. Firstly, the missionaries adapted "pagan ceremonies and institutions" to Christian worship. Two instances of this co-aptation were the Kootenay Winter Festival Dance (vestiges remained into the 1880s), and the Indian notion of taboos. One Catholic version of the taboo brought in by the missionaries was the ban against eating meat on Fridays. Secondly, missionaries altered the Indians' concept of the divinity by introducing a new vocabulary:

"oiseau-tonnerre", a term used for the divinity in the 1830s, had become "celui qui nous a créé", about half a century later. They also introduced new notions and attitudes toward God by their rendering of the Our Father. Two versions of it exist in the Kootenay language, one composed by De Smet and the other supplied by Oblate Nicholas Coccola. The latter version, recorded in 1891, was almost certainly one which Fouquet used, and may have been composed by him. Catholic missionaries were also responsible for designating the days of the week in Kootenay. Sunday was the "jour par excellence". The rest were simply referred to as Day One, Day Two, and so on. Lastly, Catholic motifs were occasionally depicted in nineteenth century Kootenay art. Two particular drawings are presented by Chamberlain, one of a native shaman and the other of "le shaman des blancs". Obviously, the latter was meant to be a representation of Christ.

More recently, Harry H. Turney-High referred to the "the high quality
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 of the early Catholic missionaries". It is uncertain whether Turney-High
 meant to include Fouquet in his statement, but the Oblate clearly qualifies
 for several reasons. His policies and methods did not differ radically from
 those of the Jesuits. He was content, moreover, with the quality of the
 Kootenays' Christian life throughout his ministry. And he introduced no
 seriously disruptive measures among them.

Although Fouquet certainly antagonized a number of people during his
 career, the following public testimony reveals that he made a positive
 impression on others. It was written by a New Westminster journalist in 1881.

Having known Father Fouquet during the past twenty years...we can
 testify not only to his self-denying zeal and devotion to the
 missionary work but to his great love of peace and goodwill among all
 classes and creeds...He is, in fact remembered as a single-minded
 devoted missionary, -albeit, by no means likely to be easily
 intimidated...the success with which his labours have been crowned may
 be gauged by the fact that there is now in course of erection a large
 grist-mill which shall grind the mission grain...the devoted
 missionary has, during all these years, acquired very great influence
 over the war-like "Kootenais".19

One test of a missionary's calibre is the way he is regarded by those
 who know him intimately. Fouquet did not have many close Oblate friends, but
 none of his Oblate colleagues doubted his proficiency as a missionary. Those
 who commented on his abilities - such as D'Herbomez and Durieu, Father John
 20 21
 Welch in the 1890's, and more recently Father George Forbes, - spoke
 only in favorable terms.

Of special interest is the question of Fouquet's impact on the Indian
 land question. In one sense he achieved little for his efforts. Some Indians
 in the Fraser Valley for example, pre-empted lands in the 1860s, as Fouquet
 22
 and other Oblates had advised them to do. In addition, the Oblate was
 instrumental in having several reserves laid out in the lower mainland. In

the Kootenays, at first sight he appears to have accomplished even less. Behind the scenes, however, he reputedly exerted an influence on Isadore - though evidence of the extent is lacking - and possibly on government officials. As a mentor of the Indians, he helped to secure their territory under law, and to prevent the threat of insurrection.

British Columbia's Indians did not receive as generous a settlement of land as their Prairie counterparts. Like his fellow Oblates, Fouquet was handicapped in his efforts on their behalf by his language, race and religion. Personally, he was further restricted by superiors' orders. All the same, other missionaries, unhampered by these obstacles, generally were no more successful. Their problem was one the Dominion Government also encountered when treating the Indian land question: British Columbia's persistent refusal to acknowledge Indian claims to the land. Victoria, as Ottawa discovered, was unwilling to grant generous reserve allotments.²³

In another sense Fouquet and his fellow missionaries did succeed in several important respects. They helped, for instance, to salvage a land base for the Indians to survive. They also kept the Indians' hopes of justice alive amidst endless setbacks. And they prepared generations of native leaders in their schools, men and women increasingly capable of handling their own affairs and of dealing with the highest levels of government. Most missionaries aligned themselves with the Indians' quest for justice. Though their complaints to government were prompted by their religious program, and though their mentality was paternalistic, their efforts contributed significantly to the native cause. They did this perhaps most effectively by encouraging the Indians to press their own case, as John Webster Grant has noted.²⁴ Fouquet, like the majority of his colleagues, gained the Indians' confidence by his supportive efforts in this area. Missionaries were

instrumental too in dissuading the Indians from violence, as Fouquet was in the Kootenays.

