

GENDER AND MISSION:
THE FOUNDING GENERATIONS OF THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANN
AND THE OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA 1858 - 1914

by

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ABSTRACT

Most scholars who have researched on missionaries in British Columbia have not taken gender into account. This dissertation narrates and analyzes the biographies of the two founding generations of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. It compares their origins in Quebec and Europe, their life histories, their experiences teaching school, and their formation of the next generation of their religious communities in British Columbia. The role of gender in shaping these individuals' lives and identities can be seen in each aspect of the comparison.

Both the Oblates and the Sisters experienced the asymmetry of the female and male organizations within the larger church. Over time two Roman Catholic missionary systems evolved in British Columbia: the Sisters' system of educative and caring institutions for the peoples of the province and the Oblates modified reduction system for Aboriginal peoples, known in academic literature as the Durieu system. School teaching, particularly work in residential schools for Aboriginal children, linked the two systems. The French Oblate leaders aimed to masculinize the missions and feminize school teaching. The Canadian Sisters of Saint Ann, however, set most of the educational policies within both their own institutions and those they ran at Oblate Aboriginal missions. Case studies of Oblate brothers and Sisters of Saint Ann work as teachers in 1881 show that the nuns, as members of a separate religious congregation, could negotiate with the patriarchs of the Roman Catholic church, whereas the Oblate brothers could not. Such factors affected generational continuity. The Canadian sisterhood reproduced itself in the region as a local family 'dynasty,' whereas the French Oblate order did not.

Taking gender into account in a study of pioneer missionaries in British Columbia does not simply reverse the standard history where the Oblates, as men, appear central, and the Sisters of Saint Ann, as women, appear on the margins. Rather the evidence of gender widens the range of discussion and increases awareness of the complexity of the province's social and educational history.

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CHAPTER ONE: GENDER AND MISSION

This dissertation narrates and analyzes the biographies of two founding generations of missionaries in British Columbia, the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. It compares their origins in Quebec and Europe, their life histories, their experiences teaching school, and their formation of the next generation of their religious communities in British Columbia. The missionaries to be discussed are the twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann who went from the Montreal diocese to the Pacific Coast between 1858 and 1871, setting the pattern for the 103 nuns who followed them between 1872 and 1913, and for the 54 who trained in the Victoria noviciate between 1890 and 1914.¹ The French-based Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who had begun western missions in Oregon in 1847, moved northward to the adjacent British colonies in 1858. By 1871 a total of thirty Oblate priests and brothers had journeyed to the Pacific Coast from France or Ireland. These men also set the pattern for the 94 who followed from Europe or made their noviciate in British Columbia.² The main research questions regarding the collective biographies are: how did members of the two orders shape their lives and identities and what role did gender play in that process. The findings of the dissertation link into the broader history of gender, missions and education in British Columbia, and indeed Canada.

GENESIS OF RESEARCH

This dissertation grows out of two decades of personal research on Roman Catholic missionary effort and Aboriginal responses in the region.³ That effort, like most historical work, had focussed on the records of male organizations, particularly

the French Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (founded in 1816) and the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs. Over time I also became interested in the history of the main female Roman Catholic congregation in British Columbia, the Sisters of Saint Ann, who were the western branch of the Sisters of Saint Anne of Lachine, Quebec (founded in 1850). These women religious, popularly called nuns or sisters, did much of the mission work, especially the teaching of Aboriginal and settler children. I wanted to know how the western Sisters of Saint Ann functioned as a group of women educators within a patriarchal religion. Why did western historians, as Susan Armitage asked in 1986, focus on male leaders and treat women such as nuns like soldiers “mentioned in passing”? I began to believe that history might read quite differently if nuns’ lives were taken into account, allowing gender to become “a central category of historical analysis.”⁴

Dictionary of Canadian Biography assignments on three Oblates and on the first superior of the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia oriented me to a collective biography project.⁵ When I first drafted a collective biography of the founding Sisters of Saint Ann in the West, I included comparisons with the pioneer Oblates. One essay in that project, a comparison of teaching Sisters and brothers, was presented to a symposium on the history of the Oblates in Western and Northern Canada at Saint Boniface in 1995.⁶ Another essay, “Taking the Veil West: The Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia 1858-1914,” was presented to the Canadian History of Education Association meeting in Toronto, October 1996. Historians attending both conferences remarked on the nuns’ relative autonomy in British Columbia compared with the domination of female religious institutes by male ecclesiastics in Quebec. These comments and those of my advisor, Professor Jean Barman, made me change direction.

