

LET THE CROSS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH: MISSIONARY
GEOGRAPHIES OF POWER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

I look at the strategies of evangelization used by a Roman Catholic missionary congregation, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in nineteenth-century British Columbia. These strategies of evangelization involved multiple geographies, including a circulation of representations between North America and Europe: the various spatialities of evangelization itself; complex deployments of disciplinary and pastoral power; and cultural geographies of order.

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Abbreviations

AD	Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa, Canada.
CC	Colonial Correspondence, British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria, Canada.
ILQ	Papers connected with the Indian land question, 1850-1875. Victoria: R. Wolfenden, 1875.
Ore.	Drouin, Paul, ed. Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée en Orégon, 1847-1860. 3 vols. Ottawa: Archives Deschâtelets, 1992.
RG10	National Archives of Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Black Series.
UBCSC	University of British Columbia - Special Collections
VRCAD	Vancouver Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, Early Bishops' Correspondence.

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Part I: Introduction

“Lanterne magique, pièce curieuse. Approchez Mrs et MM vous verrez des choses extraordinaires, dont vous ne vous seriez jamais douté. des choses plus qu’extraordinaires, ravissantes, mais peu amusantes pour...les gens qui ayant mis la main à la lanterne en ont découverte le curieux mystère.”¹

[Magic lantern, strange object, come closer ladies and gentlemen and you will see amazing things, things you would never have imagined, delightful things. But not so entertaining for...those who have touched the lantern and unveiled its strange mystery.]

In August 1995 I attended the fourth Western Oblate Studies conference in St-Boniface, Manitoba. The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate were, and are, a Catholic congregation² that specialized in the evangelization of Native people in nineteenth-century Canada. The papers delivered came from a wide variety of sources, including graduate students, archivists, theologians, and secular clerics, but all focused on the activities of the Oblates over the century and a half since the congregation’s arrival in western Canada. The conference was interesting for me substantively, but even more so emotionally. I was astonished at the immensely critical stance that many of the papers assumed towards Oblate activity (particularly regarding the evangelization of Native people), but I was amazed and touched by the various and vehement responses of the

¹ Pandosy to ?, 27 November 1861, AD, Ore 2, ab-1, 1.

² As Robert Choquette explains, “In Roman Catholicism, groups of men or women who live in a community bound by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience are members either of religious orders or religious congregations. The difference between orders and congregations is a technical, canonical one, ‘order’ designating those groups bound by solemn vows, ‘congregation’ designating those bound by more simple, temporary vows.” **The Oblate assault on Canada’s north and west** (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995), 25fn.

audience (which included many Oblates) to the final paper, delivered by Wayne Holst, a Protestant missiologist. Holst acknowledged his appreciation of the contributions made by Catholic missionaries to Canada, and suggested that “lessons from the past...appear to provide direction for the future.”³ His paper provoked an emotional and heated debate that centered on the topic of the inclusivity of the Church and the appropriate goals of missionary activity, a debate that quickly crystallized into two diametrically opposed sets of beliefs. One position suggested that the very survival of the Church depended on its willingness to include and embrace a broad range of practices that were not encompassed by traditional Catholic dogma. The other position viewed the inclusion both of those practices and of those who engaged in them as lethal to the Church and its mission. The proselytization of Native people, then, was clearly still a central issue in 1995.

The conference, I think, suggests that the social, cultural, and political issues surrounding the Christian (and in this case Catholic) evangelization of Native people in Canada are far from being matters of mere historical curiosity; rather, they are issues that are alive and well today. The conference, and its implications, have haunted my study, which centers on the multiple geographies of power in which, and through which, the Oblate evangelization of Native people in the Pacific Northwest took place. I am particularly interested in the modalities of power deployed by the Catholic Church, which aimed to produce a docile and obedient clergy; the ways in which those same modalities of power were exported to North America and deployed by the Oblates to produce a

³ Reverend Wayne Holst, “*Revisiting our past - re-visioning our future: Reflections on the next 150 years of missionary activity in Canada*”, paper delivered at the Fourth Western Oblate Studies Conference in August, 1995.

specific type of Catholic Native; and the cultural geographies of power at work in nineteenth-century British Columbia, as they were exemplified by government and Oblate strategies for ordering/governing Native people.

Briefly, I make three cuts into Oblate evangelization in this dissertation. The first (Chapters 1-2) deals with the circulation of very broad bodies of knowledge between Europe and the “new world.” I focus on specifically Catholic knowledges rooted in sources as disparate as Augustine of Hippo, Sulpician seminaries, as well as the more general European trope of the noble savage, to trace out some of the ways that this accretion of knowledge - about Native people and discipline, for example - shaped Oblate activities in the Pacific Northwest. In other words, I am looking at the ways in which broad attitudes shaped by a Catholic and a specifically French world view were manifested by the Oblates in the nineteenth-century Pacific Northwest, whether in the form of habits, cultural assumptions or expectations that contributed concretely to missionary strategies.

Secondly, in chapters 3 and 4, I look at the geographies and spatialities of Oblate power in the Pacific Northwest, focusing explicitly on disciplinary and pastoral power. For example, I suggest that the Oblates’ itinerant method of evangelizing Native people had profound consequences for the contours and goals of a broadly disciplinary modality of power deployed by the Oblates. I thus consider disciplinary and pastoral power as they were deployed in the colonial settings of western North America.

And last, in chapter 5, I locate Oblate activity in the context of *British Columbia*. Here I look at the deployment of governmental and pastoral technologies of power in

order to ask some basic questions about the nature of these modalities of power, and also to look at the *cultural* geographies of power at work in nineteenth century British Columbia. I argue that while both the Oblates and the provincial/federal government were determined that the Native population should be orderly and disciplined, due to very different conceptions of order, their methods of deploying power, and their desires concerning the products of that power, were manifestly different.

Power, then, is the central theme of my study, and more specifically, the *Oblate* deployment of power, and some explanation of what I mean by power seems appropriate. In the sense I use it, power does *not* mean force or physical violence. As I understand it, power is a complex and ubiquitous set of relations. It is not owned by one group, who then wields it, or imposes it upon another group. Rather, power is anonymous, and it is constitutive: even when it acts to repress or alter sets of behavior, it is productive of a certain type of individual subject. It seems that the type of subject that is produced depends not only the modality of power deployed, but also on the space through which it operates. Thus disciplinary power in a factory system produces docile, industrious workers, while pastoral power aims to produce devout Catholic subjects.

Disciplinary and pastoral power - the primary themes of this dissertation - are terms that are difficult to prise apart because both are profoundly connected with individualization and normalization: on knowledge and the truth-effects it produces. What I mean is that knowledge, whether it is produced in the confessional or in the classroom, is power. It does not have to be 'used': power/knowledge produces both the

individual subject and 'reality': it shapes the ways in which individual subjects perceive and operate in that reality.

Clearly my conception of power owes a great deal to Michel Foucault, who offers a constructive framework with which to think. But as I hope to show throughout this project, modalities of power are considerably altered depending on the spaces through which they are deployed. In other words, powers have geographies.

A word about my intended audience and methodology. First and foremost I hope this dissertation is useful to geographers, and others, who are interested in geographical transformations of Foucault's notions of disciplinary and pastoral power when those modalities of power are deployed in a colonial space. Thus I argue that the disciplinary powers that were formulated by Foucault in a metropolitan setting are significantly altered by the physical geography - and above all by the lack of a metropolitan infrastructure - in which they are deployed. But Foucault's notion of pastoral power also changes dramatically when it encounters the human geographies of nineteenth-century British Columbia, a point I demonstrate by tracking Oblate attempts to deploy a form of pastoral power on a population of Native peoples who were not saturated with the norms or standards of Catholic culture from birth. The dissertation is thus aimed at Oblate evangelization of the Native, and not the Euro-Canadian, population of British Columbia.

My methodology has been dictated by my archival research, my analysis of that research, and by common sense. First, this is a comparative study of missionary activity in nineteenth-century British Columbia only to the *very meager* extent that some comparison with other denominational activities serves to elucidate Oblate methodology.

A thorough comparative study of Catholic, Methodist and Anglican activities during this period would be a multi-volume work.

Secondly, therefore, I focus on Oblate activity almost exclusively, but this is not to suggest that either Catholic missionization was a unified or cohesive project, or that Catholicism more generally was or is a monolithic institution. Not only did the Oblates differ amongst themselves about how to evangelize Native peoples, they also took different theological and methodological stances to, for example, those of the Society of Jesus - who were also Catholics working in the Pacific Northwest. Certainly currents - from Lammenais' liberalism to Maurras' Action Française - in a delimited national context such as nineteenth-century France suggest the diversity of Catholic opinion regarding the role of the Church as an institution in society and politics.

Third, I have chosen to focus on correspondence between the Oblate fathers in British Columbia for two reasons. For one, I am *not* interested in writing a dissertation about missionary propaganda - embodied in missionary publications - aimed at a European audience. I *am* interested in what the Oblates who were working and living in British Columbia thought was taking place, and the most common-sensical way to do this, it seems to me, is to look at the correspondence they carried on amongst themselves and their Bishop, who also resided in British Columbia. This correspondence, between men who knew one another and the circumstances in which they were working, would benefit not from romanticism or exaggeration, but from practicality and straightforwardness. Thus my focus is on the correspondence itself, and not on secondary

sources that interpret that correspondence from perspectives that range from the hagiographical to the virulently anti-clerical.

Fourth, I see Oblate activity in British Columbia as a “project” in the sense that Nicholas Thomas intends that term. Thus a project is not a “narrowly instrumental” or practico-material enterprise,⁴ it also entails intentions and imaginations, and I would argue, habits. Intentions and imaginations are important because they not only shape the field of objects at which they are aimed, but are also shaped by those objects. Thus it seems important to account for the religious and cultural geographies that shaped Oblate material practices and fueled Oblate imaginations. Clearly, then, I am not attempting to deal with discourse in the Foucauldian sense of the relationship between anonymous statements, but instead to track the deployment of power in practice and intention.

Last, this a dissertation about *missionary geographies* of power - not a geography of missionary power. Thus while I do occasionally consider Native responses and initiatives to Oblate activities I do not tackle the question of Native resistance to Oblate evangelization in a comprehensive way. There are a number of reasons for this, some practical and others theoretical.

Theoretically, I’ve become frankly cynical about current conceptions of resistance. Many contemporary scholars seem to celebrate resistance wholesale, and too often tend to interpret activities *a posteriori* as resistances when they often do not seem to merit that label. More, it scarcely seems feasible to imagine resistance as working through the cracks, fissures and interstices of power if one believes power to be a network

⁴ Nicholas Thomas, **Colonialism’s culture: Anthropology, travel and government** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 58.

rather than a block. Thus, with Cresswell, I believe there is a useful distinction to be made between resistance and transgression: while the former can be characterized largely by intentionality on the part of the actor, the latter is attributed to an "agent" by an observer.⁵ In other words, transgression does not necessarily imply intentionality, but certainly suggests observable results. From this perspective, I do chart Native *transgressions* as they were perceived and assigned by the Oblates.

On the practical side, I am unconvinced that Oblate accounts can be seen as transparently readable representations of Native activities, much less of their intentions, or their "consciousness." The Oblates had a wide range of conceptions regarding Native people that bore the indelible stamp not only of their European heritage but also of their Catholic training. An interpretation of their interpretations of Native actions would simply be too stretched, thin, and unreliable.

In a large sense this dissertation is equally a historical geography and a historical geography of the present. It, like Mr. Holst, speaks to both the past and the future, and its salience has never been far from my mind. I hope that my tone is neither celebratory nor condemning, but rather inquiring, and that I have managed to distinguish between evidence and polemic. I also realize that I have an unrelentingly secular and academic view of Oblate activity, and that while I admire (and to some extent envy) the *faith* that drove that activity, I also find much of its methodology alarming, and indeed all too familiar to North Americans in 1997.

⁵ Tim Cresswell. **In place/out of place: Geography, ideology and transgression** (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). I paraphrase very broadly from pages 21-23.

Chapter I

Tridentine Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century France

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (originally called the Missionaries of Provence) were, and remain, a Catholic religious congregation founded by Bishop Eugène de Mazenod in 1816 during one of the most politically and religiously complex periods in French history. The foundation of the congregation was a reaction to such currents in France as secularization, the subordination of Church to state, and liberalism, and it was intended to remedy the numerical and qualitative decline of the French clergy and the religious ignorance of the populace. The Oblates, then, were the products of a distinctly French historical geography, but they were also shaped by specifically Catholic disciplinary technologies epitomized by the seminary (itself the product of a particular set of historical and geographical forces) as well as by the personality and temperament of their founder.

A consideration of all of these factors - French history, religious training, and the attitudes of the founder - is indispensable to an understanding of the general goals and attitudes that would indelibly stamp Oblate practice and ideology in their foreign missions. Thus in order to clarify Oblate methods of evangelization and disciplinary strategies in North America I begin this first chapter by limning the religious style and the politics of nineteenth-century France around the time of the Oblates' foundation. I then offer a thumbnail sketch of the life of their founder, Eugène de Mazenod, in order to suggest that many of his attitudes towards the events occurring during his lifetime marked the style and "personality" of the congregation as a whole. Next, I consider the seminary formation of the nineteenth-century French clergy, a process which was particularly

important not only for the clergy itself, but also for those who were evangelized by them, both in France and North America. I describe standard Catholic mission practices in France, and conclude with the arrival of the Oblate congregation in the North American Pacific Northwest.

The Catholic Church in Pre-Revolutionary France

“The procession moved on with measured step, bordered on either side by the ranks of the French and Swiss Guards. At its head, immediately after the clergy of Versailles, came the deputies of the States General, each carrying a candle. First, solemn and numerous, the members of the Third Estate, clothed entirely in black except for the white of their cambric neckcloths. Next, resplendent but few in number, walked the nobility, their costumes ornate with embroidery and lace and their Renaissance hats surmounted with white plumes. Then, in the place of honor next to the Blessed Sacrament, came the different sections of the clergy, a glittering file of prelates in ruby and amethyst, separated from the sad throng of the parish clergy by a group of musicians. At the rear of the procession, behind the consecrated host carried at arm’s length by the Archbishop of Paris, Monsignor Juigné, came the king [Louis XVI], walking heavily and weighed down by his costume of cloth of gold, crossed with the blue sash of the Order of the Holy Ghost.” 4 May, 1789.¹

In pre-Revolutionary France the Catholic religion was the *state* religion. France was, as Norman Ravitch has suggested, a “confessional state”² in which citizenship was intimately connected to religious denomination. On the eve of revolution, for an overwhelming majority of the French people, “the practice of the Catholic religion was a central and unquestioned part of their existence.”³

¹ Adrien Dansette, **Religious history of modern France**, trans. John Dingle, 2 vols. (London: Nelson, 1961), I: 3.

² Norman Ravitch, **The Catholic Church and the French nation, 1589-1989** (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 29.

³ Ralph Gibson, **A social history of French Catholicism, 1789-1914** (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 2.

But what kind of religion was eighteenth-century French Catholicism? Ralph Gibson outlines several characteristics of what he calls “Tridentine Catholicism,”⁴ most of which can be traced back to broad changes in the nature of the clergy itself. The eighteenth-century clergy was a reformed clergy. It was the product of legislation mandated by the third session of the Council of Trent (1562-1563), in particular the development of a rigorous seminary training which aimed to produce a moral, disciplined clergy, but which also placed enormous emphasis on changing the relations of the clergy with society.⁵ The religious hierarchy of the Church⁶ was to be reinforced by the hardening of a social hierarchy produced by the seminaries’ cultivation of a clerical *contemptus mundi*, a total disengagement with things of this world, a keen focus on the afterlife, and a rejection of many strands of Enlightenment thought. One of the practical effects of this rejection of the world was the development of a sharp dividing line between clergy and laity. Whereas curés⁷ had historically been thoroughly engaged in the

⁴ Tridentine because it is associated with mandates of the Council of Trent. The following paragraph is a summary of the points Gibson makes on pages 16-28.

⁵ Philip T. Hoffman suggests that the historical geography of seminary development in France was sporadic due to the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus areas that experienced less denominational strife tended to implement the Tridentine seminary legislation far more rapidly than areas more directly affected by religious hostilities. **Church and community in the diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 35.

⁶ Church hierarchy begins at the top with the Pope, who is aided by his cardinals. Patriarchs and primates comprise the next rung of the hierarchy, followed by Archbishops, who govern provinces. The Episcopacy is composed of titular and diocesan Bishops, as well as Apostolic Vicars. Diocesan Bishops have jurisdiction over a given diocese (composed of parishes), over a Vicar General (his chief assistant) and over the diocesan clergy constituted by pastors (parish priests) and canons, who form the cathedral chapter. The diocesan clergy form part of the secular clergy, in contradistinction to regulars who are members of religious communities or societies bound by solemn vows and who may or may not be ordained.

⁷ Curés were and are priests in charge of a parish.

social life of the parish, performing such “paraliturgical” rituals as religious processions to ensure good harvests, the ringing of church bells to ward off hail storms and actively participating in baptismal and marriage feasts.⁸ the eighteenth-century clergy was encouraged to make a sharp distinction between the sacred and the profane, and to root out what some scholars have called “popular religion”⁹ - a watered-down form of Catholicism.

Perhaps the most startling aspect (to the modern eye) of eighteenth-century Catholicism was what some have called its extreme moral rigorism, characterized by a focus on the pains of hell, the probability of damnation, and the small number of the elect. Moral rigorists saw the sacraments as a privilege or a reward for moral behavior, rather than as a means of moral regeneration, and they were often reluctant to allow parishioners access to the sacraments, particularly communion. In sum, pre-Revolutionary French Catholicism was what Jean Delumeau has called a “*pastorale de la peur*”¹⁰ that emphasized a fear of God rather than a love of Christ, and which was preoccupied with guilt and sin. This *pastorale de la peur* boomed out from the Sunday pulpit, and as Gibson notes was integral to internal missions which were notorious for their “ferocious” preaching styles.¹¹

⁸ I borrow the phrase and example from Hoffman, 53.

⁹ Cf. Gibson, and Gérard Cholvy, “*Du Dieu terrible au Dieu d’amour*”: *Une évolution dans la sensibilité religieuse au XIXe siècle*” in **Transmettre la foi: XVIe-XXe siècles** (Dijon: 109 Congrès national des sociétés savantes, 1984).

¹⁰ [pastorate of fear.] This is a central tenet of Delumeau’s work **La péché et la peur. La culpabilisation en occident, XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles** (Paris: Fayard, 1983).

¹¹ Internal missions were missions given in one’s own country, foreign missions were and are missions to pagans or infidels. Ralph Gibson, “*Hellfire and damnation in nineteenth-century France*” **The Catholic Historical Review** LXXIV (1988, 383-402, 387).

This focus on the “*Dieu terrible*” would dominate French Catholicism until the mid-nineteenth century.¹² So, for example, a sermon from the mid-eighteenth century thundered:

"To give you only some slight idea of hell, imagine firstly all the terrible punishments which God sometimes visits upon men on earth: infirmity, illness, sudden death, adversity, loss of lawsuits, hunger, raging thirst, cruel famine, bloody war, flood, fire...Then gather together all the sufferings undergone daily by the poor wretches of our hospitals, raging toothache, the convulsions of epilepsy, burning fever, broken bones, dislocated joints, violent colic...[then add to this] all the tortures undergone by the martyrs: sharp swords, iron combs, red-hot grills, boiling oil, melted lead, burning braziers, in a word, all the fury of the tyrants, or rather of demons..."

Similarly, and equally extravagantly, a hymn from 1830 warned:

In Hell I endure unbelievable torments
I see on all sides the most terrible sights
I hear only moans and howls and cries
Horrible blasphemies, and gnashing of teeth,
Because I concealed my sins in confession.¹³

This “hellfire and damnation” approach to salvation was common to the entire French clergy, both secular and regular, and it was the style of preaching employed by the Oblates in their French missions. Doubtless the clergy’s obsession with sin (particularly sexual sin) and hell contributed to the anti-clericalism of the French Revolution.

The French laity varied significantly in its responses to Tridentine Catholicism: there were distinctive human geographies of religious practice at work in both eighteenth-

¹² [terrible God.] Gibson (1988, 387); Cholvy, (1984, 142). I give some examples of Oblate mission preaching in France in a later section.

¹³ The 1750 sermon is cited in Gibson (1989, 27); the hymn *ibid.*, 246. The utility of the *pastorale de la peur* is perhaps best summed up by a clergyman in 1808: "take away hell, and you will thunder in vain against sin. If there is no hell, where is the justice of God?" From Gibson, (1989, 247).

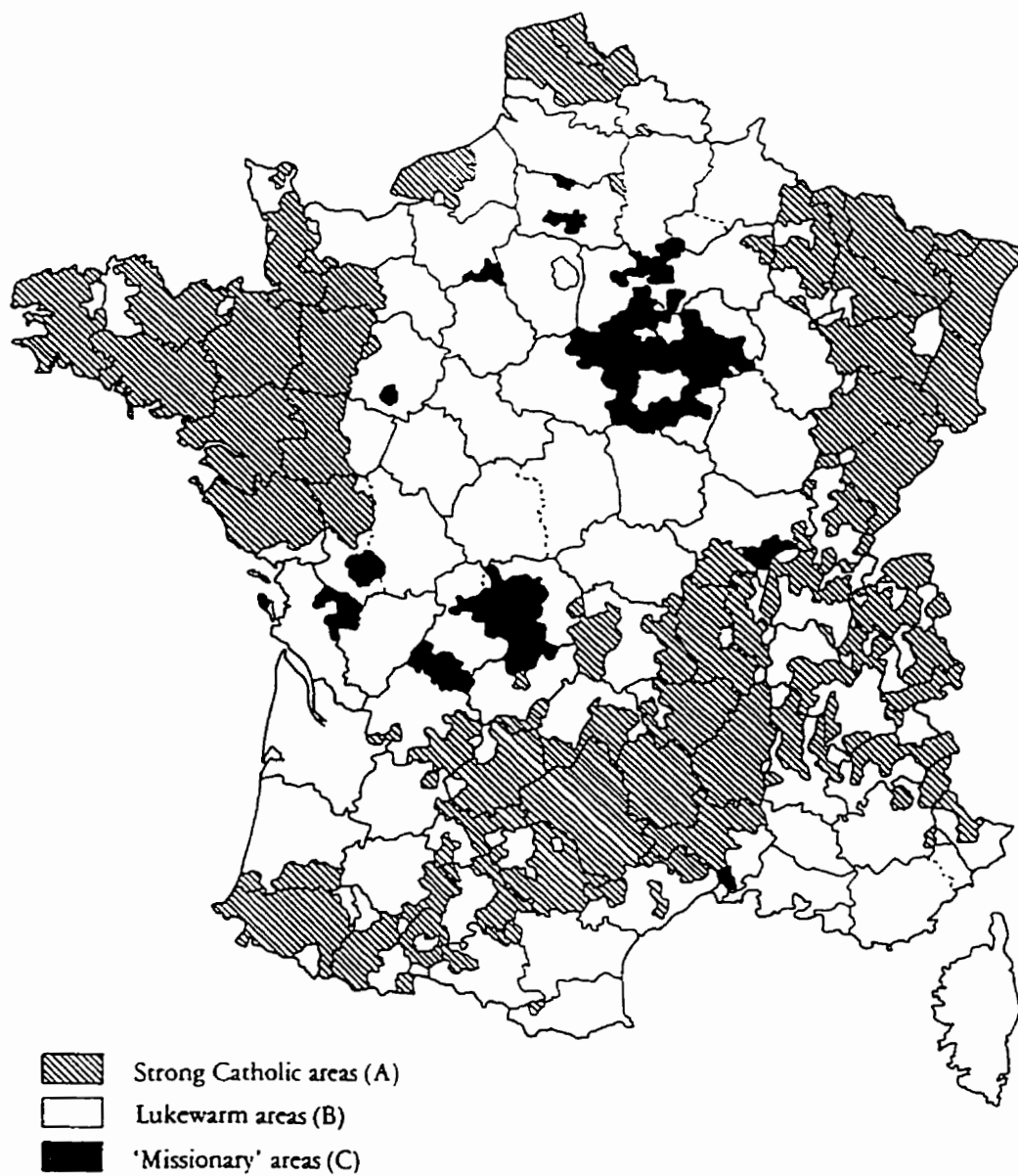


Figure 1.1 La carte Boulard

and nineteenth-century France (see figure 1.1). Most studies of religious practice in France are based on the numbers of parishioners who took Easter communion.¹⁴ They are by definition studies of practice, not of the depth of religious sentiment. In sum, they suggest a pronounced regional geography of religious practice, where Brittany, the Massif Centrale, Alsace-Lorraine and the western Pyrenees could all be called “good” Catholic regions, while the Limousin and the Paris Basin were considered “missionary areas,” and the rest of France could perhaps best be characterized as “lukewarm.”¹⁵ But religious practice also turned on gender (women were far more fervent Catholics than men), and class (the bourgeoisie and the working classes were distinctly anti-clerical, while the peasantry made communion more regularly). The clergy, as well as government officials, often noted a difference between city and countryside too. Thus a justice of the peace in Besançon:

“The agricultural areas are essentially moral and religious. The man who owes his fortune to the marvellous [sic] workings of machines, whose mind is constantly turned towards material things, more easily forgets his origin: the man of the fields cannot forget his creator: in his distress, when the weather is bad or his harvest threatened, he prays to heaven for help...The worker in a factory only sees the action of matter, the agricultural worker relates everything to the action of a divinity.”¹⁶

¹⁴ Yves-Marie Hilaire summarizes these studies in his “*Les contrastes géographiques et les phases de l’évolution religieuse du XIXe siècle à travers l’histoire quantitative de la pratique cultuelle*” in **Christianisation et déchristianisation**. Actes de la 9e rencontre d’histoire religieuse (Angers: Presses de l’université d’Angers, 1986) 199-207.

¹⁵ Gibson (1989, 170).

¹⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, 225.

Even in this highly simplified form, these geographies suggest that a great deal of caution must be used: I don't want to over-emphasize the power of either the clergy or the *pastorale de la peur* in the eighteenth century. Clearly there were counter-trends that would ultimately prove attractive to significant segments of the French population. Enlightenment philosophy, with its emphasis on individualism, rationality, and liberalism, in tandem with an increasing trend of secularization (described by Peter Gay as "a subtle shift of attention [in which] religious institutions and religious explanations of events were slowly being displaced from the center of life to its periphery")¹⁷ were offering serious competition to the ideological hegemony of the Catholic church in France.

The Church and Revolution

In this section I focus on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods in France, which had serious consequences for the clergy and for the Church itself. Both periods saw the government enactment of measures that the Oblate congregation was founded to counteract.

In 1789, when the States General were called, there was a clear alignment between large portions of the lower clergy, influenced by Richerism,¹⁸ and some of the more revolutionary elements of the First and Third Estates. This loose coalition was based on a mutual desire to reform the Church, but measures taken by the National

¹⁷ Peter Gay. **The Enlightenment: An interpretation**, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), I: 338.

¹⁸ Richerism, named for Edmund Richer, was a movement that saw the government of the Church as belonging to the clergy as a whole, not simply to the Episcopacy.

Assembly - which included abolishing the tithe and contemplative orders, nationalizing Church property, and refusing to name Catholicism the national religion - soon alienated some of the clergy. With the promulgation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790, the National Assembly undertook to reform the diocesan and Episcopal structures of the Church, reforms that may have been repugnant to many clerics because they were based firmly on the premise that the lay population was to have a voice in the governance of the Church through participation in the election of both Episcopacy and clergy. More, all clergy paid by the State were ordered to swear an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution, a move that many saw as firmly inserting the state into Church affairs. The Civil Constitution, then, envisioned a Church subordinate to the State, and governed by popular sovereignty, conditions which must have displeased a clergy steeped in Tridentine traditions, and yet Gibson estimates that almost half of the French clergy did take the oath.¹⁹

War with Austria (1792-1793) coupled with the hostility of the Girondins and their anti-Catholic legislation precipitated the most violent anti-clericalism of the revolutionary period, when some 30,000 refractory clergy, who had refused to take the oath of loyalty, left the country, most as forced deportees, and some 2 - 3,000 clergy and religious were guillotined, deported to Guyana (the "dry" guillotine), or otherwise murdered.²⁰ This brutal persecution lessened with the collapse of the Jacobin government

¹⁹ Gibson, (1989, 38). Parish clergy were far more prone to take the oath than the Episcopacy, and the Pope condemned the Civil Constitution in 1791.

²⁰ Donat Levasseur, *Cours d'histoire de la Congrégation*, in **Archives d'histoire Oblate**, Maurice Gilbert and Gaston Carrière, eds., 23 vols. (Ottawa: Editions des Etudes Oblates, 1955), vol. 9: 12.

on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) and the rise of the Thermidorians, but did not cease entirely until Napoleon Bonaparte's accession to power in 1799.

Napoleon was not content merely to subordinate the Church to the state, he wanted to completely dominate it. This strategy was realized with the successful negotiation of the 1801 Concordat with the Pope, which gave Napoleon the power to nominate bishops, to approve all clergy, and which ensured the legitimacy of the property rights of those who had acquired Church property. The Concordat also required all clergy to swear an oath of loyalty to the government. Napoleon thus created a clergy who were intended to police morality and yet owe formal allegiance to the state: they would serve as his "purple prefects" and "gendarmes in cassocks."²¹

The impact of the events I have just outlined lasted well into the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most drastic of these, and the one with the most serious consequences, was the paucity and inadequacy of the clerical ranks. By 1809 the clergy numbered only half what it had twenty years previously, approximately one third of those who remained were over sixty years of age, and there were few new vocations during the revolutionary period and the First Empire.²² The suppression of monastic orders and religious congregations doubtless had an impact on both the religious education of the general population, and on the functioning of charitable aid to the poor. And the dearth of clergy, the closing of churches and the confiscation of church property, all contributed to religious ignorance and to a decline in habits of religious practice in some segments of

²¹ Robert Tombs, **France, 1814-1914** (New York: Longman Press, 1996), 132.

²² Levasseur, (1955, 15).

the population. This, then, was the era in which Eugène de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, grew up.

Eugène de Mazenod

“Il faut que...je me consacre de nouveau et pour toujours au service du prochain, mais que je ne néglige moins moi-même, que je veille davantage sur mon intérieur....en un mot, que je travaille en même temps et au salut des âmes et de ma propre sanctification.”²³

[I must consecrate myself again and for all time to the service of the next life, but in order that I do not neglect myself, I must watch closely over my interior, in a word I must work at the same time for both the salvation of souls and for my own sanctification.]

Charles Joseph Eugène de Mazenod was born 1 August 1782, into a family of “wealth, rank, and refinement.”²⁴ As minor aristocrats, staunch monarchists, and with a family tradition of service in the Church, the Mazenods were forced to flee France in 1790, and Eugène would spend the next twelve years of his life in exile. He attended the Collège des Nobles at Turin for several years in the early 1790s, studied with Don Bartolo Zinelli (a Jesuit influence) in Venice in 1794-1797, lived in Naples for two years, and spent 1799-1802 in Palermo high society. He returned to France, and while trying to repossess his family’s confiscated properties, Mazenod experienced a “conversion” in late 1806 or early 1807 and entered the Saint-Sulpice seminary in Paris in October 1808. Ordained in December 1811, Mazenod returned to Aix, and by 1814, stunned by the “spiritual wilderness” which he attributed to the depredations of Napoleon and the

²³ Eugene de Mazenod, October 1818, cited in Marius Nogaret, “*Le jeu de l’inspiration et de l’institution dans la vocation sacerdotale et missionnaire d’Eugene de Mazenod*”, **Kerygma** 8 (1974) 126-152, 143.

²⁴ Robert Cooke, OMI, **Sketches of the life of Monseigneur de Mazenod**...2 vols., (London, 1879) I: 6.

Revolution on the Church and society, he began to contemplate founding a missionary society. In 1816 the Missionaries of Provence were created, and in 1826 Pope Leo XII formally approved Mazenod's congregation, which was renamed the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

The Missionaries of Provence, and later the Oblates, were formed to enable Mazenod to address what he saw as the three primary problems facing the Roman Catholic Church in France: "l'affaiblissement pour ne pas dire la perte totale de la foi; l'ignorance des peuples; la paresse, la nonchalance, la corruption des prêtres."²⁵ Both congregations were initially intended to preach to the poor of Provence in the vernacular, and to combine the orderliness of life in a religious community with an active ministry in the world. Thus, as Mazenod envisioned the overall functions of the congregation,

"leur vie sera donc partagée entre la prière, la méditation des vérités saintes, la pratique des vertus religieuses, étude de la sainte écriture, des saints pères, de la théologie dogmatique et morale, la prédication et la direction de la jeunesse. Les missionnaires se diviseront de manière que, tandis que les uns s'exerceront dans la communauté à acquérir les vertus et les connaissances propres d'un bon missionnaire, les autres parcourront les campagnes pour y annoncer la parole de Dieu."²⁶

[Their lives will therefore be divided between prayer, meditation of the holy truths, the practice of religious virtues, study of the holy Scripture, of the holy fathers, of dogmatic and moral theology, preaching and direction of youth. The missionaries will divide themselves such that while some will apply themselves, within the community, to acquiring the virtues and knowledge appropriate for a good missionary, the others will travel through the countryside there to announce the word of God.]

²⁵ [the weakening not to say the total loss of faith; the ignorance of the populace; the indolence, nonchalance, the corruption of the priests.] Levasseur, (1955) 26.

²⁶ Ibid., 39.

Full membership in the congregation was accorded only to those who had undergone two years of probation, and all were required to take vows of chastity, obedience, perseverance and poverty. All the Oblates were expected to submit completely to Mazenod's constitution and rules for the congregation.

The Oblates' ministry was constantly expanding: as well as giving missions, seminaries were soon included within their purview, as were a variety of shrines, youth and women's programs, educational programs, and, eventually, foreign missions. The first indication that Mazenod was thinking of expanding the reach of the congregation outside France was in 1830, concurrent with the French invasion of Algiers.²⁷ This desire was reflected in the Chapter General of 1831,²⁸ but would not bear fruit until 1841, when several Oblates were sent to North America and to England. The Oblates' acceptance of foreign missions immediately bolstered their ability to recruit young men, and the habit of reading letters from the fathers in foreign missions served only to "s'enthousiasme" the

²⁷ Oblate Father Rey expressed Mazenod's view regarding the conquest of Algeria as a hope that "la croix prendrait possession de la terre africaine sous les plis du drapeau de la France." [let the cross take possession of African soil under the folds of the French flag.] Cited in Levasseur, (1955, 65). In a letter to Louis Veuillot, editor of the ultra-Catholic newspaper *L'univers*, Mazenod wrote: "Monsieur, ce que vous dites dans votre dernière article sur la nécessité de faire des Chrétiens des indigènes d'Algérie pour en faire des français m'a fait un...grand plaisir." [Sir, what you say in your last article on the necessity of making Christians of the indigenous peoples of Algeria in order to make them French gave me...a great deal of pleasure.] Mazenod to Veuillot, 30 June 1859, Mazenod, Eugene de, *Eveque de Marseilles - Correspondance Générale, 1803-1861*, 10 vols. AD, BC 494.M47, vol. 10.

²⁸ The ordinary authority structure of the congregation was vested in the Superior General who was elected for life by the Chapter General (held every six years to determine policy or in cases of emergency) which was composed of the general administrators, provincials, vicars of missions, and delegates from each province or vicariate.

seminarians.²⁹ But specific instructions for foreign missions would not be appended to the Rule until 1853.

In conjunction with his duties as founder and Superior General of the Oblates, Mazenod was consecrated (titular) Bishop of Icosia (Tunis and Tripoli) in 1832, and (diocesan) Bishop of Marseilles (where he replaced his uncle Charles-Fortuné) in 1837. He was thus charged with a diocesan clergy as well as his own congregation. He encouraged his seculars to focus explicitly on the propagation of the cult of the Eucharist, on the formation of religious communities, and demanded that they take a Liguorian stance (see below page 22) toward penance.

His initial elevation to the Episcopacy, without consent from the July Monarchy, was to make his relations with that government difficult, and he was deprived of his French citizenship (reinstated in 1835). He was deeply involved in the strife surrounding education, and worked against the monopoly of state-run universities. He was firm in his stance toward the independence of the Papal States, a fact which would eventually alienate him from Napoleon III, who appointed him to the Senate in 1852. Bishop Eugène de Mazenod died in 1861.

This is only the briefest of summaries, but it is sufficient for me to emphasize several aspects of Mazenod's life and attitudes which are reflected in the Oblate congregation as a whole. The first of these is quite simply his class position. Mazenod, as Leflon points out, "favored the exclusively agricultural economy of the ancien régime," and this, I believe, prevented him from grasping the problems faced by a burgeoning

²⁹ [enthuse.] Yvon Beaudoin, **Grand Séminaire de Marseilles - et scolasticat Oblat - sous la direction des Oblats de Marie Immaculée, 1827-1862** (Rome, 1966), 142.

urban working class in an increasingly industrialized society.³⁰ He was unable to come to grips with modern poverty because he “understood poverty to mean only destitution resulting from individual [and I would argue divine] circumstances...”³¹ In other words, he held “the normative Catholic view that work and misfortune were punishments for sin and that inequality was natural and inevitable.”³² He was thus unwilling, for example, to participate in a study into the conditions of poverty initiated by the Minister of the Interior in 1840, in part because he could not see that the nature of poverty had changed, but also because he feared that the state would encroach on the Church’s traditional role as the primary provider of charity. These attitudes were reflected in the congregation most obviously in their focus on the rural agrarian population of southwestern France.

Second, Mazenod was a dyed-in-the-wool ultramontanist, by which I mean that he literally looked beyond the mountains: he was oriented to Rome and the papacy rather than to a more Gallican version of the Church. He vehemently opposed the secularizing tendencies of liberal and republican régimes, and was unwilling to countenance any government interference into affairs he saw as totally within the Church’s purview. His relations with most of the governments that came into power in France during his lifetime were thus often bitter and tense.

But he and his Oblates also practiced an ultramontane form of piety, and the Oblates were forerunners in several trends that would come to dominate French

³⁰ Jean Leflon, **Eugene de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1782-1861**, trans. Francis D. Flanagan. OMI, 4 vols. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), I: 217.

³¹ Leflon, III: 78.

³² Ravitch, 86.

Catholicism after 1860: they placed a great deal of emphasis on Marian devotion, and they believed that religion should “prendre l’homme par la pompe, le ravissement des yeux.”³³ They also took a Liguorian stance on confessional practices, rejecting the probabiliorist approach of the Sulpicians, who were moral rigorists. The Sulpicians used a moral system regarding questions of conscience where a confessor must always opt for the law over liberty even in cases where an equally good argument can be made for either position (probabiliorism). The Sulpicians also placed a great deal of emphasis on the *contemptus mundi*, and were particularly vehement about dangers of the flesh.³⁴ While the Oblates were also rigorists regarding sex, as a missionary congregation they could hardly practice the complete rejection of the world recommended by the Sulpicians. Nor did they adhere to a probabiliorist position regarding confession. Rather, they adopted the more conciliatory position that marked the moral theology of Saint Alphonsus Liguori: probabilism. Probabilism was a doctrine that rested on a position that “where a moral law was not absolutely clear...and where the contrary position was ‘probable’ in...that a reasonable case could be made out for it, a confessor must not impose it.”³⁵ In other words, Liguori favored liberty over the law, and Mazenod favored Liguori over the more rigorist Sulpician stance toward confession.³⁶

³³ [take hold of men through pomp, the rapture of the eyes.] Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire, **Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine (1800-1880)**, 2 vols., (Toulouse: Editions Privat, 1985), I: 186.

³⁴ Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of the Sulpician order, believed that the flesh was “the consequence of sin, the basis of sin.” Cited in Gibson (1989, 93).

³⁵ Ibid., 261.

³⁶ Georges Cosentino notes Mazenod’s debt to the constitution of the Redemptorists (founded by Liguori). *Histoire de nos règles*, in the collection **Archives d’histoire Oblate**, Maurice Gilbert and Gaston Carrière, eds., 23 vols. (Ottawa: Editions des Etudes Oblates, 1955) vols. 3-8, 3: 71-130. Cholvy and Hilaire (I: 156) note that already in 1809

Last, and most important, I think that Mazenod's experiences at the Sulpician seminary are critical to an understanding of the Oblate Congregation itself in two equally important senses. First, as Yves Beaudoin argues, "la Règle oblate...[était] toute imprégnée de l'esprit sulpicien."³⁷ And second, many Oblate devotional practices and exercises of piety directly reflected those used at the Saint-Sulpice seminary during Mazenod's stay there. As Beaudoin notes, these include articles of the Rule concerning meditation, and the regulation of Oblate seminaries, as well as preparation for communion, and the oraison. Sulpician influences are also apparent in the formulas laid out regarding the proper manner to perform exercises of piety (hearing mass, praying, etc.).³⁸ But the role of the seminary was not only critical to Mazenod's own personal religious formation, it also played a supremely important role for the entire congregation, all of whom would be trained in French seminaries, and many Oblates were trained in seminaries directed by the congregation itself.

Discipline and Seminary Formation

"the regime of disciplinary power...differentiates individuals from one another, in terms of the following overall rule: that the rule be made to function as a minimal threshold, as an average to be respected or as an optimum towards which one must

Mazenod was "invoking the authority of [Liguori] in order to encourage frequent communion." He succeeded in obtaining some relics of Saint Liguori - a handbone, a letter and a cassock fragment - in 1826. Cooke, I: 97.

³⁷ [the Oblate rule...was completely permeated by the Sulpician spirit]. Yvon Beaudoin, "*Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée, des Sulpiciens missionnaires?*", **Vie Oblate Life** 51 (1992) 279-290, 285.

³⁸ Cosentino (3: 167) traces out the impact of Sulpician spirituality and "usages" on the Oblate Rule in great detail, but he also argues that this Sulpician spirituality was of a distinctly seventeenth-century character, a point that I do not think entirely holds for the Oblates.

move...[it] compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes."³⁹

"connaître le règlement, c'est comprendre le séminaire."⁴⁰

Eugène de Mazenod's time at the Sulpician seminary in Paris between 1808 and 1811 had a profound impact not only on his own personal techniques of self-immolation, but on the Oblate congregation as well. The Oblates' seminary experience is key to understanding many of the practices in which the Oblates engaged in North America, particularly regarding discipline and the formation of Christian Native subjects.

Seminary training for the clergy was instituted by the third session (1562-1563) of the Council of Trent, which ruled that every diocese should erect a seminary open to rich and poor alike.⁴¹ These seminaries were to remedy the widespread problems of ignorant and un-disciplined Catholic clerics that Reformation theologians and satirists painted in such broad and effective strokes.⁴² But as Hoffman has pointed out, the erection of seminaries in France had a distinctive historical geography. Where urban centers such as Lyons may have been experiencing the full impact of the counter-Reformation before

³⁹ Michel Foucault, **Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison**, Alan Sheridan trans. (New York: Vintage, 1979), 183. Hereafter cited DP.

⁴⁰ [to know the rule is to understand the seminary.] Christian Dumoulin, **Un séminaire français au 19^{eme} siècle: le recrutement, la formation, la vie des clercs à Bourges** (Paris: Téqui, 1978), 176.

⁴¹ A.G. Dickens, **The Counter-Reformation** (Thames and Hudson, 1968), 128. For the "haphazard" education of pre-Tridentine clergy see A.D. Wright, **The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the non-Christian World** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 79.

⁴² Satires of monks and Catholic clergy were immensely popular in the 16th century, and perhaps none more so than the *Letters of Obscure Men* (1515), in which "the 'monkish' defenders of tired traditions were exposed, in all their ignorance, stupidity, vanity and self-seeking." G.R. Elton, **Reformation Europe, 1517-1559** (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1963), 32.

1600, many rural areas in France would remain unaffected until much later in the seventeenth century.⁴³ By the time of the French Revolution, however, the seminary system was firmly entrenched in France (160 were in operation in 1789), and many had been confided to the care of the relatively new orders - such as the Sulpicians - who specialized in seminary training.⁴⁴ There is no question that the seminaries of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries drew on many monastic techniques for the control and discipline of the seminarians, and had as their aim what Asad has called the formation of moral Christian dispositions.⁴⁵ In this section, I trace out some of the disciplinary strategies and tactics employed in seminaries, with a focus on Sulpician seminaries and those under the guidance of, and attended by, the Oblates. I then consider the subjects that these disciplinary techniques aimed to produce, and the type of education a missionary priest could expect to receive.

Discipline: The Victory of the Clock

As Christian Dumoulin has noted, if French seminaries in the nineteenth century made innovations to models of Christian discipline ranging from Chrysostom to Saint Charles of Borromeo, those innovations lay only “dans le souci de la réglementation, dans la minutie de certaines prescriptions.”⁴⁶ Every minute of the seminarian’s day was to

⁴³ Hoffman, 35.

⁴⁴ I take the statistic from Bernard Plongeron, **La vie quotidienne du clergé français au 18^{eme} siècle** (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1974), 54.

⁴⁵ Talal Asad, **Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam** (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 134.

⁴⁶ [in a concern for the regulations, in the minutiae of certain prescriptions.] Dumoulin, 180.

be constructively accounted for, every gesture weighed, every action monitored. Thus the daily timetable of the Oblate Seminary of Marseilles in 1829 prescribed:

4.55 AM - rise
 5:15 - prayer, mass, study
 8 - breakfast
 8:15 class
 9:15 - study
 11:30 - reading, particular examination, lunch
 1:30 PM - rosary, Vespers, Compline
 1:45 - singing, ceremonies
 2:15 - study in cell
 3:30 - class
 4:30 - Matins, Lauds [sic] in common for those in orders
 6:30 - spiritual reading
 7:00 - chapel, Angelus
 7:15 - dinner, visit to the Host, recreation
 8:15 - examination of conscience, prayer
 9:15 - bed⁴⁷

“Recreation,” in the seminary, took the form of disputations on specific subjects, and the time spent walking from the college to the chapel, for example, was to be used to say the rosary. The clock, then, played a pre-eminent role in the lives of the seminarians, taking its cue from the (monastic) liturgical schedule, which suggests what Foucault has called the “three great methods - establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition” that would come to underpin the temporality of the new disciplines.⁴⁸ Indeed the correlation between the Rule and the Clock was clearly

⁴⁷ Beaudoin, 67. Why the Oblates celebrated matins and lauds in the afternoon rather than in the morning is a mystery to me, but there are repeated references to this practice.

⁴⁸ Foucault, DP, 149.

recognized by both the seminarians and their guardians, and obedience to the imperatives of time was a measure of one's vocation.⁴⁹

But the seminary was not simply ruled by the clock. The cloister of the seminary was designed to shelter the seminarians from the world and to allow them to "se vider de l'esprit du siècle."⁵⁰ Walled, inward-looking, entirely masculine, the seminary was also designed both to mimic and to produce the contemplation required by a religious life.⁵¹ Thus the production of space, and the construction of lines of surveillance, were crucial

⁴⁹ Dumoulin cites several "odes" to the clock - "par toi la règle nous enchaîne: tu soumetts notre volonté" [through you the Rule enchains us, you subordinate our wills] etc., (188) - but he also includes an interesting quote from a seminarian at Bourges in the mid-nineteenth century who captures the essence of Foucault's prescription in a startling way: "Toutes les heures sont occupées depuis celle du lever jusqu'à celle du coucher. Tout est réglé et la règle ne varie pas. La semaine qui commence ramène les occupations de celle qui finit. La prière, l'étude et quelques rares et joyeuses récréations s'en partagent les journées: journées de labeur et d'ennui, pourraient penser quelques esprits chagrins: fécondes et saintes journées répondent toujours les bons séminaristes..." [Every hour is occupied from waking to sleeping. Everything is ordered and the Rule never varies. The week that begins recalls the occupations of that which has finished. Prayer, study and some rare and joyous recreations share the days: days of labor and boredom, some chagrined spirits might think: fecund and blessed days the good seminarians always respond...] (187).

⁵⁰ [empty themselves of the spirit of the century.] Plongeron (1974, 55).

⁵¹ Seminary faculty were extremely careful to shield the seminarians from even a glimpse of the female form. Dumoulin (176) notes a case in Bourges in 1855, where a debate arose around the question of whether a mother could visit her son who was ill in the seminary infirmary. The Superior General remarked "L'usage d'exclure les dames, même parentes, de l'intérieur du séminaire est en lui-même très respectable. Néanmoins il me paraîtrait aussi bien dur de le pousser jusqu'à la dernière rigueur. C'est pourquoi je pense que s'agissant d'une mère, d'une maladie très grave, et votre infirmerie placée comme elle est, vous pouvez permettre l'introduction de cette dame, en prenant vos précautions pour que, lorsqu'elle traversa votre cour, elle soit le moins possible en perspective à votre communauté." [the custom of excluding women, even parents, from the interior of the seminary is in itself very respectable. However it seems very hard to me to push it to the extreme. That is why I think that, regarding a mother, a grave illness, and your infirmary placed as it is, you may permit the introduction of this lady, while taking precautions that, as she crosses your courtyard, she can be seen by your community as little as possible.]

to the proper formation of a pious clergy. The Episcopacy was keenly aware of this, and many a post-Revolutionary bishop would bemoan the inappropriateness of the buildings the seminaries were compelled to occupy: many were forced to use buildings constructed for other purposes, buildings “qui n’a ni l’étendue, ni la régularité que droit avoir un séminaire...”⁵² In other words, these architectural spaces did not allow an adequate separation from “the world” or the implementation of internal disciplinary strategies.

Seminaries of the pre-Revolutionary period, however, were constructed with an exacting attention to space and its possibilities, and the Sulpician seminary at Viviers perhaps exemplifies this:

“Les chambres du deuxième et quatrième étage s’ouvrent sur un hall fort spacieux autour duquel courent les galeries qui servent d’accès aux cellules...on se rend vite compte, de n’importe quelle galerie et d’un seul coup d’oeuil, les Messieurs de St-Sulpice pouvaient surveiller discrètement toutes les chambres, non seulement à l’étage, mais de haut en bas du séminaire.”⁵³

[The rooms of the second and fourth floors open out on a very spacious hall around which run the galleries that serve to access the cells....we can quickly realize that no matter from which gallery and with one glance, the masters of Saint-Sulpice could discretely survey all the rooms, not only of one floor, but from top to bottom of the seminary.]

This “severe geometry of lines”⁵⁴ calls forth not just Bentham’s panopticon, but Lefebvre’s “formants” of abstract space: a Cartesian geometry of sight in which “the time of knowledge dominates a spatial order constituted according to the logical laws of

⁵² [that have neither the extent nor the regularity that a seminary should have.] Beaudoin (1966), 6.

⁵³ Plongeron (1974, 54-55).

⁵⁴ Idem.

homogeneity, under the gaze of the Lord and before the eyes of the thinking 'subject.'"⁵⁵

The homogeneity of the constructed spaces - the individual yet identical cells of the seminarians, for example - ensured the spatial partitioning that permitted each seminarian to be known as an individual. In other words the connections between the parcellization of space and the disciplinary power of individualization become apparent. And in the Oblate seminary at Marseilles, seminarians destined for the foreign missions were grouped along a different corridor from those who would remain in France, thus allowing for the ordering, through further partitioning, of segments of the group.

It was the common rooms and corridors, where intermingling could occur, that posed the greatest problems for seminary directors. The Sulpician directors at Bourges worried that, on winter evenings, the stove became "un endroit de dissipation," and discussed the possibility of placing one in each cell. They also discussed "distributing" the seminarians amongst the various heated common rooms, but this solution was rejected because it could allow the development of "amitiés particulières."⁵⁶

The surveillance enabled by spatial partitioning was to be accompanied by the constant presence of seminary officials. The seminarians were never to be left alone; they were always to be accompanied by the directors on their promenades, who were to "se mêler à eux" during their recreational time.⁵⁷ This "paternal" surveillance was in turn

⁵⁵ Indeed this spatial order occurred not just before the eyes of the thinking subject but was intended to produce a certain *type* of thinking subject. Henri Lefebvre, **The production of space**, Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 285-6 and 284.

⁵⁶ [places of dissipation]; [particular friendships.] Dumoulin, 191.