Fouquet's ministry was much more limited among the Lower Kootenay and Tobacco Plains groups. There, the results he achieved were meagre because of health, shortage of manpower, farm work and jurisdictional problems. Among the Upper Kootenays, his principal accomplishment was to confirm the Indians in the faith they had previously accepted through the preaching of Jesuits and others. He did this, it will be remembered, hampered by a host of obstacles, and helped by a variety of circumstances. Fouquet came to the Kootenays with his own religious agenda, a program which was colored by his cultural background. He left there without implementing it in a number of ways, yet satisfied with the people's faith. In this there was some openness to adapt, a recognition of values other than those he came with. In an embryonic way, at least, he was willing to listen to the people he served, an attitude not all that common among missionaries at the time.

Thus far, the emphasis has been on the Oblate's impact on the Kootenays from the missionary's vantage point. But, of course, there is another viewpoint. James Axtell has argued that ethnic survival is all-important in assessing the work of missionaries, and without doubt it was of great importance to most Indians at the time. As far as Kootenay cultural survival is concerned, it can be shown mainly in three ways: continuity of lifestyle and leadership, and ongoing Indian control of their own lives.

The Kootenays, Jenness pointed out, were more successful adjusting to "European domination" than any other native group in the province because of their isolation, and because they were able to take up pursuits closely resembling their former lifestyle. Up to the end of the 1870s, they

maintained their buffalo-hunting trips across the Rockies, and thereafter they still hunted and fished while they began to engage in ranching. In the 1870s and 1880s they started to erect houses, but throughout these decades they preserved a mobile way of life, using their dwelling places as a locale to congregate during the winter months. Fouquet thought that this mobile way of life militated against their "civilisation chrétienne", but he did not try to impose settlement and agriculture on them. In many other missions a stationary life and farming were advocated more vigorously by the missionaries. In some cases, missionaries "convinced villagers to abandon old sites...combine with other communities to form new villages, or migrate to new locations more readily available to missionaries", as happened, for instance, among the Haida. That the Kootenays were able to carry on their hunting and fishing, and to keep all but one of their traditional sites, was due partly to Fouquet's flexibility. His tolerance regarding their lifestyle enhanced his missionary stature in their eyes.

At the outset traditional Indian leaders were recognized by government and church authorities. Usually, missionaries aligned themselves with these chiefs to bolster their own authority. Nishga chiefs, for instance, who served on the village "missionary council" at Kincolith in the 1860s and 1870s, or those who held office there under the Indian Advancement Act in the 1880s, were part of the traditional Nishga leadership structure. At times, however, missionaries chose other native leaders to exercise spiritual leadership, and in doing so bypassed traditional chiefs. Durieu, for example chose Snatt as chief at the Squamish village of Ustlawn (North Vancouver) in the 1860s. Snatt's uncle, chief Skwatatxwamkin, was unacceptable to Durieu because his wife was a "spiritual dancer". As a consequence of Durieu's action, Snatt assumed political and religious leadership. But Fouquet

accepted traditional leadership structures. At Satles, a Sechelt village, for example, a dispute arose in 1868 over who was to succeed the deceased chief. Fouquet, who was then visiting the camp, states that he kept "aussi neutre que possible" in the debate, notwithstanding his obvious preferences. ³²