I realized I could not discuss the Sisters' lives and careers without also discussing those of the male missionaries. The comparisons and the role played by gender thus have become central rather than peripheral in my dissertation.

Race is a theme that might also be explored in discussing the biographies of Roman Catholic missionaries to the Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia, and particularly as regards their work in Indian residential schools. However, two decades of research on that topic has made me recognize how gendered those historical situations were. While Canadian scholars have explored a range of records on gendered aspects of public school systems, such as the feminization of teaching, they have, for the most part, looked only at the archives of male missionaries and governments on Indian residential schools. I think it is important and timely to consider the female missionaries' lives and archives, in order to effect a more balanced interpretation.

My work here draws on the larger project of including women and gender in British Columbia history led by Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag. They contend that "scholarly debate" about the province "has focused on the dynamics of race and class" while ignoring gender. Furthermore, the polarized debate, "like the tradition of 'malestream' thought in academic research" has made it difficult for "[f]emale and feminist scholars ... to enter a contest whose terms have already largely excluded their contribution."⁷ It is not just nuns and female missionaries, but all women who have been left out of most historical discussions to date.

Gail Cuthbert Brandt, in her presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association in 1992, makes similar remarks. Some historians, she says, lament that national political history has been left aside for specialized research on women, or

working class, or ethnic or regional history. Yet Brandt, using themes from women's history, suggests that rethinking social and political history connections could integrate the two fields and come to better reflect Canadian complexity. She calls for a reconceptualization of politics to include activities and actors neglected earlier, for example unions and women.⁸

Brandt remarks that studying the links between political institutions and feminine social movements can give us a better understanding of politics. For example, Canadian women's organizations founded institutions of the welfare state but their contributions are overlooked by historians studying its origins. Brandt cites Joan Scott's comment that, "Political history has, in a sense, been enacted on the field of gender," as part of her challenge to historians of Canada to re-examine their premises and categories.⁹

CONCEPTS OF GENDER AND MISSION

Joan Scott's essay, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," gives the definition basic to this dissertation. Scott defines gender as "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power." Subsets to the social relationships of gender are symbols, normative concepts, social institutions and subjective identity. Scott recognizes that psychoanalysis "offers an important theory about the reproduction of gender," but argues historians ought "to examine the ways in which gendered identities are substantively constructed and relate their findings to a range of activities, social organizations, and historically specific cultural representations." She recommends historical biographers' efforts on this topic and "collective treatments," for

example, “studies of the terms of construction of gender identity for British Colonial administrators in India.”¹⁰

Joan Scott’s advice suits my inclination as an historian to research and write history as informed by feminist theory, rather than to test some theory or device in manipulating an historical data base. Scott’s recommendation has been taken up in Canada by Joy Parr, among others, in her collective biography, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880 - 1950.

Extending Scott’s use of gender as a category, Parr argues for examination “of the ways in which social identities are simultaneously formed from a multiplicity of elements,” and “forged in particular spatial and temporal settings.” Identities, Parr maintains, are multifaceted and relational in time and space. ¹¹

Mission as a concept in this dissertation and in British Columbia history needs definition too. Mission refers to the efforts of male and female members of Roman Catholic religious congregations in British Columbia during the late-nineteenth century to establish or, given earlier activities in the fur trade period, to extend their religion and its institutions. Like many other contemporary missionaries they volunteered for service. However, the congregation members were different from most non-Roman Catholic missionaries as they belonged to organizations founded by francophones and lived communally under vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience. Roman Catholic and francophone missionary activity will not be considered as a simple subset of British “colonial conquest” of the Pacific West. Rather, the dissertation will attempt to contribute, as British Columbia scholar Gail Edwards proposes, to the “reintegration of religious and missionary history into the broader constructs of social and cultural history through an examination of the ways in which religious beliefs shape and are

shaped by social and cultural identity.” The goal is greater understanding of how “religious activity,” “British imperial hegemony,” and gender identities intersected.¹²