⁵⁷ [mingle with them.] Beaudoin (1966), 47.

buttressed by networks of seminarians who were appointed to “surveiller leur confrères,” or by “associations of piety” who took it upon themselves to perform such functions.⁵⁸

But the disciplinary strategies embedded in the regulation of time and space were also reinforced by attention to a gamut of other details. Seminarians were seated at table according to a hierarchy reflecting their advancement, their length of time at the seminary and alphabetical order. Gestures and comportment were carefully monitored: there were to be no unnecessary conversations in the hallways, no “particular friendships founded on natural inclination.”⁵⁹ Voices were to be moderated, laughter avoided, eyes not to wander.⁶⁰ Gestures were monitored not only to provide an “edifying” example to the laity and one’s fellow seminarians, but because, as Hugh of Saint Victor argued in the twelfth century,

“Body and spirit are but one: disordered movements of the former betray outwardly the disarranged interior of the soul. But inversely, ‘discipline’ can act on the soul through the body - in ways of dressing, in posture and movement, in speech, and in table manners.”⁶¹

Piety, then, was not simply a spiritual condition, but one that was to be physically manifested by the seminarian. And the seminary was not simply the product of these gestures (as Lefebvre might have argued).⁶² it was designed precisely to call them forth:

⁵⁸ [surveil their brethren.] Dumoulin notes this “fraternal” surveillance in the Sulpician seminary at Bourges, 191. In the Sulpician seminary at Paris, Mazonod himself was involved in an association of piety that reported the conduct of fellow seminarians to the Sulpicians in charge. Leflon, I: 333.

⁵⁹ Beaudoin (1966, 70).

⁶⁰ Dumoulin, 177; Beaudoin (1966, 73).

⁶¹ Cited in Asad, 138.

⁶² “Organized gestures, which is to say ritualized and codified gestures, are not simply performed in physical space...bodies themselves generate spaces, which are produced by and for their gestures...When a gestural space comes into conjunction with a conception of the world possessed of its own symbolic system, a grand creation may result. Cloisters

the discipline of the seminary was indeed to act on the soul through the body, it was to regulate “la tenue, les mouvements, la démarche, la parole, tout, en un mot, porte l’empreinte de la gravité, de la pondération, de la piété.”⁶³ Thus disciplinary strategies involving time, space and gesture should not be seen simply as repressive, but also as (doubly) productive, of the seminary itself as well as the seminarians.

The discipline I have thus far described aimed to produce “legible and docile” bodies, bodies that displayed the *external* signs of piety.⁶⁴ But there was another type of discipline embedded in the Montagne and Marseilles timetables, a form of discipline that was calculated to produce pious, disciplined souls, to form proper *internal* dispositions.

The Perpetual Examination

On a daily basis, seminarians were to perform two operations intended to “faire regner...la régularité, la piété, et l’amour des études sérieuses.”⁶⁵ The “oraison,” which took place after morning mass, was a mental prayer similar to meditation. The Oblates followed the Sulpician method of performing the oraison, a process with three distinct parts.⁶⁶ The first of these was the preparation necessary to make a good meditation, a process that involved an unwavering focus on the topic chosen for meditation. Both the

[and I would argue seminaries] are...a gestural space [which] has succeeded in mooring a mental space - a space of contemplation and theological abstraction - to the earth, thus allowing it to express itself symbolically and to become part of a practice, the practice of a well-defined group within a well-defined society.” Lefebvre, 216-217.

⁶³ [the bearing, the movements, the gait, the speech, all in a word was to bear the imprint of gravity, levelheadedness, piety.] From the 1829 *Rule governing Oblate Seminaries*, cited in Beaudoin (1966, 47).

⁶⁴ Foucault, DP, 188.

⁶⁵ [allow...regularity, piety, and the love of serious study to reign.] Beaudoin (1966), 119.

⁶⁶ Leflon, I: 318.

Sulpicians and the Oblates recommended seminarians to follow the steps laid out in Saint Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* to achieve that focus.

The second step was the oraison itself, again consisting of three parts: Adoration, Communion, and Cooperation. Adoration - Jesus before one's eyes - consisted of contemplation of a specific divine attribute, or of an example set by Christ or the Saints. This contemplation was intended to produce "sentiments of religion."⁶⁷ Communion - Jesus drawn into one's heart - involved the exposition of arguments intended to convince the seminarians of the utility and worth of the subject of the oraison. Communion was thus intended to produce conviction. And last, Cooperation - Jesus in one's hands - involved cooperating with grace by resolving to act on the convictions produced by communion. Cooperation, then, generated resolution.⁶⁸ The oraison concluded with a scriptural or patristic text that was designed to constantly remind the seminarians of the resolutions they had made during the oraison.

Evening prayer was accompanied by a period of time given over to an individual examination of conscience, wherein "les séminaristes détaillaient leurs actions de la journée pour en établir le bilan."⁶⁹ This examination of conscience was followed by "la coulpe," a public confession of any violations of the Rule committed by a seminarian. As Dumoulin notes, the coulpe was both an "exercice d'humilité et marque de confiance, c'était un moyen efficace de correction."⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Dumoulin, 254.

⁶⁸ The oraison is described in detail by Dumoulin, 254-256.

⁶⁹ [the seminarians detail their daily actions in order to establish their balance sheet.] Dumoulin, 269.

⁷⁰ [exercise of humility and a mark of confidence, it was an efficacious means of correction.] Idem.

Seminarians were expected to confess weekly, and all were assigned a member of the faculty who was to hear their confessions and to act as a spiritual director. It was this man's duty to know everything about the seminarians assigned to him, to offer advice and guidance, to "discover the soul" of the seminarian.⁷¹

These interrogations into the internal dispositions of the seminarians were buttressed by a cycle of academic examinations, including daily recitations and repetitions, weekly particular examinations, and three yearly general examinations. In the Oblate seminary at Marseilles, the original disciplines of philosophy, dogma, moral theology and Scripture were supplemented by ecclesiastical history (1844), the liturgy (1848) and canon law (1853).⁷² Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* provided the basis of the dogma taught at the Oblate seminary, and Liguori's moral theology tempered the rigorism that generally characterized French texts on that subject. Vital Grandin, a future bishop in western Canada noted that

"les quelques classes que nous avons eues m'ont fait voir qu'il me faudra piocher plus que jamais. Nous voyons pour la morale, la justice et les contrats, et pour le dogme la Trinité dans Saint Thomas. Jusqu'à présent c'est si profond que je n'y vois rien..."⁷³

[The several classes that we have had made me see that I must cram more than ever. We have for moral theology, justice and contracts, and for the dogma of the Holy Trinity, Saint Thomas. Up to this point it is so deep I can make nothing of it.]

But despite Grandin's complaints about the rigors of the seminarians' intellectual training, most commentators (including the directors of the Marseilles seminary) agree

⁷¹ Ibid., 214.

⁷² Ibid., 87.

⁷³ Ibid., 88.

that the clergy of nineteenth-century France was not, nor did it need to be, intellectually gifted. The director of the Marseilles seminary noted that “certains oblats...peuvent sortir avec une très petite dose de science théologique.” and the seminaries tended to focus on practical training: they sought to provide “une science solide et propre au ministère apostolique” rather than on “la science et des cours distingués.”⁷⁴

Thus the point of this regime of perpetual examination was precisely to form “subjects” who were “good, pious, regular.” The novice master’s report on Charles Pandosy, who was sent to Oregon in 1847, depicts a thoroughly normalized subject:⁷⁵

“I can speak of him only in the highest terms. He never loses the gentle peace of soul which makes him so happy. I do not believe that Saint Aloysius of Gonzaga was more obedient and regular. He is like putty in your hands; he is the staff of which Saint Ignatius spoke. I do not believe that anyone can exceed him in obedience, regularity and self-renunciation. Pandosy - always the same - always very holy, very prudent, very pious, very regular. Above all remarkable for his regularity and his love of obedience...”⁷⁶

Pandosy was notable for his regularity - his conformity to the Rule (the Norm). He epitomizes the disciplined religious subject produced by the constant interplay between power and knowledge, by the double mechanisms of subject-formation and discipline. He, in turn, would venture into the world to attempt to reproduce the conditions that

⁷⁴ [certain Oblates can leave with a very small dose of theological science]; [a science solid and proper to the apostolic ministry]; [distinguished science and courses.] Ibid., 113, 38.

⁷⁵ I mean normalized in precisely the sense that Pandosy was mapped into “a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a homogeneous social body but also playing a part in classification, hierarchization and the distribution of rank.” DP, 184. What is more, he thoroughly internalized the Norm of the seminary.

⁷⁶ Cited in Kay Cronin, **Cross in the Wilderness** (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960), 61.

would permit the formation of a disciplined, orderly, Catholic laity. In France, and elsewhere, he would be engaged almost exclusively in mission activity.⁷⁷

Evangelizare Pauperibus Misit Me: The Missions

The motto of the Oblate congregation - *evangelizare pauperibus misit me* (to preach the gospel to the poor he hath sent me) - aptly sums up Eugene de Mazenod's vision of the purpose and methodology of his congregation.⁷⁸ I want to characterize the general contours of a typical mission in nineteenth-century France, in terms of both content and style, and then suggest some practices and a style that were specific to the Oblates during this period.

As Ernest Sevrin argues, missions given by all groups of the regular clergy followed a pattern that had been established well before the Revolution, and tended not to innovate but to "renouaient la chaine" of previous centuries.⁷⁹ These missions, which typically took place in the winter months, lasted anywhere from a month to six weeks. Two daily sessions took place, one at five in the morning, the other at five in evening, in order to ensure the greatest possible attendance, which was generally very high and attracted many people from neighboring parishes. All missions seem to have followed approximately the same order. All commenced with an opening procession, concluded

⁷⁷ Seven of the Oblates who would be sent to the Pacific Northwest were trained at the Marseilles seminary: E.C. Chirouse, D'herbomez, Durieu, Fouquet, Pandosy, Ricard, and Richard. Beaudoin (1966, 179-183).

⁷⁸ The influence of Saint Vincent de Paul is evident here.

⁷⁹ [renew the chain.] Ernest Sevrin, **Les missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration**, 2 vols., (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1959), I: 130.

with the planting of a mission cross, and incorporated the renewal of baptismal vows, the “amende honorable,” and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.⁸⁰

But the primary focus of the missions was to convert and, during the nineteenth century, preaching was seen as the most efficacious means of conversion. Each day of the mission was built around the sermon, which was to produce conversions by providing instruction and by emotionally moving the auditors. Thus the morning exercises included prayer, an explanation of the mass, a lesson, and the benediction of the Host, while evening exercises incorporated an explanation of the catechism and of the mysteries, a sermon, the benediction, and “advice.”⁸¹

The content of mission sermons reflected the *pastorale de la peur* discussed above, and favorite topics were death, judgment, eternal damnation, sin and its punishments, and the commandments of God. Instruction could be apologetical, centering on refutations of the philosophical and “heretical” errors of the day, depending on the audience. All missions targeted specific village activities that the clergy saw as sinful. As Gibson notes, there was a massive clerical campaign in the nineteenth century against dancing, and the Oblates were no exception to his observation.⁸² Young women were the focus of special meetings encouraging them to join a sodality, membership in which required an oath to give up dancing. There was also a concentrated attack on taverns and those who patronized them. Again, the formation of men’s sodalities was seen as providing alternative social activities for its members, in conjunction with its religious

⁸⁰ [honorable amends.] Idem.

⁸¹ Ibid., I: 160-162.

⁸² Gibson (1989, 93).

functions.⁸³ The formation of sodalities, youth groups, etc., was thus a primary mission activity.

Also noteworthy of nineteenth-century missions, and particularly of those given during the Restoration, was their theatricality. All involved elaborate processions, sumptuous church decorations, and a great deal of ceremony. All were what would now be called interactive, involving the laity through singing, through the mass, through participation in processions, and perhaps most importantly, through their presence in the confessional.

Oblate Missions in France

Although the Oblates followed the general pattern I have just traced out, they did modify it somewhat to reflect both their own style and the customs of the region more closely. I want to take a closer look at some of their more unique mission activities, beginning with the most obvious: their conviction that spectacle, emotion, and sincere conversion were inextricably linked.

While all Catholic missions were geared toward dramatic spectacles, above all in the form of processions, the Oblates added a few twists of their own to the proceedings. Two examples should, I think, suffice to provide some idea of their *modus operandi*. First, Mazenod himself altered the general contours of penitential processions by habitually offering himself as “the sacrificial goat laden with the iniquities of all the people.”⁸⁴ He would attempt to draw down the grace of God by performing an expiatory

⁸³ Leflon describes these two Oblate activities in II: 94.

⁸⁴ Leflon, II: 92.

ritual that involved removing his surplice, shoes and socks, twisting a noose around his neck, taking up the penitential cross, and leading the procession through the village, to a chorus of sobs and singing.⁸⁵ Thus, atypically, the missionaries themselves shared in the public performance of the acts of expiation usual to a penitential procession.

And second, the Oblates became aware of the high drama produced by the delivery of sermons in village cemeteries. A cemetery sermon from 1841 gives some clues to what the Oblates may have spoken about:

“Standing on the pedestal of the cemetery’s great stone cross, with a coffin full of skulls before him, [the missionary] took them out one by one and conducted an imaginary dialogue with the dead: ‘Who are you? -I am the father of a family; I led a respectable life. -So what is your fate? -I am in hell. How can that be? -I had children; I neglected to instruct them in holiness; they are lost. God has required their souls of me; I am damned!’ Tossing the skull back into the coffin, he would take another, and continue: ‘And you? -I am a young girl. -At what age did you die? -At twenty. -Did you often go to confession? Yes. -Did you often take communion? -Yes. -Well then, you must have gone with confidence before the tribunal of your sovereign judge? -Yes. -So he told you to enter into his kingdom and his felicity? -No, he told me that I had divided my heart between him and his creatures, and that because I tried to please men, he held me in detestation. I loved dressing up, dancing, good times. -Where are you then? -In hell!’”⁸⁶

This grisly spectacle of death, and doubtless of eternal damnation, had a dramatic effect on those present, as the Oblates themselves noted:

*Il ne faut pas que ce petit discours dure plus de dix-huit minutes...mais il faut que le peu de paroles que l’on dit soient animées et succulentes de force et de vérité, les larmes de tous les assistants prouvaient le bon effet que produisait sur eux une cérémonie si touchante.*⁸⁷

[It is unnecessary for this little discourse to last more than eighteen minutes...but it is necessary that the few words we say are animated and succulent with force and

⁸⁵ Leflon, II: 93.

⁸⁶ Cited in Gibson (1988, 390).

⁸⁷ Sevrin I: 233.

truth, the tears of the assistants prove the good effect that a ceremony so touching produces on them.]

Thus, Restoration missions had a “predilection for terrifying subjects” precisely because they were intended to move the audience.⁸⁸

Another Oblate modification of standard mission practice was their insistence on establishing direct personal contact with the individuals they had come to evangelize. Upon arrival at a mission site, they made house calls to everyone in the village, which Mazenod felt was “indispensable in preparing for and complementing the exercises held in the church.”⁸⁹ It doubtless also placed pressure on individuals to attend the mission.

The Oblates also engaged in *tribunaux d'arbitrage*, a practice that pre-dated the Revolution, but which was seen as indispensable after it due to the many disputes caused by seizures of émigré property. These tribunals were completely unofficial affairs, involving the missionaries and a board of mediators, and were dependent upon the voluntary cooperation of the inhabitants. If the decisions of the board were accepted, a ceremony was held before the Sacrament to “ratify the newly effected reconciliation,” and to make reparation to God and to those individuals who had been harmed.⁹⁰ The Oblates, then, were accustomed to delivering judgments on matters outside the tribunal of confession.

The Pacific Northwest

“J’ai toujours peur que votre zèle vous entraîne au delà de l’atmosphère, et qu’il faille aller vous chercher dans quelques une des plus brillantes étoiles. Vous n’y

⁸⁸ Ibid., I: 182.

⁸⁹ Leflon, II: 91.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 148.

seriez pas plus seul que vous ne l'avez été trop longtemps sur les bords de votre mer glaciale. Combien de fois, néanmoins, j'étais en esprit avec vous." Mazenod to Faraud, 6 March 1857.⁹¹

[I always fear that your zeal carries you off into the atmosphere, and that it will be necessary to search for you on one of the most brilliant stars. You would be no more alone there than you have been for so long on the shores of your glacial sea. How many times, however, I have been with you in spirit.]

Like innumerable other religious bodies in the nineteenth century, the Oblates were unable to resist the "missions étrangères": the opportunity "travailler au salut des âmes les plus délaissées...les pauvres sauvages," and thereby to assure their own salvation.⁹² In this final section I follow the Oblates across the Atlantic Ocean to the Oregon Territory, one of several foreign missions accepted by the congregation in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹³

In 1838 Joseph Signay, the Archbishop of Québec, sent secular priests François Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers to the Willamette Valley in response to a request from French Canadians settled there. Signay was clear in his instructions to the two men, commanding them to "withdraw from barbarity and the disorders which it produces, the

⁹¹ Eugene de Mazenod, Evêque de Marseilles - Correspondence Générale, 1803-1861, 10 vols. Ottawa, AD, BC 494.M47, vol. 9.

⁹² [foreign missions]; [to work for the salvation of the most forsaken souls, the poor sauvages.] Ricard aux Pères et frères de l'Orégon, 15 February 1857, HPK 5221 .R48c 3. *Sauvage*, in French, does not have the same degree of negative freight that *savage* does in English. Indeed *savage* in its English sense would best be captured by *fauve*, *brute*, or *barbare* in French, and there is no really acceptable English equivalent of *sauvage*. I have therefore left it untranslated. I will refer to the original inhabitants of the US and Canada as Native people (the most convenient and politically neutral term I think); otherwise my sources speak for themselves.

⁹³ The others were England (1841), Sri Lanka (1847), Texas (1849), and Natal (1851); Donat Levasseur, **Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'ouest et le nord du Canada, 1845-1967** (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995), 23.

Indians...[and] the wicked Christians” of the area.⁹⁴ They were also to learn Native languages, regularize marriages, provide education, and plant crosses throughout their vast mission field.

The Pacific Northwest (roughly, southeastern Alaska through southwestern Oregon) was a vast area with distinctive physical geographies (see Figure 1.2). The coast had a broken topography, dense forests, a mild maritime climate, and access to open ocean and a multitude of fresh-water streams. An account of 1843 describes the terrain farther inland thus:

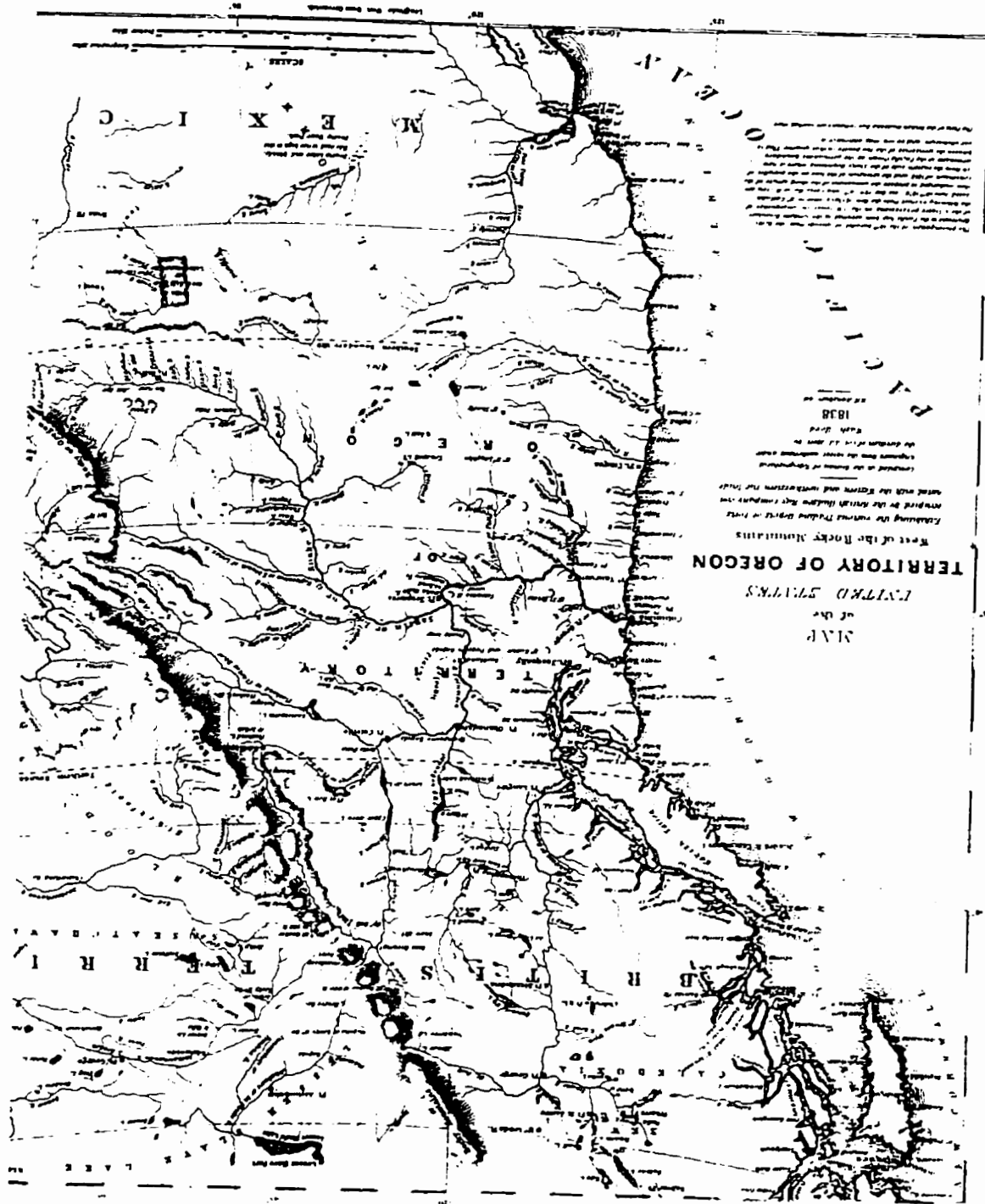
“The lofty range of the Cascade mountains forms a distinct boundary between the opposite climates of the regions along its western and eastern bases. On the west, they present a barrier to the clouds of fog and rain which roll up from the Pacific ocean and beat against their rugged sides, forming the rainy season of the winter in the country along the coast. Into the brighter part of the region along their eastern base, this rainy winter never penetrates; and at the Dalles of the Columbia the rainy season is unknown, the brief winter being limited to a period of about two months, during which the earth is covered with the slight snows of a climate remarkably mild for so high a latitude. The Cascade range...is indicated to the distant observer, both in course and position, by the lofty volcanic peaks which rise out of it...”⁹⁵

In the eighteenth century the coast was densely populated by Native people but several epidemics of European diseases had drastically reduced that population by the 1840s. Boyd estimates a population of 9,000 Kalapuyans for the Willamette Valley in the

⁹⁴ Francis Norbert Blanchet, “*Historical sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, 1838-1878*” in Clarence B. Bagley, **Early Catholic missions in old Oregon**, 2 vols., (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Co., 1932), I: 21-22.

⁹⁵ J. C. Fremont, **Narrative of the exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains, in the year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-44** (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1846), 201.

Figure 1.2 Map of the Pacific Northwest



pre-contact period: by 1841 Kalapuyans numbered 600.⁹⁶ Native people made use of the physical diversity of the area variously, and coastal people and those in the interior who bordered rivers relied to a large extent on fish, while people in the more arid plateau areas of the interior relied more on game; all took advantage of a variety of plant foods. Pacific Northwest Native societies were dynamic, and while cultural differences between groups could be marked, borrowing and adaptation produced similarities as well. The linguistic diversity of the Pacific Northwest was pronounced, comprising 45 languages in 13 language "families."⁹⁷

The white population was concentrated in small pockets of settlement. Of the 1000 whites estimated to inhabit the Oregon Territory in 1844, 600 were clustered in the Willamette Valley, while the rest were scattered amongst Cowlitz and Fort Vancouver

⁹⁶ Smallpox was the deadliest of a battery of introduced diseases, and Boyd suggests that there were major epidemics in 1775, 1801, 1853 (Washington) and 1862 (British Columbia). The fever and ague epidemics of the 1830s also devastated Native populations. He estimates that the pre-contact population of the Olympic, Georgia-Puget Sound, and Southcoast areas was 59,989. These peoples were diminished to (probably far) fewer than 25,000 by the 1830s. Care must be taken with such figures, however, as there has been some scholarly debate surrounding the historical epidemiology of the Pacific Northwest. Harris, for example, argues that there was no 1801 epidemic in his essay "*Voices of smallpox around the Strait of Georgia*" in **The resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on colonialism and geographical change** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997). Robert T. Boyd's figures can be found in "*Demographic history, 1774-1874*" in Wayne Suttles, ed., **Northwest Coast, Handbook of North American Indians**, 13 vols. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1990), 7: 135-148. See also Boyd's essay "*Smallpox in the Pacific Northwest: The first epidemics*", **BC Studies** 101 (1994), 5-40.

⁹⁷ There were 23 languages in the Salishan language family alone, 16 spoken on the coast. Lawrence C. Thompson and M. Dale Kinkade, "*Languages*", **Handbook of North American Indians**, 7: 30-51, 30. I will only go into ethnographic detail when it offers some clues to Native reactions. While the latter were culturally and temporally specific, Oblate methodology often was not.

and other Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) establishments.⁹⁸ The land-based fur trade accounted for much of the white presence in the area in the first half of the nineteenth century, and French Canadians and Anglo-Europeans connected with the HBC, as well as a first trickle of settlers from the eastern United States composed the bulk of the white population. Chinook jargon, a trading language, was the *lingua franca* of the country, marriages *à la façon du pays* were common, and through the French Canadian and Iroquois employees of the HBC some Natives had been exposed to the rudiments of Catholicism. As a result of the settlement of the Anglo-American boundary dispute in 1846, the flood-gates of American settlement would open, and Native/white relations would change significantly.

Originally under the direction of Mgr. Provencher, Bishop of the Apostolic Vicariate of Hudson's Bay and James Bay, the Columbia was erected as a separate Apostolic Vicariate composed of three dioceses in 1846, with F.N. Blanchet as Vicar General.⁹⁹ With no clergy to speak of, the Bishops had little choice but to call upon Europe for help: in 1847 Norbert received five Oblates from France, and two more accompanied Magloire Blanchet to Oregon in 1848.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Levasseur (1995, 18).

⁹⁹ Apostolic Vicariates are missionary areas that have not yet been absorbed into the regular church hierarchy. They are governed by the Congregation of the Propaganda and thus ostensibly directly by the Pope. Apostolic vicars are usually delegated powers similar to those of a bishop. The Apostolic Vicariate of Columbia contained the dioceses of Oregon City under the care of Bishop F.N. Blanchet, Walla Walla under Bishop A.M. Blanchet (Norbert's brother), and Vancouver Island, New Caledonia, and the Princess Charlotte Islands under Bishop Modeste Demers.

¹⁰⁰ Mgr. Ignace Bourget of Montreal met Mazenod in Marseilles, and requested that the latter send Oblates to minister to French Canadians in the lumber camps and eastern Townships, as well as to Native people. Although hesitant at first, Mazenod did eventually send seven Oblates to eastern Canada between 1841 and 1844. Donat

The Oblates' first decade in Oregon¹⁰¹ was marked by strife. Intermittent hostilities between Americans and Native people over land issues were typical of the 1840s and 1850s. Sparked by the Whitman massacre¹⁰² in November 1847, the 'Cayouse War' lasted through the following summer, and the Yakima War broke out in 1855 as Native people responded to the pressures of white settlement. Oblate relations with both settlers and government were tense and in 1856 Territorial Governor Stevens echoed public sentiment when he reported that:

"whilst [the Catholic missionaries] have made every exertion to protect individuals and to prevent other tribes joining in the war, they have occupied a position which cannot be filled on earth - a position between the hostiles and the Americans. So

Levasseur. "*La venue des Oblats de Marie Immaculée en Amérique*". in Raymond Huel, ed., **Etudes Oblats de l'ouest**, 2 (1992), 13-29. Longueuil, in the diocese of Montreal, would become the center of the Oblate congregation in eastern Canada, drawing recruits from both Europe and Quebec. Bishop Blanchet employed similar tactics to obtain Oblates for the Oregon Territory. In the nineteenth century, British Columbia (with the exception of Vancouver Island) would acquire virtually all of its personnel directly from Europe. The first Oblates to arrive were Father Pascal Ricard (Superior of Missions), scholastics Charles Pandosy, Casimir Chirouse, Georges Blanchet, and Brother Célestin Verney. Pandosy and Chirouse were ordained almost as soon as they arrived in Oregon, Blanchet several decades later. In 1848 Fathers Louis D'herbomez and Timothée Lempfrit arrived and in the same year François Jayol, a secular, joined the Oblates. In 1849 Fathers Paul Durieu and Pierre Richard arrived, and from 1848-1854, Brothers Philippe Surel, Gaspard Janin, and Léo Weymaere. Gaston Carrière. **Dictionnaire biographique des OMI au Canada**, 3 vols., (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1979). Hereafter cited Dictionnaire OMI. The entries in these volumes are in alphabetical order.

¹⁰¹ From 1818 to 1846 the Northwest was jointly occupied by the United States and Great Britain. In 1846 the Oregon Treaty set the continental boundary at the 49th parallel. In 1849 a US territorial government was established in Oregon, in 1853 Washington Territory was officially separated from Oregon, and the latter was granted statehood in 1859. For more on the boundary agreement see Daniel Clayton, **Islands of Truth: Vancouver Island from Captain Cook to the beginnings of colonialism** (PhD dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1995).

¹⁰² Methodist missionaries arrived in Oregon in 1834, the Whitmans among them. An Oblate mission was established very near the Methodist mission at Wailatpu on the Walla Walla River. Cayuse Indians killed the Whitmans and several other whites in the vicinity, for reasons that are open to speculation.

great had been their desire for peace. that they have overlooked all right, propriety, justice, necessity, siding with the Indians siding with the Americans, but advising the latter particularly to agree to all the demands of the former: - murderers to go free - treaties to be abrogated - whites to retire to the settlements. And the Indians seeing that the Missionaries were on their side are fortified in their belief that they were fighting for a holy cause. I state on my official responsibility that the influence of the Catholic Missionaries in the Upper Country has latterly been most baneful and pernicious."¹⁰³

The immediate effect of the Yakima war was the gradual abandonment of Oblate missions east of the Cascades (in 1855 St. Joseph's at Attanem was sacked by Washington volunteers and St. Anne's at Umatilla was burned down by the Cayuse) and the Oblates, working out of their missions at Olympia and Tulalip, focused on the Puget Sound area.¹⁰⁴

In conjunction with interdenominational rivalry between Catholics on the one side and Methodists and Presbyterians on the other (typical throughout the nineteenth century), the Oblates were also involved in a bitter dispute with the Bishops Blanchet. The latter conflict centered on ownership of mission property, and the degree of ecclesiastical authority the Bishops could exercise over religious (as opposed to secular) clergy.¹⁰⁵ The squabble was serious enough to be taken to Rome, but no solution

¹⁰³ Report of Governor Stevens, 22 October 1856, in Ore. II: 633, original punctuation and tense. For details on perceived Catholic involvement in the Whitman Massacre of 1847 see Jean-Baptiste Brouillet, "*Authentic Account of the murder of Dr. Whitman and other missionaries...*" in Bagley, I: 153-226. On the Yakima War, see Robert I. Burns, SJ, **The Jesuits and the Indian wars of the Northwest** (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1966), and David Nicandri, **Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers: The Oblates of Mary Immaculate** (Olympia, WA: A Publication of the State Capitol Historical Association, 1976). Nicandri reports that Stevens and Ricard were on friendly terms.

¹⁰⁴ Nicandri, 33.

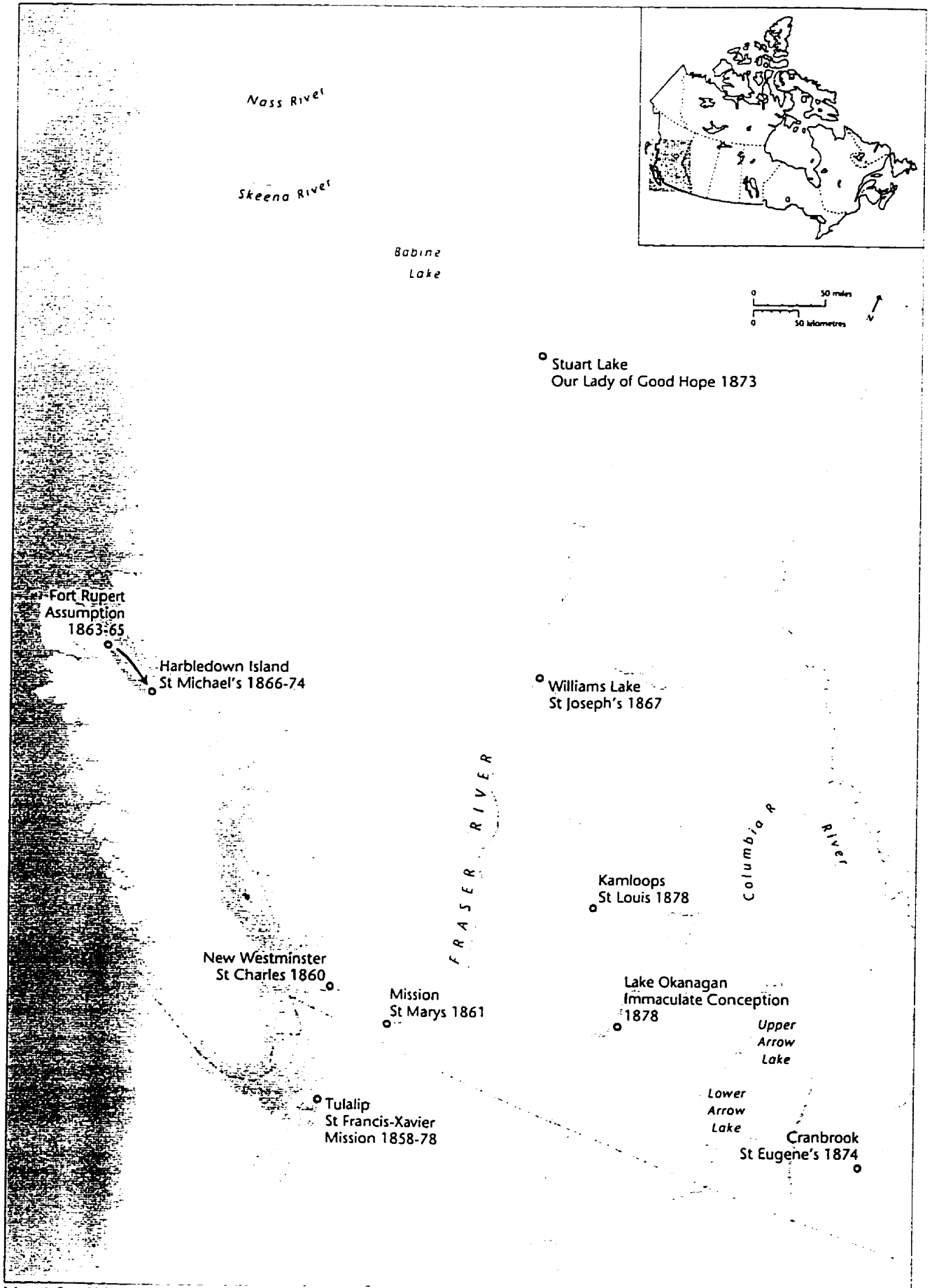
¹⁰⁵ Secular clergy are diocesan clergy who are under the jurisdiction of their diocesan Bishop. Religious clergy include monks, members of religious orders and congregations, and nuns and sisters. The jurisdiction over religious is complex and often a matter of

satisfactory to the Oblates was found, and it was under these circumstances that the Oblates removed to Esquimalt, Vancouver Island in 1858, and mainland British Columbia in 1859. A first British Columbia mission (Immaculate Conception) was opened near Lake Okanagan in that year, a second (St. Charles in New Westminster) in 1860, and a third (St. Mary's), in 1861, up the Fraser River from New Westminster (see figure 1.3). The Oblates formally took possession of the mainland in 1864 when it was erected into the Apostolic Vicariate of British Columbia under the direction of Mgr. Louis D'herbomez, OMI, Bishop of Miletopolis. The Oblates removed entirely from Vancouver Island in 1866, with the temporary exception of the Fort Rupert mission. Fathers Léon Fouquet and Charles Grandidier arrived in British Columbia in 1859, Fathers Baudre, Lejacq, and Gendre followed in 1862, McGuckin in 1863, Horris in 1865, and Marchal and Lamure in 1868.¹⁰⁶ In all, fifteen priests formed the core of the Oblate presence in mainland British Columbia until 1879, and it is they who established the parameters and shaped the details of the Oblate evangelization of Native people that would persist well into the next century.¹⁰⁷

dispute. In Oregon the Jesuits were also involved because of the Bishops' stance on Episcopal authority. For a detailed account of Oblate involvement in this dispute, see George N. Wagett, "*The Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Pacific Northwest of the USA*", reprinted in Edward J. Kowrach, **Mie. Charles Pandosy, OMI: A Missionary of the Northwest** (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1992), 247-320.

¹⁰⁶ Ricard was recalled to France in 1858 for health reasons; Lempfrid left the Congregation in disgrace in 1853, accused of fathering several children on Vancouver Island; F-X Villemard apostatized in 1867 to join the Anglican church; Lamure died in a shooting accident in 1869.

¹⁰⁷ These men were aided inestimably by the hard work of at least seven lay brothers, about whom little is known.



Map 1.3. Oblate missions.

Conclusions

The Oblates did not make any great changes in a strategy of mission evangelization that extended back through the centuries and which predominated in nineteenth-century France. But it is important to trace out the broad patterns of nineteenth-century French Catholicism, and to situate the Oblates within that context in order to lay some groundwork for an examination of their mission strategies in the Pacific Northwest. There are several points that I think bear reiterating, because they appear with peculiar force and intensity in the Oblates' missions to the American and Canadian west.

The first of these is the style of preaching and teaching that I have termed the *pastorale de la peur*, characterized above all by moral rigorism. Oblate sermons to Native peoples of the Pacific Northwest were concerned to portray graphically the consequences of sin and the terrors of hell, particularly in the early years of their mission. They were adamant about the need to re-shape Native sexuality in such a way that it conformed to what they considered to be acceptable Euro-Catholic sexuality. These are precisely some of the practices most frowned upon by current scholars, and it seems important to emphasize that the Oblates were employing the practical techniques of evangelization that they had learned, and used, in France.

Second, I think the attitudes toward wage labor and the working class that were held by both Mazenod and the French clergy more generally, are crucial to understanding the Oblates' campaign to sedentarize Native people in the Pacific Northwest. The Oblates persistently attempted to persuade Native people that an agricultural way of life was the

best option, and they did not encourage Native entry into wage labor or a (small) provincial capital economy. In this they differed dramatically from other denominations.

Third, I do not think it is possible to underestimate the importance of the Oblates' seminary formation, both in terms of its disciplinary practices and its subject-production, processes that I see as inextricably bound together by a mutual dependence on the manipulation of both time and space. By this I mean that discipline acts in tandem on the body of the seminarian and on his subjectivity: as Pasewark suggests, power is "present 'inside' as well as 'outside' the subject."¹⁰⁸ Thus the seminary is a pre-eminent example of what Foucault has called a "complete and austere institution" in that it both echoes and foreshadows many of the technologies of power deployed through a carceral space: individualization, examination, surveillance, and the minute management of time. Seminary training also served to form good Christian dispositions through its constant insistence on the seminarian's participation in his own subjectivization through self-examination, confession, and penance, his own willingness to open himself to the myriad gazes to which he was subject and which subjected him. These processes of time management and surveillance were so insistent that they marked Mazenod's own personal routine for life, as well as having a profound effect on his Rules and Constitutions for the Oblates.

And last, while some of the details of Oblate evangelization in France and the Pacific Northwest may have changed, the broad contours of mission procedure, from the

¹⁰⁸ Kyle A. Pasewark, **A theology of power: Being beyond domination** (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 42. This is not to suggest, as Pasewark does (48), that Foucault's work can be condensed into a problematic dichotomy such that "power is a concept of space and that a philosophy of the subject stands under the principle of time."

order of processions to the instructional timetables, varied little. In the next chapter I look at some of the details of Oblate proselytization in the Pacific Northwest. I focus on the role of vision in their evangelical practices, as well as the ways in which the circulation of certain images and analogies between North America and Europe may have affected their outlook on Native people.

Chapter 2

The Circulation of Representations and the Power of Vision

“Nous arrivâmes le 4 Décembre au soir en face d’Olympia, de cette grande ville de 400 âmes. Nous contemplions la position de la ville sur le bord d’un bois: ici il n’y a que des forêts, et des arbres effrayants par leur hauteur et leur largeur: au loin des montagnes remplies de neige: ça et là sur la Baie des colons américains qui essayent de fertiliser une petite partie d’un terrain si ingrat. Tout cela était nouveau pour nous.” Durieu to Mazenod, 7 December 1854.¹

[We arrived the fourth of December in the evening across from Olympia, that great city of 400 souls. We contemplated the position of the city at the edges of a wood: here are nothing but forests and trees that are frightening in their height and size: in the distance the mountains covered with snow: here and there on the Bay are the American colonists who try to fertilize a small corner of this ungrateful earth. All of this was new to us.]

The Oblates not only encountered a strange and imposing physical terrain in North America, they also found that Native people did not necessarily resemble descriptions circulating in Europe. Their seminary training may have equipped them to evangelize the countryside of Provence, but affected by the utopianism implied by such *mots clefs* as Paraguay and the early church, they were unprepared for the realities of evangelizing Native peoples. In this chapter I explore some of the expectations and attitudes the Oblates brought to North America regarding both Native people and their own role in the mission field.

Oblate correspondence regarding Native people in the Pacific Northwest suggests a complex circulation of representations between Europe and North America. I discuss notions such as the early church and Paraguay, drawn from Church history and a long tradition of Catholic missionary activity, used by the Oblates both as markers of their

¹ In Paul Drouin, ed., *Les Oblats de Maries Immaculée en Orégon, 1847-1860*. 3 vols. (Ottawa: Archives Deschâtelets, 1992), II: 749. Hereafter cited Ore.

expectations and as a means of describing their views on the character of the “sauvages.” But I do not limit my discussion of representation to a consideration of statements, for representation also implies imagery and the visual. Therefore I also discuss the role that vision played in the Oblate imaginary, the constitutive and repressive functions that Oblate visuality brought to bear on Native people, and how it was used as a primary means of evangelization.

In the course of this chapter I range broadly both in terms of time and space, beginning in the Oregon Territory in 1838, and ending in British Columbia in the 1890s. This was a period that saw immense changes to the human geographies of the region, geographies shaped by such processes and events as the border agreement of 1846, the 1858 Fraser canyon gold rush, the implementation of the Native reserve system, Canadian confederation, the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and the telegraph system.² The topics of this chapter - Oblate representational tropes and the power of vision - also range widely yet selectively through time and space.

Representations

“Voyez dira-t-on en Europe comme la foi opère chez ces barbares, c’est un Paraguay, c’est la primitive Eglise. Oui, mais moi qui ai encore la dessus mes idées européennes, et ce qui est plus fort, les instructions que j’ai reçues de la part de ceux qui avaient vécu avec les sauvages et qu’ils donnaient du haut de la chaire de vérité, je prends tout cela pour de la bonne monnaie...” Lootens to Ricard, 17 May 1853.³

[Look they will say in Europe, how the faith operates amongst these barbarians, it is a Paraguay, it is the primitive Church. Yes, but I who still have my underlying European ideas, and what is more, the instructions that I received from those who

² Cole Harris’ (1997) essays “*The Fraser Canyon encountered*” and “*The struggle with distance*” thoroughly chart many of these changes in British Columbia.

³ Ore. I: 249. Lootens was a diocesan priest with Demers.

had lived with the sauvages and that they pronounced from the pulpit of truth, I took all this for good money.]

Many of the Oblates' expectations were fueled by the missionary literature available to them in the seminaries, and the early Jesuit missionaries and St. Alphonsus Liguori cast a long shadow over both Mazenod and his congregation.⁴ Neither of these models made particular sense in North America, and the more common analogies circulated in Europe and eastern Canada for North American Native-missionary relations were the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay and the early church.⁵

The early Church connoted several things, most notably the successful missionary activity of the apostles among the gentiles, the purity and zeal of the first Christians, the small, tightly-knit, urban pockets of Christians that were forming in the first centuries after Christ's death, and the fervent faith that would lead to the martyrdom of many of the early Christians in the face of Roman persecution.⁶ The early church, then, was an appealing analogy for missionaries in North America because it suggested missionary

⁴ St. François-Xavier, the Jesuit missionary par excellence, was for the most part dealing with literate cultures in China and Japan, while St. Liguori evangelized the peasantry of the Italian countryside in the eighteenth century. The former provided the definitive model (after Christ) of missionary martyrdom.

⁵ Reductions were separate mission colonies managed independently by the Jesuits, to be populated only by Native people. In them the Society "attempted to apply a comprehensive program of directed social and cultural change...and economic relations." William L. Merrill, "Conversion and colonialism in Northern Mexico: the Tarahumara response to the Jesuit mission program, 1601-1767" in Robert W. Hefner, ed.

Conversion to Christianity: Historical and anthropological perspectives on a great transformation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 135.

⁶ Peter Brown's work is among the best of the vast amount of literature available on the early church, **The body and society: men, women and sexual renunciation in the early church** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) and **The rise of western Christendom: triumph and diversity, AD 200-1000** (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996).

success and Native eagerness to embrace Christianity. Some missionaries arrived in the Pacific Northwest expecting to find an incipient early church with “les sauvages soupirant après la baptême comme des cerfs altérés”: instead they found the Bishops asking “quand [les sauvages] seront-ils ma joie et ma couronne?”⁷

Paraguay provided a common analogy for missionary endeavors in the Pacific Northwest. In the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries gathered small tribal groups of Guarani together to form very large, communal reductions composed solely of Natives and Jesuit personnel. These reductions were admired throughout the Catholic world (except by Spanish colonists in Paraguay) for their “order and regularity,” self-sufficiency, and fervent religiosity.⁸ Father Jean-Pierre de Smet, Jesuit missionary to the Flatheads of Idaho in the 1840s, set out explicitly to duplicate these reductions in North America, claiming that they would be characterized by “profound respect for the only true religion: perfect submission to the Church of God, in all that regards faith, morality, discipline, etc.” These goals were to be achieved by “flight from all contaminating influence: not only from the corruption of the age, but from what the gospel calls the world.”⁹ De Smet’s utopian scheme was never realized, largely because nineteenth-century North America had little in common with sixteenth-century Paraguay, where the

⁷ [the sauvages sighing after baptism like thirsty stags]: Lootens to Ricard, 17 May 1853, Ore. I: 249; [when will they be my joy and my crown?] Demers to Ricard, 9 December 1852, AD, HPK 5322 .R48Z.

⁸ For more on Paraguay reductions see Phillip Caraman, **The lost paradise: the Jesuit republic in South America** (New York: Seaburg Press, 1976).

⁹ H.M. Chittenden and A.T. Richardson (eds), **Life, letters and travels of Father Pierre Jean de Smet**, 4 vols. (New York, 1905), I: 328, 329.

Guarani were subject to the *encomienda* system,¹⁰ and the best way to avoid enslavement was to live on a Jesuit reduction. Obviously the *encomiendas* provided a powerful motivation for the Guarani to submit to the Jesuit reduction scheme, but no such system was in place in the Pacific Northwest. The Jesuits in Paraguay also benefited from relative isolation, and the patronage of the Spanish crown: Catholic missionaries in the United States did not enjoy government patronage, nor could they count on isolating Native people once the Oregon trail became a major conduit of white immigration. Thus while Paraguay represented the ideal mission, the Oblates would abandon it as impracticable by the mid-1860s.¹¹

But if the early church and Paraguay provided a set of misconceptions about the actualities of mission work in North America, they also lent an aura of docility and eagerness to Native people, those *cerfs altérés* clamoring to emerge from the darkness of heathenism into the light of Christianity. What did the Oblates make of *them*?

Oblate Representations of Native People

The Oblates' correspondence is riddled with characterizations of Native people. These descriptions ostensibly captured both the essence of 'The Native Character' as well as delineating the finer variations of specific Native groups. It is important to remember that such descriptions varied according to the audience (the European public or

¹⁰ In its more virulent form, the *encomienda* system made Natives slaves; in its milder form Natives became serfs to the conquistadores and white colonists in Spanish Paraguay.

¹¹ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of claims that the Oblates based their mission strategy on the Paraguayan reductions.

fellow missionaries in the field, for example), as well as according to the personality and mood of the individual writer.¹² I want to trace out some of these descriptions in order to situate them both in the context of broader European constructs of race and civilization, and in a more specifically Catholic cultural imaginary.

Many Oblate characterizations of Native people, particularly in the early years in Oregon, were stereotypes that are familiar to any late twentieth-century student of colonialism. Natives were “voleurs, menteurs, fourbes, traîtres, changeants, lâches, démoralisés.”¹³ Pandosy inevitably referred to the “irrationality” of Native people, while all the Oblates emphasized fear, pride, and indolence as typical Native traits. Some recent scholarship suggests that such characterizations were exported versions of a complex European “discourse on idleness” used “not only to draw distinctions between laboring classes but also to sanction and enforce social discipline, to legitimize land plunder and to alter habits of labor.”¹⁴ Perceptions of Native indolence, then, may have been rooted in previously developed European categories of race and class, and put to work legitimizing European colonial and imperial projects.

But indolence, irrationality and fear are peculiarly interconnected terms and bear additional freight for the Oblates. As McClintock’s claim suggests, indolence does seem to be a complaint about Native resistance to the Oblates’ attempts to form disciplined,

¹² A striking example of the Oblates’ sensitivity to audience is the use of *sauvage* among themselves and in French publications, and the use of *Indien* in correspondence to provincial and federal government officials in Canada.

¹³ [thieves, liars, deceitful, treacherous, changeable, cowardly, demoralized.] Chirouse to Ricard, 12 January 1849, Ore. I: 41.

¹⁴ Anne McClintock, **Imperial leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest** (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 252.

sedentary, agricultural communities. But it is also bound up with irrationality and fear, for the Oblates could not understand why Native people continued to depend on the “vagaries” of fishing and gathering - on nature - when they could control both their own food supply and nature itself through cultivation. Native food procurement rounds led not only to an excess of leisure time (or so it seemed to the Oblates), but also to many of the “superstitions” to which Native people were seemingly so devoted.¹⁵ As Jaenen has suggested, because Native people had brought neither the “animals or the elements” into submission, they were seen as “stupid primitive men living in constant terror of the environment and the inexplicable forces of nature.”¹⁶ Superstition, as the product of that constant terror of the natural environment was, for the Oblates, more than simply a matter of ignorance or irrationality, it was the active work of Satan - one powerful means for the Demon to secure his own disciples.¹⁷

But the Oblates also consistently complained of Native *orgueil* - pride. This trait, too, has a peculiarly Catholic inflection. Not only was pride one of the seven deadly sins, it was the most pernicious and tenacious of them all. Pride, in the Oblate sense, was at least as much about its opposite, humility, an important concept epitomized by the

¹⁵ Thus Chirouse would complain that “ils sont sans cesse à s’épouvanter les uns les autres, et partout ils voient des monstres là où il n’y a que des atômes [sic].” [they are always terrifying one another, and everywhere they see monsters where there are only atoms.] To Mazenod, 12 December 1857, Ore. II: 774.

¹⁶ Cornelius J. Jaenen, “‘*Les sauvages américains*’: persistence into the 18th century of traditional French concepts and constructs for comprehending Amerindians”, *Ethnohistory* 29 (1982), 43-56, 47.