In the Kootenays the missionary recognized traditional Indian leaders and adapted to their structures. At St. Eugene, for instance, chiefs Joseph and Isadore held sway in the 1870s and 1880s. Joseph (or Ka-Ka-Kilth), who was "intelligent, shrewd...and one of the most pious men of the tribe", had succeeded Michael as chief, and was followed by his own son Isadore. Other known officials were the Oblate's police commissioner and Isadore's four sheriffs. These men assisted the chief in maintaining discipline at the mission, ³³ and most likely formed part of the traditional council of honorary "chiefs" among the Upper Kootenay. In other Upper and Lower Kootenay villages there is no indication that the missionary disregarded the chiefs. His letters, for instance, refer to chiefs who were recognized as such by other sources. In practice, the Upper Kootenay chieftainship was "loosely hereditary", whereas the Lower group traditionally elected their leaders. As a result, there was more opportunity for Fouquet to speak out on behalf of preferred candidates among the Lower Kootenays. Yet, his infrequent visits to the Lower Kootenays suggest that he did not interfere in their elections. ³⁴ Fouquet's recognition of the established order naturally met with the Indians' approval, and won him their allegiance.

How great was the Oblate's influence over the Kootenays? Did he, in other words, largely have control of Kootenay village life? In the light of what was said earlier about his limited impact on the Lower Kootenay and Tobacco Plains groups, these questions are considered here as they apply to his central mission. It would almost seem, on the one hand, that Fouquet's

influence was enormous, and that he practically ruled the local Indian village. Fouquet claimed, it will be recalled, that he had won a victory over Joseph by prevailing on him to punish public breaches of conduct, and was able to influence Isadore regarding the Indian land question. On the other hand, it will also be remembered that Joseph, pious as he was, retained a mind of his own, and that Steele, who regarded Isadore as the most influential chief he had known, was amazed at the discipline he exercised over Indians in the Fort Steele region. That Isadore was capable of acting independently of Fouquet is lucidly shown by his forceful freeing of the prisoner Kapula while the Oblate was absent from the mission. Obviously, Isadore realized he was risking the Oblate's displeasure, as well as reprisals by settlers and government. It is apparent, therefore, that great as the missionary's influence may have been, control of Kootenay life remained in the hands of the Indian leaders. Not that this outcome was unheard of at other missions. Most of the hereditary chiefs at Metlakatla broke with Duncan when he severed relationships with Bishop Ridley and the Church Missionary Society. And, Clarence Bolt argues that the Port Simpson Tsimshian did not relinquish control of their lives to the missionary Thomas Crosby, though they retained the values he stood for. Had Fouquet gained as much control over the Kootenays as Duncan did over the Tsimshian, he would likely have earned their resentment, or caused division within the community. By maintaining a balance of traditional and religious authority, he helped to preserve respect for both. And the Indians continued to follow Fouquet's religious directions.

How, then, did Fouquet compare with other missionaries in British Columbia at the time? In terms of capitulation, there is no doubt that Catholic missionaries, like their Protestant counterparts, required Indians

to renounce a great deal of their spiritual heritage, plus many aspects of their traditional culture. Nineteenth century missionaries had little understanding of native beliefs, and little appreciation of Indian culture, believing their own to be much superior. They did not appreciate the Indians' creation-centered spirituality, nor their human attainments. Not surprisingly, evangelizers often acted paternalistically in their relationships with native peoples. In many respects Fouquet did not differ from his fellow Oblates in his approach to native peoples. Along broad lines, he followed many of their policies and practices. Still, various considerations point to real differences between Protestant and Catholic missionaries, and to genuine discrepancies between Fouquet and his Oblate colleagues.

Catholic missionaries, unlike their Evangelical counterparts, did not subscribe to the view that man was naturally depraved without God.⁴⁰ Grace, they believed, built on nature. If nature were totally corrupt, it was argued, grace would have nothing to build on. Conversion was therefore seen by Catholic missionaries as more of an ongoing process than as a single definitive act. This position was Thomistic, based, that is, on theologian Thomas Aquinas. Fouquet, as an admirer and disciple of Aquinas,⁴¹ would have readily endorsed this view.