THE GENERATIONAL GROUPS

By the time of British Columbia’s entry into Confederation in 1871, the group of women religious known in Quebec as ‘les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne,’ and in British Columbia as the Sisters of Saint Ann, and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate had each firmly established their tradition of service in the province. The Sisters of Saint Ann had begun select and charity schools, orphanages, some nursing, and Native mission schools. The western houses of the congregation had been organized as a Vicariate, and the Victoria convent had become the western Motherhouse. Fortunately, for my purposes, the twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann who had arrived in British Columbia by 1871 had lives and careers which encompass the range of the sisterhood’s experience: select academies, parochial schools, orphanages, elementary schools for boys as well as girls, care of the sick and elderly, and Indian residential schools. This group of women religious provided foundresses for convents and schools throughout the province. Two of this group went into St. Joseph’s Hospital, Victoria, after 1876, one as superior, one as laundry and geriatric coordinator; and others went to Alaskan missions after 1886. By the years 1914-1920, all but a few of the founding group of Sisters in the west had died.

In religious terms, the women who joined the congregation of the Sisters of Saint Anne in Quebec between its founding in 1850, and the First Vatican Council, 1869-1870, received a different formation, and had a different cultural orientation than those who joined later.¹³ Jo Ann Kay McNamara remarks that the culture or way of life of Catholic sisterhoods became more rigid and formalized after the First Vatican Council as the “Roman congregation of Bishops and Regulars aimed to fit their statutes into a

common mold, often with little regard for their initial charism [founding purpose and culture].” In the politics of the late nineteenth-century church, “the hierarchy began to treat women religious as at least auxiliary to the clerical elite,” distinguishing them from “the rest of the laity.” These women’s “subaltern status was confirmed by the reservation of the term ‘missionary’ to ordained priests.”¹⁴

It was in this religious life context that the twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann negotiated the spirit and works of their congregation in the West. They lived out their lives under pre-1917 Canon Law, a pioneer hierarchy and devotional Roman Catholicism. Their congregation would not mature as a religious institute until the latter years of their lives. That maturity came from both external and internal sources, as the congregation attained full papal recognition (1884), and promoted a study of the holiness of its mother foundress.¹⁵

The rationale for using 1871 as the terminal date by which pioneer Oblates arrived in British Columbia parallels that for the Sisters of Saint Ann. By mid-century a group of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate had come from Europe, especially from France, and laid the foundation of the congregation’s works in western North America. Conflicts with the French-Canadian bishops and Oregon and Washington territory settlers led the Oblates to move their Pacific Coast operations north to British colonial territory in 1858.¹⁶ Oblates focussed on evangelizing the Aboriginal peoples, although they also established parishes for white settlers and some schools.

By 1871 the Oblates had organized central missions for serving the districts of Fraser Valley and Coast, Okanagan-Kamloops, Kootenays, Cariboo-Chilcotin and Northern Interior. The Oblates headquartered their missionary and diocesan efforts at St. Peter’s, New Westminster. This parish was also the centre for St. Charles Mission

serving the Salishan peoples of the Fraser Valley and adjacent Coast. In 1863 the Oblate superior had become the Roman Catholic bishop for the mainland of the colony.¹⁷ After British Columbia joined Canada in 1871 Roman Catholic church organization did not change much. The Victoria-based ecclesiastical see of Vancouver Island remained separate and tributary to the American archepiscopal see of Portland, Oregon until 1903. Thus Victoria developed as part of an American diocese.¹⁸ Until 1908-1909, the mainland, the diocese of New Westminster, led by Oblate bishops who were also local superiors for their order, was also linked to French and Canadian developments. By the 1890s, the Oblates began to attract Irish and French-Canadian vocations for the British Columbia missions from their Ottawa diocese and university and parishes in Montreal.¹⁹

Pre-1871 Oblates laid out the pattern for the congregation in religious practice and works. The conservative ultramontane character of these men was enhanced by the activity of the Vatican regarding religious institutes after the Council of 1870. Post 1900 changes in Canon Law and the Roman Catholic hierarchy affected the Oblates just as they did the Sisters of Saint Ann. The impact of French and Canadian politics on the French-based Oblates made their evolution much different from that of the Sisters of Saint Ann.²⁰ For example, military conscription in France during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 limited Oblate overseas mission initiatives. The coming of the federal department of Indian Affairs to British Columbia in 1872 opened up opportunities for Oblates as official church leaders to access funds for their Indian schools. Throughout this time period, ethnic/national tensions strained negotiations for missions and schools. These tensions were present both within the male congregation (between the