¹⁷ As A.G. Morice, OMI would put it in 1906, in instances of Native superstition, and particularly of Native prophesying and other seemingly Christian ceremonials, “the Devil apes the Almighty.” **The history of the northern interior of British Columbia, 1660-1880** (London: John Lane, 1906), 238.

example of Christ, and buttressed by its emphasis in the Benedictine Code, which served as a model for subsequent monastic codes. Humility, I think, is inextricably linked to obedience - to submission of the will, in both the sense of obediently submitting to a superior, and to an extremely complex re-routing of the will and of desire.¹⁸ As Asad argues, humility and obedience have to do with processes of subjectification requiring both the development of a fragmented self, and the systematic mastery of that self, processes that Christian monastic (and seminary) discipline were developed to facilitate.¹⁹ In conjunction with their seeming inability to master nature, the absence of Native self-mastery, as well as the absence of Christian discipline, were seen as evidence that Natives were peculiarly vulnerable to the wiles of the Demon.

But the Oblates did not simply see Natives through a uniquely Catholic lens, they also brought more far-ranging European conceptions with them to the Pacific Northwest. Consider, for example, Pandosy's claim to Ricard on New Year's day, 1853:

“J'ai entendu qui disaient: il n'y a rien à faire dans ces pays, les sauvages sont d'une race maudite de Dieu. S'il y avait une race maudite, ce serait je pense celle des nègres, puisque d'après quelques interprètes de l'Écriture sainte ils sont des descendans [sic] du fils débouté de Noé et pourtant, quoique de race maudite on en fait quelque chose. Pourquoi les sauvages de ces contrées seraient-ils plus maudits que ceux de l'Europe ancienne? Qu'étaient nos pères? Quoique Gaulois étaient-ils plus des sauvages? L'histoire est là pour nous dire ce qu'ils étaient: leurs moeurs

¹⁸ Augustine defined original sin as the will run riot. Cf. Elaine Pagels, **Adam, Eve and the serpent** (New York: Random House, 1985). In 1883, the following advice was offered to an Oblate father: “Il doit se dire: mes superieurs qui me tiennent la place de Dieu...me di[sent] ce que je dois faire et comment je dois le faire. Je suivrai en tout s[es] direction[s]...persuadé que le bon Dieu ne me demande qu'une obéissance aveugle.” [You must say to yourself: my superiors, who for me take the place of God...tell me what I should do and how I should do it. I will follow my superior's directions exactly...persuaded that the good God asks nothing of me but blind obedience.] Gandan to ?, 19 February 1883, VRCAD, GR1/01 S/01, box 1, folder 6.

¹⁹ Asad devotes two chapters to tracking the disciplinary formation and incorporation of Christianized subjects into medieval monastic modalities of power.

étaient autres que les moeurs des sauvages du bas-Orégon. et pourtant ces Gaulois aux moeurs barbares. féroces. sanguinaires. efféminées. moeurs que l'on trouve ici bien plus douces. bien plus modestes. ces Gaulois. dis-je. ont fait des Francs d'où viennent les Français."²⁰

[I have heard those who say: there is nothing to do in this country. the sauvages are a race accursed by God. If there is an accursed race. I think it would be that of the blacks. because, according to some interpretations of the Holy Scriptures they are the descendants of the outcast son of Noah. yet although [they are] of an accursed race we make something of them. Why would the sauvages of these countries be more accursed than those of ancient Europe? Although Gauls were they more savage? History tells us what they were: their customs were different from the customs of the sauvages of lower Oregon and yet these Gauls with their barbaric. ferocious. bloodthirsty and effeminate ways. ways that we find here though considerably softer. more modest. these Gauls. I say. made the Franks. whence come the French.]

I want to make two broad points about this citation. First, clearly the connections between time, race, and civilization are important. Pandosy equates nineteenth-century Native people of the Pacific Northwest with first- or second-century pagan Europeans, attributing the same characteristics (barbarity, ferocity, blood-thirstiness and effeminacy) to both, although to different degrees. This suggests and invokes a complex system of measurement - a hierarchy or scale - based on the historical march of civilization and a teleology in which Apocalypse can only be triggered by the Christianization of the entire globe. In Pandosy's case, measuring distinctions was as bound up with moral difference as it was with material difference.²¹ But in general, Pandosy was operating within a culture of cognition that posited a social hierarchy lying at the crossroads of race and

²⁰ Pandosy to Ricard, 1 January 1853. Ore. I: 177.

²¹ Robert J.C. Young, **Colonial desire: hybridity in theory, culture and race** (New York: Routledge, 1995), 45.

civilization (and, some would argue, gender).²² Pandosy had to work within the framework of the Biblical injunction “there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female: for ye are all one in Jesus Christ” (Gal. 3.28): souls are entitled to equal opportunity salvation. But he also called on a very specific, racialized interpretation of the Bible used to justify black slavery: Noah’s curse on Canaan son of Ham, that “a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren” (Gen. 9.25). In conjunction with the monogenist problems of explaining racial differences, this one passage led to the literal blackening of Canaan and his descendants, and equated colored skin, and hence non-white race, with divine retribution. Thus Pandosy’s positioning of Native people in a racialized hierarchy of civilization between blacks and the French suggests that while all *souls* may have been equal before God, all *people* were not equal before God’s representatives on earth.

Given the broader Catholic stance on the nineteenth-century debates surrounding monogenism and polygenism, Pandosy’s position vis-à-vis this particular mode of scriptural interpretation is hardly surprising. The Oblates were firm believers in monogenism - the belief that all humanity was descended in a direct line from Adam, and that everyone, as his direct descendants, had inherited his original sin.²³ The polygenetic

²² This is a complex issue, and there is a large literature both on the intersection of race, gender and colonialism, and on nineteenth-century hierarchies of race and civilization. See Vron Ware, **Beyond the pale: white women, racism and history** (London: Verso, 1992), and McClintock for the former; for the latter see Stephen J. Gould, **The mismeasure of man** (New York: Norton, 1981), and Young. For a geographical perspective on the connections between race, place and morality see David N. Livingstone, “*The moral discourse of climate: Historical considerations on race, place and virtue*”, **Journal of Historical Geography** 17 (1991), 413-434.

²³ Thus at the 1874 meeting of the Congrès des Savants in Nancy, “free thinkers” attempted to prove that “the indigenous races of America were of American origin solely,

position posited that different races arose from different sources, a theory which could clearly be made to support the belief that different races were actually different species. The implications of such a position were that non-white races (species) were inferior humans, or indeed sub-human. Thus while Pandosy could, in all likelihood be considered a racist, he was a far less virulent racist than many of his (polygenist) nineteenth-century contemporaries.

Second, I think the tensions in Pandosy's adjectives are interesting, most particularly in his depiction of Native people as both ferociously blood-thirsty and effeminate. Edward Said has tracked the role that such characterizations play in the imperial imagination,²⁴ but I suspect that in the Oblate imagination, the ferocity and blood-thirstiness of Native people have to do less with imperial desires than with their desire for martyrdom. Descriptors like 'ferocity' really only appear with force and consistency during the Oregon period - in other words, during the phase of initial contact with Native people who were in a state of semi-warfare with the American government. And it is really only during this period that the Oblates themselves were 'sighing' after martyrdom. An incident described by Durieu is telling:

"Tout ici semblait annoncer la mort. Cette main portée sur le ministre du Seigneur avait été trempée dans le sang d'une foule de Colons, cette langue qui venait de parler avait prononcé bien des arrêts de mort et l'âme qui animait cet homme n'aimait pas la Robe Noire qui par sa conduite, ses paroles et sa doctrine

and were not of Asiatic origin, and consequently were not descended from Adam, but were autochthons of the American continent...that the tribes of North America were a race apart, that had no brotherhood of origin with any other portion of the human family." Emile Petitot, OMI, who was attending the meetings, refuted this "Voltairean position." From Cooke, I: 274.

²⁴ **Orientalism** (New York: Vintage, 1981).

condamnait ce genre de vie licencieuse. Le Missionnaire néanmoins était calme. Depuis longtemps il soupirait après le martyre."²⁵

[Everything seemed to announce death. This hand raised against the minister of the Lord had been soaked in the blood of a host of colonists, this tongue that had just spoken had pronounced many death sentences and the soul that animated this man did not love the Black Robe, who, by his conduct, his words, and his doctrine condemned this type of licentious life. The missionary was nevertheless calm. He had long sighed after martyrdom.]

While Durieu doubtless did believe that death was imminent, he brought the desire for martyrdom with him from Europe - "dans l'image de St. François Xavier expirant[,] quel sort, quelle mort digne d'envie" - it was the greatest sacrifice that any missionary could make for God, and hence the most yearned for.²⁶ But this ultimately desirable fate would not have been imaginable if Native people were perceived simply as effeminate or infantile. In other words, I suggest that the Oblate desire for martyrdom, its potential, depended on a construction of Native people as ferocious: the one required the other. Oblate references to martyrdom virtually ceased after 1858, the year they pulled out of Oregon, and also the year that Visitor General²⁷ Francois-Xavier Bermond inspected the Oregon missions, and recommended that good health was critical to the important work of salvation at hand.²⁸

²⁵ Durieu to Mazenod, 1 February 1857, Ore. II: 663.

²⁶ [in the image of Saint Francis-Xavier expiring, what a fate, what an enviable death]. Ricard to Faraud, 18 February 1850, Ore. I: 103. Aquinas maintained that heavenly rewards came particularly to those who practiced virginity (victory over the flesh), martyrdom (victory over the world), and preaching (victory over the Devil by truth).

²⁷ As Visitor General, Bermond was to inspect the Oblate missions, identify problems, and suggest remedies. He was directly responsible to, and a personal envoy of, the Superior General of the congregation.

²⁸ Bermond, *Acte de visite*, 15 September 1858, Ore. III: 793.

Bermond made numerous other recommendations and observations in 1858.

including the following:

“Nous croyons...avec la généralité des Missionnaires que des sauvages qui n’ont pas encore cette foi profonde et éclairée. ne sont pas même capables par leur nature de cette conviction et de cet héroïsme que la civilisation donne. pas plus pour la vertu que pour autre chose. Qui ne sait que leur caractère est mobile et que c’est avec raison qu’on les compare à des enfants et qu’on les traite à peu près comme tels.”²⁹

[We believe...with the majority of missionaries that the sauvages who have not acquired a profound and enlightened faith. are not capable by their nature of that conviction and heroism that civilization brings. no more for virtue than for any thing else. Who doesn’t know that their characters are changeable and that it is only just that we compare them to children and that we treat them approximately as such.]

This is clearly an argument against the noble savage image, which, as Cornelius Jaenen has suggested, existed in considerable tension with its opposite, the ignoble savage.³⁰ In Europe, the trope of the noble savage was used to critique church, state, and European society, and owed a great deal to the liberal, secular ideology of the Enlightenment. But in post-Revolutionary France, the noble savage - the image of “natural goodness” that Rousseau was popularly believed to espouse - was also connected with what McGregor has called “Jacobin rationalism.”³¹ a set of associations that could have had no appeal for the politically conservative Oblates. But they must also have had theological reasons to disagree with the trope of noble savagery and its links with the concept of natural goodness: a major strand of nineteenth-century Roman Catholicism was the conviction

²⁹ *Bermond sur l’évangélisation des Indiens*, 18 September 1858, Ore. III: 804.

³⁰ Cornelius J. Jaenen, **Friend and foe: aspects of French-Amerindian cultural contact in the 16th and 17th centuries** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

³¹ Gaile McGregor, **The noble savage in the New World garden: Notes toward a syntactics of place** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 23.

that, since the fall of Adam, humanity was inherently sinful. Although Native people were perceived as redeemable through the action of faith and grace, as pagans they were as yet unredeemed sinners, and no amount of natural goodness (a dubious concept at best) could effect their salvation.³²

The concept of noble savagery was also implicated in a long and often contradictory set of notions revolving around nature and paradise. Savagery, of course, suggests a series of lacks: lack of a desirable moral condition, of appropriate social and sexual relations. But it also suggests a *place* that is most decidedly opposed to paradise - wilderness: untrammelled, undisciplined, unconquered nature.³³ The Oblate theology of nature was thus complex and marked by ambivalence, in part because the scriptures approach nature from at least three different trajectories: created nature, fallen nature, and redeemed nature. The first approach implies that nature manifests the glory of God and was confided to the stewardship of man and for his benefit. Fallen nature suggests that

³² The irony of Bermond's argument against the noble savage image is that the latter was largely constructed by fifteenth and sixteenth century Jesuit missionaries, as Jean Franco has suggested in "*The noble savage*" in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, eds., **Literature and western civilization: The modern world I, Hopes** (London: Aldus Books, 1975), 567. McGregor argues that the noble savage had lost much of its rhetorical purchase in Europe by 1820, but other evidence suggests that this was not the case in France, where Chateaubriand's works (*Attala*, *Les Natchez*, *René*), as well as those of James Fenimore Cooper (*The Leatherstocking tales*) were vastly popular. Several delegations of Native people were received by French royalty in the first half of the century as well (1827, 1845, 1846), and Louis-Philippe had been immensely impressed by Native Americans during his exile in the United States. See Véronique Wiesinger, et al., **Sur le sentier de la découverte: rencontres Franco-Indiennes du XVIe au XXe siècle** (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), 81-87.

³³ A more detailed account of the connections between noble savagery, nature and Christianity can be found in Hayden White, "*The forms of wildness: Archeaeology of an idea*" in Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak, eds., **The wildman within: An image in western thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism** (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972). I paraphrase from pages 13 and 21.

following Adam's sin, the earth became accursed and damned. The third term testifies to the liberation and redemption of the earth through Christ's resurrection.³⁴ In the Renaissance, perceptions of nature evolved, but still remained ambivalent. One approach to nature was what Livingstone has called "natural theology" where the workings of the "world-machine" were evidence of God's power and glory, a view that was bound up with an increasingly positivistic stance toward nature.³⁵ Another view can perhaps be described as primitivism, suggesting either the degradation of social life à la Hobbes, or the innocence and natural goodness posited by Rousseau. But as I have pointed out, the Oblates were wary of nature: Father Lejacq was not alone in thinking that "la nature, c'est à dire la bête."³⁶ Native people, deemed incapable of 'heroic virtue,' were representative of, and shaped by, the most dubious aspects of nature.

Virtue was also bound up with notions of childhood, and it is not surprising that in Bermond's account one follows so closely from the other. His attitude toward childhood clearly rejected the natural virtue of children posited by Rousseau in *Emile*: he warned the Oblates that thinking of the "sauvages" only "comme des enfants" was dangerous, because "on est porté...à ne pas observer à leur égard cette réserve qui fait le salut et l'honneur du prêtre au...monde civilisé."³⁷ This quote not only suggests that Bermond

³⁴ These scriptural approaches are outlined in G. Mathon, et al., **Catholicisme: hier - aujourd'hui - demain**, 13 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1982), 9: 1098.

³⁵ David Livingstone, **The geographical tradition: Episodes in the history of a contested enterprise** (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 105.

³⁶ [nature, that is to say the beast.] To Durieu, 19 September 1869, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566.

³⁷ [as children]; [we are brought...not to observe with respect to them that reserve that marks the salvation and the honor of the priest in the civilized world.] Acte de visite d'Olympia, 15 September 1858, Ore. III: 794.

connected nature, childhood and sin, but also that the perilous childhood of Natives and the necessity of priestly reserve was sexually charged. He addressed this link immediately, arguing that while "il ne faut pas laisser croire aux personnes du sexe qu'on les méprise...on peut fort bien les tenir à une distance respectueuse."³⁸ Thus Native women exemplified Bermond's linkage of the potential dangers of nature, sexuality and childhood. But his declaration also placed Native people on a biological time scale, one that assumed that Native people, like children, required parental control and a Catholic upbringing - civilization - to teach them 'heroic virtue.'

Vision, Power, Gender

"Hélas! il n'y a rien dans l'église [de Cowlitz] qui excite, qui remue, qui touche le coeur." Durieu to A.M. Blanchet, 11 October 1857.³⁹

[Alas! there is nothing in the [Cowlitz] church that excites, that stirs, that touches the heart.]

The Oblates were not simply enmeshed in a circulation of representations of Native people that extended to both Europe and the past, they were also trying to represent Catholicism to Native people. Oblate activity in the Pacific Northwest was profoundly oriented to the visual, both metaphorically and practically. In this section I look at some of the visual practices used by the Oblates to evangelize Native people (to bring them into the light), and I want to emphasize that these practices were intended to be both productive and repressive: vision was both a means of salvation and a dangerous

³⁸ [we must not allow persons of sex to believe that we scorn them...we must keep them at a respectful distance.] Idem.

³⁹ Ore. II: 743.

entry-point of sin. I will consider both of these aspects of vision - as mechanism for sin and salvation - as well as some of the more striking connections between vision and power embedded in the Oblate program in the Pacific Northwest.

Vision and imagery have long been of particular concern to the Roman Catholic church, and have been troubling doctrinal and practical issues in the past. On the other hand, the church has long been aware of the efficacy of the use of images for pedagogical purposes, and it reaffirmed Catholic "iconophilia" at the Council of Trent.⁴⁰ Native people of the Americas were seen as peculiarly susceptible to visual demonstrations of church teaching because of the technological "inadequacies" of their societies, and due to inherent "flaws" in the "savage" character.⁴¹ Thus Ortolan would note that

"La logique leur est presque totalement inconnue, et les conclusions les plus irréfutables ne s'imposent nullement à leur esprit. Pour leur convaincre, il faut, avant tout, frapper leur imagination et toucher leur sensibilité. L'axiome...que, chez l'homme, rien ne vient dans l'intelligence qui n'ait passé, d'abord, par les sens...est surtout vrai des sauvages, qui sont des êtres incomparablement plus matériels que le commun des hommes civilisés."⁴²

⁴⁰ I borrow the term iconophilia from François-Marc Gagnon, **La conversion par l'image: un aspect de la mission des Jésuites auprès des Indiens du Canada au XVIIe siècle** (Montreal: Editions Bellarmine, 1975), 100.

⁴¹ This, of course, foreshadows Claude Lévi-Strauss' claim regarding the "savage mind," which he saw as approaching the physical world from the "supremely concrete...angle of sensible qualities." **The savage mind** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 269.

⁴² Thomas Ortolan, OMI, **Cent ans d'apostolat dans les deux hémisphères: les Oblats de Marie Immaculée durant le première siècle de leur existence**, 2 vols., (Paris: Librairie des Annales, 1915), 2: 453. Ricard also claimed that Natives were "ensevelis dans la matière" [buried in the material] and resembled "êtres privés de raison" [beings deprived of reason]. As evidence of these qualities he notes that "vous n'en verrez jamais un contempler les spectacles de nature [...]...ils cherchent ce qu'ils peuvent manger, et rien de plus." [you will never see one contemplate the spectacles of nature...they look for things to eat and nothing more.] Obviously, this quote says far more about Ricard, French aesthetics and tropes of nature than it does about Native people. The citation is from *ibid.*, 2: 302-3.

[Logic is almost unknown to them, and the most irrefutable conclusions can not be impressed on their minds. To convince them, it is necessary, above all, to strike their imaginations and touch their sensibilities. The axiom that, for Man, nothing enters the intelligence that has not first passed through the senses, is especially true for the savages, who are incomparably more material than the average civilized man.]

But people so “irrational and material” would also be particularly susceptible to the baser, indeed dangerous, aspects of vision: if the eyes were the windows to the soul, they were also the doors to concupiscence.

Gender, Sexuality and Sin

Doubtless a history of vision in the Catholic church is bound up with a more general history of the body and of changing social contexts and theological paradigms. It seems fair, however, to say that vision has always played an important role in the church. Obviously, Catholicism, with its ceremony, stained glass, and soaring cathedrals was (and is) profoundly geared to the eye, and on the one hand, visions, and sight, were seen as a mode of enlightenment by which people could transcend the corporeal world and “understand formless ideas and God himself.”⁴³ On the other hand, visions could be produced and sight controlled by demons, as Aquinas would argue.⁴⁴ As the patristic identification of sin with flesh became a central tenet of church dogma, the eyes would become the most important interface between an individual and the evils of the world:

⁴³ Carolly Erickson, **The medieval vision: Essays in history and perception** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 38. This phrase also recalls Lefebvre (1991, 259): Gothic cathedrals embodied a visual logic in which “all should be revealed.”

⁴⁴ Albertus Magnus, and his pupil St. Thomas of Aquinas, believed that demons and “malevolent noncorporeal beings” could create “phantasms to deceive the sight.” In Erickson, 38.

lust, residing in the bodies of all Christians, could be set loose by one unguarded glimpse, particularly of the female form. A hierarchy of grace was constructed, with married couples occupying the lowest echelons, while the “integritas” of the “virgin bodies of Catholic women and the studied continence of Catholic clergymen echoed the enclosed spaces of the Catholic basilicas.”⁴⁵ The dichotomous patristic vision of women as either the immaculate Virgin or the poisonous Edenic serpent hardened in the Middle Ages with the ‘scientific’ misogyny of Aquinas and its subsequent incorporation into Canon law, while the Enlightenment recast women as extravagantly sexualized beings, more suited to passion than reason.⁴⁶ The “democratic Christianity” of the nineteenth century, an overwhelmingly Protestant phenomenon, would touch the Oblates not at all: they remained firmly convinced both of the need to regulate the body and to restrict the field of objects on which the unguarded eye could fall.⁴⁷ They felt a need for witnesses to their conduct, and constantly strove to assure that their manner exhibited what Visitor-General Bermond had called reserve, that on no occasion should their conduct “blesser les yeux de Dieu.”⁴⁸ They placed a great deal of emphasis on teaching modesty to Native people:

⁴⁵ Brown (1988), 362.

⁴⁶ On patristic attitudes toward women see Brown (1988); on Aquinas see Eleanor Commo McLaughlin, “*Equality of souls, inequality of sexes: women in Medieval theology*” in Rosemary R. Ruether, ed., **Religion and sexism: Images of women in the Jewish and Christian traditions** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 213-266. McLaughlin is “amazed” at “the extent to which these [medieval] attitudes toward the female regarding her sexuality, her roles, and her personality characteristics...remain with us today”, 214.

⁴⁷ I borrow the scare-quoted phrase from David F. Noble, **A world without women: the Christian clerical culture of western science** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 242.

⁴⁸ [wound the eyes of God.] Chirouse to Ricard, 30 October 1853. Ore. I: 332.

“quoique les Sauvages soient peu délicats en fait de décence et de modestie...faites leur comprendre que l’honnêteté demande qu’on s’habille du mieux qu’on peut, surtout en *se présentant devant les prêtres* ou dans les lieux saints.”⁴⁹

[although the sauvages are not delicate about things regarding decency and modesty, make them understand that honesty demands that they dress themselves as best they can, above all when *they present themselves to the priests* or go to holy places.]

Priestly vision, saturated with Augustinian overtones of the will run riot and fleshly concupiscence, was predicated on a two-fold equivalency.

First, the body was seen less as the temple of the soul than as the site of a barely contained sexual desire: it was the field on which, to borrow from Foucault, the “battle for chastity” took place. This battle could only be won by male mastery, both of the body itself (as Ricard recommended “*veillez tous à la garde de vos sens*”), and of the field of vision in which women were permitted to appear.⁵⁰ Thus in the early church women were to be veiled, while the desert ascetics strove to isolate themselves from the physical presence of women, and to eradicate images of women from their minds’ eye. Monastic life and orders (as well as the early universities) also required a rigorous control over the presence of women, and this remained the standard for nineteenth-century Oblates who “*défond[ent] à tout personne du sexe d’entrer dans notre maison...*”⁵¹ Thus for the

⁴⁹ Ricard to the Oblate fathers and brothers, 15 February 1857, Ore. II: 669. My emphasis.

⁵⁰ [guard your senses well.] Idem.

⁵¹ [forbid all persons of sex to enter our house...] Chirouse to D’herbomez, 19 February 1860, Ore. III: 973. On the desert ascetics see Brown (1988); for an interesting perspective on women and monastic, university, and western scientific cultures see Noble. In 1868 Durieu commanded that “*Dans les églises où il n’y a pas de confessionaux on se procura au plutôt de grilles pour entendre les confessions des personnes de l’autre sexe...*” [In churches where there are no confessionals you will procure as soon as possible some grills in order to hear the confessions of persons of the

Oblates, vision and the sexual desire represented by women may have been interconnected.

Second, this type of connection between vision and sexuality was predicated on a (still prevalent) objectification of the female body, and for Catholic clergy, this objectified female body was also irredeemably sinful. This way of seeing, which reduced women to objects of and spurs to (potentially uncontrollable) lust and unmediated sites of sin, suggests a profoundly European "scopic regime," and was equally profoundly tied to European forms of power: male domination and Church authority.⁵²

These were precisely the forms of power that the Oblate suspicion of vision extended to Native societies. As I noted earlier, most Oblates were convinced that Native people were incapable of 'heroic virtue,' and were therefore particularly susceptible to the ravages of lust. Motivated by fears of what he saw as the rampant carnality of Native people, Durieu drew up a list of regulations that were to be strictly adhered to in all Native villages and camps, a list which amply demonstrates my point:

1. Les garçons, même petits, ne s'amuseront jamais avec les filles - et vice versa.
2. Les femmes et les filles n'iront jamais seules loin de la maison, surtout la nuit: elles seront au moins deux quand elles ne seront pas accompagnées de leur père, mère ou mari.
3. Tout homme ou grand garçon qui entrera dans la maison d'une femme quand elle sera toute seule, et s'entretiendra avec elle, sera mis à genoux devant le chef et reprimandé. Il en sera de même pour les femmes ou filles...

other sex...] thus effectively shielding priestly eyes from the female form. VRCAD GR1/01 S/01 box 2, folder 6.

⁵² Martin Jay uses the term scopic regime to indicate those "visually imbued cultural and social practices, which may vary from culture to culture and epoch to epoch." **Downcast eyes: The denigration of vision in twentieth-century French thought** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 2. Lefebvre (1991, 261) argues that the growing dominance of the facade in Roman Catholic church architecture exemplifies an increasing trend towards a type of visual logic in which the "living, naked body had a very limited role" and in which the female body had a dichotomous role as either ascetic or damned.

4. Tout homme et femme qui seront surpris à parler seuls dans le bois ou dans les lieux écartés loin des yeux du public, seront mis à genoux devant le chef.

5. Les hommes et garçons ne baigneront jamais au même temps que les femmes au même endroit.

6. Les hommes et garçons se baignent plusieurs ensembles garderont tous les vêtements de dessous, il en sera de même pour les femmes et filles qui se baigneraient plusieurs ensembles.

7. Quand ils voudront se laver le corps, ils iront à l'écart, dans un endroit où personne ne pourra les voir; là ils pourront quitter tous leurs habits.

8. Il est expressément défendu d'aller deux ensemble faire suer dans leurs fours à vapeur: ce n'est qu'en cachette qu'ils peuvent ainsi se faire suer, de manière que personne ne puisse les voir entrer et sortir du four et se jeter dans l'eau.

9. Tous doivent éviter de se montrer nus dans la maison ou ailleurs: c'est un péché dont ils doivent s'accuser en confession, comme aussi d'avoir vu des nudités et de n'avoir pas aussitôt détourné les yeux. Les femmes tiendront les enfants décentement couverts c'est à elles à veiller à ce que les jeunes enfants ne se découvrent pas devant les autres en jouant...⁵³

[1. Boys, even small ones, must never play with the girls, and vice versa.

2. Women and girls must never go far from the house alone, above all at night. They must be at least two together when they are not accompanied by their father, mother or husband.

3. All men and big boys who enter the house of a woman when she is alone, and talk with her, must kneel before the chief and be reprimanded. The same goes for women and girls.

4. All men and women who are surprised speaking alone in the woods or in places far from the eyes of the public will kneel before the chief.

5. Men and boys will never bathe at the same time as the women or in the same place.

6. Men and boys who bathe together will keep on all their undergarments, it will be the same for the women and girls who bathe together.

7. When they want to wash their bodies, they will go to the side, to a place where no one can see them: there they may remove all their clothing.

8. It is expressly forbidden to go two at a time to sweat in their steam ovens: it is only in secret that they can go to sweat, in such a manner that no one can see them enter or leave the oven and jump in the water.

9. Everyone must avoid showing themselves nude in the house or elsewhere. This is a sin they must acknowledge in confession, as well as having seen nudity and not having looked away. Women will keep children decently covered it is up to them to see that the little children do not uncover themselves in front of others when they play...]

⁵³ Durieu, *Direction des Sauvages*, 7-8. Hereafter cited *Direction*. Durieu's persistent references to *washing* the body are symptomatic of his more general attitude regarding the body: it was a vessel of lustful desires and hence dirty.

From the firm placement of Native women under parental or spousal control to the austere management of the visibility of the Native body, all “occasions for sin” were to be eradicated. This visual repression, or disappearance, of the Native body was underpinned by the (European) assumption that vision and sexuality were similarly linked in Native societies: that to gaze upon nudity automatically and universally produced lust, an unequivocally evil human tendency. But these sets of assumptions may have been far from self-evident to Native people, who may not have reduced the world to a visual field governed by the rules of “perspectival representation” in which the body was consigned to object-hood.⁵⁴

Vision was not simply a field of repression, however, and the Oblates also used a multiplicity of visual techniques to attract and to teach Native people. Durieu’s insistence on an exacting observance of church ceremony stemmed from his belief that “comme tous ces extérieurs, cette pompe fait impression sur nos bons sauvages.”⁵⁵ The Oblates, then, were convinced of the power of the visual to teach, to move, and to persuade Native people of the glories of the Catholic religion.

Vision and Salvation

One of the visual methods the Oblates used to ‘explain’ Catholicism to Native people was the Catholic ladder (figure 2.1), a long paper scroll that illustrated the major

⁵⁴ I paraphrase Jay (1993, 4).

⁵⁵ [like all externals, this pomp makes an impression on our good sauvages.] Durieu to D’herbomez, 1 July 1874, AD, box P2288-35305, folder P2310-2413.

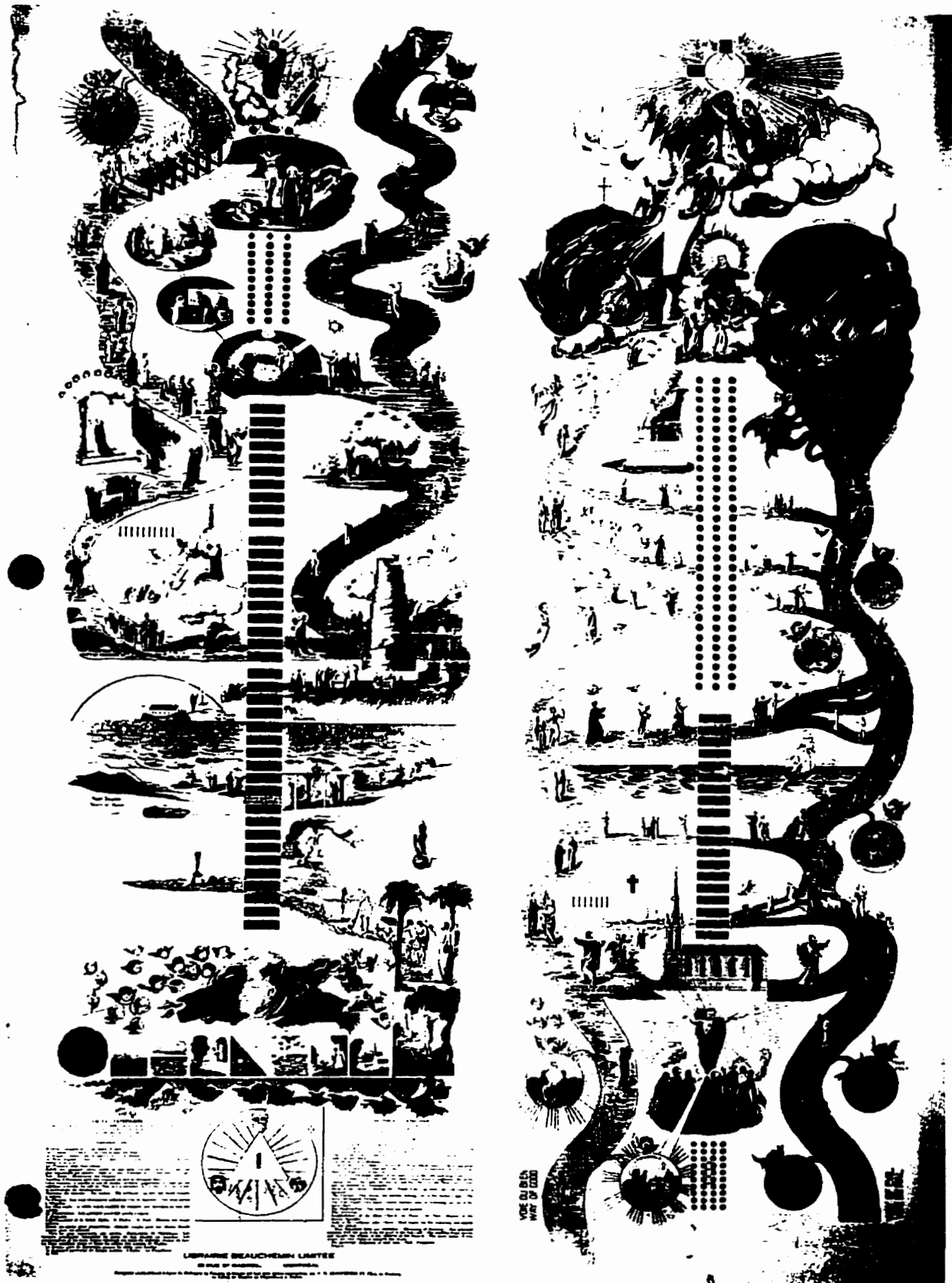


Figure 2.1 Lacombe's Catholic Ladder. 1896

events in Christian history: the ark, the tower of Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, the principal events in the life and death of Christ, and general Christian history. There was a Catholic path that led up through the centuries, to St. Peter's Basilica and on to heaven, while a fork in the path showed Luther, Calvin and other "heretics" falling into the pit of hell.⁵⁶ It was perceived as an efficient means of teaching the basics of Catholic eschatology as well as the errors of Protestantism to Native people, but it also provided an introduction to European concepts of time, and particularly in the later more sophisticated versions, to European representational tropes. The ladders, as well as images, crosses, medals, rosaries, flags, and 'tickets' (temperance, baptismal, catechumenical, etc.) seem to have been highly prized by Native people. In Oregon, Blanchet recorded that a Snohomish chief "Sehalpahen" attributed his defeat of the Clallam in 1840 to his rosary beads and Catholic ladder, and certainly the possession of these objects was seen as positive, and perhaps prestigious, among Natives themselves.⁵⁷ Christophers discusses a Native man's accumulation of baptismal tickets from three different Christian denominations, a cache this man obviously regarded as useful, while the Oblates consistently alluded to the Native demand for images, crosses and medals and record the pride with which they were received.⁵⁸ Unfortunately the Oblate commentary

⁵⁶ The paper or hide ladder was preceded by a sahale stick - a 'talking' stick carved with the basic events in Christian history. See Bagley, II: 119-122; Philip Hanley, **Catholic ladders and missionary activity in the Pacific Northwest** (MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 1965).

⁵⁷ Bagley, I: 107.

⁵⁸ Brett Christophers, **Time, space and the people of God: Anglican colonialism in nineteenth century British Columbia** (MA, University of British Columbia, 1995) 229-231; requests for images and medals are countless, cf. Durieu to his brother, 1 June 1856, D'herbomez to Ricard, 9 September 1856, Ore: II: 614, 624; medals, crosses and images were used as rewards and Fouquet noted the typical reaction to receiving such an object -

on specific Native responses to Catholic imagery or objects is thin at best, but it seems clear Native people were aware of some the associations these objects were intended to convey: in one case the breaking and burning of a cross by a Native man was clearly intended to convey rejection of priestly authority, and was interpreted as such by Lejacq.⁵⁹

All of the Oblates were firm believers in the axiom that one could “mieux parler à leur coeur par le moyen des yeux.” and they acted consistently on that belief.⁶⁰ To demonstrate Christ’s sacrifice for humankind more clearly, Father E.C. Chirouse would drape himself on a cross, and speak of Christ’s passion from that position.⁶¹ Chirouse also designed an exhibition to be performed by his students during his summer tours through Puget Sound:

“leur h`exhibition [sic] se divisait en deux actes. Dans le premier, ils représentaient par cinq scènes, les habitudes des vieux sauvages non-civilisés et dans le seconde

“il était hors de lui-même de fierté et de bonheur quand son enfant alla lui remettre l`image devant tout le monde” [he was beside himself with pride and happiness when his child gave him the image in front of everyone.] Fouquet to D`herbomez, 2 June 1863, AD, HPK 5282 .H53Z.

⁵⁹ Lejacq to D`herbomez, 17 November 1873, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566. The Jesuits in eastern Canada have left an intriguing record of Native responses to imagery (in the Jesuit Relations), which they took very seriously. A fascinating letter exists requesting images of the crucifixion, resurrection, a damned soul, etc., but it also explicitly described what was wanted. For example, the writer specified that Christ should not have a beard; faces were not to be in profile; hair was to be “bien polis” [shiny], and no bald men were to be depicted; colors were to be bright; halos were to be “rayons” [rays] not circles, which were apparently confused with hats; and people must not be entirely swathed in clothing but should have “une partie du corps honestement découverte” [a part of the body decently uncovered]. A detailed description of a damned soul is also given. Gagnon, 42-44.

⁶⁰ [speak better to their hearts by means of their eyes.] Chirouse to Mazenod, 12 December 1857, Ore. II: 771.

⁶¹ Idem.

acte, ils représentaient leur progrès dans la science ou premiers pas dans la voie de la civilisation - par différentes scènes."⁶²

[This exhibition was divided into two acts. In the first they represented in five scenes the customs of the old, non-civilized sauvages and in the second act, they represent their progress in science or their first steps on the road to civilization.]

Obviously a spectacle of this kind suggests the bifurcation of the self on which confession was predicated (see Chapter 4). In this case the portrayal of an object (the past) as, if not sinful, then at least degraded, is juxtaposed and displayed against a (consciously) improved present self - a value-laden exhibition of history and culture.

The Oblates also placed a great deal of emphasis on ritual and ceremony of all types (and certainly the same could be said of Native people of the Pacific Northwest). The sacraments are embedded in elaborate and highly symbolic rituals, and the exposition of the Eucharist was regarded as particularly important. But the Oblates also arranged dramatic and well-attended celebrations that combined the performance of passion plays (see figures 2.2 - 2.4), penitential parades, Eucharistic parades, and proselytization. All of these activities involved not only the performance of spectacular acts of faith intended for the consumption of the hundreds and often thousands of Native people observing them, but must also have had more profoundly personal impacts on those performing them. Passion plays in particular were geared toward the personal involvement of both participants and observers, as a description from 1892 at Saint Mary's Mission suggests:

"The Indians gathered like an army on the lowland, and at a given signal from the two chiefs, moved up the hill. Slowly they moved, chanting in Latin 'Hail Jesus.' Their voices rose high and shrill, and died away in a low moan. At the crescendos the Indians would throw back their heads, and wave their arms in religious excitement. The procession as it slowly wended its way up the hill - true

⁶² To Tempier, 12 February 1863, AD, GLPP 591.

resemblance of Calvary - singing hymns in Chinook, passed by the tableaux - eight in number. Only the best among the Indians were chosen for parts. The first tableau presented a tall Indian kneeling in supplication; six gowned Natives lay on the ground behind him, feigning sleep. The scene was the Agony. The Indian impersonating Christ threw his whole soul into the portrayal, and his face showed a wonderful expression of suffering and intercession. In the second scene, representing Christ seized by the soldiers, natives with shields, spears, helmets and jerkins of Romans, bound the unresisting Saviour. The third tableau showed Christ standing before Pilate, with downcast eyes and bound in chains. A slave holding a basin and pitcher, and a group of sullen, angry Jews watching the proceedings completed the realism of this affecting picture. The fourth station was the dreadful flagellation. It depicted two savage soldiers standing with bloody knouts upraised over the bound figure of Christ. His face showed anguish and spiritual determination. In the crowning of thorns that followed, the blood that trickled from the brow down the face of Christ, and stained His white garments, seemed so true that the spectator could not rid himself of the idea that it was real. Fully as real was Christ bearing His cross, St. Veronica stepping forward to wipe His face, and two Indian soldiers compelling Him to rise with blows. In the seventh scene Christ comforts the weeping women of Jerusalem with a reassuring smile. From this spectacle the procession moved, singing softly, into the large mission yard. There on a platform on the edge of the cliff stood the Cross, a waxen figure of Christ was nailed to its arms, and clinging to the feet of the Crucified, and receiving the drops of blood on her head, was a Mary Magdalen. Beside her was the Blessed Mother, St. John, a handsome Squamish Indian, sat bowed in hopeless grief...As the chanting procession came before this last tableau, the singing was hushed and all fell silently on their knees. The stillness had become oppressive when five of the chiefs arose and each in turn called out in his own language: 'Jesus is dying! Jesus is dying! Jesus is dying!' A shrill mournful chant, repeated over and over, and echoed from the cliffs across the river, was the reply. Then at a signal, all arose and, filing past the crucifix, each made a deep reverence."⁶³

Thus participation in a passion play - a highly regulated and emotionally charged social and ideological event - the performance of a role, with its defined gestures and display of associated emotions must have prompted some degree of identification on the part of the actor with the passion of Christ. The passion play, then, served to "event-ualize" Christ's passion, to make it happen in the present, and as Ronald Grimes argues, "in such events

⁶³ Cited in Cronin, 165-167.



Figure 2.2 Christ on Calvary



Figure 2.3 Christ Nailed to the Cross



Figure 2.4 The Crucifixion: Passion Play at St. Mary's Mission. 1892

people find themselves defined, that is judged, enlightened, and put into fundamental touch."⁶⁴ The same would hold true of participation in a penitential parade or Eucharistic parade, which served not only as spectacle, but also as a source, or statement, of identity: a public and personal recognition of one's self as a sinner, as a celebrant, as a Christian.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ **Beginnings in ritual studies** (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 52.

⁶⁵ Cf. Robert A. Schneider, "Mortification on parade: penitential processions in 16th and 17th century France", **Renaissance and Reformation**, 10 (1986), 123-146. This is certainly *not* to imply that participants in passion plays and other religious performances did not effect a "transformation of [the] significance attached to rituals and roles," as June Nash argues in "The passion play in Maya Indian communities", **Comparative Studies in Society and History** 10 (1968), 318-327, 318. I address the ways in which Native people remade the Catholic message in the next chapter.

These ritual displays depended on very European notions of historical time (as a series of events) and representation (symbols as effective, transparent, and universally readable).

At first glance these rituals have an almost surreal quality to them, unhinged from European social space and sporadically yet ostentatiously erupting in Native space. But this quality is deceptive in that these rituals - which clearly had religious significance - were not only spectacular celebrations and elaborate educational tools, they were also territorial markers and claims of possession.

The sacraments are all, to some extent, marks of possession. Baptism is the literal entry of a soul into the Christian community, and its emphasis on (re)naming implies not just entry into the church community, but the acquisition and acceptance of a Christian identity. Marriage, too, is a mark of possession, in that it grants the church the authority to regulate the conditions in which interpersonal relations take place: it enmeshes the individual in a web of obligations, including life-long monogamy, European norms of relatedness, sexual mores, and (particularly clear in Protestant/Catholic marriages), the obligation to raise one's children as Catholics. By accepting the blood and body of Christ in communion, one is clearly participating in a mutual act of possession.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Communion is certainly one of the more literal acts of possession - one literally swallows and digests the Host. For the anxieties this produced in the Middle Ages see Piero Camporesi, "*The consecrated host: A wondrous excess*" in Michael Fehrer, et al. eds., **Zone: Fragments for a history of the human body**, 3 vols., (New York: Urzone, 1989), I: 220-237. As Chirouse noted, it also created some confusion in nineteenth-century Oregon: "One day, Judith, who was a fervent convert, genuflected before me after I had said Mass. On my asking her why she did so, 'Father,' she said, 'you have just celebrated Mass. You have received Jesus Christ: He is now within your breast, and it is before Him I genuflect' ...I explained to her that she should not adore the Holy Eucharist where our Lord was not sacramentally present." Cited in Cooke, I: 354.

But many of the activities I have described, for example participation in passion plays and parades, were also visible signs of possession and spectacular displays of power aimed at a more general public - by turning the churches (the most material markers of denominational affiliation) inside out they declared the equivalency between numbers and legitimate authority. Flags, crosses, and images, no matter what use individuals actually made of them, were all the insignia of the *Catholic* church. Cross planting, in which Chirouse seems to have delighted, was perhaps the most over-determined of all Catholic possessory gestures, an action that has been repeated countless times in Canada from Cartier on the St. Lawrence River to the Spanish at Nootka Sound, the ultimate statement of an indubitable right to lay claim to a territory and all its inhabitants. Thus the functions of spectacle were multiple, involving processes of subjectification, as well as the insinuation of the Church's power as an institution into individual lives and Native communities.

Certainly, vision, pageantry and ritual also played a role in Anglican proselytization, but they were also the crux of fractures within the Church of England resulting in 'high' and 'low' Anglicanism, and in the Oxford movement. These fractures were also evident in nineteenth-century British Columbia. In the context of a struggle over the Anglican mission Metlakatla, Anglican Bishop Hills complained of the mission church there because "there was nothing to impress the sense, no colour, or ornament, or church decoration, or music."⁶⁷ Thus the benefits of the use of such visual practices were not as universally accepted by the Anglican Church as by the Catholic Church, and the

⁶⁷ Cited in Peter Murray, *The Devil and Mr. Duncan* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985), 80.

more general Protestant “repugnance to the visible and the tangible matters of faith” has been commented upon by a number of historians.⁶⁸ It seems appropriate to suggest that vision and the multiple modalities of power that worked through it, was precisely a *Catholic* means of colonizing Native people.

Conclusions

In both Oregon and British Columbia, the Oblates arrived at the cusp of a major shift in Native-white relations from a long period of trade and sporadic contact to a sudden, large influx of white settlers and the establishment of a formal, though relatively incomplete, governmental structure. Not only did tensions arise in both areas due to land and disease, wage labor for whites became an option, and, in many cases, daily contact with whites would become the norm. While war on a large scale was not to occur in British Columbia, all of these conditions had an effect on Native responses to missionary activity (see Chapter 3), and these responses were both individual and group.

The Oblates also brought many ideas about the nature and character of Native people with them from Europe, and two, I think, stand out in particular. The first of these can simplistically be termed the trope of the ignoble savage, a representation of Native

⁶⁸ The citation is from Jay (1993, 43). Jay (44, 46) argues that Catholicism demonstrated the assumption that sight was “the noblest of the senses” while Protestants privileged the ear which was to hear “the unmediated word of God.” This distinction is also demonstrated in church architecture. As Warren Sommer notes, nonconformist churches in nineteenth-century British Columbia were intended to be “functional meeting houses and places of prayer, not beautiful temples laden with symbolism,” and in Catholic churches religious statues replaced the Anglican pulpit and lectern. “*Mission church architecture on the industrial frontier*”, in John Veillette and Gary White, **Early Indian villages churches: Wooden frontier architecture in British Columbia** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), 12-23, 17.

people in the Pacific Northwest that was distinctively at odds with earlier Jesuit representations of indigenous peoples which reflected a far more optimistic theology of human nature. But the ignoble savage, an image that is very difficult to prise apart from the noble savage, also seems to me to be thoroughly bound up with what could be called Catholic imperialism: the barbarity of the pagan Indian could only be remedied through the action of "true" religion. This last observation again calls forth some of the interdependencies of the noble/ignoble savage trope: quite clearly the Oblates approached Native people with a confidence in, if not their perfectability, then at least in their educability.

Second, while some of the sharper edges of Oblate perceptions of Native people - that they were barbarous and cruel - would gradually wear away, many of their original assessments, and particularly their persistence in seeing Natives as children, would remain at the core of their relations with Natives for over a century. The Oblates' perceptions of Native people as barbarous or child-like both rest on conceptions of time, cast as either historical or biological. Time, as McClintock suggests, "became a geography of social power, a map from which to read a global allegory of 'natural' social difference."⁶⁹ The dualisms of present/pagan and future/Christian seem to have hardened into an enduring not yet: many Oblates continue to see Native people as children who still haven't gotten it right. Thus the positioning of Native people within a double helix of historical *and* biological hierarchies had serious consequences both for the details of Oblate methodology and for Native people, who were caught in a web of infantilism

⁶⁹ McClintock, 37.

projected on them by missionaries of all denominations as well as by government officials.

Vision, like the noble/ignoble savage trope, played an ambiguous role in the Oblates' evangelization of Native people: vision represented a means of both sin and salvation: sight was something to be suppressed or enhanced according to the objects on which it was to fall: it performed both declarative and constitutive functions. Thus, the explicitly visual nature of many of the Oblates' techniques of evangelization served to demarcate a series of material spaces (the altar, the church, a reserve) and segments of time (matins, a mission, a passion play) as Catholic. But in conjunction with this declaratory function there was also a constitutive function that was both more fragile and more powerful. The constitutive effects of what John Rajchman has called "spaces of constructed visibility" operate through the "art of light and the visible" and help to "determine who and what we think we are."⁷⁰ The Oblates aimed precisely to create such spaces of constructed visibility, and seem to have been convinced that to see was to know, and hence to possess: that these were the lines through which the church was to enter the lives of Native people. But this was also the method by which Native people were to possess the church: by teaching them to see 'appropriately' they were being taught to know and to become: a presumption that the Native mind could be emptied of 'superstition,' opened up to the observing gaze of the priests, and then filled again with the images of Christianity.

⁷⁰ John Rajchman, "*Foucault's art of seeing*" in his **Philosophical events: essays of the Eighties** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 68-102, 82.

But Native people were also being introduced to the fine art of visual translation. The Oblates were not leaving the interpretation of Catholic symbols to chance, they were not just teaching simple lessons in the translation of symbols, they were shaping the content and direction of that reading. They were introducing new ways of seeing to Native people - reconstructing the "art of light and the visible." In other words 'new' objects were produced and cast into both the realm of the readable and the see-able. For example, different aspects of the human body were made visible in order to be covered up: the naked human body had to be rendered *first* as an object (of lust, of sin) *before* a deflection of the gaze could occur. The lines of power and knowledge running through the visual and the visible gripped not only the material aspects of life, but its mental pre-conditions. They supposed the re-making of the psychology of the individual through a barrage of images and instructions, through a strategy of visualization.

And, in the broadest sense, the European scopic regime by which the Oblates viewed the 'new world' and its Native inhabitants also served as a conduit of colonial power. Clearly the Oblates engaged in a great deal of speculation, but they were above all observers who followed the "tacit rules" of their culturally constituted scopic regime: they "carrie[d] out the characteristic manoeuvre of the modern subject, who separates himself from an object-world and observes it." And as Timothy Mitchell goes on to argue, this "enframing" is, in itself, colonizing: it re-orders, objectifies, and abstracts. It builds-in "an effect of order and an effect of truth" that renders the "picture-world" it enframes up to calculation.⁷¹ It is a logic of visualization that reduces the 'real' to a plan.

⁷¹ Timothy Mitchell, **Colonising Egypt** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 28 and 33.

And plans, of course, are maps of intentions. Thus the “techniques of the observer”⁷² deployed by the Oblates served not only to (re)constitute Native subjectivities, but also to render them up as the objects and effects of power.

⁷² I borrow from Jonathan Crary, **Techniques of the observer: On vision and modernity in the nineteenth century** (Cambridge, MS: MIT Press, 1990).

Part II: Pastoral Power

“There is no truth which the faithful missionary has greater need of keeping constantly before his mind, than the importance of labouring, not only for the multitude, but also for the one individual soul.” Robert Cooke. OMI. 1879.¹

“Self-immolation was the theme....he showed them how the faithful observance of the rules of life he proposed to them, led to a mystical death to self and the world.” Ibid.²

Foucault traces the roots of a pastoral technology of power back to the Christian modification of a Hebraic metaphor which figured the priest as shepherd (guardian and guide) to a flock of the faithful, and an appropriation of Greco-Roman techniques of self-examination.³ The melding of these two disparate traditions provides the productive core of a form of power that rests on *responsibility, obedience, and knowledge*, and has as its goal *mortification*.