A number of other differences between Protestant and Catholic evangelists emerge from this fundamental theological difference, and from the missionaries' opposite ethnic backgrounds. Grant has argued that Protestant missions were open to more official aspects of Canadian life. Roman Catholic ones were more entities unto themselves. The former seemed more like Christian congregations, and the latter like Christian bands. Catholic missionaries had a mystique of separateness about them, and were inclined to

equate suffering with sanctity. Protestants generally exerted more pressure to conform to European norms of civilization, while for Roman Catholics, "acculturation was clearly secondary to catechism". Catholic evangelists also kept a closer check on Indian behaviour and religious practice, and placed more restrictions on Indian initiative and leadership. They laid great stress, as well, on sacraments, pageantry and sacramentals.⁴² Catholic missionaries, it also seems, were more mobile as a group than their Protestant counterparts. This partly reflects their unmarried status. In British Columbia, moreover, they were in a minority position as French Catholics (for the most part) living in English Protestant territory.

Subtle but palpable differences also existed within Protestant churches themselves, or between one Catholic missionary and another. These differences were rooted in distinct theologies, attitudes and circumstances. For example, John R. Henderson shows that Anglican and Methodist approaches to the Haida had distinctive characteristics.⁴³ Conversely, it has generally been assumed that Catholic missionaries in British Columbia were followers of Bishop "Durieu's system". However, there is increasing evidence that some Oblate missionaries did not subscribe in full to Durieu's methods, or vigorously disagreed with him on various points of policy. Morice, for instance, was a great admirer of Durieu but did not follow Durieu in the formative part of his program.⁴⁴ And, Fouquet's extensive correspondence plainly shows that Fouquet and a number of other Oblates took exception to Durieu's principles and methods. Different methods were probably also used by non-Oblate Catholic missionaries in British Columbia. But the latter group has tended to be neglected, and to date their policies and methods have not been researched.

Many differences between Fouquet and other missionaries, both Catholic

and Protestant, have been referred to in this study. Contrasts between his mission and other missions have also been emphasized. These factors indicate that the Oblate was an atypical missionary in at least several important respects. Most notable among these differences were his educational and teaching background, the steady stream of protests he issued concerning administrative and juridical matters, his chronic ill-health, the abnormal amount of time he was forced to devote to physical labor, and the uniqueness of the Kootenay people and region. Taken together, these elements set him in bas-relief as a missionary.

Fouquet's complex nature makes him hard to classify. In many ways he remains a paradox, an amalgam of contrasting attitudes. With the Kootenay Indians he was at ease. He enjoyed ministering to them, and they brought him many consolations. No doubt he admired their serenity and found it calming. With others he was often in conflict. There were many reasons for this, including the frustration he felt at being hindered from pastoral work. Farm work took up an undue portion of his time. He did it because he had little choice, but underneath his resignation was his impatience to be able to evangelize. This keenness was not commonplace, inasmuch as most missionaries were less troubled by the time they had to devote to non-spiritual activities. The missionary's onerous commitment to obedience was likewise out of the ordinary. Many missionaries were strong-minded, and both Duncan and Cridge refused to submit to their bishops. Fouquet's personality, like many facets of his ministry, does not compare easily with that of other missionaries. In today's world, he might be called a "character".

As an evangelizer, the French missionary from Mayenne can be faulted for his cultural narrowness and his abrasiveness, for his paternalism and his conservatism, and for a number of other failings. In his favor was his

dedication to the Indians' well-being, a concern that extended to matters affecting their everyday lives, such as the land question. But his primary interest was in helping them to deepen their faith. In spite of his sizeable defects and his uncongenial manner, Leon Fouquet was one of the better Oblate missionaries in British Columbia, and ranks favorably with those of other denominations. Abilities, circumstances, and faith, plus the Kootenays' response to Christianity, account for his effectiveness. Overall, he did much more good than harm in the Kootenays.