French and French-Canadian members and between the French and Irish members) and within Canadian public life (between French and English generally).²¹

By the 1900s the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate were not the only Roman Catholic religious orders operating in British Columbia. Several other teaching congregations of women and men had come to the province.²² For example, the Sisters of the Child Jesus arrived from France to staff schools at Williams Lake and North Vancouver. The New Jersey based Sisters of Saint Joseph of Peace established schools in the Kootenays. Private schools, such as the Methodist Columbia College in New Westminster and the Anglican sisterhood's All Hallows School at Yale, competed for students with Saint Ann's academies located in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster and Kamloops. Competition for fee-paying pupils affected what the Sisters of Saint Ann could do regarding subsidizing their other charitable activities: schools, orphanages and hospitals.

The terminal date of 1914 for this dissertation represents more of a break for the Oblates than it does for the Sisters of Saint Ann. By 1909 the Oblates no longer controlled the diocese of Vancouver, the mainland of the province. They had moved the headquarters of the diocese from St. Peter's New Westminster to Holy Rosary, in the rising metropolis of Vancouver. Irish and Irish Canadian Oblates were replacing veteran French missionaries. Conflicts of French and English nationalism shadowed the Oblate congregation in Canada. This situation led, in 1926 to the split of the Canadian Oblate provinces along linguistic lines.²³ After that date the Oblates made English-speaking areas of Ontario and Western Canada into one province, French-speaking communities into another, and German speaking communities into a third. Furthermore, by the 1920s, other male congregations such as the Redemptorists were

establishing parishes in Vancouver and preaching missions in the province.²⁴ In that decade, differences between Oblate priests and the archbishop led him to bring in other priests to replace the Oblates at Holy Rosary Cathedral in Vancouver.

Twentieth-century changes in the Roman Catholic church leadership in British Columbia also changed the context of the Sisters of Saint Ann's lives and works. The regional or metropolitan archbishop had shifted from Portland, Oregon to Victoria, British Columbia in 1903, and then to Vancouver in 1908. By 1909 the Roman Catholic archbishop for British Columbia was no longer a Belgian with west coast experience, nor an Oblate from France. The new archbishop, Neil McNeil, had Nova Scotian roots and Newfoundland experience. He was no doubt influenced by the eastern heritage of conflicts among Acadian, French-Canadian and Anglo-Irish Roman Catholics. McNeil told the Sisters of Saint Ann they would provide teachers for parochial schools, while the Religious of the Sacred Heart would be invited to establish an elite convent in Vancouver.²⁵ The Sisters of Saint Ann complied, but continued fee-paying select academies in centres outside Vancouver, and re-established one in that city in 1926.

The first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia negotiated particular places for themselves in the patriarchal church, and with the families of the region. The Sisters' system of educative and caring institutions was given little mention in the male missionary records of the nineteenth century. Later it was also overlooked or minimized and marginalized in the gendered constructions of historians. The Oblates' Durieu System, by contrast, was featured in the same records and in the historical literature.²⁶

Briefly the Durieu system refers to the 1954 formulation of anthropologist Edwin M. Lemert on the history of Roman Catholic missions to some Salishan peoples of

British Columbia. He contends that the Homalco, Klahoose, Sliammon and Sechelt, "at a relatively early contact period" almost completely gave up "their ceremonial culture," and that there was "relatively complete Catholicization of the tribes ... under the aegis and control of Bishop Durieu's 'System.'" Lemert states that "this system of social control" declined abruptly "under the impact of external changes in the ... missionary order." The social control consisted of priests and their appointed Aboriginal officials supervising converts in communities relocated to villages with new houses and dominating churches.²⁷ Research on Durieu's biography and research for this dissertation indicates Lemert misrepresented the history of Oblate missionary effort and the Salish response. The Oblate mission methodology was a composite system, not Durieu's personal creation. His order had difficulty applying it all along owing to a combination of their own shortage of manpower and Salish resistance. However, as the Oblate records are in French and most academics working on the Salish are English-speaking, Lemert's view of Roman Catholic mission history in British Columbia has remained the standard version. Some scholars have, however, recognized that the Durieu system was actually an Oblate system,²⁸ and that it was a modified 'reduction' system, an adaptation of the Roman Catholic model village or 'reduction' for the missions of Latin America in the sixteenth century.²⁹ Thus, in this dissertation, the terms Oblate system and modified reduction system will be used as well as Durieu system for the work of the male group of missionaries.