The priest-shepherd is responsible for the “sins and merits” of each and every member of his flock - he must not only account for their actions, but be judged himself through this accounting. To assure a positive accounting the shepherd must exercise constant vigilance over the flock as a whole, and each of its members. He must ensure not just the fact of his vigilance, but its efficacy: he must be able to lead the flock in all matters. Obedience, then, becomes one of the necessary attributes of the flock, and in Christianity it is a virtue, an end in itself. Individual willfulness must be rooted out and total dependence on the shepherd established. But the shepherd’s ultimate ability to lead

¹ I: 376.

² Ibid., 69.

³ Foucault, “*Omnes et singulatim: Towards a criticism of political reason*”. **Tanner lectures on human values, 2** (1981), 225-54, 230, 238. Hereafter cited as OS.

rests on his knowledge of his flock, both as a whole and, most importantly, as individuals: he must know all their trespasses, both public and private.

This form of knowledge rests on a complex of practices that has a double movement. First, each member of the flock must attain a measure of self-knowledge and awareness through a (continuous) process of self-examination, both of actions and of conscience. And second, this knowledge of the self must be communicated in its entirety to the pastor through confession. Christian subjectivities are constituted through this perpetual circulation of knowledge, confession, and pastoral guidance and correction. The goal of these techniques is *mortification*, a denial of the temptations not only of the world, but of those ever present dangers lurking in the individual human body and soul. Only through mortification - a kind of death to the world and to specific aspects of one's self - can both the pastor and the flock be assured of attaining life in another (better) world.

This conception of pastoral power suggests some general similarities to my sketch of Durieu's action of formation (Chapter 4). But I want to make a series of somewhat different points about Foucault's model of pastoral power. The first of these is the circularity of the process itself, which Foucault's account suggests is unproblematic. This circularity is in part a result of the desired end: for obvious reasons, admission to heaven was not a certainty for the vast majority of Christians (nor could it be if the Church was to maintain its importance). The means of reaching heaven, confession and pastoral mediation, had to be at once continuous and self-perpetuating: constant submission to pastoral power became an end in itself. These are, of course, precisely the doctrinal and

theological elements of Catholicism that the Protestant Reformation would condemn as corrupt and oppressive, and it seems clear that this pastoral form of power was peculiarly Catholic.

Second, pastoral power is inherently hybrid. It is scarcely feasible to consider pastoral power outside the institutional structure of the Catholic Church: pastoral power was profoundly shaped by and responsive to the needs of the institution as a whole. As such, pastoral power was part of a wider web of power that was both disciplinary and sovereign. Priests employed what in Foucault's terms would be classically disciplinary techniques in the management of their flocks: surveillance, the production of docile bodies, the creation and maintenance of Christian norms, as well as processes of examination/confession and the knowledges they produced. But clergy were also subject to the disciplinary gaze, and Church power, particularly after the Council of Trent, was exercised through and upon the clergy using many of these same techniques of self-examination, confession, and moral guidance.⁴ The clergy were also subject to far stricter standards and norms than the mass of lay people. The Church's formal adoption of clerical celibacy (and ideally virginity) in the twelfth century, and the reforms in clerical education and behavior, brought about primarily through the development of diocesan seminaries that were well established by the late seventeenth century, are only two major examples of the considerable impress of Church standards and norms on its clergy.⁵

⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁵ On clerical celibacy, see Joseph H. Lynch, **The Medieval Church: A brief history** (New York, Longman, 1992), 78-80. On the impact of Tridentine reforms on the clergy see Hoffman, chapter 3 in particular. Brown (1988) tracks the debates surrounding both clerical and lay celibacy and virginity in the early Church.

But Church discipline over both clergy and laity was also codified and buttressed by sovereign power. While the papacy's secular power waned significantly between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, its institutional control over both clergy and laity became more than ever dependent upon "judicial" violence. The Inquisition was the ultimate manifestation of the spectacular coercive power deployed by the Church to enforce its norms.⁶ The formal codification of these norms in the body of canon law dates back to the early Church, and canon law was continuously elaborated over the centuries. But a juridical model of power is even more deeply embedded in pastoral power than the canopy of the canon law or inquisitorial proceedings suggest. The entire complex of confession, penance and absolution is profoundly juridical, indeed doubly so. As Thomas Aquinas explains,

"the institution of confession was necessary in order that the sins of the penitent might be revealed to Christ's minister; hence the minister to whom the confession is made must have judicial power as representing Christ, the Judge of the living and the dead. This power again requires two things: authority of knowledge and power to absolve or condemn."⁷

But more, confession casts the penitent in the role of accused, witness, and to some extent judge, in that confession itself implies a recognition of guilt, and an acceptance of punishment. Thus pastoral power employs both the repressive functions of sovereign power brought to bear on the transgressive objects of its exercise, and the productive functions of Christian formation and self-identity on its subjects.

⁶ As Paul Johnson notes, the seeds of the Church's willingness to use force - whether to suppress heretics, or later to convert pagans and infidels - were planted by Saint Augustine's campaign against the Donatists in the fourth century. **A history of Christianity** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 252.

⁷ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentes IV*, 72.

Finally, while Foucault lingers on the individualizing aspects of pastoral power, he makes only a brief allusion to its role in the regulation of the Christian population. While an over-arching control of the Christian populace has never been perfected by the Church, that has certainly been one of its goals. By the ninth century, the parish was at once an *obligatory* legal, social, economic, *and* religious framework intended to regulate *both* laity and clergy - "a reflection of the fact that society was legally Christian."⁸ The parish was also one of the most fundamental levels at which knowledge was produced: parish records contain births, baptisms, marriages and deaths; legitimacy and illegitimacy; the course of epidemics and famine; and in the absence of these records themselves, to fires and flood. But for centuries the parish register was a peculiarly *local* knowledge, while the parish priest exercised an authority limited largely to the parish itself. The Church's dream of unencumbered control of the entire Christian population would fade with the rise of the nation-state and with Luther's first nail.

As the previous paragraphs have shown, pastoral power is a very old modality of power that can be characterized as *productive*, in its constitution of Catholic Christian subjects; as *disciplinary* in its focus on individual bodies and minds; as *normalizing* in its promotion of the self-regulation of its subjects; and as *sovereign* in its juridicality and use of spectacular force. And, as I argue in Chapter 5, it is also thoroughly imbued with a will to govern.

⁸ Lynch, 81-82.

Chapter 3 Spatial Strategies and Sacramental Practices

The Oblate Congregation was provided with official instructions regarding foreign missions written by Mazenod, and incorporated into the *Constitutions* in 1853. Briefly, the Oblates were to work in pairs: only adults who were sufficiently instructed and had proved themselves during a probationary period were to be admitted to baptism; catechisms and canticles were to be translated into Native languages; visual imagery was to be used to aid teaching; every effort was to be made to sedentarize Native peoples; and missionaries should concern themselves with the temporal conditions of their neophytes.¹ While Mazenod clearly recognized that Native subsistence patterns, languages, and oral cultures required a particular form of proselytization, he gave few details about how his Oblates were to accomplish these goals.

In this chapter I address the questions of where the Oblates located their mission stations and why, and how they set out to evangelize Native people. As I have suggested, the Oblates in Oregon had a number of mission strategies available to choose from, including their own experience in Provence, but they chose itineracy as the best means of evangelizing Native people. Oddly enough, many contemporary writers have fixated on the Jesuit reductions of sixteenth and seventeenth century Paraguay as *the* model for Oblate activity in the Pacific Northwest. I argue that while the Jesuit reductions may have provided the *model* for a mission utopia, eclecticism and practical experience combined with a Tridentine mentality would eventually contribute far more to Oblate mission

¹ *Constitutions*, 1853, “*Appendix de exteris missionibus*.”

practices. In the second section of this chapter I consider some of the options the Oblates discussed among themselves concerning the basic issue of itineracy. I map out the system of mission activity they eventually chose, and suggest that Oblate evangelization rested on three interconnected yet distinct modes of spatial practice.

I conclude by giving some account of what the Oblates actually did when they “gave” a mission to Native people, in terms of preaching and the performance of two sacraments, baptism and marriage. I want to show that evangelization was an active process in which both Native people and the priests participated, and also to suggest some of the ways both engaged with each other through the medium of the mission. But I also want to suggest that these sacraments, and proselytization more generally, were interpreted by Native people in a multitude of ways.

Mission Sites

“Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place.” 1 Corinthians 4.11.

“*missit illos binos.*” Bermond, 17 September 1858.²

Obviously, upon their arrival in Oregon, housing and food were of primary importance to the Oblates. Both because their *hourse* required self-sufficiency, and to provide an instructive model for Native people, the Oblates turned to agriculture to provide for themselves.³ Dependable sources of wood and water, fertile soil, shelter from

² Ore. III: 798.

³ The amount of early correspondence concerned with food - how much, what kind, price, and provenance - suggests not only that food was often scarce and expensive, but also

wind and snow, and transportation and communication links were primary considerations in the choice of a mission site, as was a location central to the greatest possible number of Native people. In the Oregon Territory the Oblates requested permission from Native people to settle on sites that met these requirements, a location policy that usually placed them in very close proximity to Native settlements.⁴

Initially the Oblates hoped “former un noyau de chrétiens et de demeurer au milieu d’eux pour les instruire en attendant les autres.”⁵ They soon realized, however, that many Native bands were small, and that these groups stayed at winter villages only for a few months in the year. The Oblates also found that settlement amidst Native groups had unforeseen drawbacks, particularly regarding the daily cultural politics of Native camps. For example, while the Oblates made a clear distinction between their temporal and spiritual duties, Native people were less inclined to do so: they often expected the Oblates to share provisions during hard times, which the latter resisted as involving the mission too deeply in temporal affairs, and as detrimental to the Native character - “handouts” only deepened Native “indolence.”⁶ The Oblates were also determined to begin mission

that the average European stomach and taste buds were slow to acculturate to the most widely available food source: dried salmon and “graines” bartered from Native people. ⁴ Champagne notes the importance of these requirements to Oblates east of the Rocky Mountains, and also that Hudson’s Bay Company forts and trading posts - which were endowed with many of these qualities, solved the transportation and communication problems, and attracted large numbers of Native people - were seen as attractive mission sites. Joseph-Etienne Champagne, **Les missions catholiques dans l’ouest de Canada, 1818-1875**, (Ottawa: Etudes Oblates, 1949). As a rule the Oblates in British Columbia didn’t settle at forts (Fort Rupert was a temporary exception) and also took pains to establish Indian missions away from other white settlements.

⁵ [to form a group of Christians and to live among them in order to instruct them while awaiting others.] Chirouse to Ricard, 25 December 1849. Ore. I: 89.

⁶ The correspondence is peppered with examples of the difficulties of Native cultural politics. On food-sharing, see particularly Ricard to Faraud, 18 February 1850. Ore. I:

schools, and the close proximity of Native settlements was believed to make surveillance of the children difficult.⁷

The reserve system, put in place from the 1860s to the 1880s, also had an impact on the location of mission sites, and different reserve policies in the United States and British Columbia account for different location strategies. After 1858, the only remaining Oblate mission in Washington was *on* the Tulalip reservation, and both Chirouse and Durieu noted the benefits of that situation.⁸ Chirouse, who would remain in Washington until 1878, was employed and paid by the American government to direct Native education on the reservation. He was therefore accountable to the government for his methods and results, and seems to have developed a close working relationship with the Indian Agents assigned to the area. With the implementation of President Grant's Peace Policy in 1869, which gave religious associations direct control over local Indian agencies and reservations, Chirouse served as Indian agent from 1871-1876. Although accountability to the American government must have been something of a drawback, the benefits seem obvious: the Oblates gained governmentally sanctioned authority over many aspects of Native life within the boundaries of the agency, and received funding. It is not difficult to imagine that in these situations the civil and the religious tended to blur.

100 and Fouquet to D'herbomez, 29 March and 6 April 1875, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 2595-2977.

⁷ Grandidier noted this problem at St. Mary's in 1866. "l'école étant ainsi entouré de sauvages, la surveillance devient excessivement difficile, sinon impossible: les enfants pouvant avoir des communications illicite, avec qui ils veulent, où ils veulent, sans que personne le sache." [the school being thus surrounded by sauvages, surveillance becomes excessively difficult, if not impossible: the children being able to have illicit communications, with whom they please, where they please, without anyone knowing.] To D'herbomez, 18 December 1866, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

⁸ Chirouse to D'herbomez, 7 February 1859, Ore. III: 838.

The situation in British Columbia was different. Generally, the Oblates did not settle on reserves, although there was some debate over this issue. British and Canadian government policy did not encourage religious involvement in reserve administration, and in British Columbia the Oblates' relations with government authorities (particularly colonial and provincial) were often strained.⁹ While religious denominations were eventually subsidized to manage and operate schools in British Columbia, few missionaries were granted formal civil powers, and certainly no Catholic missionaries were. In terms of physical structures on reserves, then, the Oblates in British Columbia were generally limited to day schools and church buildings.

Finding suitable mission locations off reserves was often complicated: the Oblates could purchase land, but prices were often high, and improvements made by the seller, such as cleared land, fences, and buildings, added to the price. The Oblates could also pre-empt, but problems arose due to the 1870 naturalization requirements,¹⁰ and pre-emption entailed improvement and residency schedules that were difficult for itinerant priests to meet. In 1871, for example, Lejacq and McGuckin had been unable to make improvements at William's Lake sufficient to fulfill legal requirements,¹¹ and a first Oblate claim near Kamloops was "jumped" in 1873. In the same year an ambitious settler, Louis Chrétien (Crétin as Grandidier came to call him), threatened to contest another Oblate claim on the basis that the naturalization requirement had not been met.¹²

⁹ Some Protestant missions were located on reserves. See Chapter 5 for Oblate/government relations.

¹⁰ Naturalization required 'aliens' to become British citizens in order to pre-empt land.

¹¹ Lejacq to Durieu, 2 February 1871, AD, box P4150-4934, folder P4168-4566.

¹² Grandidier to D'herbomez, 16 November 1873, AD, box P2288-3505, folder P3118-3505.

Since the Oblates pre-empted land as individuals, rather than as a corporation, their properties were often vulnerable to these types of legal action.

But location of mission sites was not the only detail the Oblates had to work out. There was also considerable debate about the way these sites were to be used. Were they to be year-round permanent residences or simply *pieds à terre*? What was the most effective and economical way to evangelize Native people, mission stations that would encourage nearby Native settlement, or itineracy? Itineracy seems to be the facet of Oblate practice most taken-for-granted by historians, but in the Pacific Northwest it was not a foregone conclusion.

As early as 1853 Ricard was convinced that mission stations would never attract enough Native people to justify the presence of more than one priest, but here he was constrained by the Rule, which required that the Oblates always work in pairs.¹³ This aspect of the Rule was to have a serious impact on the ways mission activity proceeded in both Oregon and British Columbia. At first, working in pairs seems to have been seen as an ideal situation that must be sacrificed to the immediate necessities of establishing missions: most of the Oblates spent long periods of time either alone, or with a lay brother as their sole companion. Their responses to isolation and separation varied: some, like Charles Pandosy, seem to have revelled in it; others, like Chirouse, were uncomfortable.¹⁴ Chirouse's response ran a gamut of spiritual and practical concerns.

¹³ Ricard to Jean-Baptiste Brouillet, 6 February 1853, Ore. I: 197.

¹⁴ I choose revelled advisedly. Pandosy, and later Léon Fouquet, seem to have had a great deal of difficulty living and working with other men. While some conflict due to personalities would have been normal, both seem to have spent their entire careers unhappy with their assigned companions. The correspondence outward from several of

First, he objected to working alone because it was physically and psychologically demanding; he often compensated for this by bartering food and shelter to travellers who performed farm labor for him in return. Second, he objected because he felt it put his soul at risk: he was unable to confess regularly, and he wanted a witness to his actions. And finally, he felt that a lone missionary made less than an imposing impression on Native people, pointing out that it was difficult to command respect from people who “ne regardent que l’extérieur du missionnaire, et pensent que la vérité ne peut sortir que de la bouche d’un véritable chef, c’est-à-dire d’un homme qui n’est pas seul, qui est riche, et qui peut se passer des sauvages.”¹⁵

In 1852 D’herbomez had suggested that “nous aille passer l’hiver dans le camp des sauvages quelque part qu’ils se trouvent et en été lorsque les sauvages sont tous dispersés, l’on pourrait se réunir et passer quelques mois ensemble...”¹⁶ Doubtless this suggestion was rejected out of hand because wintering *à la mode des sauvages* would have been a hardship for the missionaries. Only five years later, soon after he was

their respective mission stations contains long litanies of complaints and accusations against their companions, and many requests for transfers from the latter.

¹⁵ [see nothing but the exterior of the missionary, and who think that the truth cannot come out of the mouth of anyone but a real chief, that is to say, a man who is not alone, who is rich, and who can make do without [the help of] the sauvages.] Chirouse to Ricard, 4 August 1849, Ore. I: 68. Chirouse had noted earlier that year that “ils veulent pas, disent-ils, écouter des chefs sans dessein comme moi, qui n’ai pas seulement [sic] du sucre pour boire, ni de la galette pour manger.” [they do not want, they say, to listen to chiefs without means like me, who have [neither] sugar to drink, nor bread to eat.] To Ricard, 22 July 1849, Ore. I: 59. Thus poverty, one of the fundamental religious vows, was on occasion an impediment to proselytization in the Pacific Northwest. In light of these two quotes I suspect that chastity could also be interpreted somewhat differently by Native people, some of whom saw multiple wives as an indicator of wealth and status.

¹⁶ [we spend the winter in the sauvages’ camp wherever they may be, and in summer when the sauvages are all dispersed, we can reunite and spend a few months together.] D’herbomez to Ricard, 15 February 1852, Ore. I: 148.

appointed to replace Ricard as Superior of missions. D'herbomez had done a complete about face:

“Je trouve même plusieurs avantages de laisser venir les sauvages. au lieu d'aller nous-mêmes les visiter: d'abord il en coûte beaucoup moins de dépenses. et nos pères qui sont loin de se bien porter sont beaucoup mieux à la mission qu'en visite...je crois néanmoins qu'il serait nécessaire de faire une tournée au moins une fois chaque année.”

[similarly I find many advantages in letting the sauvages come. rather than going ourselves to visit them: first it costs much less. and our fathers. who are far from being well fare better at the mission than in visiting...nevertheless I believe it will be necessary to make the rounds [of the camps] at least once a year.]

But in the same letter he quoted Durieu. who argued that:

“tant qu'on gardera le système d'après lequel on s'est conduit jusqu'ici. résider sur une place et ne pas aller visiter les sauvages dans leurs camps. on ne fera rien à mon avis...Mais si le missionnaire partait du lieu de sa résidence pour visiter les divers camps...il serait missionnaire...Avouons le franchement aujourd'hui: nous n'avons été que des cultivateurs et non des missionnaires.”¹⁷

[as long as we keep the system we have used up to now. living in one place and not visiting the sauvages in their camps. we will accomplish nothing in my opinion...But if the missionary leaves the vicinity of his residence in order to visit the different camps...he would be a missionary...let us admit frankly today: we have been cultivators and not missionaries.]

Thus two very distinct models of evangelization were available to the Oblates. and they were weighing the benefits of both when Visitor General Bermond arrived in Oregon in 1858. Bermond underscored the importance of the *bini* rule. and soon after a pattern emerged that would remain typical throughout the nineteenth century. At least two priests would be assigned to each mission. In larger mission districts. and particularly those where two language groups existed. each priest would visit specific Native groups in

¹⁷ D'herbomez to Mazenod, 22 April 1857. Ore. II: 701.

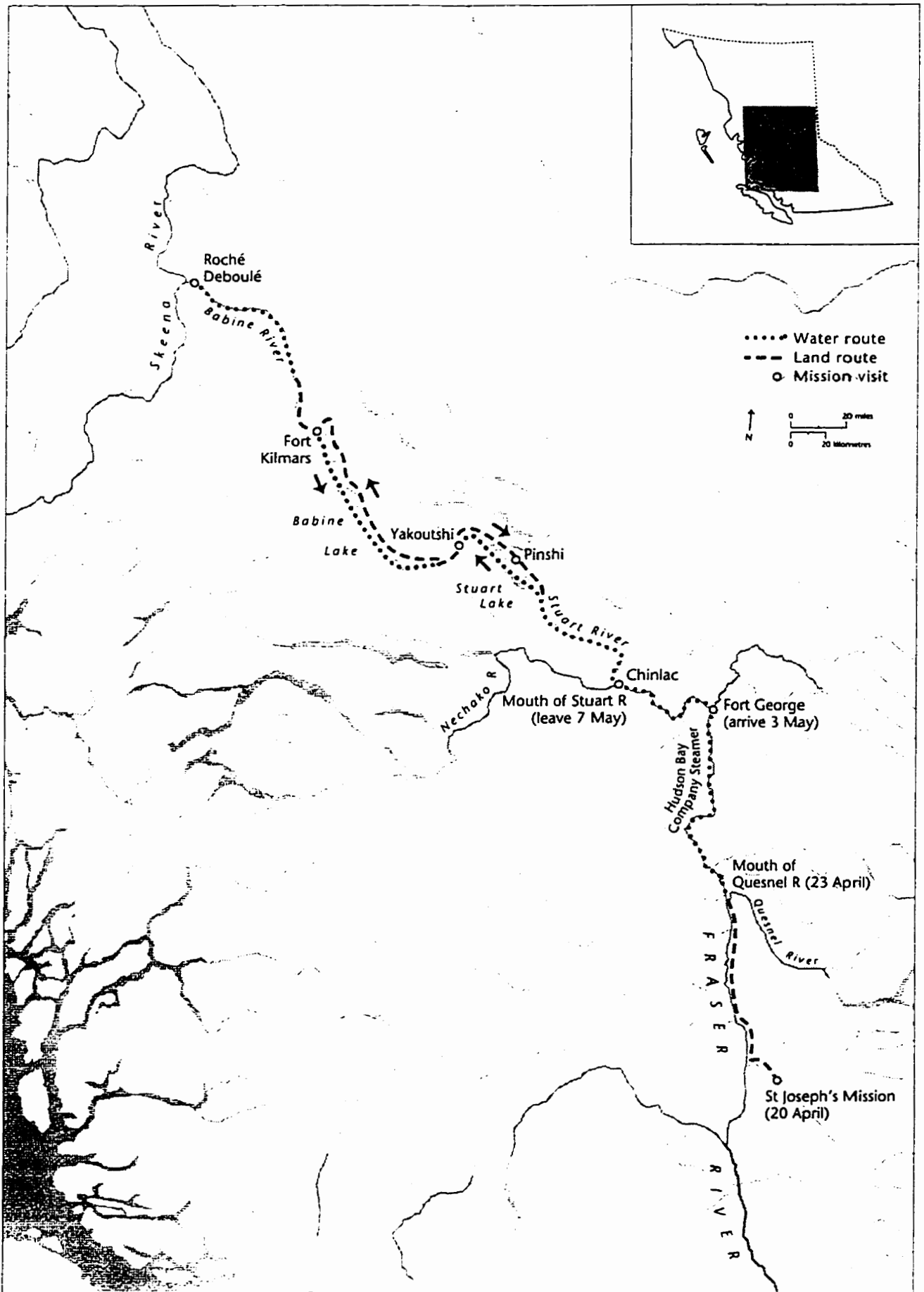
order to minimize distance and the number of languages to be learned. In smaller districts one man would remain at the mission to work with Natives located nearby, while the other visited more distant groups (see figures 3.1 and 3.2).¹⁸

Although Lejacq's letters are useful to locate him geographically, compared with accounts of mission courses in the 1880s, his descriptions of his activities are thin at best, and his greatest concern seems to lie in "putting affairs in order" rather than in a comprehensive program of religious instruction. In an 1882 account of a mission course through the Fraser Valley, Father Lejeune, like Lejacq, records where he was and when, and comments on the "scandals" he finds. But he also details camp populations, the numbers of baptized and catechumens, the individuals permitted to receive the Eucharist, and the topics on which he spoke.¹⁹ By 1889, the missionaries were expected to answer a series of questions about each stop they made in Native camps or villages, including (in addition to populations and "disorders") the number and duration of visits per year, the order and degree of instruction, the conditions on which they admitted Native people to receive the Eucharist, etc.²⁰ Thus while the broad contours of mission activity before the 1880s are discernible, really detailed accounts of mission courses become available

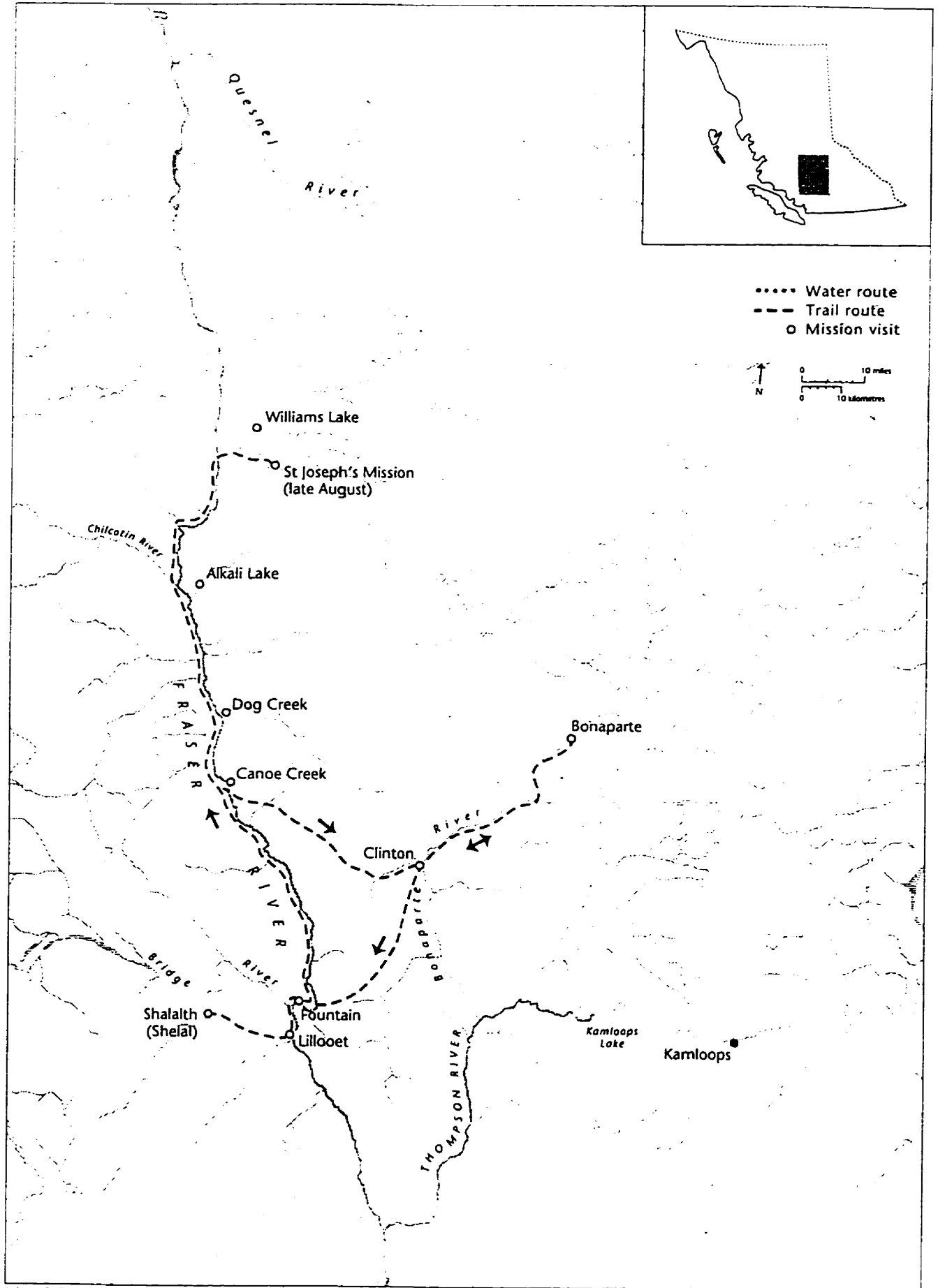
¹⁸ Pandosy took the north, Richard the south, portions of the Okanogan district. D'herbomez to Pandosy, 11 October 1868, AD, box P6273-7077, folder 6360-6563. At Williams Lake, Lejacq toured the district and McGuckin stayed at the mission, cf. Lejacq correspondence, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566.

¹⁹ Lejuene report, 1882, AD, HPK 5301 .L53C 10.

²⁰ 1889 reports from BC missions, VRCAD, GR1/03 S/01, box 4, folder 4.



Map 3.1. Lejac mission course described in a letter of 28 August 1869.



Map 3.2. Lejacq mission course described in a letter of 7 October 1870.

only toward the end of the nineteenth century, and this doubtless reflects both the congregation's growing concern with a standardization of mission practice, and with an increasing awareness of the political (and financial) value of accurate enumerations of the Native Catholic population.

Itineracy, then, was dictated by the need to reach as many Native people as possible, while an established mission station manned by two priests would satisfy several of the requirements of the Rule - the Oblates were a *congregation* and the Rule aimed specifically at the daily governance of that *community* - as well as providing a means of support.

But, I think that Oblate strategists also thought that the mission stations were important because they were sites of disciplinary power. The priests' daily life at a mission station in North America was supposed to look much like a day in an Oblate house in France, which I described in some detail in the Chapter 1. Thus Chirouse described his daily routine at Tulalip:

5 AM - prayer and meditation in common
 6:00 - first mass
 7:30 - second mass
 9 - 11:30 - study of Native languages and theology.
 11:30-1:30 PM - sext and nonce, examination in common, lunch.
 1:30 - vespers and compline, then visits
 4:00 - matins and lauds [sic], followed by spiritual reading
 6:15 - oraison
 7:00 - dinner
 8:30 - evening prayers in common, preparation of the next day's meditation subject, to bed at 9:15 PM.²¹

²¹ Chirouse to D'herbomez, 19 February 1860, Ore. III: 975.

Centered on the daily liturgical schedule, as well as on processes of self-examination, the mission stations were intended to echo the disciplinary technologies of seminaries in France.

But in Oregon and British Columbia, this schedule, designed with European conditions in mind, was constantly interrupted. Personnel at the mission stations were not being controlled, as they were in French seminaries, by a strict regulation of time or arrangement of space. Thus in 1871 Grandidier was anxious to complete the new residence at Williams Lake where the Rule could “reprenne son empire.” He made a direct connection between the physical structure of the residence and the spiritual condition of the lay brothers, claiming that they did not attend exercises or mass: rarely confessed, took communion or meditated: and lacked a religious spirit of charity toward one another.²² The last point was a serious problem, for the early Oblates frequently disagreed about almost every aspect of their personal lives and public functions.²³ Personal animosities could demolish the communal structure of the mission stations, and as Durieu noted, “je sais trop bien quel enfer on endure dans une maison où l’union de coeur ne règne pas.”²⁴ It is no surprise, then, that many of the Oblates relished spending their summers travelling among Native people.

²² [regain its empire]. Grandidier to D’herbomez, 12 August 1871, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

²³ The amount of correspondence concerning personal relations, as well as its sheer venom, took me aback. The Oblates disagreed on everything from literally what to have for lunch to very broad questions of how to evangelize Native people. They accused one another of everything from insanity to sexual impropriety to reading novels. Visitors General always had a great deal to say about the need for charity and mutual support amongst the Oblates, as well as stricter observance of the Rule.

²⁴ [I know too well what hell one endures in a house where the union of hearts does not reign.] To D’herbomez, 29 July 1861, AD, G LPP, 1557-1598.

While itineracy may not have been the ideal mission strategy in the Pacific Northwest, it was a tradition with which the Oblates were familiar. Both Protestants and Catholics were motivated to proselytize by Christ's injunction to "go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature" (Mark 16.15), as well as by the examples of the apostles, and above all of Saint Paul. Itineracy, then, was a tried and true method of proselytization recommended by the ultimate source of authority (for Protestants at least), the Bible. But denominational solutions to the problems of proselytization in British Columbia varied, reflecting historical differences as well as the national origins of the missionaries and the national setting in which they worked: *British Columbia*.

Following Paul

Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries took for granted the necessity of settling Native people into a stationary, agricultural way of life, but Protestants pursued this goal more systematically and vigorously than did Catholics. Protestant missionaries in British Columbia seem to have worked far harder to encourage Native settlement at mission sites: for example, William Duncan at Metlakatla provided employment for Native people by developing timbering and canning operations, while John Good at Lytton hoped to offer land and water rights to Natives who would settle near him.²⁵ While the Oblates did encourage some Native settlement near their missions, they did not offer the range of wage labor that, for example, Metlakatla would provide and thus Native people leaving villages and mission stations to work for wages would trouble the Oblates

²⁵ Cf. Christophers (1995) for a thoughtful and original account of Good's mission in Lytton, British Columbia.

throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, ostensibly because Native mobility entailed close and direct contact with the “contamination” of white civilization, as well as removing Natives from Oblate influence.²⁶

These different attitudes toward Native labor stem in part, I think, from the distinct visions Protestants and Catholics had of the end result of Christian civilization: many Protestants envisioned the development of a self-sufficient working class, while the Oblates seem to have leaned toward an inward-looking, communal peasantry governed by the precepts and calendar of the Catholic church (see Chapter 5). Thus Duncan would develop industry, a tax system, and allotments of privately held land at Metlakatla, while the Oblates’ approach to the temporal lives of their neophytes was more determinedly agrarian.²⁷

²⁶ Thus Lejacq would complain that “malgré tout ce que j’ai pu dire pour les empêcher, j’apprends que quelques familles, tout de suite après mon départ, se sont dirigé de ce côté avec l’intention de passé l’hiver au milieu des mineurs. Ils voulut travailler pour gages: les fourrures ne se vendent plus.” [despite all that I could say to prevent them, I learn that several families, immediately after my departure, directed themselves to this side (of the mountains) with the intention of spending the winter with the miners. They want to work for wages: furs are no longer selling.] To D’herbomez, 9 November 1878, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566. Durieu would draw up a set of regulations for Natives working for wages off the reserve. “Direction des sauvages,” 9-10. Thus while the Oblates frowned on wage labor (echoing Mazenod’s complete inability to come to grips with the working class and the Industrial Revolution in France?), they did recognize that they could not prevent it.

²⁷ While Metlakatla and many of the most ‘successful’ Protestant missions were located on the coast, the Oblates were confined to the interior where agriculture was often the most pragmatic option. But saw milling, grain milling, some fishing-oriented industry, etc., could have been developed and never were. In Native villages and near missions, Catholic missionary government tended to be far more religious: where Duncan taxed in order to provide maintenance and improvements at Metlakatla, and encouraged Native people to take care of their privately held (but not owned) property, the Oblates depended on fines collected for drunkenness and public “faults” that were largely used for church maintenance. For detailed accounts of William Duncan’s work at Metlakatla see Jean

Brett Christophers argues persuasively that the more aggressive Protestant campaign to sedentarize Native people may have stemmed from the way they chose to rework the Pauline system of evangelization. Christophers notes that the population of the eastern Mediterranean was concentrated in urban centers - the crucibles of the early Church - and the simple fact of Paul's presence in the city afforded him a congregation. Thus he concludes that given the "right urban setting, a pastor has no need to reshape territory to produce a congregation - a flock is already latent in the city's social fabric."²⁸ This was patently not the case in nineteenth-century British Columbia, where the spatial organization of social life was not centered on the parish or the city, but where small settlements, immense distances, and a Native seasonal food procurement round prevailed. John Good, claims Christophers, and many other Protestants I would argue, altered the Pauline model, believing that in order to produce a congregation they must first produce a space suitable for the assembly, education, and livelihood of that congregation. Protestants seem to have been keenly aware of the ways in which such spaces contributed to their attempts to Christianize Native people. Thus Good encouraged Natives to relocate in order to remove them from temptation, but also because he thought that "by changing their location I might induce them to live separately in families, and to build

Usher, **William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian missionary in British Columbia** (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1974) and Murray (1985).

²⁸ Brett Christophers, "*Spaces of missionary power*" (paper presented at the Association of American Geographers conference, April, 1996), 8.

after a better style."²⁹ For some Protestants in British Columbia, then, a mission was a spatial entity that must be *produced* by the pastor.³⁰

The Oblate conception of a mission was more transitory than Good's or Duncan's: it was a time as well as a place. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, the Oblates in southern France specialized in giving missions to the rural poor, and Mazenod did not encourage his Oblates to accept parish posts. The Oblates, like the Jesuits, were intended to be itinerant, free to give missions where they were deemed most necessary,³¹ and the Oblate conception of a mission constituted bringing together a group of people to participate in intensive instruction, exhortation, and a celebration of the sacraments during a given period of time.³² In other words missions were temporal *events* and spatial *structures*.

Thus far I have traced out two spatial practices characteristic of Oblate evangelization. The first of these I have called mission stations, built environments that were to house the missionaries, to discipline them, to provide access to the greatest possible number of Native people, and to serve as venues for the elaborate mass

²⁹ John Good, 1861, *The Mission Field*, vol. 8, March 1863, pp. 116-118.

³⁰ In the same sense that I do not claim that *all* Catholics saw itineracy as the best mission strategy (De Smet and the Paraguayan Jesuits come to mind), neither do I mean to imply that all Protestants scorned itineracy. The Methodist Church was organized into a system of circuits that were inherently itinerant, but the Methodists aimed to create independent Native churches - a far cry from Catholic aims.

³¹ As Levasseur (1955, IX: 70-71) has pointed out, "le Fondateur ne veut pas que ses Oblats...deviennent des curés; il veut éloigner des siens...les préoccupations administratives qui soustraient du temps pour le soin des âmes, l'isolement du curé opposé à la vie commune." [the founder did not want his Oblates...to become parish priests; he wanted to distance them...from administrative preoccupations that took away from the time spent in the care of souls, the isolation of the parish priest [was] opposed to life in a [religious] community.] But he also notes that a parish structure was regarded as necessary in the colonies, and that superiors were encouraged to both establish and administer them.

³² See Chapter 1 for details.

ceremonies described in the previous chapter. Mission courses, my second designation, indicate the itinerant nature of Oblate evangelization. Mission courses were the spatial conduits through which the Oblates moved to give missions, and I want to emphasize that in this sense a mission is much more an *activity* than a site. The third spatiality of Oblate evangelization lay in their attempts to create “model” Catholic villages, spaces dominated by the physical and disciplinary edifice of the Catholic Church, and by the Oblates’ conception of Catholic civilization. The degree of their success covers a broad spectrum, and I consider only two extremes.

At one end of this spectrum was Sechelt, a Coast Salish village on the South Coast of British Columbia (see figure 3.3). Sechelt demonstrated all the characteristics of a “model” village: in 1871 Bishop D’herbornez confirmed the entire tribe: “church chiefs” and watchmen were installed to ensure that the “Indians came to church on Sundays, every morning and night for prayers in common, did not drink, and obeyed all the rules” (a forerunner of the Durieu system - see Chapter 4); a temperance society was organized; and “modern” houses and a large church (financed through Sechelt donations) were built.³³ The industry of the Sechelt and the discipline of the village were lauded not only by the Oblates but also by a wide variety of observers, including Indian Land Commissioner G. M. Sproat.³⁴

³³ UBC Special Collections, Rev. George Forbes OMI Papers, box 4, file 7.

³⁴ Sproat noted that the “Sea-shells” were “stout and well-clothed in European dress. The children in particular look healthy and rigorous.” He commented on their “thrift”, “neatly patched clothes”, and on the “modest demeanour” of the women which, he claimed, “offer[ed] pleasing evidence to the observer how closely the progress of the Indians is connected with the condition of the women.” Sproat report on Sechelt, 7 December 1876, RG10, vol. 3611, file 3756-5.

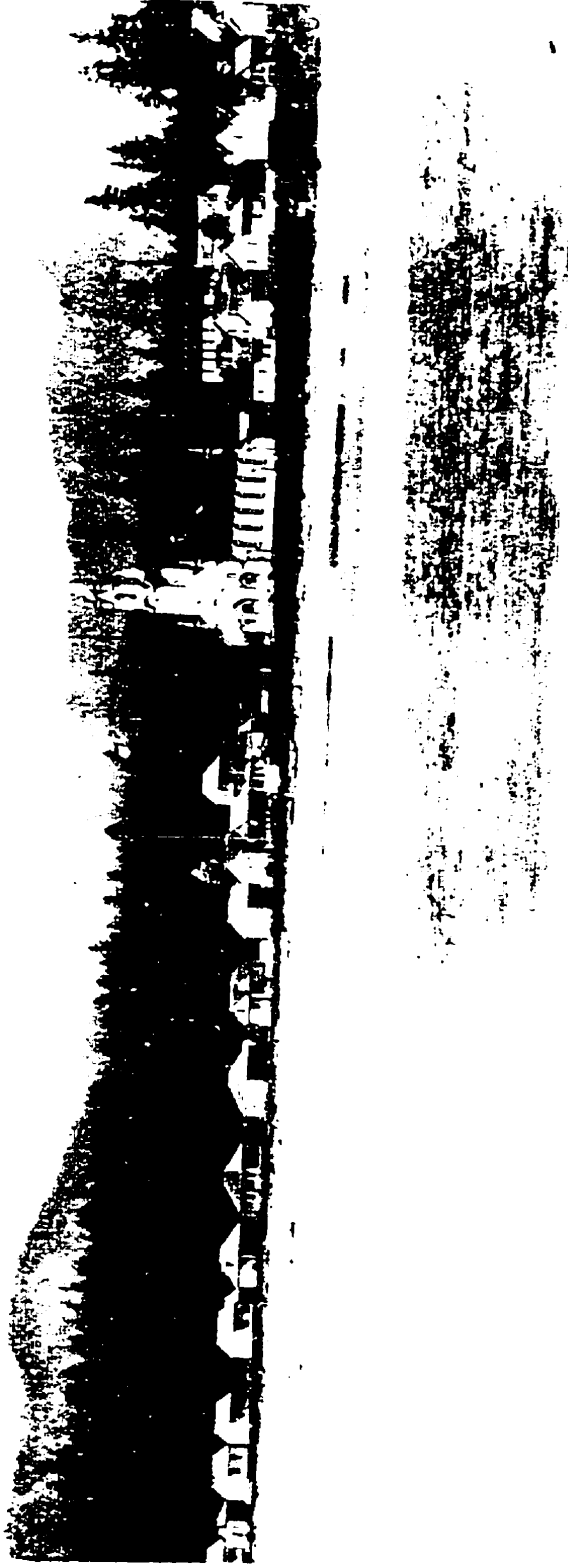


Figure 3.3 Roman Catholic Church at Seehelt

But Sechelt (like the Anglican mission Metlakatla) was an exceptional case, both in terms of the dominance of the physical structure of the church and of the disciplinary mechanics imposed upon Native people. Missionaries usually chose a site for the church on the outskirts of existing Native settlements to encourage the inhabitants to move nearer the church and to build European-style single family dwellings. But as Warren Sommer suggests, “since the Indians resisted resettlement, and the government failed to provide sufficient land for agriculture, the missionaries found the model-village projects extremely difficult.”³⁵ And, as I argue in Chapter 5, disciplinary order and a unanimity of religious opinion did not necessarily characterize most Native villages. This is illustrated by figure 3.4, an 1868 map of the False Creek Indian Reserve drawn by Durieu. While the map certainly demonstrates Durieu’s intimate knowledge of the reserve and its inhabitants, it also attests to the encroachment of industrialization (CPR tracks and a shingle mill) and to a heterogeneous mixture of people. Some are clearly baptized Catholics (Fidèle, André, etc.); others are designated only by their Native names (Telsentsout, Iokoutse, etc.) and, given the propensity of Christians of all denominations to re-name those they baptize, were probably not Christian. Some of the inhabitants of Snakz bear very English names (William, Douglas, etc.), and one (un nègre) is neither named nor located through kinship relations. The map points to the ways in which even a reserve located directly in the path of European settlement could be diverse religiously, and there is no sign of a church or chapel in the village.

³⁵ Sommer (1977, 13).

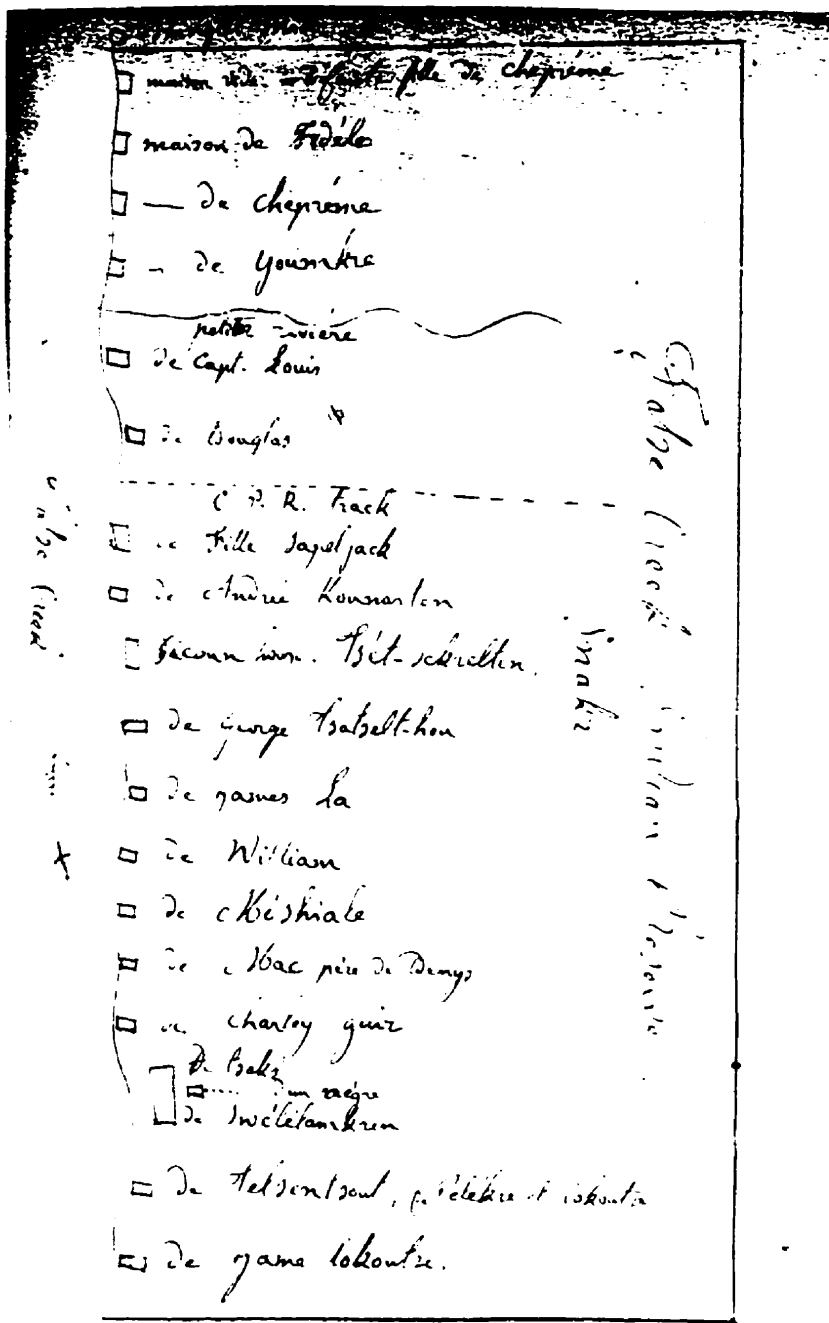


Figure 3.4 False Creek Indian Reserve

The Oblates, then, depended above all on a mission strategy that had itineracy at its core. But what did the Oblates do when they “gave” a mission to Native people?

Praxis: Preaching, Baptism and Marriage

“Il y avait sur le rivage de la mer plus de 100 loges ou tentes alignées sur un étendue de plus d’un demi-mille: leurs canots grands et petits qui se trouvaient sur le bord de l’eau: 5 à 6 cents sauvages qui se fixaient et se préparaient pour la mission: leurs enfants qui jouaient sur la grève: les chiens qui couraient de côté et d’autre...Tout étant fixé, la mission commençait. Chaque jour il y avait prière du matin en commun: après le déjeuner venait l’instruction sur l’ancien ou nouveau testament toujours accompagnée de conclusions pratiques et morales. Cette instruction...durait ordinairement jusqu’à 3 heures après midi: les sauvages allaient manger, puis on les appelait à l’instruction des prières et cantiques ce qui durait jusqu’à la nuit: suivait la prière du soir en commun puis le souper après lequel ils venaient encore pour se faire instruire en particulier ou pour apprendre les cantiques. Ils nous tenaient ainsi occupés jusqu’à 10 à 11 heures du soir...à la fin de la mission nous baptisâmes 155 enfants le même jour.” D’herbomez to de Mazenod, 23 November 1856.³⁶

[On the seashore there were more than 100 lodges or tents aligned along a stretch of more than half a mile; their canoes large and small were at the water’s edge; five to six hundred sauvages were settled there and prepared themselves for the mission; their children played on the beach; dogs ran from one end [of the camp] to the other...All being ready, the mission began. Each day there was morning prayer in common; after lunch came instruction on the old or new testament always accompanied by practical and moral conclusions...This instruction ordinarily lasted until three in the afternoon; the sauvages went to eat, then we called them to the instruction of prayers and canticles that lasted until evening; then followed the evening prayer in common and dinner after which they again came to be instructed individually or to learn the canticles. They kept us occupied thus until ten or eleven at night...at the end of the mission we baptized 155 children in one day.]

I begin with this quotation because it is a typical Oblate description of mission activity. It suggests that the course of a mission was an uninterrupted flow during which the Oblates acted and Native people unquestioningly received: in its generality it

³⁶ Ore. II: 642-643.

completely smooths over the jagged edges that must have characterized every mission. It elides such pragmatic questions as what the Oblates said, in what language, and how Native people responded, both to the verbal messages (practical and moral instruction) and material practices (baptism in this case) proffered by the Oblates. In this section I look at *prédication* (preaching and teaching), one of the most basic Oblate activities in the Pacific Northwest. I focus particularly on the Oblate reliance on heaven and hell as concepts that were crucial to teaching Christian eschatology, and their belief that these terms were easily described and translated. I then look at some of the ways Native people translated, interpreted, and responded to the concepts of heaven and hell. Thus I hope both to fracture some of the continuity of the above quotation and to offer some insight into why the Oblates approached these particular aspects of proselytization as they did.

But as the quotation suggests, the Oblates also offered a range of sacraments to Native people, ranging from baptism and marriage to penance and communion. In this chapter I consider baptism and marriage - both how they were offered and how they were received - in order to suggest that, disengaged from a broader Christian culture, they were not effective conduits of power for the Oblates.

Prédication

“Quelques fois les sujets sur lesquels prêchait le P. Chirouse étaient si terribles et si sensibles que plusieurs sauvages pleuraient...” D’herbomez to Ricard, 9 September 1856.³⁷

[Sometimes the subjects on which F. Chirouse preached were so terrible and tangible that several sauvages wept.]

³⁷ Ore. II: 624.

Prédication - preaching and teaching - was the most common mode of Oblate activity, and in Oregon the message seems to have consisted primarily of the joys of heaven and the horrors of hell. D'herbomez provides a detailed account of how such a session could go:

“Après avoir remué leurs coeurs, pendant plusieurs jours, par les plus terribles vérités de notre Ste religion, venait le jugement dernier qui a toujours fait sur eux les plus grandes impressions; on leur y faisait voir le sort des Elus et celui des réprouvés dans l’Enfer: puis on leur demandait de quel côté ils voulaient être? S’ils voulaient aller avec le Démon et les réprouvés dans l’Enfer, ou avec Dieu, les Anges et les saints dans le ciel? On leur disait qu’on leur avait montrer deux routes: l’une qui conduit au Ciel, l’autre qui va droit en Enfer! Que tous avaient le malheur de se trouver sur la route de l’Enfer, mais que Dieu dans sa bonté leur envoyait des missionnaires pour les retirer de leur voie de perdition et les faire marcher vers le Ciel. Que ceux qui voulaient sincèrement se convertir: renvoyer une ou deux femmes, quitter le mal et faire le bien, afin de devenir, dans la suite, enfants de Dieu par la baptême...C’était vraiment frappant et édifiant tout à la fois, de les voir se lever tous comme un seul homme, et protester qu’ils ne voulaient plus marcher vers l’Enfer...”³⁸

[After having moved their hearts for several days, by the most terrible truths of our Holy Religion, came the last judgment which has always made great impressions on them: there we made them see the fate of the Elect and that of the damned in Hell: then we asked them on which side did they want to be? If they wanted to go with the Devil and the damned to Hell, or with God, the angels and the saints to Heaven. We told them we had shown them two roads: one which led to Heaven, the other that went straight to Hell! That all had the misfortune to find themselves on the road to Hell, but that God in his goodness sent them missionaries to pull them off their path to perdition and to make them go to Heaven. That those who seriously wanted to convert, [should] send away one or two wives, quit evil-doing and do good, in order to become children of God through baptism. It was truly both striking and edifying, to see them all rise as one man, and protest that they did not want to go towards Hell any more.]