Notes

1. Cited in Owens, "Christianity and the Maoris to 1840," p. 39.
2. James Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," Ethnohistory 29 (1982): 35-36.
3. Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A.G. Morice OMI," pp. vii, 243, 259, and passim; Morice, OMI, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, pp. 343-344.
4. MOMI 18 (1880): 281.
5. Fouquet to Fabre, 1 January 1880, AGR, photocopy.
6. The Colonist, 15 December 1887, "Father Fouquet's Departure from Kootenay." Fouquet himself was heartbroken. Cf. Fouquet to Fabre, 5 December 1887, AGR, photocopy.
7. Mulhall, "The Missionary Career of A.G. Morice, OMI," pp. 265-266, 424, 494.
8. Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission, pp. 79, 84-85; Fouquet to Fabre, 20 June 1886, AGR, photocopy.
9. Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, pp. 169ff.
10. On the immorality along the Fraser River in the early 1860s see MOMI 3 (1864): 200-201
11. Fouquet to Mon révérend et bien chère père (Marc Sardou), 18 January 1887, AGR, photocopy. This letter was addressed from New Westminster and should obviously be dated 1888. The recent change of year, and eye trouble Fouquet was having at the time, account for the mistake.
12. "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook, 1884 - 1948," pp. 41, 43, 45, 48, 51 (1884 - 1887) AD; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1887," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 2d sess., 1888, no. 15, part 1, pp. 122 - 123; idem, 1888, Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 3d sess., 1889, no. 16, pp. iii, xci. Michael Philipps was credited by Robert Galbraith for discovering the coal deposits in the Crow's Nest Pass in 1873 or 1874, and for naming all the creeks in the area. He was appointed an Indian agent in the Kootenays in 1887. See W. Henry Barnaby to Colonel Norbury (T.C.N. Norbury), 14 September 1887, PABC, ADD. Mss. 877, box 1, folder 2; R.L.T. Galbraith to S.S. Fowler, 16 July 1923, *ibid.*, E/D/G13, Correspondence Outward.
13. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1887," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 2d sess., 1888, no. 15, part 1, p. 122. Total gold and silver production for 1886 amounted to \$500,000 in Idaho and \$15,000,000 in Montana versus \$600,000 in British Columbia. See British Columbian, Weekly edition, 2 February 1887, p. 4. Regarding the Lower Kootenays' resistance to Christianity, see A.F.

Chamberlain, "Note sur l'Influence Exercée sur les Indiens Kitonaga par les Missionnaires Catholiques," Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques 2 (1909): 155.

14. Cited in Thrupp, "A History of the Cranbrook District in East Kootenay," pp. 58 - 59.
15. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 250.
16. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenay Indians of South-Eastern British Columbia," pp. 552, 556.
17. Chamberlain, "Note sur l'Influence Exercée sur les Indiens Kitonaga par les Missionnaires Catholiques," pp. 155 - 158. For a brief description of the Winter Dancing at the mission in the early 1890s, see LaBissonnière, S.P., Providence Trail Blazers, p. 7.
18. Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," p.20.
19. Dominion Pacific Herald, 29 June 1881, "Pandemonium," p. 1. Fouquet is commended in a similar vein in other newspaper reports. See, for example, The Daily Colonist, 18 June 1881, "Outlawry at Kootenay, A Priest and a Citizen Brutally Assaulted," P.3; *ibid.*, 22 June, 1881 "Father Fouquet," p.3; *ibid.*, 8 October 1881, "Kootenay through another Pair of Spectacles," p. 2.
20. Rev. John Welch, "Notes from North-West Canada," The Harvest (June, c. 1897): 132. Father Welch (1858 - 1944), a diocesan priest from England, was then stationed at Fernie. In 1903 he joined the Oblate Congregation and served thereafter in various capacities, including terms as Provincial Superior of the Oblates, and as administrator of the Vancouver diocese. See Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada, 3: 282-283.
21. Forbes, OMI, "Léon Fouquet, OMI," AD, HEB 5771 .L57c, 6, p. 2, photocopy.
22. British Columbia, Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question 1850 - 1875 (Victoria: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 23, 27. In 1862, when these letters were written, Fouquet was in charge of the central mission at New Westminster. Snat(t), mentioned in one of the letters, was an interpreter for Fouquet and had been baptised by him.
23. Cail, Land, Man and the Law, pp. 187, 195, 197, 206, 214-215, 239, 243.
24. Grant, Moon of Wintertime, pp. 140-142.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-266.
26. Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," p.37.
27. Jenness, Indians of Canada, p. 361.

28. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Annual Report...1887," Canada, Sessional Papers, 6th Parl., 2d sess., 1888, no. 15, part 1, pp. cxii-cxiii. For further details on Kootenay mobility refer to Chapters Two to Four.
29. MOMI 21 (1883): 348.
30. John R. Henderson, "Missionary Influences on the Haida Settlement and Subsistence Patterns, 1876-1920," Ethnohistory 21 (1974): 314-315. Both the Anglicans and the Methodists promoted horticulture, according to Henderson, but the Methodists also urged that Haida skills and activities be commercialized, and that they relocate to new villages.
31. E. Palmer Patterson II, "Kincolith, B.C.: Leadership Continuity in a Native Christian Village, 1867-1887," Canadian Journal of Anthropology 3 (1982): 45, 49; Thomas A. Lascelles, Mission on the Inlet (Vancouver: Schuman/Harte, 1984), pp. 9, 57.
32. Fouquet to D'Herbomez, 3 January 1868, AD, photocopy. Fouquet had reasons to prefer the chief's brother for chief since he was baptized, and was supported by his interpreter and friend, Snatt. See Lascelles, Mission on The Inlet, pp. 9-10, 57.
33. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 250. Regarding chief Joseph see I.W. Powell to the Hon. A. Campbell, 3 November 1873, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, PAC, RG 10, vol. 3738, file 28013-1, photocopy. Chief Isadore died on 4 January 1894, without naming his successor. On the election of his successor, Francois the interpreter, see "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook, 1884-1948", pp. 48-49, 51 (1894), AD.
34. For further details on the Upper and Lower Kootenay chieftainship, and differences between the two, see Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," pp. 146 - 154. Note that Turney-High refers to the creation of Church Chiefs by the missionaries and implies that this was started by the Jesuits. It is not clear who these Church Chiefs were, since none are named in documents.
35. See Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenay Indians of South-Eastern British Columbia," p. 556.
36. MOMI 15 (1877): 80-81; "Codex Historicus, Cranbrook, 1884-1948," p. 53 (1884-1887), AD.
37. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 250.
38. Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 119-120.
39. Clarence R. Bolt, "The Conversion of the Port Simpson Tsimshian: Indian Control or Missionary Manipulation?" BC Studies 57 (1983): 51-56.
40. Niel Gunson, Messengers of Grace (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 195.

41. MOMI 18 (1880): 278-279.
42. Grant, Moon of Wintertime, pp. 226-233.
43. Henderson, "Missionary Influences on the Haida Settlement and Subsistence Patterns, 1876-1920," pp. 303-316.
44. Jacqueline K. Gresko, Review of Fisher's Contact and Conflict, Canadian Historical Review 59 (1978): 498.
45. Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, pp. 37-41; William Duncan of Metlakatla, pp. 119-120.

CONCLUSION

Leon Fouquet's missionary work among the Kootenay Indians hardly differed from that of other missionaries working in the province at that time - or so it seemed. Like them, he was anxious both to Christianize and civilize the Indians. He and his nineteenth century counterparts could see no truth in any but their own religion, nor could they see a great deal of value in aboriginal cultures: the time had not yet arrived for the ecumenical movement, and anthropology was still in its early stages. Indians, therefore, were expected to renounce their ancestral beliefs, to eschew the heresies of other churches, and to embrace European customs and values.

On Fouquet's and on every missionary's agenda, were various measures designed to attain these goals, and to protect native people from unsavory aspects of white society. Separated Indian villages, for example, such as the one at Metlakatla, were an ideal that appealed to many missionaries, including Oblates. Where they could not completely isolate their flocks, as was usually the case, they made every effort to sequester them at least morally. Missionaries enlisted native leaders as watchmen, policemen, and judges to uphold christian morality in the Indian villages. Generally, education was also a high priority for the missionaries, and Fouquet was no exception. He tried hard to establish a mission school in the Kootenays, and took pains to catechize his people as they prepared to receive the sacraments. There were, of course, other similarities between Fouquet and his fellow missionaries. He, like many, made efforts to learn Indian languages, took an interest in their history and customs, and acted as an advocate for the Indians on the troublesome land question. He also lived in the midst of the Indians, as many of his counterparts did, and travelled extensively to

outlying mission stations. The life that the missionaries lived on the whole was one of hardship and isolation, and of limited social contacts. It called for a hardy individualism, and exacted a high psychological toll.