Returning now to consideration of the Sisters of Saint Ann, it is important to note that despite the patriarchal nature of the church, these women were not without agency or respect. They saw themselves as "religieuses missionnaires," setting out for the west just as St. Francis Xavier had left for the East years before.³⁰ They became known for

“Sisters’ schools” run in English for boys and girls, both Native and non-Native, by women both French Canadian and Irish Canadian.³¹

Meanwhile contemporary male missionaries, particularly the Oblate Fathers, saw themselves as the Catholic mission force to First Nations in British Columbia, and as the official representatives there of the Roman Catholic Church. They were God’s chosen French and Irish men, capable of outdistancing the European Jesuits and secular French-Canadian priests, and also of outflanking Anglo-Saxon Protestant missionaries.³² Yet the Oblates, even with the assistance of their lower rank of Brothers, had difficulties providing teachers for schools. They also had to contend with the politics of the Roman Catholic church and the larger Anglo-Protestant society. The Sisters of Saint Ann, like the Oblates, were limited by religious and racial perspectives and by the responses of the Aboriginal and settler populations to their ministrations. These missionaries of francophone background accepted the prevailing racial hierarchy and white supremacy attitudes of the Anglo-Saxon settler majority. The women missionaries were also affected by the Victorian domestic ideology, also termed the cult of true womanhood.³³ The bonds of womanhood could, however, cut both ways and provide the sisterhood with support from within the church and from the society outside.

The terminal date of 1914 for this study marks the time by which most pioneer generation Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates were retiring or dying. It also represents the World War I era transformation of both the Catholic Church and Canadian society. The Sisters faced these changes as a western province of the Lachine-based Sisters of Saint Anne, and under a provincial superior who herself was drawn from the graduates of their Victoria convent academy. The Oblates had expanded internationally and

moved their generalate to Rome, but French remained the language of their congregation. The Oblates had far fewer vocations from the Pacific Coast of Canada. Unlike the Sisters of Saint Ann, they had no local graduate to promote as provincial superior when Augustin Dontenwill was elected superior general of the congregation in 1908. The Vatican appointed Nova Scotian Neil McNeil as the next archbishop of Vancouver. Neither he nor his 1912 successor were Oblates.³⁴

THE FORCE OF GENDER

Examination of the first generations of Oblates and Sisters emphasizes the important role played by gender in defining the meaning given to mission. The two groups came to British Columbia with different senses of mission. These were modified within this setting in good part due to the force of gender. For the Oblates, notions of masculinity impeded their mission in British Columbia in two important areas – teaching and the preparation of a succeeding generation. The structure and expectations of the church, as well as the background itself of the Oblate order, encouraged the Oblates to look outward beyond British Columbia and to define themselves in ways that maximized their individual and group self-importance. They always had to prove themselves. They had to be heroes. Ongoing, sustained contact with local communities was limited, both because of small numbers on the ground and because the Oblates' principal interest was not so much in British Columbia as it was in mission as an abstract concept intended to enhance their self worth as individuals and as a religious order. Within such a set of values, grounded firmly in gender, teaching was only of marginal appeal. Both the French Oblate superiors, and the French Oblates who dominated the British Columbia pioneer generation of their order, regarded Frenchmen adventuring in the wilderness for Aboriginal converts as the most manly

missionaries. Teaching was for women. Oblate priests were going to the ends of the earth, to the heights of missionary effort in official, male Roman Catholic terms. They were fulfilling the nineteenth-century French belief in *Gesta Dei per Francos*.³⁵ Irish Oblates who wanted to accommodate English colonists or Canadian settlers were, not surprisingly, subordinated or sidelined by French superiors.