³⁸ D'herbomez to Mazenod, 23 November 1856. Ore. II: 639-640.

As I have suggested, this kind of hellfire and damnation preaching was characteristic of early nineteenth-century Catholicism in France. But in addition to being a familiar style of preaching, and to focusing on the most basic aspects of Christian eschatology, I suspect the Oblates emphasized heaven and hell because these concepts lent themselves to vivid description: the Oblates believed they could be communicated transparently both verbally and visually.

Communication is at the core of proselytization and it was an issue that would trouble the Oblates throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The Chinook trading jargon was widely used by the Oblates throughout the Pacific Northwest, but this jargon, which contained 500 to 700 words from several languages was geared to the pragmatics of trade, and was hardly sufficient to transmit concepts as basic to Catholicism as original sin, the trinity, or transubstantiation.³⁹ In addition to the inadequacy of using a trading jargon to convey such complex abstract ideas, many

³⁹All missionaries seem to have experienced difficulties with Chinook jargon. A missionary with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel [SPG] complained that "I had been trying to make [my Cowichan servant] understand that I had come in a ship, five moons over the sea, to teach the Indians what was good. I had a great deal of bother to get hold of a word for 'teach,' as I said 'Chinook' has very few words to express feelings and thoughts." Richard Dowson, 3 June 1859, *The Mission Field*, vol. 4, September 1859, pp. 193-199. The Jesuits also experienced difficulties with translation, although they were working within the far more subtle and broad context of Native languages rather than the Chinook jargon. Jesuit Father Cataldo, working amongst the Crow, struggled with a satisfactory translation of 'confession of sin' and settled on a phrase ostensibly meaning 'I make sin seen', but worried that the "carnal Crow would understand ostendo genitalia (show my genitals)." Gerald McKeivitt, SJ, "'Faith enters by the ear': missionary linguistics in the Pacific Northwest" in Christopher Chapple, ed., **The Jesuit tradition in education and missions: a 450-year perspective** (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993), 242-253, 249. This is a particularly telling example because it suggests that there was no Crow conception of sin per se, and that Cataldo therefore chose the Crow word for genitals as an adequate concept for sin.

Natives in the Pacific Northwest simply did not speak the Chinook jargon, nor did they have concepts of sin or God similar to those of Christianity.⁴⁰ The multitude of languages in the area, in combination with the dearth and often frequent reassignment of Oblate personnel exacerbated the problem of communication. While most Oblates seem to have had a reasonably good command of Chinook jargon, and some did learn a Native language, every Visitor General between 1858 and 1882 reported the need to make more effort with Native languages.

While the Oblates were aware that translation was a problem - they had to content themselves with *chef d'en haute* (saghalie tyee, in Chinook literally above chief) for God - they don't seem to have worried that it affected their "practical and moral" instructions.⁴¹ Interpreters were a necessity, despite the numerous problems they posed.

⁴⁰ Wayne Suttles argues that pre-contact Coast Salish societies did not perform communal religious rituals worshipping a unitary God, but rather that individuals sought knowledge and power from guardian spirits. He also notes that there is little evidence to suggest that "sin causes misfortune which may be relieved by confession" for pre-contact Coast Salish peoples, who did, however, have "rules of good behavior." **Coast Salish Essays** (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1987), 177-188, 189.

⁴¹ There seems to have been a hierarchy at work regarding translation, where Latin was seen as a more pure or accurate representation of Catholic truth than French or Native languages. Thus Chirouse noted in 1860 that he had to teach "David Telssetlhour" the benediction in Latin, because the former was not "certain" that he had the "real translation" of the benediction in Coast Salish, one of the primary language groups in the Pacific Northwest; to D'herbomez, 21 February, Ore. III: 979-80. Even the pronunciation of Latin was seen as important: in 1850 Lempfrit would complain that the Cowichan, lacking an 'r' sound, sang Sancta Malia and Ola Plo Nobis, rather than Sancta Maria and Ora Pro Nobis, while in 1883 Durieu forbade the singing of O Salutaris in Latin unless pronunciations were correct; Lempfrit to the Gray Sisters at Montreal, 9 February 1850, Ore. I: 97; Durieu, *Direction*, 43. Many commentators on Catholic missionary activity have noted the sinister (as they see it) predilection for "latinizing" Native grammar, but McKevitt suggests that the Jesuits in the Pacific Northwest may have translated Native languages into Latin because it was the only language available to all the Jesuits in the field, who were often from five or six different European countries. McKevitt, 247-248.

In 1858, for example, Visitor General Bermond noted that “à l’aide d’un autre nous pouvons transmettre notre parole, mais non le sentiment persuasif qui l’accompagne,” suggesting that he was more concerned with the transmission of a feeling than with content. In the twentieth century, content was the problem: Father George Forbes observed that “at the Kamloops Indian Church...I noticed that my interpreter was giving a sermon of his own on the Eucharist and I stopped...to remind him I was talking about Extreme Unction.”⁴² The problems with interpretation then, included both the translation of emotion and content, and these problems were doubtless magnified by the chain of translation itself: most Oblates preached in Chinook jargon, which was then translated into the appropriate Native language by an interpreter, multiplying the potential for confusion and misunderstandings.

But in the event that a given message survived the chain of translation, what did Native people make of it? One example will illustrate the complexity of the situation. After an explanation of Catholic eschatology at Fort Nesqually in 1838, Bishop Blanchet recorded a Whidby Island Native’s comment that “that man Noah had more children than the first man Adam.”⁴³ This statement is breath-takingly literal, and given the range of subject matter Blanchet had just covered, a telling item of interest. The first point I want to make is that basic information *had* survived the translation process, but this can hardly have been the kind of information that Blanchet wanted to convey. Surely he was more concerned with Adam as the progenitor of the human race and source of original sin and

⁴² [with the aid of another we can transmit our words, but not the persuasive sentiment that accompanies it.] Bermond report, Ore. III: 795; UBCSC, Forbes papers, box 4, file 4.

⁴³ Bagley, I: 80. It seems unlikely that Blanchet would mention Seth if he was focusing on the basic moral precepts of Genesis.

with Noah's role as God's chosen flood survivor, than with reproductive rates. Either these broader attributes of Adam and Noah did not survive translation, or Native people were engaged in what Vincente Rafael calls "fishing," where

"the congregation skid from word to word without connecting what they hear to the priest's actual message. Instead, they 'fish out' discrete words from the stream of the sermon, arbitrarily attaching them to their imaginings."⁴⁴

I agree with Rafael that "fishing" was probably one very common mode of Native listening, having as much to do with the sermon's length as it did with its content: family size was probably far more accessible (and more appealing) to Native listeners than original sin. But Rafael goes on to suggest that perhaps "the natives are compelled to submit to the priest's authority despite, indeed because of, the fact that his sermon is almost incomprehensible."⁴⁵ It is precisely the almost incomprehensible nature of this interaction that raises so many questions, not just of *how* meanings cross cultural boundaries, but *why*. What Rafael points to, I think, are not only the unintended meanings of the priests' words or the daydreams of the audience, but Native interpretations that read the priests' messages in very specific ways. These interpretations could spring both from personal ambition when, for example, individual Natives used the missionaries to consolidate their authority, and from more complex sets of reactions to the more esoteric aspects of Christianity. I want to use one specific example of the Catholic ladder to illustrate what I mean (see figures 3.5 and 3.6).

⁴⁴ Vincente Rafael, **Contracting colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule** (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 2.

⁴⁵ Idem.

The ladder was introduced into Oregon by F.N. Blanchet at least by 1839, and Wayne Suttles records a Squamish prophet from about 1840 who preached to the people from a "map," which Suttles posits was probably a Catholic ladder.⁴⁶ Certainly the ladder shown in figure 3.5 does resemble a map, and in one sense it is a map of how to get to heaven and avoid hell. But compare the Catholic ladder to a Nkla`kapamux sketch of the world (figure 3.6) - again a map to the place of souls, but a map that marks two paths to the same place, not two paths to two very different places. Ethnographer James Teit records that in the 1890s, after 30 years of extensive contact with missionaries, many Thompson believed that

"only those Indians who were not Christians go over the old trail to the spirit-land, while those who profess to be Christians go by a new trail...which ascends...[to] the sky. Here it [the soul] stays a short time, and sees the Chief, to whom it confesses its sins. Then it goes on a trail downward toward the west, and finally reaches the old abode of shades."⁴⁷

Thus while concepts such as God, sin, and confession seem to have been incorporated (literally) into the Thompson world view, heaven and hell as separate entities have been excluded from Thompson cosmography. The "place of souls" is still one place, which is simply reached by different paths. This rejection of the "terrible truths" of Catholicism casts serious doubt on any Native internalization, much less acceptance, of the concept of sin - a concept that requires an imaginative geography of the afterlife that includes heaven

⁴⁶ Suttles, 192.

⁴⁷ James Alexander Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, **The Jesup Northwest expedition** vol. I part 4, Franz Boas, ed., (New York, 1900), 359.

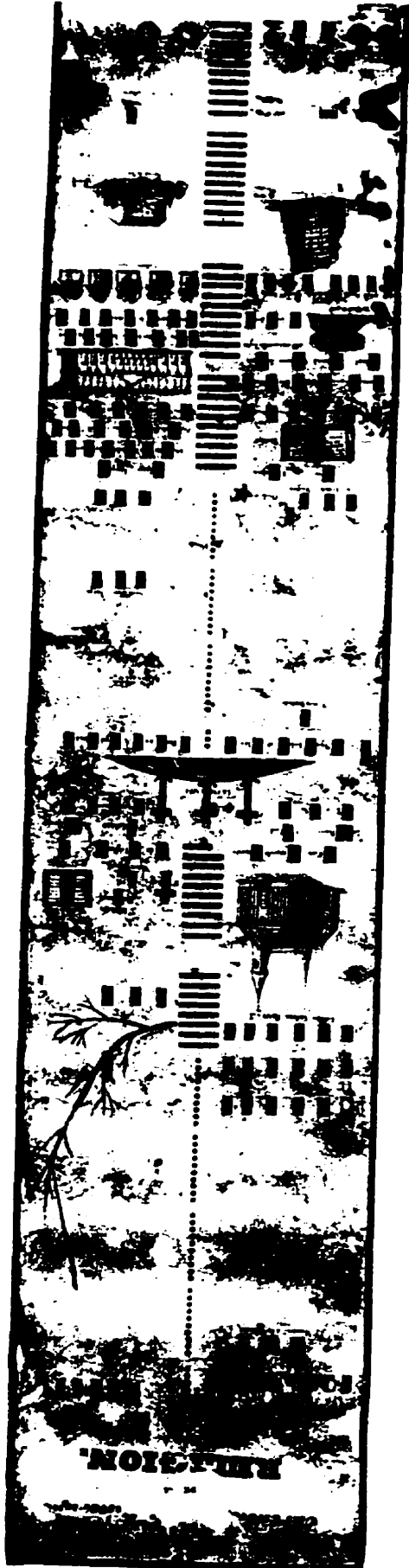


Figure 3.5 Catholic Ladder, 1844

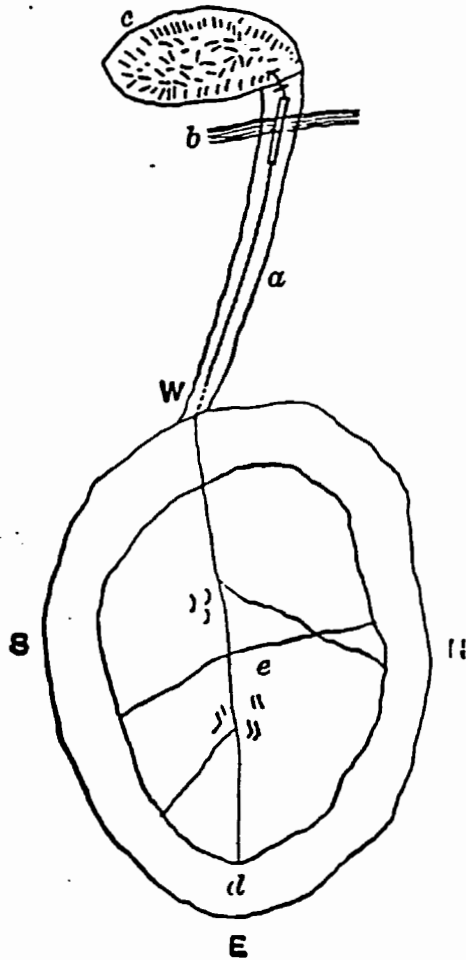


Fig. 290. Sketch of World. *a*, Trail leading from the earth to the land of the ghosts, with tracks of the souls; *b*, River and log on which the souls cross; *c*, Land of the ghosts, and dancing souls; *d*, Lake surrounding the earth; *e*, Earth, with rivers and villages; N, S, E, W, Points of the compass.

Figure 3.6 Nkla'kapamux Sketch of the World

and hell.⁴⁸

Thus while the Oblates may have chosen to focus on heaven and hell as relatively simple concepts to describe and translate, they seemed unaware that these concepts had to be rooted in a more general set of Christian cultural constructs - heaven and hell were insufficient pegs from which to hang Christian eschatology because they depended on specifically Christian notions of God, salvation, and sin (and hence of the self). Employed outside a more general framework of Christian belief, heaven and hell could be interpreted in a multitude of ways, as the example of the Thompson demonstrates.

Oblate accounts of prophets are particularly revealing of some of the ways Native people re-made the Catholic message. D'herbomez described a "prétendu Moïse" near the Fraser river in 1855 who spoke to God on a mountain top, was given papers with which to instruct the Natives, and received the power to revive the dead and a medicine that would ensure an abundance of fish. D'herbomez also wrote of an old woman who, left for dead by her companions, returned to them some time later. She claimed to have been dead for 12 days, during which time her soul wandered the earth, and then went to the sky where she saw God's house and many beautiful things. But when she tried to enter, God stopped her, saying "Que viens-tu faire ici? vieille femme! ce n'est pas ici ta place.

⁴⁸ Indeed, it seems that Native people were perfectly willing to tailor their concepts of heaven and hell according to the circumstances. One SPG missionary wrote with bemusement that "[an Indian man] evidently believed he would go somewhere after he was dead - if he did not kill, steal or cheat, he would go to a land where there was plenty of sun and plenty of water, and no work - but if he did kill, etc., he would go to a land like 'yawa' 'there', and he pointed to a rough rugged piece of land by the side of the trail - by the by to crown his description of the good land, after he had done his best to tell me what it was like, he said it was like King George land, ie. England." Richard Dowson to Ernest Hawkins, 3 June 1859, BCARS, H/A/So2, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Papers relating to the diocese of Columbia, 1858-1868, 3 vols., I:43.

retourne sur la terre. là tu enseigneras aux sauvages à prier et à chanter et dans un an tu viendras.⁴⁹

These are two very different ways of approaching the Catholic message. In his analysis of Native prophets in Mexico, Serge Gruzinski suggests that such accounts must be examined in terms of their form and content, and his methodology casts the European-ness of these accounts into question.⁵⁰ While both accounts appear to be over-burdened with Christian allusions, the form of the first narrative is explicitly Native, including the solitude of vision quest or guardian spirit quest, contact with a spirit, and the reception of a medicine, usually in the form of power and/or knowledge. The content seems to be an amalgamation of elements. The commandment to instruct other people of the content of the vision is not typical of Native communication with spirits, events that were usually intensely personal and private, while the allusion to paper is quite obviously a European element. The second account, too, has many explicitly Native elements, and is particularly reminiscent of Native accounts of serious illness, when the soul is lost and wanders about until it finally reaches the place of souls. It is the shaman's duty to retrieve the soul from its wanderings, although in this case the old woman was sent back by God. It too emphasizes teaching.

⁴⁹ [What are you doing here? Old woman! This is not your place, return to the earth, there you will teach the sauvages to pray and to sing and in one year you will return.] To Mazenod, 25 August 1855, Ore. I: 575-6. D'herbomez used the conclusion of the second story - which ended when the old woman died within a few weeks rather than in a year as God had told her - to defuse the tensions created by the activities of the "prétendu Moïse" [pretended Moses.]

⁵⁰ Serge Gruzinski, **The conquest of Mexico: the incorporation of Indian societies into the western world, sixteenth-eighteenth centuries**, Eileen Corrigan trans. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993), Chapter 5.

In these terms, it seems clear that the above examples still follow a typically Native narrative form of vision motivated by spirit quest or induced by illness. But the contents of both definitely contain specifically European, and in the second case, Christian, elements, both of them involve coming to grips with - in the sense of gaining control over - particularly different or disturbing aspects of European culture. Writing, specifically, seems to have carried a lot of conceptual freight, inspiring both fear and desire in Native people: it was desirable to know and thus to possess writing. But such a powerful technology was slippery - it could also be used for evil.⁵¹ In the first account, the appropriation of writing seems connected to the emphasis on teaching, and I believe that both visionaries sought to relocate the sources of knowledge, to appropriate both the priests' role and their teachings. While both narratives suggest very different degrees of the subjective experience of Christianity, neither show an "interiorization of relations to the self...[or] scrutiny of the self [that] is a probable effect of the Europeanization of the person."⁵²

These narratives, and many others like them, are indicative of Rafael's concept of fishing as a mode of listening - both of these Native people fished out Christian pegs on which to hang their experiences: they were ways of dealing with the almost incomprehensible. The Oblates were aware of the activities of Native prophets, and knew from the questions they were asked that the translation process was far from perfect, but

⁵¹ Thus Mulhall and others have speculated that the Chilcotin uprising of 1864 may have been triggered by a white man who wrote down the names of some Chilcotin and threatened them with another plague - a smallpox epidemic had broken out in 1862. David Mulhall, **Will to power: the missionary career of Father Morice** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 19.

⁵² Gruzinski, 210.

they seem to have attributed these “misunderstandings” more to Protestant competition and irreligious whites than they did to a politics of translation on the part of Native people. I will pursue this politics of translation further with regard to both the material practices of baptism and marriage. I suggest that while these practices, and particularly marriage, were far more open to an Oblate deployment of power, baptism was an extremely contested act that was immensely vulnerable to just such Native (re)interpretations.

Sacraments

The performance and celebration of the seven sacraments are critical to the Catholic conception of religious life, and are among the most distinctive aspects of Catholicism itself. Christ, through word and example, is for Catholics the source of all the sacraments: baptism, confirmation, communion, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage. While the celebration of all the sacraments involves the performance of more or less elaborate ritual laden with symbolism, I agree with Talal Asad’s claim that sacramental practices cannot be seen simply as ritual “representations of cultural metaphors; they are parts of a Christian program for creating in its performers, by means of regulated practices, the ‘mental and moral dispositions’ appropriate to Christians.”⁵³ Thus it is probably most useful to see the sacraments not simply as demonstrative but as instrumental: in a theological sense the sacraments are not merely *signs* of grace, they are *causes* of grace, and, as Asad suggests, in a more this-worldly sense they can play a role

⁵³ Asad, 78.

in the constitution of Christian subjectivities.⁵⁴ In this section I investigate Asad's claim in relation to Oblate methods of baptism and marriage. I want to suggest that the forms of power that ran through these particular sacraments were more bound up with sanctions - the repression of non-Christian behaviors - than they were with the formation of "real" Christian subjectivities. While baptism and marriage were transfer points of power, they alone were not sufficiently saturated with a micro-physics of power, and neither were they embedded in a sufficiently Christianized cultural context to operate as effective disciplinary modalities of power.

Baptism

"Le vieux sauvage...dit à Henri [l'interprète]: ce prêtre-ci doit faire la médecine (et en même temps il faisait semblant de verser l'eau sur son front). Certainement, répondait Henri: il lave et fait les petits enfants, enfants de Dieu. Ah! je le savais bien, repartit le vieux: j'ai vu une fois un prêtre en bas: et il faisait cette [sic] médecine-la; j'ai pensé tout de suite que ce prêtre-ci devait faire la même chose." Grandidier to D'herbomez, 31 December 1860.⁵⁵

[The old sauvage...said to Henry [the interpreter]: does this priest make the medicine (and at the same time he pretended to pour water on his forehead). Certainly, responded Henry: he washes the little children and makes them children of God. Ah! I knew it well, rejoined the old man: Once I saw a priest lower down [the river]: and he made this medicine: I immediately thought that this priest would do the same thing.]

Catholic doctrine encouraged missionaries to baptize all Native children under the age of reason (six or seven years old), as well as adults who were clearly at death's door.

⁵⁴ As Hoffman (53-70), Bernard Plongeron in **Théologie et politique au siècle des lumières, 1770-1820** (Geneva: Droz, 1973), 91-92, and numerous historians point out, the sacraments are profoundly communal acts as well.

⁵⁵ AD, G LPP 1754

Baptism was seen as an indispensable means of grace and salvation: it not only washed away past sin, but as Robert Choquette states, it ensured “that *in time*, nourished by sacraments, the convert would advance to a more robust Catholic faith.”⁵⁶ Baptism, for Catholics, was one step in a continuing *process* of conversion. Protestants, with a predilection for “sudden and complete conversion,” tended to see baptism as the formal conclusion to an already-completed process.⁵⁷ Thus the official Catholic attitude toward baptism was very different from Protestant attitudes and drew a great deal of criticism from the latter that stemmed largely from these doctrinal differences. Although the Oblates had a stringent set of baptismal requirements for adult neophytes - including knowledge of the basic tenets of the Catholic church, memorization and comprehension of catechisms and prayers, and a probationary period in which both a desire and ability to live by Christian precepts must be demonstrated - Catholics were frequently charged with going too fast, insufficiently instructing neophytes before they were baptized, and of producing only nominal Christians.⁵⁸

For the Oblates, then, baptism was rebirth into a life cleansed and purified of sin, and offering the hope of salvation. But Native people throughout the Pacific Northwest

⁵⁶ Choquette, 192. My emphases.

⁵⁷ Choquette, *idem*. Anglicans seem to have seen conversion as a process as well, cf. Christophers (1996).

⁵⁸ Catholics in general were often accused of baptizing “whole villages” in order to “propagandize” their success in converting Natives, cf. Good to the SPG, 28 December 1863, USPG, E14, folio 1.510. The Oblates also believed that rapid baptism was necessary in Oregon because “tout le monde voit que le nombre des Sauvages diminue chaque jour et qu’en quelque années il n’en restera à peu près plus par ici.” [everyone sees that the number of sauvages diminishes each day and that in a few years practically none will be left in this vicinity.]

This was an extremely commonly expressed opinion in both Oregon and British Columbia. Ricard to M. Blanchet, 30 March 1854, Ore. II: 403.

during the nineteenth century often saw it as a death sentence. This perception most obviously stemmed from the Oblate practice of baptizing adults *in articulo mortis*, but it was also frequently connected to localized outbreaks of disease.⁵⁹ Natives made a series of connections between baptism and death, and frequently between disease and the priests. The Oblates were to remain targets of Native suspicion regarding disease transmission throughout the last half of the nineteenth century. Grandidier described an incident at Fort Hope in 1860:

“Un petit sauvage de Thompson, qui était venu me voir, et à qui j’avais demandé s’il était baptisé et s’il voulait être, me répondit avec effroi: Oh! non, cela me ferait mourir, tous ceux qui ont été baptisés cette année-ci à Thompson sont morts.”⁶⁰

[A young Thompson savage, who had come to see me, and whom I asked if he was baptized and if he wanted to be, answered me with horror: Oh!, no, that would make me die, everyone who has been baptized this year at Thompson is dead.]

He was also accused of bringing disease to Port Douglas in 1862, while Native people at Lake Babine believed Lejacq had brought the *peste* in 1868, and as late as 1891 Chirouse the younger was accused of spreading measles in Bonaparte.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Thus Native people in nineteenth-century British Columbia re-enacted the Huron response to Jesuit baptism in the seventeenth-century. The Jesuits recognized that “their practice of baptizing mainly the dying led inevitably to the [Native] conviction that baptism was fatal.” John Webster Grant, **Moon of wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in encounter since 1534** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 40. While many Native people in British Columbia did make this connection between baptism and death, many others either did not, or preferred to take their chances.

⁶⁰ To D’herbomez, 11 February 1861, AD, GLPP 1754.

⁶¹ Grandidier to Fabre, 3 September 1862, AD GLPP 1754; Lejacq to Durieu, 28 August 1868, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566; Bédard to Lejeune, 4 January 1891, AD, HPK 5303 .L53Z. The Oblates also vaccinated a considerable number of Native people, both at the mission stations and on their mission tours. Sadly, their humanitarian impulse was tempered by denominational considerations. D’herbomez wanted all his missionaries to put every effort into vaccinating because “ces sauvages pourraient aller trouver le ministre qui cherche à en vacciner le plus grand nombre qu’il peut.” [these sauvages

Native people also objected to baptism because they believed they would not see their unbaptized relatives in the place of souls, and many refused to have their children baptized for fear of being separated in this way.⁶² Parents often disagreed about baptizing their children, and women seemed particularly unenthusiastic about allowing their children to be baptized.⁶³ It is probable that some Native people refused to be baptized due to the Oblates' requirement that they be free of debt.⁶⁴ By far the most detailed account of Native rejection of baptism comes from the Puyallup:

“Si nous faisons baptiser nos enfants...ils vont tous mourir, car on dit que tous les enfants que la robe noire a baptisés l'année dernière sont tous morts. La médecine des Robes noires (le baptême) communique dit-on une maladie que nos Tamanouasman ne peuvent jamais arracher...Des hommes blancs comme toi et qui savent lire dans le papier, nous ont assurés que les prêtres ne sont que des trompeurs, des enfants du méchant esprit sortis des entrailles du grand feu. Leur robe est noire, dit-on, parce que le diable l'a mise à la teinture. Lorsqu'ils disent qu'ils veulent sauver les sauvages et les conduire en haut, c'est afin de mieux les tromper et les précipiter plus sûrement dans leur pays d'en bas. Oui, ajoutait une vieille sorcière, les prêtres font un jouet de nous et veulent détruire notre race en baptisant nos enfants. Nous connaissons maintenant la malice de leurs sortilèges et tous les ingrédients de leur médecine (du baptême). Ils soufflent contre le visage de

could go find the minister, who seeks to vaccinate as many as he can.] To Durieu, c. 1868, AD box P912-2287, folder 1417-1750.

⁶² Chirouse to Fabre, 17 December 1865, AD, box P912-2287, folder 963-1085.

⁶³ It is unclear what role gender played in these decisions. D'herbomez to Ricard, 15 February 1852, contains three references to the reluctance of Native women regarding baptism. In the first example D'herbomez noted that women were “plus entêtées que les hommes” [more stubborn than the men], while in the third example Ricard had the following exchange with a woman: “Tu veux donc qu'il [l'enfant] aille en enfer? elle répond oui! avec un sourire diabolique!” [Do you want him to go to Hell? She responded yes! with a demonic smile!] Ore. I: 148-150. Carol Devens argues that Huron women accepted Catholicism far less readily than did men because the “reciprocity and interdependence that had previously governed the relationships between men and women were missing from the reserves, where missionaries worked to establish a hierarchy of stratified gender roles and status - a reflection of their own class-bound understanding of French social order.” **Counter colonization, Native American women and Great Lakes missions, 1630-1900** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 29.

⁶⁴ Lejacq to Durieu, 5 May 1870, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566. This letter suggests that the Oblates hesitated to baptize Native people with debts.

nos enfants comme les méchants jongleurs soufflent contre leurs ennemis pour leur communiquer un sort fatal. Ils pilent des os des morts et en font une poudre blanche (le sel béni) qu'ils font manger à ces pauvres enfants pour attirer la mort dans leurs entrailles. Ils les oignent ensuite avec de la graisse qui n'est autre chose que la moëlle qu'ils ont extraite de ces même ossements humains. Ils leurs arrosent la tête avec la urine de crapaud afin de les mettre sous l'empire des démons crapauds et tortues qui sont dans les bas lieux. Ils prennent enfin avec leur pouce la mort qu'ils tiennent cachée entre leurs dents et la font passer par leurs oreilles et par le nez de nos enfants et dès lors il n'y a plus de vie pour les pauvres petits infortunés. Certainement disait un autre jongleur en interrompant la vieille, certainement tu nous trompes Robe noire, lorsque tu nous dis de rejeter nos femmes, car nous savons que le Chef d'en haut (Dieu) le créateur de tous, a toujours aimé et protégé les anciens qui en avaient plusieurs...⁶⁵

[If we have our children baptized, they will all die, because it is said that all the children baptized last year are dead. The Black Robes' medicine communicates they say an illness that our shamans can never draw out...White men like you who know how to read in the paper, have assured us that the priests are nothing but deceivers, children of the evil spirit from the entrails of the great fire. Their garb is black, they say, because the Devil himself has colored it. When [the priests] say that they want to save the sauvages and take them above, in the end it is to better fool them and to precipitate them more surely into the world below. Yes, added an old sorceress, the priests toy with us and want to destroy our race by baptizing our children. We know now the malice of their sorcery and all the ingredients of their medicine (of baptism). They blow against the faces of our children like the wicked shamans [literally jugglers] blow on their enemies to cast a fatal spell. They grind the bones of the dead to make a white powder (the consecrated salt) that they make these poor children eat to draw death into their entrails. Then they anoint them with fat which is nothing other than the marrow they have extracted from those same human bones. They sprinkle their heads with toad urine to put them under the empire of the demon toads and turtles that are in the low places. Finally, with their thumb they take the death that they keep hidden behind their teeth and pass it through the ears and nose of our children and from then on there is no more life for our poor unfortunate children. Certainly said another juggler interrupting the old woman, certainly you deceive us Black Robe, when you tell us to reject our wives, because we know that the Chief Above (God) the creator of all, has always loved and protected the old ones who had several.]

⁶⁵ The parenthetical interpretations are Chirouse's. Chirouse to Mazenod, 12 December 1857, Ore. II: 767-8.

This litany of rejection is interesting not only for its detail - particularly the close observation of every action made by the priest during a baptism - but also for the range of objections offered, moving from diseases incurable by Native methods to arguments about "traditional" marriage practices and God's love for the old ones. But above all, it points to the almost incomprehensible nature of baptism, and offers some insight into how Native people "translated" the role of the priests, a translation that ironically seems to have focused on the similarities between Oblates and shamans.

Native people seem to have consistently referred to hymns, catechisms, baptism and other sacraments as medicine, and some seem to have frankly regarded the priests as "grand sorcier[s]."⁶⁶ The above quote suggests the Puyallup saw Chirouse as such: toads, lizards and snakes were spirits associated with shamans; children who had not acquired their own guardian spirits were particularly vulnerable to shamans; and a shaman could cause harm by spirit intrusion, when he sent one of his spirits into someone's body by performing specific gestures in the presence of the victim. These similarities, in conjunction with a Native predilection to assign "supernatural" causes to death, illness, prosperity, etc., as well as the belief that shamans could act both for good and evil, all suggest that the Oblates were regarded as shamans.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ [great sorcerers.] Idem., 773. The references to medicine abound.

⁶⁷ On lizards and snakes, the vulnerability of children, and gestures, see June M. Collins, **Valley of the spirits: the Upper Skagit Indians of western Washington** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 170, 196, 194. Chirouse was accused of making rattlesnakes vomit venom to concoct a medicine to poison peoples' tobacco; to Ricard, 12 January 1849, Ore. I: 40. On the lack of a Native concept of 'natural death' or accident see Suttles, 95; Collins, 206.

Why, then, would Native people allow their children, or themselves, to be baptized? There are a number of possible answers to this question, and I will suggest just a few. First, while shamans had the potential to act both for good and evil, June Collins claims that they were people with “tremendous authority and power” whose “potential for good...far out-weighed [their] potential for evil.”⁶⁸ Native people seem to have paid careful attention to circumstances, and refusal or acceptance of baptism followed from those observations. Thus the Oblates would note that baptisms fluctuated according to a variety of factors, including the state of Native relations with whites, the presence of Protestant ministers, and according to a geography of disease. Generally, however, Native people seem to have opted for baptism, apparently believing it to be a beneficial addition to an *arsenal* of protections against the contingencies of daily life. Fouquet wrote of a Tlahos tamanoas man (shaman) urging the people to pray, in order to be “plus sure d’être protégés et préservés de la mort, Dieu et les tamanoas les protégeant [sic].”⁶⁹

Second, there seems to have been a spirit of competition between bands with regard to the priests. This may have been prompted by a desire to have preferential access to the useful European technologies the Oblates possessed, as well as to their albeit scanty material resources. But it seems to have been more than this, and one of Collins’ Skagit informers stated that when Chirouse “stayed with the Upper Skagit...the Skagit beat the Snohomish.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Collins, 205.

⁶⁹ [more sure of being protected and preserved from death, God and the shamans protecting them.] Fouquet to D’herbomez, nd., AD, box P2288-3505, folder 2595-2977.

⁷⁰ Direction, 36.

And last, Native people seem to have been very selective in the way they chose to read the Oblates' message: while many do seem to have reacted to the heaven/hell dualism, by far the greater focus was on heaven. For example, Chirouse's instruction of the Skagit was rendered thus: "'If you are sick, you are going to die. If you are not baptized, you will not reach the good country.' All the old people got baptized, so when they die, they would go to good places."⁷¹ Chirouse himself noted that Native people worried that they would not see their un-baptized relatives in heaven, not that they themselves would go to hell, while the passage from Teit in the previous section suggests that even after years of missionary work the Thompson had not accepted a distinction between heaven and hell. Thus Durieu's claim that Native people saw the sacraments "comme une passe pour le ciel, ou comme une médecine qui doit les sanctifier sans qu'ils aient besoin de faire des efforts" was probably quite accurate.⁷²

The Oblates consistently translated Native references to the sacraments as medicine, but the priests never seemed to realize that they were regarded as the tamanoasmen they reviled as agents of the Devil. While the second point is mystifying, the Oblate translation of the sacraments as medicine has some precedent in Catholic theology. Both McNeill and Asad note the prevalence of medicinal metaphors in Christian discussions of penance, while Camporesi argues that "Christ was 'the doctor who could heal all infirmities' through confession, the Eucharist [that *malorum omnium*

⁷¹ Idem.

⁷² [as a pass to heaven, or as a medicine that would sanctify them without their needing to make an effort.] Ibid., 12.

antidotum] and extreme unction."⁷³ Thus the view that the sacraments were medicinal was probably both familiar and unobjectionable to the Oblates.

Baptism, in the short term, was only an Oblate point of entry into Native lives. In Oregon the vast majority of baptisms were of small children and very ill adults, not of adults who had undergone *épreuves* or who had a functional command of the mysteries of Catholicism. Baptism, in the absence of a concerted attempt to introduce a Christian culture based on the concepts of individual sin and salvation, was not an effective application point of power: it relied on Native acquiescence and carried a confusing multitude of meanings. It was also one medicine amongst many others, and the act of baptism itself did not automatically suggest to Native people that they had to make a transition to a Christian way of living. Rather, it was simply a ritual that was easily incorporated into Native cosmologies, and just as easily rejected. In British Columbia and Tulalip in Washington, where the Durieu system (Chapter 4) would lay down firm roots and a framework of surveillance and examination was developed, adult baptism would become an essential and far more effective vehicle of Oblate power than it had been in Oregon. Thus, while baptism seems to have had few immediate consequences for Native people in the United States the same cannot be said of its long term ramifications: the early Oblate eagerness to baptize seems to have been productive of some intractable and abiding problems.

⁷³ Asad, 105; John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, eds., **Medieval handbooks of penance: A translation of the principal libri poenitentiales and selections from related documents** (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 44-46; and Camporesi, 221.

Marriage

The “regularization” of Native marriages became an increasingly serious issue for the Oblates as the number of baptized adults increased. The problems that arose were initially produced by baptized Natives seeking unions with the un-baptized, as well as by the different obligations imposed by Catholic and Native marriage customs more generally. Although debate within the congregation on the issue of marriage was intense, the Oblates were relatively silent regarding the Native point of view.

The most obvious difficulty the Oblates encountered regarding Native marriage involved the Catholic system of impediments and Native polygamy: a more obscure, but equally galling problem was the Oblates’ perception of Native marriage more generally. I will pursue the latter trail first, and then return to the question of impediments and polygamy.

The Oblates were divided in their opinions regarding the validity of Native marriages. Some believed, with the Jesuits, that Native marriages that had not been sanctified by the Church, but that were characterized by monogamy and fidelity should be considered as valid “natural” marriages. Others believed that all Native marriages should be considered as invalid, because Natives were

“d’un mauvais nature et de moeurs dissolues, n’ayant d’autres motifs dans leurs actions que de se procurer les plaisirs de ce monde. Ils n’ont d’autres vues dans leurs unions entre femmes et hommes que le bien-être matériel et si leur compagne ou compagnon n’a pas soin d’eux ou ne contribue pas assez à acquérir ce qui est nécessaire pour l’entretien et l’agrément de la vie, ils le quittent pour se mettre avec un autre parti et cela arrive indéfiniment jusqu’à l’heure de leur mort.”⁷⁴

⁷⁴ D’herbomez to ?, 1874?, VRCAD, GR 1/01, S/01, box 1, folder 1.

[of a bad nature and with dissolute morals, having no other motives in their actions but to procure for themselves the pleasures of this world. They have no other goal in their unions between women and men than their material well-being and if their companion does not contribute enough to what is necessary for the maintenance and amenities of life, they leave them for another and that continues indefinitely until the hour of their death.]

By 1867 D'herbomez was vexed enough by the difficulties stemming from Native marriages to circulate a questionnaire to his Oblates asking "doit-on regarder les mariages des sauvages de ce Vicariat comme généralement nuls ou comme généralement solides? Ou bien, doit-on les regarder comme tous douteuse?"⁷⁵ The most extensive reply was Pandosy's, arguing that all Native marriages should be considered nul on two grounds. In a valid marriage both parties must be free, and Pandosy claimed that in three quarters of all Native marriages at least one of the parties had been compelled by their parents to marry. Second, both parties were to remain married forever and indissolubly.⁷⁶ The result of this argument was the annulment (in the sense that they were not sanctioned by the Church) of existing Native marriages or the postponement of new marriages until both parties had fulfilled the requirements for a valid Catholic marriage - a process that could take years of instruction and *épreuve* before baptism was performed.

The question of Native marriages was formally reconsidered by the Oblates in a theological conference in 1874, when it became clear that Oblate policy regarding Native

⁷⁵ [should we regard the sauvage marriages of this vicariate as generally nul or as generally solid? Or, should we regard them all as questionable?] These questions are cited in Pandosy to D'herbomez, 30 March 1867, AD, box P6273-7077, folder 6360-6563.

⁷⁶ Idem. Pandosy justified his opinion by claiming that there was no real linguistic equivalent in many Native languages to the words wife, husband or marriage.

marriage was far from uniform. Lejacq wrote an anguished letter outlining his course of action:

“je n’ai pas dit aux sauvages qu’un baptisé et non baptisé ne pouvaient vivre ensemble sans commettre le péché; ils étaient dans la bonne foi. je les ai laissés dans la bonne foi le première année; après un certain temps, sans détruire leur bonne foi, je leur ai dit que ceux qui avaient un conjoint baptisé devaient vite apprendre le catéchisme et faire leurs [coeurs] forts. le prêtre voulait vite les baptiser.”⁷⁷

[I did not say to the sauvages that a baptized and an unbaptized could live together without committing a sin: they were in good faith and I left them in good faith for the first year; after a set time, without destroying their good faith, I told them that those who have a baptized spouse must quickly learn the catechism and make their hearts strong, the priest wants to baptize them soon.]

He therefore made a distinction between marriages that had been made before he arrived, and those that had been made after Natives had received Catholic instruction. Although the Archbishop of Saint Boniface’s opinion⁷⁸ was similar to Lejacq’s, the British Columbia Oblates seem to have adopted a more stringent stance. To the Oblates’ dismay, the Native solution to the problem of “mixed” marriages was often to “reject” the baptized spouse for another, rather than to be baptized oneself.

The Oblates also encountered difficulties with the social relations associated with Native marriage practices. Polygamy was seen as *the* major obstacle to the Christianization of Native people, and was apparently one of the most entrenched aspects

⁷⁷ Lejacq to D’herbomez, nd., AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566. His insistence on good faith also suggests that he had adopted a Liguorian stance toward Native marriage, both in terms of a distinction between sinning knowingly or through ignorance, and in probabilist terms, which I discussed in Chapter 1.

⁷⁸ “We must allow ourselves to believe that [Native marriage] does in fact exist...” Archbishop Taché to D’herbomez, 14 March 1878, VRCAD, GR1/01 S/01, box 1, folder 1.

of Native life. In most northwest coast Native societies the practice of taking more than one wife seems to have been a marker of status and wealth, and while it was apparently common, it was limited to those who could afford it. Thus both Catholic baptism and marriage required Native men to reject all but their first wives (regardless of children) - a requirement that not only had a profound impact on Native families but also on men's social status.

Catholic impediments to marriage also acted on Native societies in complex ways. Impediments regulated marriages between relatives in a peculiarly European conception of incest that included not just blood relations, but affinal relations as well. Thus, among other things, to marry one's brother-in-law after one's husband had died was frowned upon, and required a special dispensation from the church. But the connections between in-laws in Native society operated through a levirate or sororate, where a widow or widower often married a brother- or sister-in-law, or other affinal relative.⁷⁹ Lejacq, requesting powers of dispensation for impediments, listed the following, which were typical:

- 1° - A. a connue le frère de son mari
- 2° - B. a connue la soeur, la nièce, la cousine de sa femme
- 3° - C. a connue la soeur de sa femme
- 4° - D. a connue trois frères de son mari
- 5° - E. a connue la soeur, la cousine, la tante de sa femme.⁸⁰

- [1° - knew the brother of her husband
- 2° - knew the sister, the niece, the cousin of his wife
- 3° - knew the sister of his wife
- 4° - knew three brothers of her husband

⁷⁹ On the levirate and sororate among the Thompson see Teit, 325; among the Coast Salish see Suttles, 15-25.

⁸⁰ Lejacq to Durieu, 2 February 1870, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566. I discuss the importance of writing to Oblate disciplinary strategies in Chapter 4.

5° - knew the sister, the cousin, the aunt of his wife]

These relations represented important and durable inter-family connections involving the distribution of food and wealth. As Suttles argues, affinal exchanges may have been a form of sharing access to resources that eventually “made for greater efficiency in the exploitation of the environment”: in other words they represented more than friendly relations, they were important means of securing and distributing a variety of food resources.⁸¹ Affinal relations, then, were complex networks of obligation and dependency that were important to people living in the fractured physical geography of the northwest coast, while they were less critical to nineteenth-century agricultural or urban nuclear European families.

The Oblate campaign against polygamy and affinal marriages destabilized important Native kinship relations, and Native people seem to have responded to this in a number of different ways. Some simply refused to come to Oblate missions, where they knew they would be harangued about multiple wives. Others “put away” wives, but often not according to Oblate ideas: many shed wives with whom they had no children, or the oldest of their wives, rather than “putting away” all but their first wife. But many must have reasoned as one man did when he observed to D’herbomez

“pourquoi te dirais-je que je vais séparer de mes femmes lorsque je sens que c’est plus fort que moi, et que mon cœur me dit que je les reprendrais! Écoute, j’aime trop mes enfants. Je ne puis me faire baptiser maintenant; attends que mes enfants soient grands.”⁸²

⁸¹ Suttles, 23.

⁸² To Mazenod, 25 August 1855, Ore. II: 578.

[why would I tell you that I will leave my wives when I sense that it is too much for me, and my heart tells me that I would take them back! Listen, I love my children too much. I cannot be baptized now; wait until my children are older.]

As this man pointed out, Oblate marriage requirements were not just a process of “putting away” wives, they also involved children. Certainly the anti-polygamy campaign must have had serious consequences for women who were rejected by their husbands, and men were not insensible to these problems. Many seem to have been unable to make an irrevocable break and see-sawed in their relations with their “former” wives.⁸³ What these women did when their spouses disavowed them is hard to say: doubtless many returned to their families, but the impact on their lives is unclear.

While the most serious consequences of Oblate marriage policy would fall on Native societies, the Oblates themselves would feel (in a round-about way) some of its results. A “Soyoos” chief sent the young people of his camp who wanted to marry to the Jesuits at Colville, where they could be married without having to learn the catechism or be baptized, requirements at the Oblate Okanagan mission.⁸⁴ Thus different interpretations of Catholic doctrine had a direct impact on the ability of the Oblates to provide specific services for Native people within their Vicariate, while Native people

⁸³ Lejacq wrote that “les séparations de mari et femmes sont aussi très fréquentes; cependant j’ai réussi du moins pour le moment: Gabriel, qui avait deux femmes dans un temps...rejette une de ses femmes mais pour la faire retourner quelques temps après.” [the separations of husbands and wives are also very frequent; however I have succeeded for the moment; Gabriel, who had two wives at the same time, rejected one of them but took her back some time afterwards.] To Durieu, 7 October 1870, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566; see also Grandidier to D’herbomez, 23 December 1873, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

⁸⁴ Pandosy to D’herbomez, 10 March 1878, AD, box P6273-7077, folder 6360-6563.

appear to have been well aware of the practical consequences of those doctrinal differences.

Not only did Catholic marriage norms disrupt long-established and useful kinship relations between different groups of Native people, they also disrupted the intra-familial relations between fathers and children, and must have had profound consequences for women who were rejected by their husbands. Some Native people claim that “divorce” was extremely rare before European contact due to different sets of social pressures operating in Native societies.⁸⁵ But polygamy was under attack from all quarters: both the American and Canadian governments frowned on it, as did Protestant clergy. The system of impediments was a uniquely Catholic set of prohibitions, however. The Oblates obviously used marriage to compel Native people to be baptized, although why a Catholic marriage was seen as useful or desirable by Native people remains unclear to me.

Conclusions

The placement of mission stations and the adoption of itineracy were responses to the specific circumstances in which the Oblates found themselves, and the Oblate Rule, as well as European and biblical traditions, were also factors. I hope to have set out some of the impact that membership in their specific religious congregation had on the Oblates’ approach to missionization in the Pacific Northwest, and to have suggested some of the constraints it involved. While the Oblates were (ostensibly disciplined) members of a

⁸⁵ Collins, 105.

religious community, they were very much individuals, and they did not always get along or agree with each other, and much of the diversity between missions, as well as the “success” of those missions, was directly related to the individuals involved in them.

But it is also worth noting that, having established a very set pattern of mission activity, in the 1860s the Oblates would attempt to impose a uniform set of standards to which all missions (and missionaries) in British Columbia would be held. This standardization was vigorously opposed by Pandosy, who argued that such uniformity was impossible “par des circonstances de temps, de lieux et de personnes.”⁸⁶ While the details (for example, how much builders should be paid) of establishing mission stations would vary according to specific social and physical geographies, the general outline discussed above would remain consistent, and itineracy was the standard Oblate mode of proselytization throughout the nineteenth century.

I also want to point out that these mission strategies bear little resemblance to the Jesuit reduction model discussed in Chapter 2. Certainly reductions were seen as an ideal type by the Oblates, and D’herbomez stated clearly that “nous avons le projet d’établir, tout près d’Esquimalt et New Westminster, une Réduction modèle *pour les meilleurs* de nos sauvages.”⁸⁷ But this reduction was to be only for the better Indians, and furthermore, the project was never realized at either Esquimalt or New Westminster. Recent scholarship on Oblate activity has begun to reject the reduction model, as well as the

⁸⁶ [due to the circumstances of time, place, and persons.] Pandosy to ?, November 1860, AD, Box P6273-7077, folder 6360-6563.

⁸⁷ [we have a plan to establish, near Esquimalt and New Westminster, a model Reduction for our *better sauvages*.] D’herbomez to Fabre, 30 May 1861, Missions de la congrégation de Marie Immaculée, I (1862), 183. My emphases, hereafter cited Missions.

“Indian State” model (posited by Lemert in the 1950s) as appropriate assessments of Oblate missions in British Columbia.⁸⁸ Most would agree with Jacqueline Gresko’s view that Oblate mission strategy in British Columbia was “a composite with roots in Quebec and Oregon, Jesuit work, and in the Oblate experience in France and in Red River.”⁸⁹

The Oblates’ decade in Oregon, then, was less one of imposing pre-determined models of missions and evangelization than it was of working out how best to proceed. By the time the Oblates moved into British Columbia, most of the general patterns of mission activity - itineracy and the location of mission stations - had been established, and would remain relatively stable until the era of government-sponsored industrial and residential schools. Influenced by a wide variety of sources, ranging from the Bible to their own practical experiences, their decisions about how to approach the problems of mission activity in the Pacific Northwest often varied significantly from those of Anglo-Protestants. Clearly Protestants such as John Good were intent on producing a mission

⁸⁸ See Edwin W. Lemert, “*The Life and death of an Indian state*” **Human Organization** 13 (1954) 23-27. As his title suggests, Lemert argued that the Oblates were attempting to create an ‘Indian state’ within the state, basing his claim on an ‘analysis’ of Sechelt. This claim seems both excessive and skewed in the wrong direction: the Oblates were concerned to establish the power and authority of the church, not the autonomous authority of Natives, while their view of Native people as childlike certainly would not have encouraged their participation in the creation of an ‘Indian State’. Other arguments against Lemert’s thesis are presented in Robert M. Weaver, “*The Jesuit reduction system: Its implications for Northwest archeology*”, **New Anthropological Research Notes** 11 (1977), 163-173. On Sechelt see Rodney A. Fowler, **The Oblate system at the Sechelt mission, 1862-1899** (BA thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1987). Fowler points out that there was not even a resident missionary (surely a requirement in the Paraguay system) at Sechelt until the twentieth century, and suggests that the OMI were referring to reductions in the Spanish sense of the word - as mission stations.

⁸⁹ Gresko, “The Oblate Missionaries’ Durieu system in the Fraser Valley” (paper given at the Pacific Northwest conference, 1987). For an earlier opinion, see Gresko, “*Missionary Acculturation programs in British Columbia*” **Etudes Oblates**, 32 (1973), 145-158. My research clearly supports Gresko’s later assessment.

space, a physical structure that recalls de Certeau's contention that power must necessarily appropriate a space of its own through which the contingencies of time can be controlled, and fields of vision and knowledge produced.⁹⁰ But the physical space of any colonial mission, Protestant or Catholic, could be likened to what Foucault has called a "complete and austere institution," one in which the mechanics of disciplinary power - surveillance and normalization - were facilitated by, even built into, the physical structure of the mission itself.⁹¹ But the itinerant Oblates did not depend solely on the production of a physical space of power: rather, evangelization took place at a series of sites that were often predominantly Native.

I have also given some account of the usual activities involved in staging a mission to Native people. Preaching, via the Chinook trading jargon, was an unusually slippery process, but I want to emphasize two broader points about Oblate predication in the nineteenth century. First, I do not want to suggest that a transmission of ideas was made impossible by an over-arching cultural (or linguistic) incommensurability. While much of Catholicism is indubitably European in its assumptions, metaphors, and practices, and while even the daily, face-to-face encounters between missionaries and Native people must often have been frustrating and even mystifying at times, the Oblates' message of faith and salvation certainly was understood, and embraced, by a large number of Native people. On the other hand, I want to emphasize that while many Native people may have misunderstood the Oblates' message, many others remade it to suit their

⁹⁰ Michel de Certeau, Steven Randall, trans. **The practice of everyday life** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 36-37.