As Catholics, moreover, Fouquet and the Oblates shared certain traits which differentiated them from Protestant missionaries. Their community life and prayer contrasted with the family life and devotions of their Protestant counterparts, and the Oblates were guided by a body of general policies. They promoted the temperance organization, founded confraternities and sodalities, emphasized the sacraments of confession, communion, and extreme unction, and used sacramentals, rituals and pageantry to make the faith more appealing. The contrasts were, of course, rooted in differing theologies and accentuated by ethnic cleavages. If Oblates were theologically inclined to take a more benign view of human nature than did the Evangelical Protestants, their nationality put them at a disadvantage with the predominantly "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" establishment which held political power in the province.

Despite basic resemblances with other missionaries, Fouquet was atypical in several important respects. His complex, chiselled character, for example, exercised a marked influence on his missionary career. Headstrong and unyielding over principles, he could be flexible and tender with people. He was hard on his fellow Oblates, yet devoted to his Oblate congregation and to the Indian people. Imbued with a lively sense of justice, he minced no words in fighting for it with government and church officials. Reputed to be "ungovernable", he nevertheless held fast to obedience, costly as it was to his temperament.

Fouquet was also a much more pronounced conservative than many of his Oblate colleagues, few of whom could be considered liberal in their

theology. His conservatism, his teaching career, and the upheavals caused by the revolutions in France, no doubt helped to account for the heavy emphasis he placed on orthodoxy and juridical propriety. Seeing that he was more exacting in these areas than themselves, his bishops and superiors chided him for relying too heavily on theology and canon law. And his companions, on their part, poked fun at his "theological whims". The missionary, however, persisted in his objections to the principles, practices, and "liberalism" of his confrères, sometimes to the point of caricature. He was hardest of all on his superiors, especially Bishop Durieu, and on those whom he was assigned to live with. Responsibility for the salvation of others weighed heavily on his shoulders, and coupled with all the other pressure he was under, was more than he could cope with serenely. When some of this load was removed, he became mellow and less judgmental, as he had been all along in his relationship with the Indians. This was certainly a tribute to them, and a sign of his affection for the people.

The Oblate's poor health while at St. Eugene, and the long, painstaking years of labor he put into building up the mission farm, were unique. The rigors of missionary life had an effect on most missionaries' health, of course, and many of them had to do some physical labor to survive. Few, however, had their health plague them so seriously and steadily as Fouquet, and few were as totally absorbed by manual work as he was required to be. These factors, as has been seen, inhibited his pastoral ministry considerably. Further, the general corps of missionaries were not as embroiled in controversies. Nor did they despatch numerous letters to the newspapers, or have the same restrictions imposed on them, as did the director of St. Eugene.

Other features of Fouquet's ministry which rendered it notable

had to do with the people and region he served. The isolation of the Kootenay district prevented widespread social breakdown there, up to and during the missionary's time at the mission, hence most Indians were not gravely affected by alcohol and prostitution, either during the gold rush or early mining eras. Settlement was also slower and sparser there than in the lower coastal regions. The Kootenay Indians, moreover, were a strong-minded people who were able to adapt to change in ways that were in keeping with their traditional lifestyle. Thus, as the buffalo hunt declined, they moved into ranching rather than adopting agriculture, their option clearly being to retain a measure of their former mobility. Lastly, the Kootenays played an important part in their own early evangelization, and had several decades of exposure to Christianity, before Fouquet became their first resident pastor. This interval allowed them to determine what elements of their traditions were in harmony with the new faith, and it gave them ample time to commit themselves to it resolutely. When Fouquet arrived they were all baptized Catholics, and practising their faith. As he got to know them better, he was pleased with the way they lived that faith, with the manner in which they had made it their own.