This same patriarchy inside and outside the church had far less interest in the Sisters as an order of women, and in everyday oversight of them. On paper, Church regulations ensured the female congregation's overall dependence on the male hierarchy. But the church leaders' persistent focus on the male official church meant, ironically, that the Sisters actually had more freedom of action in the field than the rules prescribed. Patriarchy reduced the Sisters' expectations for themselves compared with the Oblates. The nuns' gender officially limited them in both church and secular society. As women they could not become priests in the church, and in Canadian society they were not yet legal persons. The Sisters, by gender and socialization, saw themselves more within the context of a religious community as a sisterhood than as individuals jockeying for power, or as members of preferred and subordinate ethnic groups. For example, the French-Canadian pioneer superior wisely requested an English-speaking replacement in Victoria to guide the Sisters' efforts in what had become a largely anglophone goldrush colony. The Irish woman who became the directress in the west had the support of her French-Canadian superiors and all congregation members. They overcame ethnic differences unlike their male counterparts. At the ordinary level, the women's organization, in contrast with the Oblates, saw several sets of siblings follow one another into the sisterhood and move west to its missions. As Catholics the Sisters believed that their teaching and charitable

service would ultimately give them equal spiritual status to the men in heaven. They could model themselves on male Apostles or missionaries like Saint Francis Xavier while they did 'subordinate' and 'domestic' feminine work as part of a group akin, in their minds, to the female relatives of Christ (Anne, Mary and Elizabeth) or the gospel women of the early church. Compared to the Oblates, the Sisters in overall terms found more satisfaction with their circumstances, which meant that the first generation was more likely both to remain in the order and in British Columbia.

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

This introductory chapter indicates the research focus on the role gender played in shaping individual lives and identities. I share Joy Parr's concern that today's theory can cast shadows and patterns of its own over the fabric or evidence of the past.³⁶ It is important to consider the historical situation of the documents, something postmodernist scholars cannot do from textual analysis alone.³⁷

Chapter Two discusses the secondary literature as well as the primary sources consulted for this dissertation. Chapter Three looks at the background and expectations of the Sisters of Saint Ann and Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate for their British Columbia missions. Missionary ambitions to leave the homeland and evangelize the nations at the ends of the earth affected women as well as men. The next chapter compares the lives of the first generation Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates in British Columbia. It shows the autonomy of each religious congregation, and the asymmetry or disparity of the female and male organizations within the larger church.

Next, an essay discussing the activities of the two founding generations and the additions to them from 1858 to 1914 emphasizes the differences in the realization of the two congregations' missions, particularly as they were grounded in gender. Politics

evolved on a field of gender, rather than gender being a sideline of political development.³⁸ Over time two Roman Catholic missionary systems evolved in British Columbia, the Sisters' System and the Oblates' Durieu System. Following on this narrative Chapter Six probes the comparable work of the two groups by discussing the teaching background of each group, and explores case studies on the Sisters and the Oblates as teachers in the year 1881. It demonstrates the asymmetry of gender, the feminization of teaching and the masculinization of mission. Chapter Seven looks at continuity into the next generation, comparing the Sisters' links with regional families and their ability to attract novices from the province, and the Oblates' relative lack of local connections and vocations. The conclusion summarizes the discussion of the role of gender in missionary lives and historical identities. Findings on how gender assumptions shaped both the activities of the British Columbia missionaries and the historiography concerning them are then related to wider historical studies.

Notes

¹ Archives of the Sisters of Saint Ann, Victoria, B.C. [ASSAV] RG 1 S24 Box 24 file 1-1 Dates of Arrival of Sisters in Victoria. The noviciate numbers were established from noviciate registers and necrologies. Exact figures are difficult to establish as several women came west from the Lachine noviciate before their profession of vows.

Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne or in English, the Sisters of Saint Anne, were founded at Vaudreuil, Quebec in 1850. They are known in British Columbia as the Sisters of Saint Ann. I am following the Dictionary of Canadian Biography for spelling of French-Canadian names and their translations in English texts, except for the spelling of Saint Ann in the British Columbia congregational name. The spelling may vary slightly from that in the history of the congregation in British Columbia by Sister Mary Margaret Down [Edith Down], SSA, A Century of Service 1858-1958: A history of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann and Morriss Printing, 1966).