⁹¹ Foucault, DP, 231-256.

own needs and circumstances - they fished out the parts that seemed of greatest importance or utility to them. Thus Native people were certainly not simply passive receptacles for the word, but neither was Christianity simply unassimilable or totally incommensurable with Native lives. Indeed it points to one reason why Catholicism has survived for two thousand years: while the dogma of the Church is often completely out of step with the needs of its members, it is, in the end, a living religion that can be remade and deployed differently by those who embrace it. While this practice may make "bad" Catholics, it might also lead to spiritual lives that can cope with the contingencies of everyday life.

But, disconnected from the context of an encompassing Christian culture, the sacraments of baptism and marriage were not effective means of Christianizing Native people. While they did increase (and legitimize) Oblate involvement in some aspects of Native life, particularly kinship relations, these sacraments were little more than Asad's "representations of cultural metaphors" that had little power to alter Native life. Baptism and marriage established sets of prohibitions: their power was negative - skewed to the regulation of behavior - not constitutive or productive of Christian dispositions that could be depended upon as self-policing mechanisms. In the next chapter I will argue that the Oblates did, gradually, produce spaces, or transfer points, of power that rested on a *human* architecture of surveillance and discipline that has become known as Durieu's system. Durieu's system was an attempt to remedy the problems of translation and interpretation I have discussed, as well as to provide a Christian foundation in which the sacraments could be anchored, and through which they could operate. It also provided

one conduit through which Oblate power could flow, a conduit made particularly necessary by their choice of itineracy - travelling through space rather than producing space - as their primary mode of proselytization.

Chapter 4 The Machinery of Power

“The Sechel [sic] village is composed of 50 houses or more, all built of lumber on a regular plan, each divided up in a complete set of rooms. Their beautiful church [which cost \$10,000 contributed by the Sechelt and contained statues, a font, a well-equipped sacristy, monstrances, chalices and translucent paintings hung over the windows]...stands in the center of the village...The bell would ring shortly after five in the morning, and the first mass was read at half past five, during which the church was filled up with the Indians who hastened [there] as soon as they were ready, unlike so many others who hardly leave their beds before the last bell and of course arrive too late at the morning prayers. Not so with the Sechels: they were all in the church at least ten minutes before the ringing of the last bell. They want to make their visit to the Blessed Sacrament early in the morning, and they know how to spend their time with their beloved Lord and Saviour. The second mass was at six, and the third at half past six, and we remarked that there were two masses for the dead sung everyday during the visit...After the masses in the morning, and the time set for breakfast and household duties, the bell summoned the Indians together again, first for the sermon, and to the catechism house, where they would remain until noon, for a review of the instruction received in Church, then to learn a few questions of catechism, some hymns, or to receive the missionaries’ directions, and to attend to matters of discipline conducive to common peace and happiness in their different families. Dinner was at one o’clock, and about three, the meeting was recalled to continue in the afternoon the work of the morning. This lasted till supper time which was about 6:30 or seven. At eight, night prayer, sermon and Benediction, after which a third meeting was summoned, which lasted till ten, and was sometime protracted by the Indians, until midnight and later, when some important question had to be settled.” Kamloops Wawa, nd.¹

Order, regularity, devotion and piety: it would seem that the Oblate dream of producing the model Native Christian community had been realized. But how was this clockwork efficiency, this “common peace and happiness,” this knowledge of how to spend time with Christ, achieved? The passage above offers some subtle clues in its passing reference to discipline, its pragmatic approach to the constant repetition of

¹ Lejeune, *Rapport de voyage à Sechel*, nd. AD, HPK 5301 .L53C (12). The date of these events is sometime between 1889 and 1906 (when the Sechel church burned down). Originally in English.

religious exercises, and its assumption of a passive reception of the “missionaries’ directions.”

The Sechelt were, for the Oblates, the ultimate proof that Native people could be made into good Catholics by means of a rigid adherence to Durieu’s system. Articulated in its entirety by Durieu in a series of letters written to Lejacq in 1883 - the *Direction des sauvages* - the Durieu system had two objectives.² First, through an “action of repression” it aimed to extirpate vice and sin amongst Native people; and second, through an “action of formation” Natives were to become model Christians. In the course of this chapter I show that Durieu’s action of repression rested on the development of a system of surveillance carried out by networks of Native officers “elected” by Native people, but I also argue that complex techniques of examination were the motor of the system. Native temperance societies and confraternities also played a role in Durieu’s system, as did a formalized practice of flogging offenders in a ritual - the kaltash bilalam - that was, according to the Oblates, roughly equivalent to the public penances characteristic of the early church. I look at the development of the Oblate system of surveillance from its beginnings in Oregon to its ubiquitous presence in every “Catholic” band of Native people in British Columbia. I also discuss the Oblate appropriation of the kaltash bilalam, and the problems that arose from a missionary dependency on systematized flogging.

² Durieu’s “*Direction des sauvages*” is a set of three letters written to Lejacq. There are several typescripts available at the Deschâtelets Archives, probably done originally by or for Edwin Lemert (who recommended that access to the manuscripts be severely limited - fortunately the Oblates are less infected with a spirit of academic competition). The typescript I have used is in French and runs to 56 pages. This manuscript abounds with errors (for example ‘inoculer’ is typed where ‘inculquer’ is probably intended), and I have made corrections where they seemed clearly warranted.

In the final section of this chapter I offer an outline and analysis of Durieu's action of formation, a program that was developed to produce "real" Christians by means of a complex interplay between disciplinary power and processes of subject-formation embedded in confession, self-examination, and Native interiorization of a series of images intended to re-order their relations both to the church and to themselves.

La Machine

The exact provenance of the system of Native informants that was to be so elaborately developed by the 1860s is unclear, but it seems to have been an outcome of early Oblate success in attracting committed neophytes. The first mention of a Native informant that I have found is in 1855, when "Catherine," one of Pandosy's most cherished neophytes, warned him of a plot against his life.³ Over time, Native informants were formalized into a system of captains, soldiers and watchmen that was in place among the Snohomish in Washington Territory by 1860.⁴ Chirouse described the function of the watchmen, who "font tenir l'ordre et nous font connaître en particulier tout ce qui se passe dans le camp tant pour le bien que pour le mal."⁵ By 1868 the practice of electing captains, soldiers and watchmen had spread as far north as Lake Stuart, and Lejacq noted that "ces élections que nous faisons autant que possible dans tous les camps

³ Durieu to Ricard, 28 March 1855, Ore. II: 553-4.

⁴ Chirouse refers to them as "watsheman" and the English word "watchman" suggests that the system may not have originated with the Oblates. Chirouse to D'herbomez, 3 February 1860, Ore. III: 963-4.

⁵ [maintain order and to let us know in particular all that happens in the camp, whether for good or evil.] Idem.

et villages sauvages que nous visitons, flattent beaucoup ceux qui sont élus.”⁶ While the Oblates did not appoint officers, the priests instigated and doubtless influenced the outcomes of these elections.⁷

Depending on the source, the actual number of offices filled by Native people varies, but all tally with A.G. Morice’s account of the roles of soldiers, watchmen and chiefs, and the justification for them:

“Being a grown-up child, the native must be constantly watched...hence the establishment of the watchmen, who are the eyes of the village chief. But a correction cannot be administered without the proper means of enforcing orders: this accounts for the presence among Durieu’s neophytes of the so-called ‘soldiers’, or policemen, who are the arms of the chief, whose role in the native social economy is that of the head in a well-organized body.”⁸

Offices multiplied, such as “la cloche-man” (who rang the church bell morning and evening to call people to prayer), chantmen, Eucharistic chiefs, and “zélateurs.” Societies of the “meilleures femmes” who were to be “les modèles de régularité et doivent être des espèces de watchmen pour les autres femmes” were formed, and in 1883 Durieu recommended the appointment of a “secret” watcher to watch the watchers.⁹ Temperance

⁶ [these elections which we hold as much as possible in all the savage camps and villages that we visit, greatly flatter those who are elected.] Lejacq, in *Missions* (1874), 347.

⁷ Cf. Marcus Smith to Powell, 21 August 1875. “[the Oblates] undertake to depose and appoint chiefs not according to their fitness to govern, but as they will best subserve Church interests.” Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Black Series, vol. 3621, file 4763. Hereafter cited as RG10.

⁸ A.G. Morice, OMI, **History of the Catholic Church in western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific, 1659-1895**, 2 vols. (Toronto: the Musson Book Co. Ltd., 1910), II: 351-2. The organic metaphor employed by Morice serves to naturalize the hierarchy of the system, as does his claim that Natives are children who must naturally be looked after.

⁹ [best women]; [models of regularity and must be a sort of watchmen for the other women.] For the multiplication of offices see Bishop E.M. Buno, “*Catholic Action and*

societies were developed with fines or physical punishment for offenders. This proliferation of offices speaks not only of a means of producing knowledge, but also of the deepening of an oddly skewed disciplinary modality of power.

Obviously, surveillance was extremely important to Durieu's system, and he was aware of the power of an omni-present gaze: Natives "doivent se sentir surveillés," but they were also intended to see the watcher, who was to "se montrer...pour inspirer la crainte."¹⁰ The Oblate economy of power was marked by many of the disciplinary tactics traced out by Foucault in **Discipline and Punish**, yet they were altered in subtle ways by their deployment in a colonial context, which Foucault never addressed directly. Thus time was carefully measured out and assigned exclusively to specific activities. As Chirouse informed Mazenod, the daily time table on the Snohomish reserve echoed the priests' own liturgical schedule (see above page 104). Wake-up bells rang at 5:30, first mass at 6 AM was followed by instruction and second mass at 7:30, children's instruction at 2:30, prayer in common at 5 PM followed by instruction. Times were assigned for work, meals and sleep, and there was an evening curfew. Fixed hours for confession were set aside on Saturdays and Sundays, the latter devoted to mass, common instruction, particular instruction for married couples or those to be married.¹¹ Not only time but space too was carved up and assigned: penitents were stationed outside the church:

Bishop Durieu's System" 1941, Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia, National Archives of Canada, AW 1R 4664, reel 6. Durieu recommended a secret watcher in *Direction*, 2-3.

¹⁰ [must feel themselves to be surveilled]; [show himself...in order to inspire fear.] Ibid., 5.

¹¹ Chirouse to D'herbomez, 19 February 1860, Ore. III: 972-74. The curfew is mentioned by Bunoz, 25.

catechumens, first communicants, and the baptized all had their particular places within the church. Writing was a considerable tool for the Oblates. Catechumens and members of the temperance society warranted tickets, flags inscribed with the names of "good Christians" and catechumens were flown, baptisms and marriages registered, births recorded, necrologies chronicled.¹² Thus Natives were enmeshed in a web of writing where their "progress" and their "faults" were meticulously recorded. Writing served not simply to communicate information, but also to produce knowledge. It acted to "place individuals in a field of surveillance" and "engage[d] them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them"¹³: in short, writing individualized Native people.

But without doubt the most prevalent mode of discipline was the examination. Everything and everyone was subject to examination and inspection. Houses were inspected every Saturday to ensure they were swept and clean: catechumens were examined and graded on their memorization of prayers and catechisms, while their conduct was "mise à l'épreuve" for months or years. "Severe examinations" were to be passed before entry into baptism or first communion, while Natives wishing to be married were examined on their degree of affinity and past sexual conduct. And of course, there were the Saturday and Sunday hours for confession.¹⁴

¹² Writing followed one even into death: "nous avons un nécrologe de tous ceux qui sont morts avec les sacraments, et nous en faisant la lecture ordinairement avant la prière...tout en leur [les assistants] faisant craindre de n'avoir point, plus tard, leurs noms inscrits dans le papier des bons morts" [we have a necrology of all those who have died in the sacraments, and we ordinarily read it (aloud) before prayers...all to make them fear not to have, later, their names inscribed on the paper of the good dead.] Chirouse to D'herbomez, 19 February 1860, Ore. III: 973.

¹³ DP, 189.

¹⁴ Idem. See also Bunoz.

Foucault claims that the examination lies at the heart of disciplinary power because it is crucial to the constitution of the individual (in his genealogy a European subject) as an “effect and object” of power/knowledge: thus the examination is the instrument par excellence of normalizing judgment.¹⁵ I begin my examination of the examination - my account and its genealogy - with the *kaltash bilalam* practiced by the Oblates before Durieu formalized a methodology of confession in the action of formation portion of his system. Both of these forms of examination stem from a complex of practices that were penitential and confessional, but the *kaltash bilalam* focused on physical *punishment* as a means of correction, while Durieu’s later version depends far more on *training* the Native mind and body.

Kaltash Bilalam

The *kaltash bilalam*¹⁶ was a ritual performed by Native people in which an individual publicly declared his or her “transgressions” and was publicly flogged or fined as a punishment for those transgressions.

Flogging was practiced by Native people and Protestant missionaries (and fur traders) before the Oblates arrived in Oregon: Blanchet claimed that Protestant missionaries flogged Natives for theft in the 1830s, and DeSmet recorded the presence of the *kaltash bilalam* among the Kootenay in 1840.¹⁷ Chirouse first alluded to whipping in

¹⁵ DP, 192.

¹⁶ Despite searching several Chinook jargon dictionaries I have been unable to find a translation of this term.

¹⁷ Bagley, I: 172, 229, 233; Gabriel Dionne. **Histoire des méthodes missionnaires utilisées par les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'évangélisation des Indiens du Versant Pacifique au 19eme siècle** (MA thesis. University of Ottawa, 1947), 89, on

1849, and D'herbomez in 1852, but both noted that it was a Native practice and neither mention being directly involved.¹⁸ However, many observers would comment on the specifically Catholic elements of the kaltash bilalam - it began with "le signe de la croix, puis une courte prière" - and the Oblates themselves regarded it as a "contre-façon grotesque" of Catholic ritual.¹⁹

The origins of the kaltash bilalam have been a matter of debate throughout this century. It seems likely that it formed part of what has been called the prophet dance, a ritual dance originating in the Plateau that eventually incorporated some Christian elements. This dance spread to the Coast from the Plateau, where it was appropriated in various forms by most of the Puget Sound and Georgia Strait peoples.²⁰ Suttles describes the prophet dance as a ceremony that could include any or all of the following: a marriage dance, public confession, worship of a deity, and prophecy. But while "the belief that sin causes misfortune which may be relieved by confession" has been noted for several North American Native cultures, "there is little evidence for the belief in aboriginal Coast Salish culture," and even less for pre-contact use of corporal punishment.²¹ Garth has traced a "whipping complex" that moved west from the Plateau, claiming that it probably originated in the Spanish missions of California or the southwest, but the use of ritual

DeSmet. Fouquet found whipping in place in 1875 among the Kootenay, his first mission where the whip was used, to D'herbomez, 29 March 1875, AD, Box P2288-3505, folder 2595-2977.

¹⁸ Ore. I: 80, 169.

¹⁹ [the sign of the cross, then a short prayer], Ortolan, II: 307; [grotesque imitation] Dionne, 19.

²⁰ See Leslie Spier, "The prophet dance of the northwest and its derivatives: the source of the ghost dance" *General Series in Anthropology*, 1 (1935), 5-69, and Suttles, 152-198.

²¹ Suttles, 189.

corporal punishment on the Coast before the arrival of the Oblates appears to have been rare.²² Whatever its origins, the kaltash bilalam or something similar seems to have been in place when the Oblates arrived, although they would formalize and put it to work in specific ways.

Thus by 1854 Pandosy was instigating the whipping of Native people at Attanem, and by 1856 the Oblates were using the kaltash bilalam as a sort of court:

“nous étions résolus de montrer aux sauvages que l'on doit toujours juger d'après les lois de la justice. Nous laissâmes parler les coupables...il fut déclaré coupable; seulement nous leur dîmes qu'ils feraient bien de faire une distinction entre les chefs et leurs sujets, laissant aux chefs le choix du fouet ou d'une autre punition.”²³

[we were resolved to show the sauvages that it is always necessary to judge according to the laws of justice. We let the guilty speak...they were declared guilty; only we told them that they would do well to make a distinction between the chiefs and their subjects, leaving to the chiefs the choice between the whip and another punishment.]

Chirouse had fully incorporated the kaltash bilalam into his mission routine by 1859.

Chiefs visiting the mission were

“d'abord se présenter au prêtre et lui rendre compte de son administration...les pénitences publiques [the kaltash bilalam] et surtout le fouet sont toujours en vigueur et ce système nous ayant réussi jusqu'à présent, nous désirons qu'on nous permette de le continuer jusqu'à ce que les temps et les circonstances ne viennent nous obliger à changer pour faire mieux.”²⁴

[first to present themselves to the priest and give him an account of [the chief's] administration...public penances [the kaltash bilalam] and above all the whip were always in force and this system having succeeded up to the present, we desire to be allowed to continue it until such times and circumstances arrive that oblige us to change [it] for the better.]

²² Thomas R. Garth, “*The plateau whipping complex and its relationship to Plateau-southwest contacts*”, *Ethnohistory* 12 (1965), 141-170.

²³ On Pandosy, see D'herbomez to Ricard, 1 January 1854. Ore. II: 366: the quote is from D'herbomez, 23 November 1856. Ore. II: 644.

²⁴ To D'herbomez, 19 February 1860. Ore. III: 974.

The kaltash bilalam had been transformed from a Native ritual dance to an Oblate method of punishing crime and maintaining order: "guilt" - broken temperance vows, adultery, sorcery, and other public faults - would begin to be defined as sin and punishment as penance. By 1860 Durieu was complaining that:

"Pendant ces douze jours il n'y a pas eu une seule instruction, un seul catéchisme, tout le temps a été employé à des affaires de police, ou à terminer les procès et les débats...Est-ce là la meilleure manière de former les Indiens à la vie chrétienne?"²⁵

[during these twelve days there was not a single instruction, a single catechism, all the time was employed in police matters, or to finish the trials and debates...is that the best way to train the Indians for a Christian life?]

This complaint would set off a debate amongst the Oblates in 1861 surrounding the use of whipping and public penance, and ironically, the strongest argument against whipping was elaborated by Pandosy. He attempted to refute the three bases on which the Oblate case for whipping seem to have rested: that Natives were children and should be treated as such; the example of public penance in the early church; and established usage.²⁶

In the first case, Pandosy noted that while Natives were intellectual or emotional children, they were not physical children and couldn't be "led" in the same way. He also noted that it had never been proved that whipping made children good, and the Oblates themselves didn't use it in the *petit séminaire*. Second, Pandosy argued that despite the example of the early church, "la foi est stable, mais la discipline change," and further, that since the Church had abandoned public penance centuries ago, why should the Oblates

²⁵ [faith is stable, but discipline changes], Durieu to D'herbomez, 17 August 1860, in Dionne, 99.

²⁶ Pandosy to D'herbomez, 27 November 1851, AD, Ore 2, ab-1, 1.

presume to revive it?²⁷ Last, regarding established usage, Pandosy argued that neither the Oblates nor the Natives could pinpoint the provenance of the kaltash bilalam, and it was therefore spurious to defend it on that point at all.

But Pandosy was fighting a losing battle and whipping as punishment was used and encouraged by the Oblates for the next quarter century. In 1868, for example, Lejacq noted that he had spoken to the Shuswap about whipping, but that initially

“on m`a trouvé trop sévère: je leur avais communiqué les régulations que vous m`aviez données. Aucun chef ne voulut adopter le fouet pour la première faute de fornication. Mais aujourd`hui au lieu de les stimuler à fouetter, je suis obligé de les arrêter.”²⁸

²⁷ The use of public penance in the early church, and the completeness of a transition to a system of private penance in the Middle Ages is still murky at best. While the early church practice of public penance for post-baptismal sin is evident, the precise way in which such penances were meted out, as well as for which sins, remains unclear. There is also a great deal of debate about the prevalence of public penance after the introduction and spread of the Irish penitentials in the sixth and seventh centuries. Much of this debate surrounds the rise of “religious individualism” that many scholars date from Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which decreed that all Christians must confess annually. But as Mansfield has argued, public penance continued to be used throughout the Renaissance period: church officials recognized that “the humiliation of sinners is perhaps the most powerful means of instilling conformity in a community [and] public penances simultaneously promised salvation in the next world and public order in this.” Mary Mansfield, **The humiliation of sinners: public penance in 13th century France** (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 5. Schneider, 123, also notes that “mass exercises in public penance” swept through sixteenth and seventeenth century France, and were “a highly effective means of stimulating Catholic militancy and fervor.” Further, confessional boxes were only developed by Saint Charles Borromeo in the mid-sixteenth century, during or just after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Borromeo was only partially successful in introducing the boxes into his own diocese (Milan) in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and they were only slowly adopted elsewhere in Catholic Europe: by the mid-seventeenth century it appears that confessional boxes were the exception rather than the norm in rural France. Cf. John Bossy, “*The social history of confession in the age of the reformation*”, **Transactions of the Royal Historical Society**, 5th series, 25 (1975), 21-38, 31-32.

²⁸ To D`herbornez, 2 December 1868, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566.

[they found me too severe: I told them of the regulations you had given me. No chief wanted to adopt the whip for the first fault of fornication. But today rather than urging them to whip, I am obliged to stop them.]

In 1873 Grandidier complained that Oblate Father Marchal had “mis toute la village [of Clinton] à dos, a fait fouetter les sauvages: les fouetteurs ont été cité devant le juge de paix et condamné,” and in 1875 a formal complaint was lodged by settlers near Lillooet that Marchal had had several Native men and women flogged.²⁹ Not only had D’herbomez regularized flogging, but in 1873 Chief Justice Matthew Begbie countenanced it, warning that

“whitemen not justices of the peace, have no right to interfere with Indian chiefs exercising their *accustomed* jurisdiction over drunken and disorderly members of their tribes, and inflicting on them the *salutary discipline usual* in the tribe...it is quite improper and unnecessary for ordinary individuals to interfere with the coercive measures necessary to restrain rioting and drunkenness among the Indians *by their own consent*.”³⁰

This is a classic case of what Ranger has called the invention of tradition, where Europeans, whether missionaries or government administrators, (re)interpreted Native customs as time-honored traditions. The result of this transformation was that once-flexible custom became rigid, codified tradition. As this case amply demonstrates, the traditions that attracted European notice were often products of the colonial encounter itself, and offered the best way “to ‘re-establish’ order and security and a sense of

²⁹ [made enemies of the village (of Clinton), had the sauvages whipped: the whippers were cited before the justice of the peace and convicted.] Grandidier to D’herbomez, 9 April 1873, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505; John E. Lord to Superintendent Powell, 20 February 1875 and Marcus Smith to Powell, 21 August 1875, RG10, vol. 3617, file 4606; Powell to D’herbomez, 25 May 1875, VRCAD, GR 1/01 S/01, box 2, folder 3.

³⁰ Begbie Notice, 10 October 1873, VRCAD, Gr 1/01 S/02 box 2, folder 2. My emphases.

community” where order and community may never have been the static and uncontested traditions imagined by Europeans in the first place.³¹ The kaltash bilalam, as a useful means of disciplining Native people, was thus appropriated by the Oblates and sanctioned by the government on the basis that it was Native tradition. Furthermore, the Oblate insistence on the established usage of the kaltash bilalam in Native populations was, as Furniss suggests, a ploy to “protect themselves from the criticisms of the settler population and from criminal prosecution by the colonial government.”³²

Public confession and flogging would continue to underpin the Oblate system of surveillance until 1892, when Father Eugene Chirouse was arrested, convicted of aiding and abetting assault, and sentenced for having two Native women at LaFontaine flogged.³³ While public opinion eventually rallied to gain him an official pardon, Morice and other Oblate historians have claimed that this event signaled the end of the Durieu system because Native leaders became concerned about their own positions vis-à-vis the law.³⁴ This seems perfectly likely as far as it goes, but I suggest that something rather

³¹ Terence O. Ranger, “*The invention of tradition in colonial Africa*” in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, **The invention of tradition** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 211-262, 249.

³² Elizabeth Furniss, “*Resistance, coercion and revitalization: the Shuswap encounter with Roman Catholic missionaries, 1860-1900*”, **Ethnohistory** 42 (1995) 231-263, 244. See also her book, **Victims of benevolence: The dark legacy of the Williams Lake residential school** (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995).

³³ In Chirouse’s case, the complaint was lodged by a Thompson Indian who was visiting the LaFontaine reserve. Flogging was considered assault in the criminal code, but apparently since it was inflicted only on Native people, and was constantly justified as “in accordance with tribal customs” and had been “practiced for many years amongst the Indians in British Columbia” (The Month, June 1892, 127) few justices of the peace seem to have taken cognizance of it. Why, precisely, action was taken against Chirouse is unclear. Durieu believed it to be “un complot tramé par les Blancs, Orangistes...” [a plot hatched by the whites, Orangemen], to Lejeune, 6 May 1892, AD, HPK 5242 .D96L 66.

³⁴ Morice (1910), 391-392.

more profound than fear of the law was at work: that Native people were presented with evidence that religious virtue and lawful behavior were not equivalent. Earlier confusion on this point may have been related to the lack of a categorical distinction in Native culture between the temporal and secular aspects of life, a cultural viewpoint that was doubtless reinforced by the Oblates' tendency to conflate sin and crime. The result, as Indian Agent Bill Christie would point out years later, was that

“The Indians were quite confused about what was legal and what wasn't, what was morally wrong. If somebody was sleeping with somebody else's wife, they figured that they should go to jail. You see, that's what the Indians couldn't figure out.”³⁵

This quotation flags several rather troubling aspects of the Durieu system and the kaltash bilalam, most particularly the question of why Native people participated in either. The most obvious, and incomplete, answer is that the Durieu system and the kaltash bilalam evolved slowly over an extended period of time. But I want to suggest two other possibilities.

At least one group of Native people on the Coast seems to have experimented with corporal punishment before the Oblates arrived. Collins reports an Upper Skagit chief called Slebaptikud who used parts of the prophet dance, including flogging, to concentrate authority in his own hands.³⁶ This kind of authority was doubtless

³⁵ Margaret Whitehead, *Now you are my brother: missionaries in British Columbia*, Sound Heritage Series #34 (1981), interview with Bill Christie, 31-32.

³⁶ Her informant claimed “If there was a man sinning, they got a big strap. [Slebaptikud] had officers....to hold the man. One strapped him. One counted how many straps. If the man had been making bad trouble, the other counted a lot of straps.” Slebaptikud was eventually assassinated for overstepping his bounds. Collins, 34.

encouraged by the American and Canadian governments, who tended to deal exclusively with one representative from each Native group, and expected that individual to be able to enforce agreements. Certainly the Oblates encouraged the ascendancy of one authoritative individual, and the Durieu system was an inherently hierarchical structure. Circumstances encouraged enterprising Natives to accumulate authority, and the kaltash bilalam and the Durieu system may have facilitated such a concentration of authority.

An additional possibility for Native incorporation of the kaltash bilalam and the Durieu system was the profoundly social nature of Native morality. As Suttles points out, Native children were not told that “the supernatural would punish them if they misbehaved...[but that] they would be called ‘low-class.’”³⁷ Further, Suttles argues that morality and class were tightly interconnected: high-class families believed themselves to have exclusive access to moral training in the form of ‘advice’ and knowledge (don’t steal, don’t lie) passed on by elder family members; lower-class people ‘had no advice.’³⁸ But what happened to social structures when the missionaries were busily engaged in giving “advice” to everyone, and when social mobility became more fluid due to the new economic opportunities offered by the European presence? The Durieu system, as well as the kaltash bilalam, could have offered alternative modes of social control.

But the repressive aspects of the Durieu system and the kaltash bilalam were really only (albeit elaborate) codes of external behavior. Neither encouraged a conception of morality based on the relation between an individual and God: indeed both emphasized the social nature of morality: both were geared toward the maintenance of social order,

³⁷ Suttles, 9.

³⁸ *Idem.*

not the development of an individual, private conscience. Thus sin and crime would remain communal affairs to be remedied by public performances. Before Durieu supplemented them in 1883, neither repression nor the *kaltash bilalam* had a great deal of potential to alter profoundly Native patterns of cognition or emotion. In other words, while both the Durieu system and the *kaltash bilalam* may have reshaped the *form* of Native life, they may not have significantly altered a specifically Native "apprehension of the real."³⁹ Indeed, as I have shown, Native people tended to interpret and to utilize Christianity in very particular ways, and it was only with Durieu's recognition that technologies for a scrutiny of the self were necessary that "real" Christianization could go forward.

This last point underlines what I have called the oddly skewed disciplinary mechanisms embedded in Durieu's *action de repression*. While Durieu's system did have many of the elements suggested by Foucault as characteristic of a disciplinary modality of power, there were many divergences as well: surveillance was not anonymous; the spatiality of power - panopticism and other effects of power enhanced by a built environment - is less apparent; and there seems to be far less of what Foucault has called a "penalty of the norm."⁴⁰ Given these qualifications, is it appropriate to think of Durieu's system as a disciplinary modality of power? The answer, I think, is yes, because these variations in the mechanics of power stem primarily from differences in both the field of disposition of power, and in its goals.

³⁹ Gruzinski, 218.

⁴⁰ DP, 183.

First, itineracy (above Chapter 3) required that the spaces invested with power did not depend on the material architecture of a panopticon or prison. Rather, the spaces of Oblate disciplinary power can best be seen as loose, yet effectively latticed, classrooms of power. What I mean here is that the human architecture of surveillance set up by the Oblates functioned as both vertical and horizontal relations of power: the entire machinery of surveillance was invested with power (particularly after the first decades), but this power was precisely not intended to be anonymous. The high ground (as it were) was clearly occupied by the Oblates, and through them, the omniscient and omnipresent gaze of God was to fall on each and all. But the Oblate technology of power was also firmly rooted in the production of a network of circulating knowledge, and resembled nothing so much as a huge classroom invested by the micro-powers of all modern educational institutions: the obsessions with time, exercise, and the compartmentalization of space. As I noted above, the entire process of Christianization was punctuated by and predicated on examination. Baptism, marriage, confession, *kaltash bilalam*, first communion, and even death, were enmeshed in the mechanics of the examination - individualization and documentation - and hence to a circulation of knowledge between the Oblates and Native people.⁴¹

Second, the goal of Oblate power was not the production of useful bodies demanded by modern western political economy, but the production of devout Catholics demanded by the church, and as Foucault notes, "the regulation imposed by power is at the same time the law of construction of the operation."⁴² The production of devout

⁴¹ More about this in the next chapter.

⁴² DP, 153.

bodies (by which I mean bodies that displayed the signs of piety) accounts for many of the peculiarities of Durieu's system, particularly concerning normativity and punishment. Oblate normativity cannot be seen in Foucauldian terms as a continuum ranging through the infinite points of difference between normal and abnormal. Oblate normativity was bi-polar, based entirely on the dichotomy between pagan and Christian. This duality of the norm suggests in turn that punishment played a different role in the Oblate economy of power: it aimed precisely to extract from bodies the *signs* of Christianity and was in no way opposed to what could be called sovereign legality. Indeed, for the Oblates, the norm *was* the law of God, the ultimate sovereign. Expiation for, and repression of, infractions against that law demanded the spectacle of a sovereign penalty which, when coupled with a disciplinary penalty of time and gesture (repetition, dressage, examination), would constitute the framework of Durieu's system as a whole.

But, as Durieu knew, surveillance and punishment could not possibly achieve his goal of forming "truly" Christian Native people: at best the system could regulate the external behavior of his neophytes only when they were within the confines of the village or camp. That was one of the flaws of the Durieu system: it could function only in the delimited space of a group setting where, for example, Native people felt themselves being watched, and where *they* could *see* the watchers. The kaltash bilalam was a symptom of that flaw in that the Oblates obviously believed that a truthful Native confession could only be elicited in public, in the presence not only of witnesses but of potential accusers. The repressive action of the Durieu system, then, merely established and enforced a behavioral code, a set of signs displayed by bodies. The defense of

flogging indicates that the order and discipline represented by these codes were important to the Oblates, but in the final analysis 'repression' could not produce Christian Natives. Durieu, then, would answer his own question of 1860 with a resounding no - and would go on to develop a set of sacramental practices that aimed to seize the minds and souls of individual Native people so that they would *internalize* the tenets of the Catholic church.

From confession to contrition

"Nous leurs prêchons une morale tout opposée à leurs précédentes habitudes. Comme il doit leur coûter, pour plier leur vieille nature sous le joug de l'Évangile."
Durieu, 1 April 1865.⁴³

[We preach to them a morality completely opposed to their previous habits. How it must cost them to bend their previous nature to the yoke of the Gospels.]

Confession is part of the sacrament of penance, which also includes contrition and satisfaction (absolution by a priest). The Catholic church bases its authority to absolve or ex-communicate on the power to loose and bind given by Christ to Peter (Mt 16.19). In this section I focus on the constitutive aspects of the penance complex. I begin with a general discussion of confession, and then move on to Oblate attempts to introduce this procedure into Native life. I then take a look at Durieu's action of formation in order to suggest some of the ways power worked through confession and communion, the latter being a necessary adjunct, in Durieu's eyes, to the former.

⁴³ Ortolan (1915), 2: 414.

Confession

Confession is ideally motivated by contrition, a sincere sorrow for sin and a profound love of God. Imperfect contrition, called attrition, results from “lesser motives” such as fear of hell or punishment, which are thus distinguished from “natural regrets,” such as loss of stature in the community - motives having no relation to God.⁴⁴

Confession involves identifying sin through a process known as the examination of conscience, and communicating those sins to a priest-confessor. The examination of conscience involves a peculiarly Christian construction of the self that Rafael sees as divided into a “past, unexamined, sinful self,” and a “present, interrogating conscience.”⁴⁵

Confession is productive of knowledge (of one’s past activities or desires as sinful), and dependent on objectification (of the past self as an entity distinct from the present interrogating self). But inherent in the act of confession is the *circulation* of knowledge and the *multiplication* of objects for scrutiny: knowledge of past sin must be communicated to the priest, and the interrogating conscience itself must be made an object of scrutiny (for example one must know that one is making a “bad” confession). Thus examination and inspection epitomize confession in that two simultaneous examinations take place: the examination of one’s own conscience, and the examination of one’s examination (as it were) by the priest, and objectification becomes a multiple process involving self-scrutiny as well as presenting oneself as an object to priestly inspection. It seems obvious that a “good” confession involves numerous layers of

⁴⁴ **New Catholic Encyclopedia**, 18 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 11: 80. Hereafter cited NCE.

⁴⁵ Rafael, 100.

surveillance and a continuous circulation of knowledge. but I would argue that it also, through the bifurcation of past and present selves and their location in various spiritual states, organizes those selves as both objects of scrutiny and as lived actualities. In other words, confession *reinforces* Christian subjectivities which, through the continuous production and circulation of knowledge, constant surveillance, and objective inspection, ostensibly can be made to yield up the truth about the condition of the soul.⁴⁶

I want to make one major point about this idealized account of confession, particularly as it might have operated among non-Christian or newly Christianized peoples. Confession is a technology of power that requires some degree of cooperation on the part of the person confessing: unwillingness or inability will only result in a "bad" confession (incomplete, untruthful, etc.). Thus a "good" confession is dependent on willingness, and perhaps more importantly competence, and I suggest that subsumed within this concept of competence is the notion of an already-present Christian conscience that is distinct from a past, sinful self, and that is also able to objectify that past self to a degree that would permit a thorough examination. This is not just to suggest, as Foucault does, that Christian subjectivities rest only on "complex relations with others" - and here I take him to mean one's confessor - but rather to point out that

⁴⁶ I follow Foucault to some extent in this discussion, but for Foucault the power relations intertwined with confessional discursivity bear most heavily on sexuality. Thus in "*The battle for chastity*" in **Politics, philosophy, culture: Interviews and other writings 1977-1984**, Lawrence Kritzman, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1988), 227-241, 240. Foucault suggests that 'subjectivization' is the product of "new fashions in monastic sexual mores", while in **The history of sexuality**, Vol. I, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 65, he locates the production of a discourse of "truth concerning sex" at the crossroads of "procedures of confession and scientific discursivity."

Christian subjectivities commonly rest on a complex *culture* of Christianity, where one is saturated with the norms, forms and assumptions of Christianity daily from the earliest stages of life.⁴⁷ The point I want to make, then, is that confession *tout court* does not form Christian subjectivities, it refines and reinforces those already present. While it may be legitimate (for whatever reason) to suggest that Native people in British Columbia had bifurcated selves and consciences, it is not likely that that bifurcation or those consciences were inherently Euro-Christian.

In British Columbia, the Oblates consistently complained about the quality of Native confessions, and Durieu set out to develop a sense of contrition in Native people, in essence to effect a shift from shame to remorse in Native motivations for confession. Confessions, as I suggested in my discussion of the kaltash bilalam, were performative rather than informative: they were public spectacles of punishment involving none of the introspective processes I have just outlined. With this in mind, I want to look at some examples that characterized confessional practices in British Columbia before Durieu set out to form “real” Christians who would be susceptible to the lines of power that ran through penance and confession.

Un pénible mode de confession

There is limited discussion in the Oregon papers about Native confessions outside the kaltash bilalam, and with the exception of Durieu, no one seemed alarmed about the

⁴⁷ Foucault, *Battle for Chastity*, 240.

quality of Native confessions. D'herbomez described Native people as unable to "conserver le moindre péché sur la conscience." and noted that in confession

"ils repassent toutes les époques de leur vie afin de ne rien omettre: ils n'oublient pas leur bas âge, lorsqu'étant encore enfants ils se fâchaient contre leurs parents. Afin de se faciliter la mémoire. ils prennent des paquets de petits morceaux de bois (ou un amas de petites pierres) qu'ils comptent les uns après les autres. en vous disant: celui-ci est-il péché. celui-là tel autre. etc. jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient fini!"⁴⁸

[they go over every epoch of their life in order to omit nothing: they don't forget their youth, when, being still children they got angry with their parents. To aid their memories, they take packets of small pieces of wood (or a pile of small stones) that they count out one after another, telling you: this one is this sin, that one another, etc. until they have finished.]

This account sounds rather like descriptions of Native time-keeping, where each day a stick was broken and the days of the European week could thus be reckoned. It strikes me as an equivalent form of accountancy where sins were enumerated, and the ritual *performance* of confession seemed to suffice.

The next year, 1858. Visitor General Bermond would seek to correct this enumerative approach to confession, charging the Oblates to

"leur apprendre à faire leur examen de conscience, à y consacrer le temps nécessaire, à vaquer à la prière avant de se présenter au prêtre, à ne pas regarder l'aveu de leur faute comme une histoire qu'ils racontent, à ne pas se croire purifiés devant Dieu s'ils n'ont pas le regret du mal qu'ils ont fait et la volonté de ne plus le faire..."⁴⁹

[to teach them to make their examination of conscience, to give to it all the time necessary, to apply themselves to prayer before presenting themselves to the priests, *not to regard the avowal of their fault as a story to be told*, not to believe themselves purified before God if they don't regret the evil that they have committed and the desire not to repeat it...]

⁴⁸ D'herbomez to Mazenod, 30 March 1857, Ore. II: 695.

⁴⁹ Bermond, *Directoire des missions*, 17 September 1858, Ore. III: 800. My emphases.

These injunctions suggest that Native confessions, and Oblate expectations, were well below what Bermond considered to be sufficient. But they also suggest that the narration of sin was far from a personalized act of contrition. Rather, it took the form of a story one told at a safe distance from the events recounted.

In 1860 Durieu complained that hearing Native confessions was a torment to him due to the “peu de soin, de préparation et de dispositions qu’ils ont l’air d’y apporter. Est-ce manque de dispositions, ou manque d’éducation pour la manière de se confesser [?]” and he set out to teach the principles by which a true Christian life could be led.⁵⁰ His primary goal was to destroy the “vice” of lying in confession - the “father” of all other vices - which he believed may have resulted from a confusion of sacramental confession with the kaltash bilalam.⁵¹ But he also noted that many Native people simply refused to give a full confession:

“Combien n’ai-je pas trouvé qui ont nié en confession des crimes dont on les accusait, et dont ils ont été reconnus publiquement coupables quelques jours après, quand les complices ont été confrontés. C’est parce que dans leur kaltash bilalam ou confession publique, ils ne disent que ce qu’ils ne peuvent pas absolument nier, et quelquefois, quoique la faute ait été faite devant toute une nation qui l’entend...”⁵²

[How many times have I found those who denied in confession the crimes of which they were accused, and which they had acknowledged publicly only days earlier when confronted by their accomplices. It is because in their kaltash bilalam or public confession, they say nothing but what they absolutely cannot deny, sometimes even though the fault has been committed in front of an entire listening nation.]

⁵⁰ [lack of care, preparation and disposition that they seem to bring to it. Is it a lack of the proper frame of mind, or a lack of education in the manner of confessing?] To D’herbomez, 28 May 1860, AD, GLPP 1557-1598

⁵¹ To D’herbomez, 17 August 1860, AD, *ibid.*

⁵² Durieu to D’herbomez, 17 August 1860, AD, GLPP 1557-1598.

Others refused to confess because they believed that if they sinned after they confessed they would die. The obvious solution to this dilemma was simply not to confess until one was on one's death bed.⁵³

By the 1870s the Oblates had forbidden Native people from one mission district to confess to priests in another district, suggesting that only a priest who was intimately aware of the doings of an individual Native could elicit any thing approximating a thorough confession and that absolution came too readily from unwitting strangers. Pandosy would note that confession "cost [the Natives] nothing," in other words they did not approach confession with the trepidation that European Catholics did.⁵⁴

Confession, then, was hardly playing an active part in the formation of "real" Native Christian subjectivities: it was a ritual performance rather than a painful accounting of personal failure motivated by contrition. Durieu believed that Natives saw the performance of the sacraments simply as a "passe pour le ciel" and was determined to change these "payens lavés" into "vrai" Christians.⁵⁵ He set about doing this through an immensely detailed set of instructions to Lejacq on the action of formation, a process designed to compel Native people to interiorize and personalize the precepts of Christianity.

⁵³ Grandidier to D'herbomez, 18 May 1864, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

Many Europeans came to the same conclusions about the proper timing of confession.

⁵⁴ Pandosy to D'herbomez, 6 September 1871, AD, box P6273-7077, folder 6360-6563.

⁵⁵ [pass to heaven]; [washed pagans], Direction, 12. 10.

Action of formation

Durieu defined a “true” Christian Native as having “la croyance à la doctrine de Jesus-Christ unit [à] une vie de sacrifice et de lutte contre le péché.”⁵⁶ In order to produce these “true” Christians, he instructed Lejacq to give missions lasting a minimum of twelve days, and he wanted these missions conducted in an “Ignatian spirit” - roughly along the lines of the *Spiritual Exercises* developed for the Society of Jesus by Ignatius of Loyola in the sixteenth century.⁵⁷

On the first day of each mission Lejacq was to announce the daily schedule. He exhorted the Natives to attend all prayers and instructions and to leave aside all exterior preoccupations as far as possible during the course of the mission. He was to instruct the Natives on how they should listen to his sermons: they were to apply his words directly to themselves and to ruminate on all he said. He was then to make note of those who were absent.

Durieu divided the rest of the mission into two six day periods, giving explicit instructions on the topics to be dealt with over the course of several visits. The first six days of all missions were to deal explicitly with creating “une crainte vive de Dieu et péché,” and were to focus on: the creator-God and general judgment: hell and punishment of sin (specifically pride, fornication and disobedience) illustrated by specific biblical examples; death, heaven and hell; Christ’s life, passion and death; and a consideration of sin. The two daily sermons were to last no more than half an hour, and were to focus on

⁵⁶ [a belief in the doctrine of Jesus-Christ combined with a life of sacrifice and struggle against sin.] Ibid., 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 14.

one idea. Lejacq was to be explicit in his sermons, as Natives were to be made to apply the appropriate sins to themselves. Each was to experience the shock of self-recognition during the sermon, to say "oui, c'est bien cela, je me reconnais dans ce que le prêtre dit...je suis un fou. Ah! j'ai peur...j'ai fini de faire ce péché-là et cet autre...j'ai fini d'offenser Dieu."⁵⁸ After each sermon all were to kneel and to meditate for five minutes on the nature of their sins. Then a canticle on the same subject matter was to be sung.

During the first visit, instructions on the morning prayer and the principal "mysteries" were to be given, and all were to be examined on these subjects. A catechism on penance was to be taught: "ce que c'est que l'examen? Comment le faire? Le péché que commet celui qui reçoit ce sacrement sans être examiné comme il faut."⁵⁹ This catechism was to be repeated after Lejacq, then all were to practice the self-examination. The same formula was to be followed taking contrition as the subject.

The second and third visits were to be spent on the proper mode of confession, the fourth on marriage. The catechism on confession was to be learned "ce que c'est, sacrilège commis si on y cache des péchés, etc.." and a "confession blanche" acted out by Lejacq and an assistant:

"Après le signe de la croix celui qui est à genoux pour le mécanisme dit: 'Mon Père, bénissez-moi parce que j'ai péché. Je me confesse à Dieu Tout Puissant et à vous mon Père. Il y a trois mois depuis ma dernière confession. J'ai reçu l'absolution, j'ai fait ma pénitence.' Alors vous nommez le péché qu'ils doivent accuser sur le premier commandement: 'pas fait de prières', le pénitent accuse cette faute comme il faut, avec le nombre de fois. 'Pris tamanoas' le pénitent accuse avec

⁵⁸ [yes, that is good, I recognize myself in what the priest says...I am a fool. Ah! I am afraid...I have finished committing this sin and that other...I have finished offending God.] This was a very Liguorian tactic: listeners were intended to personalize the sermon. Direction, 19.

⁵⁹ [what is the examination? How to perform it? The sin that those who receive this sacrament without being properly examined commit.] Ibid., 22.

le nombre de fois. 'Désirez le tamanoas', et ainsi de suite pour les autres péchés que vous indiquez au pénitent, celui-ci s'en accusant avec les circonstances nécessaires et le nombre de fois, mais sans faire des histoires. Dans une séance vous prenez un commandement ou deux, les fautes contre ce commandement se trouvant répétées par tous ce qui passent sur la sellette, se gravent mieux dans les têtes que par toutes les instructions qu'on pourra leur donner...Ils apprennent ainsi à distinguer le péché lui-même [sic] quand ils s'examinent, et ne vous apportent pas un tas d'histoires où le confesseur n'est pas toujours capables de voir le péché qu'ils ont commis."⁶⁰

[after the sign of the cross those who are kneeling for the mechanism say: 'Father, bless me for I have sinned. I confess myself to Almighty God and to you my Father. It has been three months since my last confession. I have received absolution, I have made my penance.' Then you name the sin against the first commandment that they must acknowledge: 'haven't prayed', and the penitent acknowledges this fault as he should, with the number of times. 'Used tamanoas' the penitent acknowledges this with the number of times. 'Desired tamanoas', and so on for the other sins you indicate to the penitent, he acknowledging each along with the appropriate circumstances and the number of times, but without telling stories. In a meeting you take a commandment or two, and have all those who pass the seat of judgment repeat the faults against that commandment, this engraves [these faults] into their heads better than any instruction we could give them....Thus they learn how to identify sin themselves when they examine themselves, and won't bring you a pack of stories where the confessor is not always able to see the sin they have committed.]

At the end of six days, confessions were to be heard, advice given on how to make 'better' confessions, and penance assigned consisting of designated periods of meditation in the chapel (to "pleurer" their sins), but absolution was not given. Lejacq was to refuse to hear unprepared confessions.

The first six days of the missions, then, were devoted to teaching contrition and self-examination, and most importantly to compelling Native people not only to identify sin, but also to *personalize* and *interiorize* it. In other words, *sin was to be re-located*: it was no longer simply a story to be *told*, but an undesirable condition in which one *lived*.

⁶⁰ [what it is, the sacrilege committed if they hide sins]; [a white confession]; Ibid., 23-24.

The individual self became the locus of sin, and hence an identification of the self as a sinner was (supposed) to occur.

The second six days dealt with remedies for the condition of sin, and consisted of action. Thus Lejacq was to explain the five "spiritual weapons" - fearful heart, vigilant heart, combative heart, a spirit of prayer, humble heart - and how each was to be used.⁶¹ Christ was to be used not just as a model of good conduct, but called upon for help in destroying the pride and concupiscence that lurked in body and soul. An entire six day period was to be devoted to eradicating pride, which Durieu saw as the most serious vice in the Native character. To this end the humility of Christ was described in detail, and Natives were enjoined to abide by a hierarchy of humility - a man was to practice humility toward his wife, she to him, children to parents, and all to the "priest, chief and watchmen."⁶² Finally, all were to be made to realize the sacrifices that must be made in order to avoid sin, Christ's sacrifices for humanity providing the model.

At the end of this second six-day period confessions were to be heard again, and absolution, where appropriate, given. Special attention was given to children aged six to fifteen, who were to learn special catechisms and to practice confessions under the tutelage of a watchman assigned solely to watch over and correct them.

Durieu's third letter dealt entirely with preparation for first communion, and he began by noting that while whites approached the Eucharist with a holy fear and profound reverence, Native people saw nothing terrible in the Eucharist - on the contrary it was an

⁶¹ Ibid., 13-14. Durieu rendered all of these terms into Chinook.

⁶² Ibid., 30.

honor for those who received it.⁶³ The goal in these instructions was to inspire in Native people a fear and awe of the Eucharist. Preparations for first communion were to center on the ritual of the Eucharist, repeated performances of acts of faith, and preaching.

Durieu gave minute details regarding the pomp and ceremony celebrating the entry of the Host into a Native chapel. Thus the spatial arrangements of Native people around the altar, the decorations of the church and the tabernacle (candles and holders, silk or fine cloth, etc.), the cleanliness to be observed, the donations to be made (coal oil, etc.), and the frequency of visits to view the Host and to pray were all discussed. Then the communion catechism must be taught and thoroughly explained: "il a dit 'Ceci est mon corps' donc il a changé le pain en son corps: Il est Dieu et ne saurait se tromper. Donc c'est bien son corps qui est dans l'hostie."⁶⁴ Durieu gave Lejacq the following formula, to "faire passer dans leur esprit le mystère de l'Eucharistie":

"Quand vous dites montagne, cheval, canot, votre esprit se représente de suite le forme de la montagne, du cheval, du canot. Quand vous dites l'Eucharistie, que votre esprit se représente-t-il? Rép: Quand je dis l'Eucharistie mon esprit se représente ce 'blanc et rond' comme du pain qui contient ou cache le corps du Jésus Christ. Dem: Où va votre esprit quand en disant l'Eucharistie il se représente ce blanc et rond comme du pain qui cache et contient le corps de JC son sang et son âme? Rép: A la messe, lorsqu'à la consécration, le prêtre fait la génuflexion et élève en haute l'Eucharistie. Dem: Quand JC sera dans la petite maison [tabernacle] que vous lui faites, où ira votre esprit quand en disant l'Eucharistie il se représente ce blanc et ronde comme du pain, etc.? Rép: Dans notre église, où ce blanc et rond comme du pain qui contient JC sera nuit et jour dans la petite maison au milieu de l'autel."⁶⁵

⁶³ Ibid., 33.

⁶⁴ [he said 'This is my body' then he changed the bread into his body: He is God and does not make mistakes. Therefore it is really his body that is in the host.] The vehemence of this particular phrase suggests that there was some considerable doubt on the part of Native people regarding the transformation of bread into the body of Christ. Ibid., 36.

⁶⁵ [make the mystery of the Eucharist pass into their spirit.] Ibid., 36-37.

[When you say mountain, horse, canoe, your spirit sees the form of the mountain, horse, canoe. When you say Eucharist, what does your spirit see? A: When I say Eucharist my spirit sees this 'white and round' like bread that contains or hides the body of J-C. Q: Where does your spirit go when in saying Eucharist it sees this white and round like bread that hides and contains the body, blood and soul of J-C? A: To the mass, when at the consecration, the priest performs the genuflection and raises the Eucharist on high. Q: When J-C is in the little house [tabernacle] that you make him, where will your spirit go when in saying Eucharist it sees this white and round like bread, etc.? A: To our church, where this white and round like bread that contains J-C will be in the little house in the middle of the altar night and day.]

This lesson on image construction and symbolism was to be followed by instruction on proper genuflection, demonstrating not only how it should be made, but "indicating the thoughts and feelings that should accompany the genuflection of the body."⁶⁶ Durieu believed that not only would the constant and correct repetition of this act *produce* faith in its performers, but that the degree and sincerity of that faith would be rendered transparent to the observing missionary. Details were also given on how veneration of the Eucharist was to be performed, and the feelings that should accompany those actions. The emphasis in this portion of the mission was on performance of acts of faith, emotional responses to those acts, and the development of confidence in Christ.