APPENDIX I

Vital statistics concerning the Fouquet family were obtained from ADM through Mme. Diane de Maynard, Docteur en Droit, in a communique from Le Bourgneuf-la-Forêt, dated 30 March 1985. Relevant data therein includes the following information:

- 1) JEAN FOUQUET (father), son of Étienne Fouquet and Perrine Ferrand, born 25 Ventose An V (15 March 1797) at Argentré; married Perrine Tribondeau at Argentré on 23 November 1822; and died 22 April 1864 at Argentré. See Registres d'État Civil d'Argentré, Cotes: 4E 7/9, 4E 7/12, 4E 7/16, ADM, transcripts.
- 2) PERRINE TRIBONDEAU, daughter of Pierre Tribondeau and Marie Mezière, born 15 January 1792 at Soulgé-le-Bruant; and died at Argentré on 16 July 1828. Ibid., Cotes: 4E 302/3, 4E 7/12, ibid., transcripts.
- 3) Jean Fouquet (son), born 27 January 1824 at Argentré. Ibid., Cote 4E 7/12, ibid., transcript.
- 4) Pierre Fouquet, born 28 February 1825 at Argentré. Ibid., transcript.
- 5) Julien Fouquet, born 13 March 1826 at Argentré. Ibid., transcript.
- 6) Francois Fouquet, born 25 May 1827, and died 4 April 1828, at Argentré. Ibid., transcript.
- 7) Joseph Fouquet, born 4 July 1828, and died 7 December 1828, at Argentré. Ibid., transcript.
- 8) RENEE LOUISE TALLUAU, born in Commune of Chapelle-Anthenaise, Municipality of Argentré, on 9 February 1807, daughter of René Talluau and Marie Loislard; married Jean Fouquet at Chapelle-Anthenaise on 3 June 1830; and died on 7 May 1878 at Argentré. See Ibid., Cotes: 4E 58/5, 4E 7/17; and Registres d'État Civil de la Chapelle-Anthenaise, Cote: 4E 58/7, ADM. Transcripts.
- 9) Leon Fouquet, born 30 April 1831 at Argentré. Registres d'État Civil d'Argentré, Cote 4E 7/13, ADM, transcript.
- 10) Marie Fouquet, born 29 September 1832 at Argentré. Ibid., transcript.
- 11) Joseph Fouquet, born 30 June 1834 at Argentré. Ibid., transcript.

APPENDIX IISt. Eugene Farm: Sample Activities & Costs

<u>P E R I O D</u>	<u>I T E M S</u>	<u>C O S T</u>
<u>1 8 7 4</u>		
August:	1. Purchases en route to the mission:	
	-Three year-old stallion.....	\$140.00
	-English mare and foal.....	\$130.00
	-Mare and colt.....	\$ 20.00
	-Pack-horse.....	\$ 40.00
	2. Customs duties.....	\$100.00
October:	3. Purchases:	
	-160 acre farm (downpayment).....	\$250.00
	-5 cows and 1 bull.....	\$200.00
	-1 cow.....	\$ 40.00
	4. Casual laborers.....	\$ 20.00
	5. Trip to Flatbows to retrieve cows.....	\$. ?
November:	6. Casual laborers.....	\$In kind
	7. Over 1000 lbs. potatoes taken by Indians.....	\$. ?
	8. About 20 hens killed by natives dogs.....	\$. ?
	9. Compensation for potatoes and hens:	
	-Meat donated.....	\$. ?
	-Firewood cut.....	\$. ?
	10. Donations:	
	-From Mexican harlot.....	\$. ?
	-From Protestant.....	\$ 3.50
	11. Visitors' meals and accomodation:	
	-2 to 4 persons nightly for month.....	\$. ?
	-Chinese visits for afternoon tea.....	\$. ?
	12. Contributions from visitors:	
	-Cash.....	\$ 2.00
	-30 lbs. flour.....	\$ 2.40
	13. 2000 feet lumber.....	\$100.00
<u>1 8 7 5</u>		
January:	14. Property payment.....	\$250.00
	15. Miscellaneous costs:	
	-Freight (Walla Walla to Kootenay).....	8-10c a lb.
	-Freight (Fort Hope to Kootenay).....	15-18c a lb.
	-Sugar.....	25c a lb.
	-Flour.....	8c a lb.
	-Nails.....	30c a lb.

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