Predication was the final step in compelling Native people to turn their lives toward Christ. They were exhorted to "build houses in their hearts for Jesus Christ", and Durieu traces a long analogy between this spiritual activity and the actual process of building a house. Thus one must clear the ground (root out sin), sweep away the debris (pride and lust), raise the walls (to keep out impure thoughts and actions), make a door (to let Christ in), and lay a floor (of humility).⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 44-48.

The last portion of the *Direction* is given to the *reglement* of the "lah`anshout," those who have pledged to let Christ into their hearts: candidates for first communion. These men and women were to be carefully looked after, and Durieu recommended the appointment of a "zélateur," who would serve both as a policeman or watchman, and as a spiritual guide or director, giving advice, leading instruction, and lending moral support to the lah`anshout under his care. The lah`anshout were to faithfully perform all exercises, learn all catechisms and prayers, and consistently display their devotion to Christ through acts of faith. Any breaches of conduct were to be reported to the priest, and public correction of faults was to be made. Because the lah`anshout were to be models for the rest of the village, their apprenticeship could last for a year or longer. Careful attention was given to their confessions and examinations, and all received a grade before they were allowed to enter communion. They were to remain under the direction of the zélateur after making their first communion, and he was to continue to monitor and guide them throughout their lives.

Finally, Durieu remarked that once everyone in a village had made their first communion, respected and feared the Eucharist, and was "impregnés dans les habitudes par cette rigueur et sévérité des premiers temps," methods could change.⁶⁸

Durieu's *action de formation* was clearly intended to be a productive program, filling in the lacunae left by the action of repression, and there are several aspects of this process I want to consider in some detail. These missions were primarily classrooms, and most of the priest's activity was instructional. Native people were to be taught

⁶⁸ Ibid., 56.

everything: they must learn not only what sin was, but where it was, and the feelings and actions that ought to accompany its recognition. Thus predication served to compel Native people to recognize themselves as sites of sin, a process that entailed a re-identification and bifurcation of the self into tenses: past and present self awash in sin and its explicitly detailed consequences, future self endowed with the potential to avoid sin and experience another set of consequences. Self-examination had to be taught, not just as a means of recognizing the past self and its sins, but also to induce a state of what can be described as objective contrition. Natives had to learn how to objectively scrutinize the actions and desires of the past self, and they also had to learn how to feel simultaneously and intensely sorry in the present for those past actions and desires. Durieu hoped to inspire this present state of contrition for past actions less through the earlier noted emphasis on hell-as-future-state, and more by associating specific feelings with precise gestures, and by evoking a complex set of imagery that engaged the body and the mind. It is no accident that Durieu took Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* as a model for the action of formation.

Ignatius' program was intended to be a four week retreat composed of a series of meditations, instructions, prayers, and examinations of conscience in order to move the exercitant to a discovery and acceptance of God's will. Of primary importance in the Exercises was the "interiorization" of subject matter through repetition and an "application of the senses."⁶⁹ Predicated on what Barthes calls a "radical imperialism of the image," the *Exercises* sought to enmesh exercitants in a web of relations dominated

⁶⁹ NCE, 13: 579.

by guided imagery.⁷⁰ Thus Durieu's insistence not simply on an explanation of the Eucharist, but on guiding the mind's eye: the Eucharist triggers not just the image of a white round of bread, but Christ's words, the tabernacle, and eventually the church itself.⁷¹ This was not just a lesson in the appropriate interpretation of symbols (*this* bread is food for the soul), but a conquest of the imagination, a displacement of the subject into the image - in the church, in front of the altar, at Christ's side.⁷² These images bring with them a set of relations, with the priest, with Christ, with the church, that are intended to be ascendant, and it should come as no surprise that the *Exercises* have been "accused" of being a "powerful psychological machine."⁷³

But Durieu concentrated these effects through the repetition of particular gestures, the verbal reiteration of the feelings to be experienced while performing those gestures, and meditation on the entire process. He hoped to produce more than an unbreakable association between gesture and thought: the dressage of the genuflection involved a minute training of the body, a training that was both to evoke a specific set of emotional

⁷⁰ Roland Barthes, **Sade, Fourier, Loyola**, trans. Richard Miller (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 66-67.

⁷¹ Rule number two for the Native associates "de la confrérie de la garde de l'honneur" [of the confraternity of the guard of honor] states: "les associés choisissent une heure pendant la journée...[quand] ils tâchent de se rendre en esprit au tabernacle, et de penser plus souvent à Notre Seigneur, en lui consacrent d'une manière spéciale leurs pensées, leurs actions, leurs peines, et surtout leur l'amour" [the associates choose an hour during the day...when they try to render themselves in spirit at the tabernacle, and to think more often of Our Lord, consecrating to him in a special manner their thoughts, actions, sorrows, and above all their love.] c. 1880. VRCAD, GR1/01 S/01, box 1, folder 7.

⁷² This type of hierarchy is echoed in D'herbomez's injunction to Lejacq regarding a Native man, who "must listen to the priest. Those who listen to the priest listen to the Bishop, those who listen to the Bishop listen to the Pope, those who listen to the Pope listen to Jesus Christ, who is never wrong." 4 March 1876. AD. GLPP 1435.

⁷³ NCE, 13: 580.

responses, and to make the exact nature and degree of those responses precisely available to the watchful eye of the missionary. Durieu's micro-physics of power was intended not simply to enmesh the Native body in a field of power but *to capture the Native soul* as well.

The emphasis Durieu placed on the production of contrition was intended to be transformative in several senses. First, he wanted to shift the mechanism that triggered sorrow for sin from its external sources (public shame or the admonitions of the Oblates) to a source internal to Native consciousness: he was trying to create a Christian conscience in Native people, a recognition of sin as an interior state of being. He was also trying to shape an exact response to that state of being, a response of true contrition, motivated not by fear of God, but by love. Love, ostensibly, would motivate Native people to action, to avoidance of and repugnance for sin. Put another way, a very Catholic system of surveillance was to be built into the Native mind itself.

But inspection of the self through the examination of conscience, and the monitoring of the self that the conscience was in turn to perform, were not the only consequences of this exercise. What was being established through this process was more than the application and internalization of a set of norms, it was the creation of the conditions that made those norms applicable and internalizable in the first place. What the Oblates were attempting to do was far more than what the Comaroffs have called a "colonization of consciousness." It was not simply a revolution in habits, or the saturation of Native consciousness by the "axioms and aesthetics...of European capitalism, of

western modernity.”⁷⁴ The Oblates were interested neither in modernity nor in capitalism (indeed the absence of capitalism and of many aspects of western culture were seen as benefits), and only in “habits” to a very limited extent. Rather, the Oblates were interested in producing devout Catholics, and Durieu for one, did not believe that this could occur through either a revolution of habits or a revelation of the word of God. It could only occur through a slow and painstaking process of *formation*: the originary constitution of Christian subjectivities, a kind of concentrated and accelerated Christian childhood.

Thus penance assured that contrition was properly felt and expressed: by assigning penances composed of specific bodily gestures (kneeling) and constant repetition (five trips daily to the chapel to meditate), penance could be expected to induce contrition, although ideally the opposite would be the case. Confession assured that Christian consciences were active and engaged: it was the oral expression of the examination of conscience, and was used by Durieu as a sort of final examination. For an adult Native in British Columbia each attempt to move to a different stage in the Catholic hierarchy of Christianization was finalized by confession - an overview of the process as a whole. Thus confession was a crucial transfer point in the circulation of knowledge.

This leads me to my last point. Knowledge and power are woven together in this process in incredibly complex ways, and perhaps most startling is the importance of the extremely intimate and personal forms of knowledge presupposed by confession: the

⁷⁴ Jean and John Comaroff, **Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa**, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), I: 4. See the conclusion for a fuller discussion of this issue.

production of truth is irrevocably bound to the examination and articulation of desire. And desire, in this context, ranges through all the rubble of the human heart and mind, from sex to status, thought to action. Although driven by a missionary will-to-know, it is also predicated on a Native will-to-be-known, a condition on which the Oblates simply couldn't count.

Conclusions

In 1882, one year before Durieu's *direction des sauvages* was written, Lejacq referred to Oblate methods of Christianization as a machine that the priests "font marcher."⁷⁵ Indeed the *direction des sauvages*, in both its style and substance, seems to reflect this perception of Oblate methodology, and I hope to have captured some of Durieu's confidence in this machine that he believed transformed the raw material of pagan Natives into the finished product of true Native Catholics. In retrospect, much of Durieu's confidence may seem overly optimistic, but it seems clear that the Oblates genuinely believed in the ability of their system to unproblematically convert Native people. Given the amount of recent work that has questioned the meaning and quality of conversion, it is certainly possible to take a very dim view of Durieu's system of "true" conversion. Certainly the *direction des sauvages* represents an ideal that was doubtless rarely or never achieved. On the other hand, it seems difficult and indeed somewhat spurious from my position more than a century later to suggest that Durieu was hopelessly misguided or mistaken about the efficacy of his "machine." But I cannot

⁷⁵ Lejacq to D'herbomez, 12 and 19 January 1882, AD, box P4150-4934, folder 4168-4566.

argue against its effectiveness, in part because that would involve an impossible quantification of Native faith, and in part because I suspect that the system probably did work very effectively in some cases. I want to focus on the conditions that were built into the system itself that I believe may have made it a potent method of producing what the Oblates considered to be good Christians.

The most striking aspect of the Durieu system was its unwavering focus on the details of disciplinary power. I have been constantly struck by the Oblates' careful attention to the 'nuts and bolts' of disciplinary power: their emphasis on written records; the partitioning of time and space; their insistence on physical inspection and spiritual examination; their persistent attempts to prompt Native people to internalize the precepts of Christianity; and their focus on a rudimentary system of surveillance. This acute attention to detail, and the shifts in focus illustrated by Durieu's 1883 letters, suggest changes in the material obstacles encountered by the Congregation.

Most apparent, I think, was the lack of a physical site premised on, or built around, the requirements of disciplinary power. Clearly the Oblates were not working in Bentham's panopticon, or in seminaries, prisons, or barracks - and I will return to this point below. They were working in the wide-open spaces of nineteenth-century British Columbia, and while the reserve system may have enhanced the conditions for surveillance, reserves were simply not the disciplinary containers, the "complete and austere" institutions that had been developed in Europe. This fact of colonial life sheds some light on the Oblates' passion for what I have called the nuts and bolts of disciplinary power. Unable to depend on the high ground of panopticism, on an all-

encompassing gaze or on normalizing processes inherent in Euro-Christian subjectivities. the Oblates set about deploying the mechanics of disciplinary power that were within their reach. Above all, they made examination and inspection an art. When "truth" was not accessible in individual confessions, they turned to the public examinations of the *kaltash bilalam* and the system of watchmen. It was through the normalizing judgment of the examination that the mass of Native people were constituted as individuals who could be slotted into a Catholic hierarchy of catechumen, first communicant, *zélateur*, watchman. And it was only through the examination that Native people could move within that hierarchy. The examination, I suggest, became supremely important to the Oblates because it provided many of the power effects that in Europe would have been invested in the physical architecture of a seminary or boarding school. This obsession with the everyday mechanics of disciplinary power produced sites of disciplinary power that were instead dependent on a human architecture of surveillance. The power effects of the panopticon - of always being subject to an unseen gaze - were replaced by a forest of gazes of which one was constantly aware and from which one was forbidden to escape. Cyclops was replaced by Argus.

This observation brings me to normalization and subject-formation. Clearly Durieu's *direction des sauvages* represents a complex approach to the problem of Christianizing Native people. While it still incorporates the action of repression, four-fifths of the document is devoted to the action of formation. Whether this suggests a realization on Durieu's part that repression simply wasn't working, or whether he was codifying an already-worked out methodology, or, indeed, if he had been exposed to a

new methodology developed elsewhere, is impossible to say. But the entire thrust of the program is to compel Native people to internalize Christian precepts, not simply to act them out. Again, he relies on a subtle combination of disciplinary tactics such as gestural dressage, repetition, and exercise. But above all, he relies on the processes of image formation and (for lack of a better word) discovery embedded in the *Spiritual Exercises*, with which the Oblates were very familiar. Image formation was important, as I have suggested, because it enmeshed Native people in a web of hierarchical relations with the Church by directing the production of specific religious images. But this process was also about discovery, of one's self, of sin, of God's will, of Christ's sacrifice, of one's debt and obligation to the Church. In writing about Durieu's action of formation I am constantly struck by its element of surprise, by the jolts of self-recognition, of meaning, of consequences, it aimed to create. It seems more than plausible that while many Native people may have been frightened into Catholicism, and others attracted to it for a multitude of other reasons, many may have been *surprised* into the fold.

Part III: Governmentality

"I have to report that in consequence of the Indians at Fort Rupert having threatened my men, I burnt the Ranch to the ground, destroyed about 100 canoes and a quantity of spirit. I have brought a chief called Jim [on board] who was foremost in endeavouring to create a disturbance, and a few other prisoners." Captain of HMS *Clio* to Governor Seymour (?), 29 Dec. 1865.¹

"I beg to report that an Indian winter village consisting of probably between 30 and 40 cottages, exists on the [Oblate] Mission property. There [sic] houses are very close to one another and I could not but feel that they were too close to be healthful....I fear also that the Influence of these Indian houses in such close proximity to the school will be of no advantage to the Indian pupils who will be educated thereat...[and] an effort should be made...to break up the village and to scatter the Indians on their Reserves." Vankoughnet to Dewdney, 10 Feb. 1890.²

Foucault traces the concern with an art of governing to the explosion of commentaries provoked by Machiavelli's **The Prince** (1532). Machiavelli's treatise focused on the nature of the Prince's relations with his territory and with his subjects. His links to both were often imposed from the outside through conquest and they were thus typically synthetic and tenuous: the Prince was literally surrounded by potential enemies, both external (other princes covet his territory) and internal (the rebelliousness of his subjects). Machiavelli's solution to this problem lay in an artful manipulation of relations of force that enabled the Prince to bind his subjects ever more tightly to him and thereby freed him to concentrate on external threats. Although Machiavelli's tract captured the

¹ British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Colonial Correspondence, B-1349, file 1209a. Hereafter cited as CC.

² RG10, vol.3840, file 69,529.

essence of sovereign power. what shocked most of his readers was the way in which he laid bare the rationality behind it: the naked self-interest of the sovereign.³

Most of the commentaries on **The Prince** tried to formulate a model of government based on the continuities between different types of government, and Foucault identifies three basic forms:

“the art of self-government, connected with morality; the art of properly governing a family, which belongs to economy; and finally the science of ruling the state, which concerns politics.”⁴

To be effective the Prince had to practice all three forms of government: he had to learn to govern himself and his goods in order to govern the state. When the Prince governed the state well, it followed that “the head of the family will know how to look after his family, his goods and his patrimony, which means that individuals will, in turn, behave as they should.” Thus the lines of government extend, continuously, to include the Prince, the family and individuals within its purview.

It is at this point that government becomes individualizing, and the connections between governmentality and pastoral power thus become apparent: good *government* enables *individuals* to “behave as they should.” But these connections hinge on the family and its association with economy. Thus in the eighteenth century we find Rousseau struggling with the problems of introducing “[family] economy into political practice.”

³ Foucault, “*Governmentality*”, in **The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality**, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller eds., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 89-91.

⁴ Ibid., 91.

The family, then, as the primary unit of economy and patriarchal power, provides the model for good government. It follows that

“to govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy...at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards all its inhabitants, and the wealth and behavior of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of a the head of a family over his household and goods.”⁵

There is an important shift from the imposition of a juridical model of sovereignty concerned with territory to an economic model based on the disposition of things and people “in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved.”⁶ It is here that Foucault posits the reorientation of government toward a different sphere of activity: population. Some time during the eighteenth century, so he suggests, the notion of economy is liberated from its confines in the sphere of the family, and is reconfigured as an activity in which the entire population engages, and, as such, becomes a target of governmental intervention. In conjunction with this repositioning of the economic sphere the family is re-configured as the basic unit of a *population*, and re-emerges not as a *model* of government but as an *instrument* of government: knowledge of the family provides the basis for a statistical accounting of the population as a whole. Thus the population, its pursuits and products, its very life, become appropriate objects of state management.

There are three important points to make about Foucault’s elaborations upon Machiavelli. First, what I have described in the last paragraph can most appropriately be termed the rise of *biopower*, which Foucault describes as a web of technologies that

⁵ Ibid., 92.

⁶ Ibid., 95.

“brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made power/knowledge an agent of transformation of human life.”⁷ But biopower does not provide the range or scope of power/knowledge that Foucault intends to evoke by the term governmentality. Secondly, therefore, it is crucial to see that governmentality arises from a *series* of modalities of power. Thus sovereign law continues to play a critical role in governing populations, as do ritual and spectacular displays of sovereign power. Disciplinary power is even more important to governmentality: dressage, examination, surveillance, and standardization are all common experiences. But more, disciplinary power produces the subjects which governmentality takes as its targets. The criminal, the lunatic, and the bourgeois subject come into being not only as an effect of disciplinary power, but also because they are effective objects and vehicles of that power. Sexuality becomes a principle target of law, the disciplines, and biopower, and provides the primary link between individuals and populations.⁸

Finally, the anatomy of governmentality, with its skeletal modalities of sovereign, disciplinary, and biopower, must, I think, evoke pastoral power as well: for pastoral power also lies at the intersection of these forms of power. Some might object to this claim, arguing that governmentality is a uniquely “modern” form of power in that its “point of application” - “the conditions in which [the] body is to live and define its life” - has its roots in the Enlightenment. Enlightenment reason, as David Scott has argued, required the

⁷ Foucault, **History of Sexuality**, I: 143. Hereafter cited as HS.

⁸ Foucault, HS, and “*Two Lectures*” in **Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977**, Colin Gordon, ed., (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 78-108.

“fundamental uprooting [of ignorant and irrational behaviors] by means of a broad attack on the conditions that were understood to produce them, and second, their systematic replacement by the inducement of new conditions based on clear, sound, and rational principles.”⁹

While this is an interesting argument, I do not think that it sufficiently distinguishes “modern” power from other regimes of power. Apart from sovereign power, all the other modalities of power necessarily alter the conditions of life and behavior according to their own peculiar rationalities. Pastoral power from the Apostle Paul on attempts to redefine a “heathen” psychological and physical landscape as a Christian one according to a particular set of “rational” constructs, and disciplinary power also seeks to re-construct the mental and physical terrains through which it operates according to specific and internally necessary sets of “rationale.” If it is necessary to try to identify the distinctiveness of modern power, then I suggest that the instrumentalities it deploys and the rationalities that give it impetus and “moral” weight, are the most revealing.

While I want to insist upon governmentality and pastoral power as congeries of these technologies of power, I also want to accentuate the unique component that governmentality brings to the mix. Governmentality marshals these modalities of power under the banner of a unique form of rationality - reason of state - and deploys them *productively* through an extended network of police - originally conceived as benevolent and legitimate state intervention in the lives of the individuals who constitute ‘the populace’.¹⁰

⁹ David Scott, “Colonial governmentality” *Social Text* 43 (1995), 191-220, 199.

¹⁰ The concept of policing, both as perceived by the populace and as practiced by the government, has changed significantly over the last two centuries. Most government officials and citizens would agree that the ‘productive’ functions of most state police lie solely in the use of force to repress ‘disorder’, which is defined according to the

While much of Foucault's argument - in terms of his periodization and interpretation - can be quibbled with, I am intrigued by his insight into the connections between forms of rationality and their profound consequences on the morphologies of power. The different rationalities that shape, and are in turn shaped by, pastoral power and governmentality should also serve as a reminder that those powers are immensely geographical and cultural: Catholic pastoral power differs from Protestant; French *raison d'etat* from British; metropolitan disciplinary power from its monastic and colonial manifestations.

This observation brings me back to Oblate activity in *British* Columbia, where the *cultural* geographies of pastoral power and governmentality - my third geography of Oblate missionary activity in British Columbia - crystallize in particularly clear ways. The Oblates were a French Catholic congregation working in an Anglo-Protestant government space: Oblate missionary activity in British Columbia can *not* be seen as indistinguishable from a mass of British colonial practices. Thus in the following pages I look at Oblate-government relations from two very different perspectives. In Chapter 5, I suggest that while government and the Oblates could agree on the general goal of establishing and maintaining order on Native reserves, they could not agree on the means of achieving it because their rationales and reasons for order were incommensurable.

'necessities' of reasons of state. Thus reason of state can be mobilized to cover an ever wider range of contingencies and the legitimacy of police action is increasingly difficult to dispute.

Chapter 5 Cultures of Order

In July 1869, the Chilliwack and Sumass reserves were surveyed and a dispute concerning the *zum* (surveyor's map) of Chilliwack ensued. A copy of these maps was usually given to the "chief" of the surveyed reserve, and "Jim" had received the *zum* for the Chilliwack reserve. But, prompted by a petition from the people of Sko-yalla village complaining that "the paper of our reserve" had been given to the wrong man, Captain Ball, stipendiary magistrate at Yale, took the Chilliwack *zum* from Jim ("only the second in authority") and gave it to "Peter," who was pointed out to him by Durieu.¹ This incident prompted an infuriated response from Rev. A. Browning of the Methodist church. Browning wrote several letters to the colonial government, complaining that the "real" hereditary chiefs were "if anything Protestants," that taking the *zum* from "Jim" was "part of a system to coerce the Indians into Catholicism," that Ball had accused him of "making chiefs", and that if the colony would not remedy the problem "there are those at home who, perhaps, will not hesitate in redressing so evident a wrong."² A letter signed by 28 white settlers supported Browning's candidates for chief, "Jim" and "Captain John."³ Ball was thoroughly disgusted by the whole business, noting that he intended to distribute maps to all the "chiefs," and adding that

"the Indians of each tribe must certainly know who have been the chiefs of their tribes much better than the settlers, who have only been there a few years, and until

¹ Sko-yalla Village to Captain Ball, July 1869, VRCAD, GR 1/01 S/02, box 2, folder 1; Ball to Colonial Secretary, 15 December 1869. **Papers connected with the Indian land question, 1850-1875** (Victoria: R. Wolfenden, 1875), 74. Hereafter cited ILQ.

² A. Browning to Officer administering the government, 6 July 1869, ILQ, 71; Browning to Trutch, 9 August 1869, ILQ, 72; Browning to Trutch, 18 August 1869, ILQ, 75.

³ V. Vedder and others to Governor Musgrave, 30 November 1869, *ibid.*

there was a division of religious feeling amongst the Indians the question of Chiefs was never raised."⁴

Two threads in this story of the *zum* - land and authority - were of crucial importance to all the groups involved. While details in Native, government and denominational interpretations may have varied, all participants were acutely aware of the real issues at stake. Durieu saw justice where Browning saw coercion, yet both were clear about the significance of possession of the *zum*: it was important to both missionaries that the proper person be given the *zum* because that signaled government recognition of the local authority of a specific denomination. Native people also understood the *zum*, but in a somewhat different way: it was a "guarantee" of their possession of the reserve, of their ability to prevent white encroachment on land and resources, and it may also have symbolized government recognition of the authority of a particular Native person on the reserve. Ball, on the other hand, saw the *zum* as a legal definition of the exact boundaries of the land accruing to a specific reserve: it was a statement of the colonial government's authority to allot land to Native people. For all involved, then, the *zum* was a territorial marker and symbol of possession, whether of land itself, or of moral or legal authority over the land and its occupants.

In this chapter I will address the issue of moral and legal authority in two connected stages. First, I look at the "Indian land question" in British Columbia in the 1860s and 1870s, suggesting that Oblate and government perceptions of Native rights to land were bound up with culturally specific conceptions of property and possession. In

⁴ Ball to Colonial Secretary, 15 December 1869, ILQ, 74.

the 1870s these different interpretations of rightful possession were wedded to a concern with ordering what was seen as an increasingly disorderly Native population disgruntled about the reserve allotment process. Second, I will argue that while both the Oblates and government agreed that establishing and maintaining order was of the highest importance, the former saw order as a *moral* condition while the latter construed it as a *legal* one. In other words, both groups called upon different notions of authority to rationalize and legitimize their conceptions of order. These different conceptions of order reflected cultural and institutional differences between the Oblates and the government, deeply held convictions about the appropriate objects and desired outcomes of governing Native people. These conceptions of order and authority - of governance - consisted in particular rationales of pastoral power and governmentality and the multiple spatialities wrapped up with them.

Land and the Order of Rights

“Dites avec Jésus-Christ: Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo, ne vous mêlez jamais des affaires politiques, parce que les opinions sont comme les modes qui changent avec les saisons.” Ricard to the fathers and brothers of Oregon. n.d.⁵

[Say with Jesus Christ: My reign is not of this world, never mix in political affairs, because opinions are like fashion which changes with the season.]

“The Superintendent General is no doubt well aware that all clergymen will urge their views from their own religious standpoints.” Lenihan to Meredith, 12 April 1875.⁶

⁵ AD, HPK 5221 .R48C, 3.

⁶ RG10, vol. 3614, file 4225.

The Indian land question, as it was dubbed in the 1870s, involved the allotment of reserve lands to Native groups in British Columbia. It was a "question" that provoked a wide range of opinions, and involved first the colonial government, and then the provincial and Dominion governments, the Oblates, and, of course, Native people themselves. Not surprisingly, colonial land policy reflected the attitudes of the men who formulated it. Governor James Douglas was instructed by the colonial office to set aside land reserved exclusively for Natives, and his attitudes towards the location and extent of those lands can be considered liberal in comparison to later colonial and provincial land policies. Douglas insisted that "in laying out Indian Reserves the wishes of the Natives themselves, with respect to boundaries, should in all cases be complied with," and this was generally the policy that prevailed until his retirement in 1864.⁷

Thus, in 1862, when a Squamish man, "Snatt Stroutan," attempted to pre-empt a suburban lot adjacent to New Westminster, Governor Douglas affirmed Native rights to pre-empt land on the same terms as whites.⁸ Land and Works Commissioner Moody was uneasy about Douglas' Proclamation, however, and noted that the "Indians are preempting in extended order along the River and elsewhere to a considerable extent, and such extent is likely to increase very considerably and very rapidly."⁹ Moody's concern was reiterated in 1863, when he wrote that the "RC priests have moved the Indians to pre-

⁷ Douglas to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works Colonel Richard Moody, 27 April 1863, cited in Robert E. Cail, **Land, man and the law: The disposal of Crown lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974), 179.

⁸ ILQ, 2.

⁹ Idem.

empt as fully as any other persons.” This was the first time the Oblates were mentioned in government correspondence about the Indian land question.¹⁰

Between 1864 and 1871 colonial land policy was largely dictated by Joseph Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Land and Works. Trutch tended willfully to misinterpret Douglas’s policies regarding Native lands, and his land policy raised serious concerns after Confederation in 1871. Trutch claimed that Native people “really have no right to the lands they claim...and I cannot see why they should either retain these lands to the prejudice of the general interests of the Colony, or be allowed to make a market of them.”¹¹ He refused to entertain the idea of Native rights to land on the basis that such rights were not in the interests of white colonists.¹²

The Terms of Union of 1871 shifted the responsibility of administering Indian affairs to the Dominion government, and Section 13 conceded that Dominion Indian policy should continue along the lines “hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government.”¹³ The appointment of I.W. Powell as Dominion Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia in November 1872 was the Dominion’s first real involvement in the land question in the new province, and Powell’s reception in British Columbia was typical of Provincial-Dominion relations at the time. Powell’s appointment

¹⁰ Ibid., 3.

¹¹ Trutch to Acting Colonial Secretary, 28 August 1867, in Cail, 180-181.

¹² In 1880, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat characterized the Provincial Government’s management of Indian affairs as showing “how faithfully they represent the deep race-prejudice of the general white population,” and wrote that “history must state that the existence of an Indian land question is mainly due to [Trutch].” Sproat to Grandidier, 28 April 1880, AD, HEB 6751 .C47c.

¹³ Robin Fisher, **Contact and conflict: Indian-European relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890**, 2nd ed.(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992) 176.

was vigorously opposed by Trutch, then Lieutenant-Governor of the province, whose administration was loathe to relinquish control of Indian affairs to a Dominion appointee.¹⁴ Throughout 1874 the provincial government avoided giving Powell any practical powers, and blocked the Dominion's attempts to guide land allotment to Natives. Unsuccessful negotiation (from the Dominion point of view) about the specifics of land policy characterized Powell's first year in office.¹⁵

The Oblates' involvement in land matters increased during this period. In 1868 and 1869 Snatt visited several government officials to request a land survey of an area where the Squamish had settled, built houses and a church, and cultivated potato fields. Durieu penned the petition that requested government recognition of this Squamish land claim, which was recognized despite the government's opinion that the Squamish were "troublesome."¹⁶ In 1870 Durieu and Oblate Father Marchal sent at least eight petitions to the provincial government on behalf of various Native groups. Most of them dealt with white incursions on Native lands and requested land surveys.¹⁷ The same year Durieu and Methodist Minister Crosby were engaged in a dispute over the allotment of land to a group of Protestant Natives in the Fraser canyon.¹⁸ In 1871, the provincial government

¹⁴ For details see Cail and Fisher.

¹⁵ A primary point of contention was the Dominion suggestion that 80 acres of land be allotted to every Native family of five, while the provincial government insisted on (and eventually allotted) 20 acres per family of five.

¹⁶ Brew to Bushby, 29 July 1869, ILQ, 75; Bushby to Trutch, 30 July 1869, ILQ, 74; Trutch to Bushby, 5 August 1869, ILQ, 75.

¹⁷ Chapman's Bar Band to O'Reilly, 16 September 1870, VRCAD, GR 1/01, S/01 box 2, folder 1; the same set of correspondence contains OMI petitions through 1872. One petition protested that few of the people were "at home" when the surveyors came and that the wrong man had been designated chief.

¹⁸ Durieu to Bushby, 8 May 1870, *ibid.*; Durieu to D'herbomez, 28 February 1870, AD, HPK 5282 .H53Z, 152.

received several Native petitions from the upper Fraser regarding land, water rights and livestock, and Durieu bought land for two Natives.¹⁹

The Oblates were engaging with Native land issues in British Columbia despite Ricard's advice never to become involved in political affairs. Durieu, however, probably did not see these Oblate forays into such issues as broadly political. His interventions *at this time* do not seem to have been motivated by a clearly formulated policy regarding Native rights. Rather, he saw land issues as practical matters that either threatened the Church's local authority over Native people, or as government persecution of his Congregation and as a Protestant drive for dominance.²⁰ Ensuring that a particular reserve was legally surveyed, that the "proper" individual was given a *zum*, or that the Temperance society functioned without interference, all served to protect the local power and space of the Oblates, manifested most concretely by Catholic chapels built on reserves by "Catholic" chiefs, and by the Catholic temperance flags wafting over "Catholic" villages.

By 1873, however, the Oblates' engagement with Native land issues shifted perceptibly from tactics concerned with the defense of the Catholic church and Oblate missionary space to an offensive stance which clearly articulated Oblate conceptions of Native rights to land. Three related concerns motivated this transition. First, there was a real concern that Native dissatisfaction would manifest itself violently, a move that D'herbomez believed could only result in a devastating loss of Native lives and of their

¹⁹ Grandidier to D'herbomez, 4 September and 28 June 1871, AD, Box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505; Durieu to Trutch, 12 January 1871, CC, b-1326, file 503. Durieu had apparently been granted power of attorney by these two Natives.

²⁰ Durieu to D'herbomez, 10 August 1869, AD, HPK 5282 .H53Z 150.

legitimate claim to lands. Second, the Oblates seem to have had distinctly different conceptions of property rights than those articulated by the Province. And last, the Oblates became increasingly aware that the land question had profound effects on their ability to maintain order and discipline on "Catholic" reserves.

Much of my discussion of these Oblate views centers on events in and around Kamloops, an area in which Thompson, Lillooet, Okanagan and Shuswap peoples mingled, and a core of Oblate influence on the mainland. But two other factors played a part in the importance of Kamloops in the 1870s: it was a region of intense Native dissatisfaction with the reserve allocation process, and a meeting place for large groups of Native people; in addition, one of the most politically aware and active of the Oblate missionaries, Father Charles Grandidier, was stationed at Kamloops.

Ordering Natural Rights

"Il y a des grands désordres: et les sauvages presque partout veulent conduire le prêtre au lieu d'en être conduits." Grandidier to D'herbomez, 26 September 1873.²¹

[There are great disorders: and the sauvages almost everywhere want to lead the priest rather than to be led by him.]

"In his [Father Marchal's] church teachings he has horrified some old Indians who believed the Government intends to act justly toward the Indians and will secure and protect them in their rights. The Priest telling them that the Queen and Government was as so much dirt: and that the presents made to them was no good, and was as so much dust thrown into their eyes to blind them." John E. Lord to Powell, 20 February 1875.²²

²¹ AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

²² RG10, vol. 3617, file 4606.

One of the first tasks assigned to Commissioner Powell was to respond to complaints and rumors of serious dissatisfaction among Shuswap and Okanagan Natives. Powell visited portions of the interior in the summer of 1874, where he met Grandidier, who had been concerned about the course of Native activity in the Kamloops area since his arrival in 1873.

Grandidier's correspondence to Mgr. D'herbomez describing the mood and activities of Native people in the Kamloops area is extensive, and in 1873 he wrote of two large potlatches at Lytton and Bonaparte. These potlatches alarmed Grandidier because they were attended by the principal chiefs of the area and involved the distribution of large amounts of property, drunkenness, gambling, dancing and other "public disorders," all of which he was unable to prevent. Grandidier was denied his customary access to information on Native activities and motivations through chiefs and watchmen, and believed that there was "quelque anguille sous roche...on me cacherait ce que l'on ne voudrait pas que je susse."²³ He also worried that these "réunions," attended by both Protestant and Catholic Natives, "abaisser[ont] la barrière qui les sépare [et] de plus nous sommes obligés de défendre plusieurs choses que les ministres permettent, et on fait des comparaisons."²⁴ But potlatching and Native "va-et-vien" continued throughout the winter.

²³ [something in the wind...they hide from me what they do not want me to know.] Grandidier to D'herbomez, 16 November 1873, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

²⁴ [will lower the barrier that separates them (and) more we are obliged to forbid some things that the ministers permit, and (the Natives) make comparisons.] Grandidier to D'herbomez, 23 December 1873, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505. He was also annoyed that they took place so close to Christmas.

In late June 1874, Powell met a delegation of Shuswap people near Kamloops to talk about reserve lands. This is how Grandidier described the tenor of these meetings:

“Dans la première réunion des Sauvages j’avais grand’peur qu’il n’y est des difficultés; j’ai parlé aux chefs, leur ai recommandé la modération, leur ai expliqué la position du Docteur, et les ai engagés d’être polis et calmes dans leur rapport avec lui tout en étant fermes dans leurs demandes. C’est ce qui est arrivé. Le Superintendant leur a proposé de leur donner un fête [avec des présents]...beaucoup voulaient tout refuser, de peur de compromettre leurs droits. J’en ai averti Dr. Powell, qui leur a expliqué que ce qu’il voulait faire pour eux...ne les engageait à rien, qui ne les mettait pas dans son pouvoir...A Nicolas, et au Lac Okanagan cela s’est passé différemment. Ils n’ont rien voulu prendre, ni fête, ni instruments...que le Superintendant voulait donner aux chefs. A la tal d’épinette, il n’y avait que peu de sauvages. Les Pentektons, Osoyoos, et Similkameen ne s’y sont pas rendus. Le Docteur Powell n’en a pas été très content....”²⁵

[At the first meeting of the sauvages I was very afraid there would be difficulties; I spoke to the chiefs, recommended moderation to them, explained the Doctor’s position to them, and urged them to be polite and calm in their relations with him, while being firm about their requests. That is what happened. The Superintendant proposed to give them a feast [with gifts]...many wanted to refuse, for fear of compromising their rights. I warned Dr. Powell, who explained what he wanted to do for them...[the feast] would commit them to nothing, and would not put them in his power...At Nicolas, and at Lake Okanagan all this happened differently. They did not want to take anything, neither the feast nor the farming implements...that Dr. Powell wanted to give to the chiefs. At the heap of talus covered with spruces, there were only a few sauvages. The Pentictons, Osoyoos and Similkameen did not go. Dr. Powell was not very content.]

Pandosy, at the Okanagan mission, commented less positively on Native reaction to Powell, who had stopped at Head Lake:

“La visite a irrité les sauvages. ‘Comment, disent-ils, ce grand chef nous fera-t-il rendre justice pour les terres qu’on nous a enlevée, s’il ne vient pas sur les lieux? Nos réserves sont déjà bien petits, toujours les blancs nous les rongent et personne ne nous rend justice. Nous pensions que les Anglais ne sont pas comme les Américains, mais nous savons maintenant qu’ils sont pires. Les Américains prennent les terres, mais ils payent, les Anglais ne payent pas et les laissent prendre, en promettant un chef qui viendra lorsqu’il n’y aura plus de terre ou lorsque nous serons tous morts.’”

²⁵ 1 July 1874, AD, Ibid.

[The visit irritated the sauvages. 'How, they said, can this great chief do us justice for the lands that have been taken from us, if he does not come to the spot? Our reserves are already very small, the whites already eat away at them and no one gives us justice. We thought the English were not like the Americans, but now we know that they are worse. The Americans take the land, but they pay, the English do not pay and let them be taken, promising a chief who will come only when there is no more land or when we are all dead.]

Pandosy was less than impressed with Powell's efforts in the Okanagan, noting that

Powell stopped at Head Lake because he couldn't continue in his "bogy" [buggy].²⁶

Both the Oblates and Native people were dissatisfied with Powell, but his trip was to have important consequences. In late August, Powell suggested that Grandidier write a letter to the principal British Columbia newspapers to raise public opinion and press the provincial government on the land question. On August 28th a long editorial by Grandidier (approved by Bishop D'herbomez) appeared in the Victoria Standard. It contained what was to become the quasi-official Oblate stance on the land question in British Columbia, placing the Congregation in opposition to provincial policy. Grandidier's position was that Native people had possessed the land before whites came, that the use they made of it was immaterial:

"it is not correct to say that no injustice has been done to the Indians in taking away their land because they did not cultivate it. For they were the owners of the land, and the title to a property is not rendered valueless because the land is left to decay."

He argued that the land had been "wrenched from them in virtue of might, not right" and also claimed that the purpose of "the Government [is]... to civilize and make useful men

²⁶ Pandosy to D'herbomez, 25 June 1874. AD, Box 6273-7077, folder 6360-6563.

of them... to reclaim them from their wandering life and attach them by bonds of interest to the soil."²⁷

This provocation elicited a curt response from the Provincial Secretary, who declared that "all that it is 'reasonable and just' to demand of the Provincial Government is that the 13th Section of the Terms of Union should be faithfully observed." Lenihan (Indian Commissioner at New Westminster) responded to the Provincial Secretary, arguing that the Province had not made the "most liberal and enlightened interpretation" of that section. In November the Dominion government, prompted by Under Secretary of State Langevin (who corresponded regularly with D'herbomez), issued a memorandum critical of the provincial position regarding Indian land claims.²⁸

Grandidier's article also had a profound effect on the language that was used in Oblate/Native petitions to the provincial government. A petition in the name of the Chiefs of Kamloops, Shuswap, Okanagan and Similkameen bands to Powell in November claimed that

"the reserves have been laid out generally without our agreement and against our own will. The Magistrates have treated us as if we were slaves and as if we had no right to our own land."

Durieu noted in the margin that this was a "model petition" to be tailored to the actual circumstances of specific bands, and in 1875 he urged his missionaries to take care in

²⁷ Grandidier's letter is reproduced in *ILQ*, 145-148.

²⁸ John Ash to Lenihan, 12 October 1874, *ILQ*, 148; Lenihan to Ash, 15 October 1874, *ILQ*, 148; Langevin to Trutch, 14 November 1874, *ILQ*, 150-155.

petitions that they not allow government “voir que c’est nous qui avons tous fait.”²⁹ A petition to Lord Aberdeen in 1875 made the strong claim that

“the Indians’ lands have never been paid for and that the government took possession of the country without loss of life or injury to the British people and the Government has been benefiting from the sale of their lands and in return we are most unjustly treated by the authorities.”³⁰

These Oblate petitions had moved from specific cases of encroachment and demands for surveys to a far more legalistic and abstract set of arguments about rights.

I want to make a number of points about the seemingly uncharacteristic rights-based language employed by the Oblates. Grandidier’s newspaper article provides some insight into the set of claims he was attempting to counter, and it seems clear that the latter were rooted in what was essentially a Lockean conception of the linkage between property rights and labor. I want to suggest that Locke’s conceptions of labor and property were the products of a particular post-Reformation strain of thought that worked against the grain of an older Catholic tradition regarding natural law and property rights.

Much of this post-Reformation thought was premised on the general proposition that the law of nature *was* the law of reason, a position that would alter both the location of natural law in the order of the universe, and the uses to which it was put. Saint Thomas Aquinas, who formulated what was to be the definitive view of natural law until the Reformation, posited that theology and natural law formed the two parts of what he called the *lex aeterna*, the eternal law that was “the divine providence governing the cosmos.

²⁹ [to see that it is we who have written them.] 20 November 1874, VRCAD, GR 1/01 S/01 box 2, folder 3; Durieu to D’herbomez, 6 January 1875, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 2310-2413.

³⁰ Langley to Aberdeen, 20 October 1875 (?), VRCAD, GR 1/01 S/01, box 1, folder 3.

man, and matter.”³¹ Natural law derived from God’s will and could be apprehended by what Aquinas called practical reason, which he defined in opposition to speculative reason. The latter mode of rationality was concerned with the observable (the natural sciences, for example), while it was through practical reason that people were able to discern the good. Thus for Aquinas, the natural law was an immutable and eternal expression of God’s will, knowable through the application of objective principles of right reason. For Aquinas, right reason was a means of *apprehending* natural law - he did not equate the two - and philosophical enquiry was a means of discovering God’s will.³²

Post-Reformation philosophers, working from a series of premises first formulated by legal theorists Grotius and Pufendorf, located natural law in an individual’s capacity to reason, a positioning that tended to sever its connection with (Catholic) theology and revelation. The equivalence thus established between reason (as an individual activity) and natural law, in conjunction with the political nature of the enquiries it was called upon to elucidate, stripped natural law of its immutable, objective, and divine elements. Natural law, in the post-Reformation period, became subjective, increasingly secular, and historically contingent.

This later tradition of natural law provided the philosophical framework in which Locke worked. At the core of his argument about property is the claim that property rights lay with those who “mixed their labor” with the land to improve and cultivate it, rather than with those who “merely collected” the fruits of the “spontaneous hand of

³¹ NCE, 10: 253.

³² The entire body of Aquinas’ work was approved by the church, and his theological precepts formed the backbone of Church doctrine for centuries. The Oblate seminaries taught canon law as well as Aquinas’ theology. See chapter 1.

nature."³³ The performance of labor did not just fulfill God's injunction that "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Gen. 3.19), it also had social utility in that it ameliorated what Buckle has called the "persistent social problem of necessity" by producing "social bounty."³⁴ Thus Locke's claim that there would always be "enough and as a good" left for others and that a day laborer in England was better fed and housed than a king in America, rested on his utilitarian belief that the private accumulation of land and the proper activities of labor were socially useful. For Locke, labor was a rational and moral activity - it was a law of nature.

But as Stephen Buckle has argued, Locke's argument was also "context sensitive" because

"In the stage of primitive simplicity, the spoilage condition implied by the workmanship model of the created order prevents the accumulation of excessively large estates. In the developed stage of a money economy, the productive capacity of labour guarantees that the initial bounty of God's provision for human beings is always maintained, so that no matter how scarce usable land becomes, there is always 'enough, and as good' of the means of subsistence for all - in fact there is more for even the worst off."³⁵

For Locke, then, labor was the motor of progress and the emblem of civilization, to the detriment of other "primitive" modes of accumulation, land use and property rights.³⁶

³³ See Peter Hulme, "*The spontaneous hand of nature: savagery, colonialism and the Enlightenment*", in **The Enlightenment and its shadows**, Peter Hulme and Ludmilla Jordanova, eds., (New York: Routledge, 1990), 30.

³⁴ Stephen Buckle, **Natural law and the theory of property, Grotius to Hume** (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 156-7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 148, 161.

³⁶ These kinds of philosophical arguments regarding Native land rights clearly have implications. The social/cultural hierarchy established by Locke's premise that "in the beginning all the world was America" places Native people at the bottom of the historical heap, as incapable of progress. The centrality of his concept of labor in natural law (the law of reason) serves not only to suggest - as Hulme does - that Native people refused to

Following Patricia Seed, I think that Locke's argument can be seen as the "rational" expression of a "culturally unique English impression...that the actions involved in agriculture [planting hedges, building fences, ploughing and manuring, and constructing buildings] were connected to legal title."³⁷ Seed's argument suggests that from an English point of view, Native land use was either unrecognizable - the land was "left to decay" - or insufficient to establish legal right even if it was recognizable. In English common law and English custom, property tended to be seen as arising from agricultural labor and the material signs of that labor, and, increasingly, as *private* - solely and individually held.

Grandidier, however, worked within a natural rights framework that made no connection between labor, right and use. In canon law, property was seen as a fundamental natural right, a necessary extension of the rights to life, liberty and limb. Thus Canon law placed a great deal more emphasis on the importance of possession and/or occupation in establishing a right to property, declaring that "la possession prolongée suffit à faire naître un droit de propriété sans qu'il soit besoin d'autre preuve

exercise their reason in relying solely on the spontaneous hand of nature, it also casts doubt on the very applicability of the justice and fairness of natural law to them, as beings who are unable to discern the light of reason and therefore fall outside its purview. These implications, however, seem more remote than the immediate rationalization Locke provides for depriving Native people of their land rights: the notion that, in the end, they will reap the social bounty provided by a "correct" use of land.

³⁷ Patricia Seed, **Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the new world, 1492-1640**, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 35. Seed claims that the importance of agricultural actions to English conceptions of property rights had been operative since the early Middle Ages.

directe."³⁸ But more important, perhaps, than this formal declaration of Canon law was Grandidier's theological training, which taught him the basic precepts of natural law formulated by Aquinas. The right to property was not historically contingent, nor could it be dictated by political necessity, or prevented by positive law. It was *lex naturalis*, part of God's eternal order. Thus positive law that deviated from the principles of natural law was not only illegitimate, it was also a willful flouting of God's will.³⁹ For many white settlers in British Columbia, property rights were seen as arising from a set of decidedly legal (and unconsciously cultural) claims, while Grandidier saw those rights as a set of moral (and equally unconscious cultural) claims.

But there is another persistent theme to the Oblates' arguments about Native property rights: the emphasis on Native acquiescence and agreement to the presence of the British. Again, as Seed has argued, French colonial possession was established not through agricultural actions or metaphors, but in the formality of ceremony; and Native

³⁸ [prolonged possession suffices to bring a property right into being without there being need of any other direct proof.] **Dictionnaire de droit canonique**, R. Naz. ed. (Paris: Librairie Letonzey et Ané, 1965), 7 vols., 7: 366.

³⁹ Several of the principles underlying the Oblates' position were reinforced in 1864 by Pope Pius IX with the publication of the Syllabus of Errors. Among the specific theses laid out by the Syllabus were: "it is not lawful for the individual to accept and profess that religion which, guided by the light of reason, he considers true; The State does not possess, as origin and source of all rights, an unlimited right; moral laws require divine sanction, and it is at least necessary that human laws should be made consistent with natural law, or should receive their binding force from God; the science of philosophy and ethics, and the civil laws, shall not and ought not to deviate from: divine revelation and the authority of the Church"; and a general thesis was also announced, that "The Roman Pontiff cannot, and ought not to, reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization." From J.B. Bury, **History of the Papacy in the nineteenth century, 1864-1878**. (London: MacMillan and Co.: 1930), 16, 27, 34, 40. Obviously, the Syllabus in general is a sweeping rejection of Enlightenment thought in favor of a far more medieval set of presumptions including the pre-eminence of the Church over the state, the former as final arbiter over every aspect of human life.

consent and participation were critical to the enactment of French ceremonies of possession.⁴⁰ There are countless examples of French explorers and colonial officials manufacturing Native consent, and the Oblates themselves had abided by the unwritten formality of asking Natives for permission to settle from their earliest years in Oregon. The persistence of the importance of Native consent to this French approach to possession-taking is reflected in Durieu's claim that the provincial government had not gained Native consent to take possession of the land, and hence his use of the word "slave." Natural liberty (which embraced property rights) could only be constrained legitimately by consent. A condition of voluntary servitude could be established only by "a freely chosen renunciation of natural liberty in return for the rules [and privileges] of civil conduct supplied by the sovereign power."⁴¹ For Durieu, the lack of consent constituted involuntary servitude, i.e. slavery. This position was also reflected in Grandidier's statement that British possession was based on might (force), not right (consent).

Neither Durieu nor Grandidier argued from a utilitarian point of view that tied *individual* labor to *private* property, or that translated private property into the bounty of society as a whole.⁴² Grandidier constantly alluded to a man's right "to earn the livelihood of his family," or to rights as possessed either by "the Indian" - a collective term - or as requirements for the maintenance of Native families - another collective

⁴⁰ Seed, 1-68, particularly 56-68.

⁴¹ Michael Sonenscher. **Work and wages: natural law, politics and the eighteenth-century French trades** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 50.

⁴² Indeed, as Tomàs points out on page 66. "France was the only country in Europe that never accepted the Scottish Enlightenment, the 'birth certificate of modernity,' with its principles of economic liberty, utilitarianism and liberalism."

term. He never mentioned individual rights or private property. For Locke, civil society was based on a social contract that arose from the need to protect individual rights of life, liberty and property. For Durieu and Grandidier, the basic unit of society was the *family*, not the individual. For the Oblates, civil society had its origins in the family, and as Anthony Pagden has argued, a more general Catholic conception saw that family-based social order as “a pre-determined condition [that] existed in the mind of God even before it was enacted on earth.”⁴³ In other words, the social order, based on the family, was divinely ordained - it was part of an immutable natural law that was completely unaffected by local circumstances and could not be abrogated by mere positive law.

The position of the provincial government regarding Native rights to land was a legal position that embodied a set of inherently British cultural assumptions about possession-taking and the link between “reasoned” economic activity, individual rights to property, and the social order. The Oblates’ rejection of that legal position was rooted in a set of moral precepts that supposed a fundamentally different view of the economy, property, and the social order, a difference that will become clearer in the latter part of this chapter.

But in this instance, the Oblates’ position regarding property rights scarcely caused a ripple in the provincial government’s management of Native land claims and Native dissatisfaction with provincial land policies continued to increase after Powell’s visit to the interior. The Oblates’ entire attention would be drawn to establishing a more local kind of social order.

⁴³ **The fall of natural man: the American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 105.

Disorder

Around Christmas 1874 the Sechelt forcibly removed white loggers from the land adjacent to their reserve. The loggers' ejection was reported in the Victoria newspapers, prompting a public response from Durieu, and igniting a heated exchange between him and Powell.⁴⁴ Several bands on the lower Fraser refused to attend the annual celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday, and "Alexis," the chief of Cheam, warned that "we will be forced to act as seashell indians have done with just reason this winter, drive out every white man who would try to pre-empt the lands we wish to have outside our present reserves."⁴⁵ Grandidier advised D'herbomez at the end of 1874 that despite his interventions in land affairs, Native people in the Kamloops area continued to meet

⁴⁴ Durieu wrote to the Mainland Guardian to correct its interpretation of a conversation between Schelle, the Sechelt chief, and Powell. Durieu claimed that Powell had made a public announcement at New Westminster in 1873 assuring the Indians they would be given 80 acres of land per family of five. He also offered an explanation of Sechelt behavior in December 1874, noting that the Sechelt "raised an objection to the whitemen coming on their country before the portion of the land they wish to have been marked out and secured to them," and that they felt "very bad about the timber lease given to whitemen." For his part, Powell wrote Durieu privately, suggesting that Durieu must have misunderstood him in 1873, and that Durieu's letter to the Guardian had created a "want of confidence" on the part of the Indians. Durieu responded that he had not misunderstood, and that Powell should hardly be surprised that "as soon as the Indians heard that only 20 acres of land would be allowed to each family of five members they have manifested feelings of dissatisfaction and discontent," and that "if the Indians have lost part of their confidence in you it is not my fault, and it appears somewhat astonishing that you yourself cannot know where the fault comes from." Durieu to Mainland Guardian, 12 June 1875; Powell to Durieu, 22 June 1875; Durieu to Powell, 22 August 1875; VRCAD, GR 1/01 S/01, box 2, folder 3.

⁴⁵ Cheam to Lenihan, 15 May 1875, VRCAD, GR 1/01 S/01, box 2, folder 3.

frequently, and Grandidier was convinced that “quelque chose de secret [se passe] parmi les sauvages.”⁴⁶

In 1875 Grandidier reported that many Natives were “un peu indifférents pour les exercices religieux.” that a Native woman at Petit Lac had “abandoned” her sick husband to live with a white man, that the Justice of the Peace had refused to take her into custody, and “il y a partout un esprit d’insubordination que [les chefs] avaient de la peine de contenir.”⁴⁷

In 1876 serious discontent re-surfaced in the Kamloops area, triggered by William Duncan’s plan for the creation of General Reserves. Duncan formally suggested his concept of general reserves as the cornerstone of reserve policy in 1875. He recommended that the government “lose sight” of tribal divisions amongst Natives and lay out one large reserve for each linguistic group. The benefits of this system, according to Duncan, lay in separating Natives from malign white influences, and in gathering Natives together to render them “accessible to the Christian Missionary and Schoolmaster.”⁴⁸ Reacting to rumors of the general reserve plan, the Shuswap called a

⁴⁶ [something secret (is happening) among the sauvages.] Grandidier to D’herbomez, 25 October 1874, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

⁴⁷ [a bit indifferent toward religious exercises]; [everywhere there is a spirit of insubordination that (the chiefs) are hard pressed to contain.] Grandidier to D’herbomez, 13 December 1874 and 7 January 1875, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

⁴⁸ Duncan to Laird, 21 May 1875, in Usher (1974), 139-142. The similarities between Duncan’s statement and Foucault’s observation that in disciplinary societies “prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons” is eerie; **DP**, 228. It also recalls Bhabha’s assertion (1994, 83) that the “peculiar visibility of colonial power” - in which the “barracks stands by the church which stands by the schoolroom” - is possible because the exercise of colonial power “obscures” these institutional relationships, and renders them only as “spectacles.” This seems to suggest a complete incommensurability between European and Native ‘readings’ of these spaces. The ‘obscurity’ of those relationships to Native people in British Columbia is debatable: the

meeting in May 1876, where they decided to claim a huge parcel of land extending from Kamloops, to the north fork of the Thompson, and to Adams Lake and Petit Lac, much to Grandidier's dismay. But the opposition of Native groups to the general reserve plan seems to have been so widely taken-for-granted that there is little comment on it.⁴⁹

In 1876 the provincial and Dominion governments agreed to a jointly appointed Indian Reserve Commission for British Columbia whose function was to examine Native land claims, adjudicate disputes between white settlers and Natives, and to institute reserves. In April 1877 Grandidier tried to prepare a Kamloops chief for the Commission's visit:

"Un jour j'ai dit à Petit Louis, en présence d'Hyacinthe, qu'il ferait bien de préparer ce qu'il devait dire devant les Commissaires: et je lui supposai que moi j'étais un Commissaire, que me dirait-il? Il voulait telle terre...je lui fis des objections comme

Kwakwaka'wakw for example, saw the links between military force and the specific denomination of missionaries very clearly. They taunted the Oblates, who could not, like the Protestants, "make the gunboats come," thus demonstrating their awareness not just of the relationship between the barracks and the church but between the barracks and a *specific* church.

⁴⁹ Grandidier to D'herbomez, 22 May 1876, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505. The Oblates objected to the general reserve plan, although they saw that it could potentially make proselytization easier by eliminating the need for itineracy and by providing them with a captive audience. But Grandidier pointed out that it was impracticable: the provincial government could not find contiguous tracts of land large enough to accommodate entire "nations"; armed force would be required to move and keep Natives on such reserves; and last, a single nation united on one reserve could trigger mass revolt. Grandidier to Lenihan, 5 March 1876, RG10, vol. 3632, file 6337. Grandidier wondered why, if the general reserve plan was so feasible, Duncan hadn't concentrated all the Tsimpshean Indians at Metlakatla, while D'herbomez sarcastically noted that the Indians were not "school boys" who would simply "adopt a view they do not wish to hear spoken of." Grandidier to D'herbomez, 3 March 1876, AD, box P2288-3505, folder 3118-3505; D'herbomez to Couchon, 4 February 1876, RG10, vol. 4627, file 6176. Sproat, too, mentioned the strong attachment Native people had to their homes and land, and claimed that for the Native this attachment was due both to "associations common to all men" and to "superstitious ideas connected with his birthplace and domicile," reasons he believed the general reserve plan would never work. BCARS, Sproat papers, Add. mss. 257, Vol. 1, file 15, p. 102.

commissaire; comment y répondrait-il? Alor, je lui dis, que ce n'était pas ainsi qu'il devait faire; mais qu'il fallait donner des raisons pour supporter ses demandes, et réclamer les terres, répondre aux objections des commissaires, etc. Il ne me comprit pas, ou ne voulut pas me comprendre; et le bruit se répandit comme l'éclair, que je ne voulais pas donner des terres aux sauvages, et que j'avais écrit en bas pour qu'on ne leur en donnât pas...⁵⁰

[One day I said to Petit Louis, in the presence of Hyacinthe, that he would do well to prepare what he should say to the Commissioners; and I [asked him] to imagine that I was a commissioner, what would he say to me? He would like this land...I made objections as though I was a commissioner; how would he respond to them? Well, I told him, that was not how he should do it; he must give reasons to support his requests, and to reclaim the land, respond to the objections of the Commissioners, etc. He did not understand me, or did not want to understand me; and the rumor spread like lightening that I did not want to give land to the sauvages, and that I had written down never to say so...]

The Commissioners arrived in Kamloops in July 1877, and began their task of interviewing bands and laying out lands. Grandidier noted with satisfaction that the commission used a great deal of "tact" in its interviews with the chiefs, and was generous in its allotments. Most of the Shuswap seemed "satisfied," with the exception of Petit Louis of Kamloops, who refused to accept the official survey map of his reserve.⁵¹

The Okanagan and Spellumcheen bands responded differently. At Spellumcheen introductions were tense, no one visited the Commissioners' camp, and they were generally ignored. The chief of Spellumcheen refused to "turn his eyes to unoccupied land" and despite pressure from other Shuswap chiefs persisted in claiming land on which whites had settled. Veiled threats were made to white settlers ("vous avez une belle récolte cette année, mais ce sera la dernière"), and Grandidier reported rumors of the

⁵⁰ Grandidier to D'herbomez, 5 April 1877, AD, box 2288-3505, folder 3118-3505.

⁵¹ Grandidier to D'herbomez, 15 July and 5 August 1877, AD, *ibid.* Petit Louis was in no doubt about the symbolic (if not the exact legal) significance of the *sum* - he knew that by refusing to accept it he was protesting the Commission's allotment.

approach of an armed police force.⁵² G.M. Sproat, the commissioner appointed jointly by the Dominion and provincial governments, believed that the Okanagan were influenced by events across the border in the United States, noting that the chief of Head Lake was off visiting “Moses, chief of a remnant of Spokanes in the Columbia basin...who with Joseph and other insurgents is a leader of the mystic Smo-ha-la Indian sect whose precepts require that the Indians shall hold no intercourse with the white man and shall not practice any of the arts of civilization.”⁵³

In the 1870s, then, the Kamloops mission was a place of intense Native activity, which Grandidier characterized as insubordinate, secret, and disorderly.⁵⁴ This was a state of affairs that he could neither countenance nor control, and his solution was a plan to police Native people, which he submitted to Powell and Chief Justice Matthew Begbie for approval. The plan aimed to prevent Native disorders by subtly buttressing Oblate influence with formal government power. As such, it epitomizes the confluence of several essential themes of Oblate and government attitudes toward Native people in British Columbia, attitudes that were informed by different concerns and goals, and that had practical implications for the policies of both groups regarding Natives. Grandidier’s

⁵² [you have a good harvest this year, but it will be the last.] Grandidier to D’herbomez, 19 August and 15 July 1877, AD, *ibid.*

⁵³ Sproat to Powell, 27 August 1877, RG10, vol. 3653, file 8701.

⁵⁴ Grandidier’s characterization of Native people echoes government’s views of working class activities in the manufacturing districts in early nineteenth-century England, where “magistrates rode through thronged neighbourhoods a few hundred yards from their seats, and found themselves received like hostile aliens. They were more powerless to uncover trade union lodges than Pizarro’s free-booters were to uncover golden chalices in the villages of Peru.” My point is that there was a European tradition of responding to ‘insubordinate’ activities in just such a manner. E.P Thompson, **The making of the English working class** (New York: Vintage, 1966), 487.

plan, and Begbie's responses to it, were underwritten by very different conceptions not only of what order was, but the methods for its enforcement, and what the appropriate objects of that enforcement should have been. I want to suggest that these conceptions of order, methodology and object arose from both the kind of projects that the Oblates and government were engaged in, and from the rationales that informed those projects.

Law and the Order of Culture

Grandidier's plan for policing Native people in his area would, he thought, alleviate the widespread disappointment felt in the province "with the results obtained by the application of the Common law to [the Indians.]"⁵⁵ Grandidier outlined three primary problems with the law as it concerned Native people. First, justices of the peace were too few and far between to be able to provide the "increasing and local surveillance" needed to maintain order amongst the Indians, who were, in his mind, "but grown children." Second, Native chiefs could not maintain order as Grandidier conceived it. And last, he thought there were "vacuums" in the law regarding gambling, the morality of Native women, and the enforcement of the liquor law. The solution to these problems, Grandidier believed, was legal recognition of the "patriarchal authority of the Native chiefs" to address and punish instances of "drunkenness, immorality, gambling, petty thefts, and quarrels and contentions."

Grandidier suggested that chiefs be aided by councils of four or five men elected by the tribe and by two policemen appointed by the chief and council. The expenses

⁵⁵ Grandidier to Laird, 29 June 1876, RG10, vol.3638, file 7251. All subsequent quotes from Grandidier derive from this source unless specified otherwise.

incurred by these officials would be paid out of the fines they collected for offenses, and the remainder of the funds would be used for public projects such as road and fence building. But,

“Besides the fines, the Chief ought to have coercive power, such as locking up in jail, putting in irons or tying up with ropes, condemning to labor [sic] for public benefit for a limited space of time, a month by instance, and punishing with the whip in certain instances.”

Grandidier outlined the procedures to be followed in three situations. In cases of drunkenness, the chief and council were to deal with intoxicated Natives, but the liquor seller was to be reported to a magistrate. In cases of “immorality” in which a Native woman, either married or single, left “her husband....father, or her family” to live as a “concubine,” the chiefs would have the power to “go and take possession of the woman and bring her back amongst her friends.” And last, whites trespassing on reserves, or interfering with reserve matters, would be taken before a magistrate. Grandidier believed that this system would result in a “patriarchal and family way of settling these matters,” without incurring any undue government expense or trouble.

This plan was circulated amongst a wide range of British Columbia officials - I.W. Powell, Sir Matthew Begbie, David Laird (Dominion Minister of the Interior), and Mgr. Louis D’herbomez (Roman Catholic Bishop of the mainland), and the responses to it are instructive.

D’herbomez approved the plan and forwarded it to Begbie, who, in a memorandum to Powell, offered a careful analysis of Grandidier’s ideas and goals. The “main object” of Grandidier’s plan, as Begbie saw it, was to “strengthen the quasi-

patriarchal authority of Indian chiefs among their tribes” and he noted that “if it could be increased and strengthened without introducing countervailing mischiefs I think it would be both satisfactory to the chiefs and people and very useful to the Indian (commoners) themselves.”⁵⁶ But Begbie found the plan seriously flawed on several counts. First, he noted that of the offenses targeted by Grandidier - drunkenness, immorality (primarily sexual, as Begbie noticed), gambling, petty theft, and quarrels and contentions - immorality and gambling were not considered criminal matters *per se* by British common law, and gambling was no longer forbidden to the “labouring classes.” Second, Begbie objected to the punishments recommended in the plan. While he allowed that fines and coercion were common to almost every “uncivilized” and “primitive” people, he particularly objected to binding with ropes as a cruel form of pillorying, and to flogging. These, according to Begbie, were precisely the types of punishment that Britain had been attempting to discourage for decades. Third, Begbie maintained that Grandidier’s plan significantly altered some of the basic principles of English criminal jurisprudence:

“That no man shall be permitted to criminate himself; that no alleged offender shall be convicted except on sworn evidence; that a crime is an offence against society and cannot be expiated by compensation to the sufferer; that unnecessarily painful punishments shall be abolished; that sins are not de facto crimes.”

Begbie also warned that the “prepotent” ecclesiastic must be considered, particularly over the selection of chiefs. William Duncan, Grandidier, and some of the “Wesleyan element” could stand in as

“enlightened, impartial and excellent Mentors...but it is evident that the prepotent ecclesiastical adviser (and an able ecclesiastic is sure to be always prepotent with

⁵⁶ Begbie Memorandum, 11 September 1876, *ibid.*

Indians) may not always give satisfaction to the adjoining population of a different denomination or to the Executive.”

Begbie offered three amendments to Grandidier’s plan: 1) fines should be paid to the Indian agent; 2) chiefs should be appointed and removed by the Indian Department, and the Council eliminated completely; and 3) chiefs should be made salaried High Constables.

Powell, in a letter to the Ministry of the Interior, provided his own commentary on this correspondence, recommending Begbie’s suggestion that chiefs be made constables.⁵⁷ He also condemned the use of corporal punishment (see Chapter 4) advocated by Grandidier, claiming that

“the custom of flogging and tying with ropes, etc. is one which has been introduced by Missionaries, and so far as I know, does not exist among other than Catholic Indians. Complaints have been frequently made to me both by whites and Indians of excess, and often cruelty, in these punishments, and I should not think it desirable to encourage or authorise them. As stated by Sir Matthew, culprits will often pray to be flogged, but in such instances (which I believe to be limited) they have been taught to regard the punishment as they do the confessional in full expiation of their offences.”⁵⁸

Thus, while government officials agreed with the general goals of Grandidier’s plan - the increased sobriety, order and discipline of the Native population under the auspices of “patriarchal” chiefs - they did not agree on all of his targets nor on all of his proposed methods. These differences can perhaps be summed up like this: while both the Oblates and the government agreed that the Native “race” needed special supervision, the two

⁵⁷ Apparently someone in Ottawa agreed with him: there is a handwritten note in the margin next to Powell’s recommendation reading “a valuable suggestion I think.”

⁵⁸ Powell to Laird, 28 October 1876, RG10, *ibid.*

groups saw the final product of that supervision quite differently. The Oblates wanted to fashion moral, monogamous, Christian communities, while government officials envisioned (at worst) an orderly subject population, or, (at best) the formation of self-sufficient, potential British citizens.

The Products of Order: Neophytes or Commoners?

“Je comprends l’homme civilisé et surtout sauvage. je comprends aussi tous les moyens d’illusion que le prince des ténèbres peut jeter dans une âme et combien cette force est doublée, triplée surtout dans des âmes qui non seulement ne connaissent pas l’alphabet de la vie ni de l’esprit chrétien: mais qui ignorent presque le véritable usage de la raison humaine.” Pandosy to D’herbomez, 27 November 1861.⁵⁹

[I understand civilized man, and above all the savage. I also understand all the means of illusion that the Prince of Darkness can use on a soul and how this force doubles and triples above all in souls that not only do not know the alphabet of life or the spirit of Christianity, but that are practically ignorant of the real use of human reason.]

“I have not yet met with a single Indian of pure blood whom I consider to have attained to even the most glimmering perception of the Christian creed. In fact the idiosyncrasy of the Indians of this country appears to incapacitate them from appreciating any abstract idea, nor do their languages contain words by which such a conception could be expressed.” Joseph Trutch to Secretary of State for the Provinces, 26 September 1871.⁶⁰

Almost all of Grandidier’s assumptions about the proper policing of Native people flowed from his desire to establish a “patriarchal and family way of settling these matters.” Begbie, on the other hand, seems to have grasped some of the ramifications of

⁵⁹ AD, Oregon 2, ab-1.

⁶⁰ ILQ, 101.

Grandidier's plan, and sought to bend it to what he took to be a more suitable means of promoting order amongst Native people.

Grandidier's plan was objectionable to Begbie on two major grounds: first, the nature of the problems to be solved; and second, the means by which they should be solved. As I have noted, Grandidier objected most strongly to five offenses: drunkenness, sexual immorality, gambling, petty theft, and quarrels and contentions. He saw the majority of these offenses as having been imported; gambling and theft were the exceptions. White men were the "procurers" of liquor, and the "seducers" of Native women, and for Grandidier, these were the chief causes of "quarrels and contentions" on Native reserves. Because these offenses were imported into reserves by whites, Grandidier suggested that the boundaries of reserves should be more rigid, off-limits to all but a few whites, although Native people would be allowed to come and go during the day.

More notably, Grandidier conflated sin and crime, and a series of dislocations flowed from this. The first of these had to do with the rather confused methodology the Oblates had developed to address Native sin. The general Catholic view of post-baptismal sin emphasized its individual nature. Sin was an individual's transgression against God and could be expiated only when the offending individual confessed, performed penance, and received absolution from a priest. But in British Columbia, sin tended to be a far more communal affair for Native people. Penance and confession were linked together through the communal performance of the *kaltash bilalam*, while the repressive aspects of the Durieu system, with its emphasis on the surveillance of a community by its own

constituent members, were predicated on a communal approach to sin (Chapter 4). While the locus and origin of sin resided in the individual, then, sin also involved the community, as witness to - and often cause of - the spectacle of expiation.⁶¹ Grandidier saw offenses as pertaining to a *private, community* sphere of life, and therefore as matters that should naturally be dealt with as family matters. He saw justice as a mechanism internal to the racial and moral container of the reserve.

Grandidier's conflation of sin and crime served to move his list of Native offenses out of a government-dominated public sphere and into what he construed as a pastoral space to be controlled by the Oblates. But this pastoral space was *compound*, combining *multiple* spatialities. It was a gendered space in which Native women's roles were severely circumscribed by the Oblate view of proper gender relations: hence the forcible retrieval of Native women who were seen only in their roles as wives, sisters and daughters, and negatively as "concubines." It was also a moral, Christian, familial space in which the priest assumed the (culturally natural) role of the *père de famille* (not an idle metaphor for the Oblates), and Native people were, ideally, "good children." As a father figure, the priest had to both mediate between, and buffer his family from, harmful outside influences (the contagions of civilization), as well as adjudicate internal disputes and punish his wayward children. Hence the Oblate insistence on the necessity of corporal punishment (as a time-honored European method of maintaining family discipline), and a paternalistic form of authority assured by the priests' appointment of

⁶¹ Plongeron (1973, 91-92) also notes that penance functioned not just to reconcile the sinner with God, but also reconciled him with the community. Most of the sacraments performed functions that can be considered communal.

Native officials.⁶² The ultimate ramification of Grandidier's plan was the production of an ideal space which was moral, Christian, paternalistic, private and Native: an Oblate heterotopia.

But there was a peculiar quality to the "domesticity" of this pastoral space: it was neither gendered nor classed in ways that were familiar to British observers such as Begbie.⁶³ In a British culture of cognition, domesticity and the private sphere were intimately bound up with notions of middle-class femininity and the reification of motherhood as an institution. These were precisely the attributes that Oblate domesticity lacked: it was neither classed nor feminized; indeed, it was profoundly masculine, and the mother figure was, literally, an institution. This Catholic domestication of Native peoples' sexuality and race was the product of specifically Oblate understandings of sin and Catholic civilization. It was a peculiar form of imperialism that was doubly internal, relying as it did on a family model of the community, and on individual examination, confession and expiation, on myriad questions posed about consanguinity, polygamy, legitimacy and adultery. And it is important to note that for the Oblates these were not questions that simply spun around sex, they also involved race. For the Oblates, to be

⁶² The Oblates consistently made this connection between corporal punishment and the family when defending the former. In a letter to Powell, Durieu noted not only that chiefs chastised offenders "as a good father would his unruly child" but also took a more general shot at government attitudes to flogging, claiming that it should not be "astonishing" to see "Indians making use of the same kind of punishment that is practised in some civilized nations and which is commanded by the English Govt in the East Indies as well as in the English army and Navy." 4 July 1875, VRCAD, GR 1/01, S/01, box 2, folder 3.

⁶³ Indeed, a Major Butler noted that "he who has travelled through the vast colonial Empire of Britain...must often have met with men [Catholic priests] dwelling in the midst of wild, savage peoples, whom they tended with a strange and mother-like devotion." Cited in Cooke, I: 241.

Native suggested that one had married one's wife's sister, that one had more than one wife; that one was a concubine and therefore guilty of (at best) bearing illegitimate children, and (at worst) also committing adultery.⁶⁴ This was an imperial space imposed by the Oblates' conceptions of race and sex. It was an imaginary space that would allow the Oblate deployment of disciplinary and individualizing technologies of power/knowledge, and that reflected peculiarly French Catholic notions of the hierarchies that subsumed the racialized other, gender roles, and sexuality. But it was also an imaginative space that rested firmly on the belief that Native reserves constituted communities composed of families that duplicated, or embodied, the natural, patriarchal hierarchy of the Divine order.

Begbie seems to have intuited some of these ramifications of the Oblates' plan, and his modifications reflected alternatives that were congenial to a secular, British model of government. He realized that Grandidier conflated sin and crime, and hastened to correct this and its implicit assumptions in two ways. First, he stated very clearly that "sins are not de facto crimes," and as a corollary, "crime is an offense against society and cannot be expiated by compensation to the sufferer." Begbie thus placed the entire

⁶⁴ In a bit of a rant, Father Léon Fouquet sums up this train of thought with regard to the first and only Native novice in British Columbia in the nineteenth century: "Je me demande si point jeune sauvage élevé dans l'ignorance plus profonde (l'ignorance de sauvages) et les superstitions (on dit qu'il a eu trois femmes, que sa constitution est ruinée par la maladie vénérienne, qu'il a passé par les diaboliques cérémonies des tamanouas, il est bâtard, *nothus* dit le règle, s'il est vrai que les mariages des sauvages n'en sont pas, sont père est bigame). [I ask myself whether any young savage raised in the most profound ignorance (sauvage ignorance) and superstition (they say he has had three wives, that his constitution is ruined by venereal disease, that he has undergone the diabolical ceremonies of the shamans, he is a bastard, *nothus* says the rule, if it is true that savage marriages are nul, his father is a bigamist. Fouquet to D'herbomez, 15 January 1863, AD, HPK 52 82 .H53Z.

question of Native offenses firmly in the *public* sphere of government control. For him, crime and punishment were most definitely not family matters, but public matters that had to be dealt with according to broad principles of British justice.

Punishment is one of the more interesting points Begbie raised. He had hitherto given specific Oblate missionaries written permission to use corporal punishment and had issued warnings that no whites except Justices of the Peace could legally interfere with this "right." But Begbie, like Powell, equated the Oblate use of corporal punishment not with punishment for crime but with expiation of sin. Natives, it would seem, had to be convinced of the *social* nature of their crimes, and hence the nature of their punishment had to reflect *society's* retribution. He also saw these methods of punishment as "primitive," "uncivilized," and ultimately as oppressive, a judgment of Natives *and* of the Oblates themselves. This double condemnation reflected not only Begbie's clearly articulated conviction that Natives were primitive, if not savage, but also a far more subtle othering of the French Catholics. Begbie had thus little choice but to formally condemn any government-sanctioned Oblate use of flogging.

Above all, Begbie was wary of what he called the "theological element." While he was very aware that some "enlightened" and able missionaries would make good "mentors" to Natives due to their influence, therein lay the danger. According to Begbie, any able missionary could acquire a great deal of power amongst his neophytes and become far more than a mentor. Large portions of the reserve population would fall under the direct control of missionaries: worse, that power might be seen as having been handed over by the government. This was not a scenario that Begbie was willing to countenance

and he altered Grandidier's plan to remove appointment powers from individual missionaries, and did away with any appearance of church-government collaboration regarding police matters.

Begbie's vision of the policing of the Native population was thus quite different from Grandidier's. For Begbie, correct policing involved throwing open Native reserves to a homogeneous, secular, and *public* governmental gaze. It is clear that he did not want to see Native people caught in a priestly web of domestic, communal relations: rather, law's empire must reign supreme. For Begbie, law represented one of the highest expressions of British civilization, and his attitudes about the beneficence of British law articulated his preoccupations with race with a particular clarity: "the advantages of strong law" acted to "defend [Indians] from each other, who were their own worst tyrants and oppressors," a statement that smacks of the tyranny and savagery of Hobbes' state of nature.⁶⁵

Law was, and is, one of the essential supports of a governmental mode of power, in that it is both an instrument and a standard of that power. For example, the state is responsible for "creating standardized and uniformly administered rules and institutions

⁶⁵ The belief that British law was the highest expression of British civilization was a common trope throughout the Empire, as James Fitzjames Stephen, member of the Viceroy's Council for India from 1869-1872 proclaimed in 1875: "the establishment of a system of law which regulates the most important parts of the daily life of the people constitutes in itself a moral conquest more striking, more durable, and far more solid, than the physical conquest which rendered it possible. It exercises an influence over the minds of the people in many ways comparable to that of a new religion...Our law is in fact the sum and substance of what we have to teach them. It is, so to speak, a compulsory gospel which admits of no dissent and no disobedience." Thomas R. Metcalf, **The New Cambridge History of India III.4: Ideologies of the Raj** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 39.

to guide the pursuit of self-interest and to manage...conflict."⁶⁶ The legal system is one of the primary institutions through which the liberal assumption that society is composed of rational self-interested individuals is reproduced and formalized. In other words, the law establishes a particular set of norms.

One of the primary normative assumptions of white British Columbians was the inherent superiority of their civilization, resting on the rational activities of industrious people to improve their property and their prospects, and hence their economic lot in life. Begbie would conclude that Native people were the beneficiaries of the liberality and superiority of that civilization and the law that embodied it. He claimed that "every Indian is ready to admit that they are safer, longer lived, better housed, and better fed and clothed, than they were before we came." And here, I think, Begbie voiced an opinion that was intertwined with a much wider set of racial and class markers. In his memorandum Begbie referred to Natives as "commoners," and this aptly expressed a very British point of view. In nineteenth-century British Columbia Natives were consistently described in class terms. Thus Native houses at Metlakatla were "similar to labourers cottages at home," and the Protestant ideal for Native Christians, as Usher notes, "strongly resembled Samuel Smiles' ideal of the upright workingman," with all the paternalistic and class implications that it bore.⁶⁷ At least one British observer was completely unable to disentangle race and class when describing Native people:

"[Mr. Duncan] has not converted whole tribes and miraculously imbued them with a love of eau-de-cologne and kid gloves, but he has brought some hundreds of the

⁶⁶ Tina Loo, **Making law, order and authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 9.

⁶⁷ Fisher, 133; Jean Usher, "Apostles and aborigines: The social theory of the Church Missionary Society" **Social History** 7 (1971), 28-52, 45.

natives from a state of the most degraded barbarism and the blackest heathendom to a state of civilization and outward Christianity which may be quite placed on a par with that of an ordinary English village...When one compares his Indians with others it is difficult to realize that they are of the same race."⁶⁸

These markers of class and race were particularly important in nineteenth-century British Columbia because they were almost inseparable from a very Protestant, British nationalism. Linda Colley charts the role that Protestantism played in the construction of British national identity and patriotism up to the reign of Queen Victoria. She notes that while the British originally defined the superiority of their political, religious, and national life against a "powerful and persistently threatening France [which] became the haunting embodiment of that Catholic Other," overseas empire provided the "final and conclusive proof" of that superiority.⁶⁹ These attitudes towards both Natives and the Oblates are evident in Begbie's memorandum. While the latter were clearly seen as civilized, Begbie saw them as engaging in a form of punishment that was oppressive, cruel and primitive. This attitude was common in Victorian Canada, where Catholicism was often seen as "inimical to the social well-being and material progress" of the state, and "the indolence, ignorance, misery and poverty" of Catholic countries seemed to offer a startling contrast to the "energy, intelligence, happiness and wealth of Protestant countries."⁷⁰ Catholic education was seen as pernicious for whites and Natives alike, and the Jesuits in particular were seen as laboring to "clap the padlock on the mind of the

⁶⁸ **Vancouver Island letters of Edmund Hope Verney, 1862-1865**, ed. Allan Pritchard, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 172 and 174.

⁶⁹ Linda Colley, **Britons: Forging the nation, 1707-1837** (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 368. See Usher (1971), 36-37.

⁷⁰ J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic thought in Victorian Canada", **Canadian Historical Review**, 66 (1985), 474-494. The quotes are from pages 478-479 respectively.

young.”⁷¹ The Jesuits, with whom the Oblates were frequently confused, had a fearful reputation in the nineteenth century for political conspiracy and brain-washing.⁷² It seems likely that most staunch Protestants would have approved of Béranger’s verse of 1819 asking:

“Men in black, whence come you?
We come from underground
Half fox, half wolf.
Our rule is a mystery profound.”⁷³

The Church Missionary Intelligencer neatly summed up the Protestant view of Catholic missionary activity: Catholics were “too tyrannical,” and were unsuccessful with Native people because the latter “had an even greater command of ‘miracle-working’ and superstition” than the Catholics.⁷⁴

I suspect that British Protestantism, like the Oblates’ Catholicism, involved a nuanced interpretation of the nature and meaning of civilization.⁷⁵ For government and Protestant missionaries alike, the notion of civilization carried both religious and nationalist overtones. Thus while Duncan noted that “those who have broken away from degrading Indian customs [to] live under the influence of Christian teaching” were “in a

⁷¹ Ibid., 485.

⁷² Cf. Durieu to Powell, 4 July 1875, VRCAD, GR 1/01, S/02, box 2, folder 3; Marcus Smith to Powell, 21 August 1875, RG10, vol. 3621, file 4763.

⁷³ Tombs, 92.

⁷⁴ Christine Bolt, **Victorian attitudes to race** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 112. While the Church Missionary Intelligencer was describing Catholic missions in Africa, the same attitude prevailed in British Columbia.

⁷⁵ Young (1995) points out the connections between Victorian notions of culture and civilization. It is hardly surprising that the British, as a profoundly politically-oriented culture, should read civilization through a politically charged and class conscious lens, while the Oblates, as a religious community, would tend to see civilization as a moral condition.

fair way to become worthy members of society” or “Christian subjects of the Queen.” he also claimed that there was no “social advancement” at Catholic missions, suggesting that there was also a political economy of British civilization at work.⁷⁶ This echoes Governor Douglas’ assessment of the social and economic consequences of Catholic missionary activity:

“educated and trained in the RC faith [the Indians] were well fed and clothed, and they were taught how to labor; but being kept in a state of pupillage, and not allowed to acquire property of their own, nor taught to think and act for themselves, the feeling[s] of pride and independence were effectually destroyed; and not having been trained to habits of self-governance and self-reliance, they were found, when freed from control, altogether incapable of contributing to their own support, and really were more helpless and degraded than the untutored savages.”⁷⁷

The Natives’ *lack* of the quintessential elements of economic liberalism - labor, private property, and self-reliance - were tied to Roman Catholicism.

Clearly there were Protestant missionaries at work in British Columbia, but the government seems to have taken a somewhat different stance toward them. So, for example, Anglican missionary William Duncan (and later Anglican Bishop Ridley) was appointed Justice of the Peace, a post no Oblate ever held. And the internal structure of Metlakatla - which was perhaps not representative of the average Protestant mission - was similar to that of Catholic missions, with constables performing the functions of Oblate watchmen and police, and Duncan himself seems to have been a notorious flogger. Though common to Metlakatla and Catholic missions, flogging was seen as Catholic oppression, the Durieu system was seen as Indians “spying on other Indians,” and priests

⁷⁶ Duncan to Powell, 3 February 1873, RG10, vol. 3598, file 1435; Duncan to Seymour, 20 September 1868, CC, B-1326, file 498, 21a; Murray, 84.

⁷⁷ Douglas to E.B. Lytton, 14 March 1859, ILQ, 1.

themselves were outsiders in British Columbia's system of government.⁷⁸ Thus Begbie's insistence on the fitness of applying British common law to all British Columbians with as few modifications as possible suggests his desire for a homogeneous landscape that was not pockmarked by the distinctive social geography of Catholic missions where different rules might operate. And if he was uneasy about missionary "prepotence" more generally among Native people, Catholic prepotence seems to have been, for him, particularly threatening to the proper governance of Natives in British Columbia.

Begbie and the Oblates were fundamentally at odds about the nature of the objects to be policed (sin or crime), the products of that policing (neophytes or commoners), and the spatial results of their policing (Oblate heterotopias or an abstract, public space woven out of a legal and economic discourse of liberalism). The forms of order they sought were profoundly different because they were culturally constructed, called on different sources of authority, and were driven by different sets of institutional imperatives. It is hardly surprising that Grandidier's plan was never implemented in British Columbia.

Conclusions

I have discussed only two of the different forms of imperial imagination at work in nineteenth-century British Columbia. At first glance it may seem that those *imperial* imaginations had few important material consequences. But I have suggested that beliefs about the social order, about the sources of authority and the conceptual products of any exercise of power, often blurred into distinctly *colonial* ways of acting: they were brought

⁷⁸ Sproat to Minister of the Interior, 7 December 1876, RG10, vol. 3,611, file 3,356.

to bear on land and indigenous peoples in very material ways. It seems important, then, to prise apart the conceptions of order and authority held by the Oblates and the provincial government for two reasons.

First, it is important to correct the impression implicit in almost every history written of British Columbia that the province was, to paraphrase and displace Edward Said, a homogeneous English-speaking territory, an uncontested field of British activity. This view obscures the contingencies - the daily tactics - of colonial power, and offers instead a set of grand strategies that seem to acquire the inevitability of a teleology. Native people did not passively accept the dictates of government land policy, nor were the Oblates the sole dissenters from a liberal economic and legal model of society perhaps best exemplified by Begbie. Rather, the province was an arena of competing and hybridizing ideas about land, government, and the social and legal order.⁷⁹

More importantly, different conceptions of order - social, legal, racial, and economic - contribute in myriad ways to the form that governance ultimately takes. Oblate beliefs about hierarchy, discipline, and sexuality - about the order of things and people - were manifested concretely in the ways they attempted to organize the lines and products of power. The same claim holds for British conceptions of order, an order deriving from other sets of notions about individual rationality, economic liberalism, race, and class. These conceptions formed not only a core set of assumptions about how things should be, they were also put to work in concrete ways on the ground, and in the

⁷⁹ Cf. Loo on competing conceptions of the form and functions of law, and Averill Groenveld-Meyer, **Manning the Fraser Canyon gold rush** (MA, University of British Columbia, 1995) as a corrective.

long run deployed as rationales for the ways things were. It seems that conceptions of order were (and are) instrumental in the production not only of very different imaginings of power, but in the production of space itself. The Oblates imagined a system of governance that aimed to eliminate sin, that would produce a closed communal space under Catholic authority and abiding by “all the commandments of God, the precepts of the Church, [and] the laws of the State when in conformity with the laws of the Church.”⁸⁰ Begbie, of course, was working in the opposite direction.

But I do not want to suggest that the Oblates and the provincial government worked from irreconcilably different positions. While I have argued that these two groups had remarkably different cultural and institutional perspectives on the governance of Native peoples, it is also important to recognize that they shared a broader set of assumptions as well. Neither group questioned the necessity, or the legitimacy, of ordering - governing - the Native population, a population seen unanimously as racially, morally and culturally inferior. Nor did they disagree about the basic spatial framework in which that ordering was to take place: both saw the reserve system as imperative. In the end, the categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ - the Oblates and other religious denominations, the provincial government, Native people - were constantly shifting, but only within an overarching canopy of European conceptions about civilization and “fundamentally static notions of [Native] identity.”⁸¹

A considerable portion of this chapter has been devoted to land, not because it is an important topic in and of itself, but because I see it as connected to another set of

⁸⁰ Bunoz.

⁸¹ Edward W. Said, **Culture and imperialism** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), xxv.

themes. My discussion of property has, I hope, highlighted the ways in which Enlightenment philosophies are still reflected in contemporary thinking about natural rights and property.⁸² Following from this, notions of possession, both the way it is 'legitimately' acquired and the ways it is marked out - by a hedgerow, by seasonal use, or by an elaborate ritual of consent - are all culturally constructed and often unreadable or nonsensical to the culturally uninitiated. Notions of property and legitimate possession had implications for far broader questions concerning the nature of society, the nature of nature, and the order of the cosmos, and hence to the practical matter of governing Native peoples.

Thus cultures of order had profound consequences for the ways in which governance was conceived and enacted. Perhaps the distinctions between these two modes of governance can be seen most clearly in the Oblate pre-occupation with the family as the basic unit of society, and Begbie's conception of society as a predominately economic arena composed of individuals. These distinctions call to mind Foucault's genealogy of governmentality, particularly his suggestion that governmentality was bound up with a shift in the way the family was conceptualized: that sometime in the eighteenth century, a concept of *population* arose that came to dominate a previous conception of the *family* as the model for good governance and proper economy. The Oblates, with their focus on family and community, their view of the family as the divinely ordained model of society and good (patriarchal) government, were clearly rooted in an older tradition of thought.

⁸² The Crown's arguments of the 1980s and 1990s concerning Native title to land leap to mind in this regard.

Grandidier's plan embodied not just an Oblate desire to produce a consensual, communal, inward-looking, and orderly Catholic Native space. It also presumed the Oblates' *moral* authority both to define and to impose that order. Although Grandidier seemed confident that Native reserves inherently were, or could be made to function as if they were, internally coherent and consensual units liable to pastoral power, it seems clear that the Kamloops mission of the 1870s was riven by strife and disorder. Flouting chiefly authority, Native women were still leaving the reserve to co-habit with white men, while priestly authority was constantly undermined by drinking, gambling, potlatching, and the "secrecy" of chiefs and watchmen. Grandidier's attempt to use the law to impose order on Native reserves amply demonstrates that the Oblates were unable to gain access to the over-arching structures of a magisterial sovereign power embodied in the law and the military.

The Oblates were disciplinary specialists. They were the products of a very specific form of disciplinary power that was exemplified by the seminary, and they tended, consciously or not, to try to reproduce on Native reserves the conditions that favored a saturation of those sites with their own specific brand of disciplinary power. But in a colonial setting such as British Columbia, the institutional framework - the sites of the disciplinary power to which the Oblates were accustomed - was simply not in place, and disciplinary power alone could not, I think, produce such sites. Sovereign power *could* produce such sites, not by a spectacular display of military force, but through the quiet and relentless application of the law, which not only defined identities, but assigned those identified as Native to particular spaces. Sovereign power had to be

deployed in order to first produce a space that could be invested with the mechanics of disciplinary power. But the Oblates, as I have shown, were viewed with a great deal of suspicion by many of those who framed and wielded the sovereign machinery of the province.

This leads me to a further point about pastoral power and governmentality in a colonial context. Foucault argues that European states gradually incorporated the individualizing technologies of pastoral power, in order to render individuals susceptible to what he has called biopower. Indeed his conception of pastoral power is difficult to separate from his more thorough treatments of biopower and governmentality. But in a colonial context pastoral power often conflicted with the rationales of government and the biopolitics of the state. In other words, Foucault glosses over the nature of pastoral power itself, which I see as profoundly imbued with a will to govern of its own, and by extension, with its own unique sets of reason of state. This point is critical to an understanding of Oblate/government relations in nineteenth-century British Columbia, where two very different institutional structures, with profoundly different goals, were attempting to impose different visions of governmentality on Native people.

Begbie, for one, clearly rejected Oblate governmentality and the disciplinary technologies embedded within it. He saw both authority and the means to govern as arising from British law, not from the moral dictates of Roman Catholicism. British law embodied a complex set of economic and governmental imperatives that paralleled Oblate governmentality only in the broadest possible terms - the need to govern Native people. Aside from that basic proposition, Oblate and government projects were widely

divergent (and, indeed, there was a plethora of conflicting projects within government ranks). This suggests that care must be taken to avoid mapping missionary activity directly onto the projects of colonial and imperial states. While both missionaries and the state may have had colonization as an ultimate goal, the products of that colonization were not *necessarily* commensurable. Thus colonialism, pastoral power, and governmentality are shaped not only by the national, religious and institutional geographies which give rise to them, they also interact in complex ways in the material settings in which they are put to work.

Conclusion

I have looked at Oblate attempts to evangelize Native peoples in nineteenth-century British Columbia from several perspectives. First, I have suggested that the Oblates' background - their seminary training, the religious milieu of nineteenth-century France, broad European tropes of representation, and the history, theology and ambivalent iconophilia of the Catholic Church - all shaped their approach to the evangelization of Native people.

Second, I have argued that that approach was also shaped, in profound and important ways, by the physical and human geographies the Congregation encountered in British Columbia. Itineracy, the Native seasonal procurement round, the absence of metropolitan disciplinary sites, as well as the absence of a solidly established Christian culture amongst Native people, all acted to alter not only the ways in which pastoral power was deployed, but also the nature of that power itself.

Third, I have suggested that nineteenth-century British Columbia and its inhabitants can be seen as a field of fractured and often contradictory imperial projects. The subjects, and the functions of the disciplinary sites those imperial projects aimed to produce were different in fundamental ways: Oblate pastoral power aimed to produce devout, Catholic Natives, while governmental power aimed to produce docile and industrious Native people. Yet despite those differences, pastoral power and governmentality were both imbued with a will-to-govern the Native *population*.

Perhaps the most persistent, and insistent, theme of this dissertation is my claim that the Oblates were themselves the product of a specific form of disciplinary

exemplified by the seminary, and that they attempted to deploy that form of power amongst Native people in British Columbia. That attempt is most clearly articulated in Durieu's 1883 instructions to Father Lejacq - the *Direction des sauvages* - which can properly be seen as the manifesto of the Durieu system. I want to pursue a few of the theoretical points that seem to flow from this claim.

First, my consideration of Foucault's notions of disciplinary and pastoral power in a colonial context has suggested that those modalities of power were profoundly effected by the physical and human geographies in which they were deployed - to such an extent that all but the most basic framework of Foucault's theoretical apparatus needs to be rethought and reworked.

For example, it seems clear that the Oblates were disciplinary specialists: they transposed many of the disciplinary mechanics of the seminary onto Native space, but they did not - and could never - reproduce those disciplinary mechanics in British Columbia. I think this point is extremely important because it serves as a corrective to much of the current post-colonial theory that calls on Foucault's notion of disciplinary power. Homi Bhabha in particular writes from a primary assumption that European disciplinary power was simply reproduced in colonial settings.¹ But metropolitan disciplinary power depended on the production of enclosed sites (prisons, hospitals, etc.) that were enmeshed in a largely urban infrastructure, and legitimized by complex currents of discourse involving normality, deviance, public safety, and hygiene among other things. Spivak's phrase

¹ See Homi K. Bhabha, "*The other question: stereotype, discrimination, and the discourse of colonialism*" in **The Location of Culture**, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) particularly page 83.

“power-in-spacing” suggests spaces that are invested with, fraught by, and produced for, the exercise of disciplinary power.² These sites epitomized the discursive and physical production of particular deployments of disciplinary power, and enabled some of those powers to be deployed elsewhere and in other ways throughout the urban fabric.³ But Bhabha, like many other theorists, assumes that disciplinary power is the panopticon, that surveillance is the metropolitan eye gazing down on colonial space. He glosses the specificities of colonial disciplinary power, of the ways in which its deployment is shaped by the practical, material contingencies of a colonial space that is most decidedly not Paris or London. He has forgotten that the panopticon is simply the disciplinarian’s utopia, and overlooks (yes) the low ground of disciplinary mechanics. He sees only the high ground epitomized by an imperial gaze that is only one possible outcome of the operation of a disciplinary tactics of power. This last point suggests that in addition to acknowledging the contingencies of colonial space in the deployment of disciplinary power, perhaps we should also recognize that the metropolitan origins of disciplinary powers may render them specifically French, English or Turkish.

Second, my recontextualization of Foucault - from the French metropole to colonial space - also points to the different ways in which epistemic shifts occur in the latter. Foucault’s analysis of the shift, in Europe, from an episteme of sovereign to an episteme of disciplinary and bio-power focuses unwaveringly on the metropole. His

² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “*Can the subaltern speak?*” in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., **Marxism and the interpretation of cultures** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 291.

³ Indeed Foucault posits a trajectory in which disciplinary power swarms out from the enclosed sites of prisons and barracks and produces our contemporary “disciplinary society” (DP, 216).

account of a very, in some ways contained, European historical geography of powers has an explicitly and brilliantly traced out European time frame. Clearly he is not suggesting that sovereign power had completely given way to, or been replaced by, disciplinary power. But he does posit a slow movement over the course of several centuries when, in Europe, the latter became increasingly dominant. But in nineteenth-century British Columbia, two somewhat contradictory things seem to be happening. First, the co-existence and imbrications of sovereign and disciplinary power are peculiarly clear in British Columbia: gunboats and hangings - the barracks as it were - occupy the same space as the industrial school and the mission - the Church. And the reserve system seems to me to be a particularly poignant example of the combined operation of sovereign and disciplinary power. But second, the epistemic shift, in British Columbia, to the governmental form of disciplinary power, is accelerated and compacted into the space of a few decades. In one life time Native people experienced a shift from the violence of the furtrade and naval bombardments of their villages to an apparatus of power based on the production of knowledge - through censuses, maps, industrial schools, missionaries, and discourses on race, property, hygiene, and medicine. The rapidity of this shift, and the ways in which it took place, are potential topics for research.

My last theoretical point targets what I see as an important lacuna in Foucault's account of the ways in which pastoral power was in a sense incorporated, or absorbed, into a governmental modality of power. His account overlooks the profound will-to-govern with which pastoral power is imbued. That will-to-govern becomes starkly clear when missionaries - envoys of the Church - move into non-European spaces. This will-

to-govern can perhaps best be exemplified by the phrase “the Church militant.” which points to a form of Christian imperialism that aims to capture and conquer not land, but souls, and which justifies its activities in this regard by its universalistic claims to exclusively embody “The Truth.”

In a more practical and substantive sense, several avenues of inquiry that could not possibly be addressed in the framework of this dissertation, suggest themselves. Clearly a great deal more research on the material and social Native background in which the Oblates were operating is both necessary and desirable. Thus it seems to me that a project that examined geographies of missionary power - rather than my focus on missionary geographies of power - would be useful.

A comprehensive, comparative approach to to the different denominations working in nineteenth-century British Columbia, while a huge project, would be immensely fruitful.

Last, despite Paul Tennant’s assertion that “few, if any, Catholic missionaries seem to have publicly supported claims to Indian title.”⁴ clearly the Oblates were deeply involved in that issue. More research in this area would help to clear up these kinds of misapprehensions.

This project has, I think, made a contribution both to an understanding that power has geographies, and also suggests that Foucault’s theoretical apparatus does not necessarily fare well when put to work in a non-European, non-metropolitan context. I hope I have contributed in a small way to an understanding of some of the mechanics of

⁴ Paul Tennant, **Aboriginal peoples and politics: The Indian land question in British Columbia, 1849-1989** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), 79.

Oblate methodology in British Columbia. But when all is said and done, it seems to me that this study has posed far more questions than it answers.

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5201-5500 - Correspondence Oblate Majeure.

5501-6000 - Correspondence Oblate Mineure

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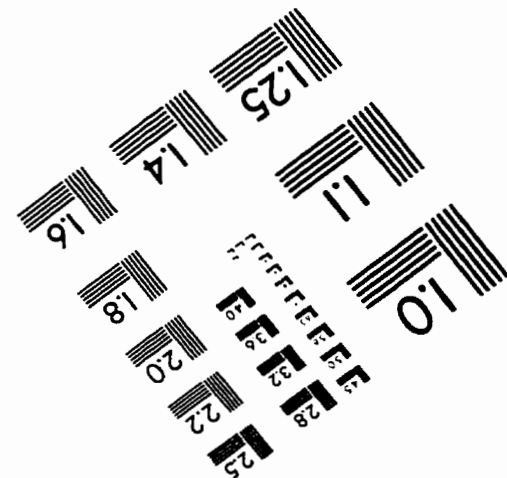
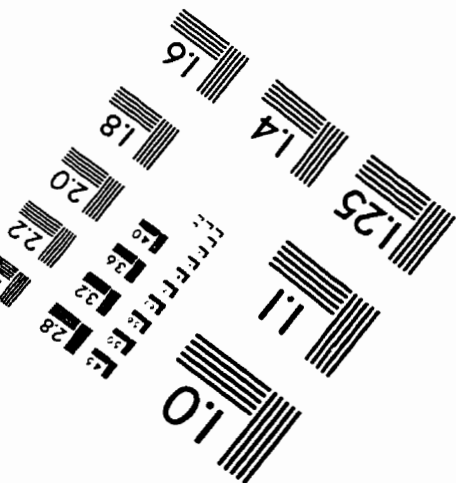
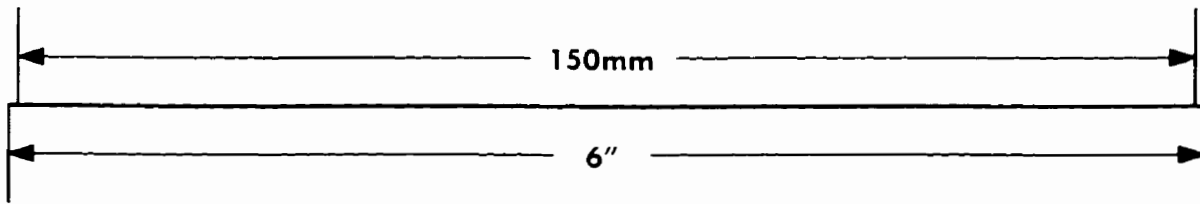
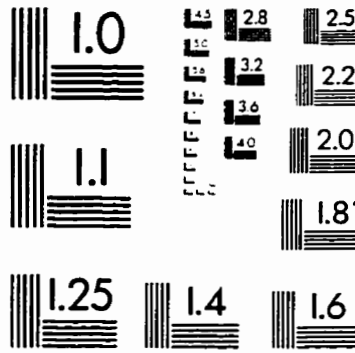
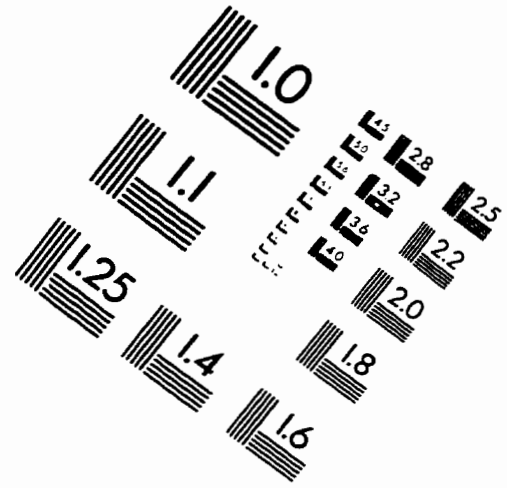
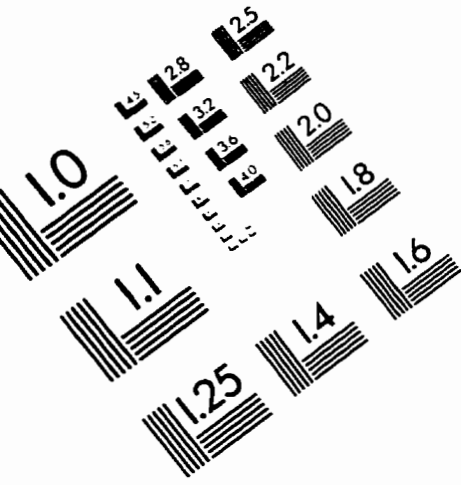
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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