The terms 'Sister' and 'nun' are used interchangeably in academic and Roman Catholic Church literature today according to Mary Jo Weaver, New Catholic Women: A Contemporary Challenge to Religious Authority (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), xiv. Technically speaking, sisters are those working actively outside cloister or enclosure, and nuns are members of "contemplative communities perpetually enclosed." Some scholars contend historians should use the terms 'woman religious' or 'Sister' rather than 'nun.' However, English-speaking historians understand the terms 'Sister' or 'nun' better than 'woman religious.' Similarly the term order should technically only be applied to nuns under solemn vows, and the term congregation used for sisters living active lives and taking simple vows. See also W.B. Ryan, "Sister, Religious," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 261; Evangeline Thomas CSJ, Women Religious History Sources: A Guide to Repositories in the United States (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1983), xxv.

For further definitions of religious history terms see Michel Theriault, Les instituts de vie consacrée au Canada depuis les débuts de la Nouvelle-France jusqu'à aujourd'hui. The institutes of the consecrated life in Canada from the beginning of New France up to the present (Ottawa: National Library, 1980). This book provides parallel texts in French and English on terminology and also a brief history of each institute.

For a recent discussion of what the terms of religious life in nineteenth-century France and Quebec see the appendix, "Pour s'y retrouver dans les congrégations religieuses," in Guy Laperrière, Les congrégations religieuses de la France au Québec 1880-1914. Tome 1. Premières bourrasques (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 205-211.

² Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada 1845-1967 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995), 272 Appendice VI, "Les Oblats arrivés en Colombie Britannique, 1872-1926," and 238. The appendix table gives the total of 94. Growth in Oblate personnel in B.C. was slow. There were 17 priests and 9 brothers in 1871 and 36 priests and 11 brothers in 1926. France sent no more Oblates after 1908. Only one Irish brother came between 1907 and 1926. The majority of new priests and brothers came from eastern Canada. The minor seminary for preparing priests in New Westminster, B.C. ran only from 1896 to 1909 as the Catholic population could not furnish enough candidates to warrant the expense of the institution.

Unlike the Sisters of Saint Ann, the Oblate archives for British Columbia have no full listing of arrivals in the province, no complete noviciate register and no full run of necrologies (obituaries). The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, St. Paul's Province Archives, Vancouver, is the full title of the Oblate Archives, Vancouver. Gaston Carrière, o.m.i., produced three volumes of a biographical dictionary on Oblates who served in Canada: Dictionnaire biographique des Oblats de Marie-Immaculée au Canada (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, tome I 1976, tome II 1977, tome III 1979).

"The term 'oblato' identifies a person who has dedicated himself/herself to the service of God through religious life. For the Oblates of Mary Immaculate this was done in a formal ceremony, the perpetual oblation or vows, that took place prior to ordination [as a priest]." Raymond Huel, Proclaiming

the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996), 305 note 4.

³ The term Aboriginal is used in this study more than the terms Native, First Nations or Indian. Aboriginal is more inclusive than First Nations. The terms Native and Indian have been used where found in the original historical record. The term First Nations is a respectful term, but is 1980s vintage. Historically in British Columbia anglophone writers have used the terms Indian or Native or Half Breed. Francophone writers have used Indien and Métis. The issue of voice or appropriation is a complex one in British Columbia history. Persons who now claim First Nations status may descend from Hawaiians or Mexicans or Europeans or French-Canadians as well as First Nations. This dissertation will use the term Halfbreed not Métis as Jean Barman does in The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, Revised Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 170-172. Barman explains that the twentieth century "disappearance from polite vocabulary of the term half-breed has obscured ... historical reality." In British Columbia the offspring of "liaisons between European men and native women were almost universally known, both by themselves and by others, as half-breeds, ... but almost never as Métis, the prairie term for the descendants of Indian women and French-Canadian fur traders." Note also that Barman uses the spelling halfbreed in most of her publications.

⁴ Susan H. Armitage, "Women and Western American History," Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, June 1986.

⁵ Jacqueline Gresko, "Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) 401-402; "Paul Durieu," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 281-285; "James Maria McGuckin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 641-642; and "Salomé Valois, named Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur [known in British Columbia as Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart]," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XIII, 1048-1049.

⁶ Published as Jacqueline Gresko, "The 'Serfs of the System?': Oblate Brothers and the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia Schools, 1858-1920," in Western Oblate Studies 4/Etudes Oblates de l'Ouest 4, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1996): 119-142.

⁷ Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction: Taking Gender into Account in British Columbia," in British Columbia Reconsidered, ed. G. Creese and V. Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang, 1992), 3-5.

⁸ Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "National Unity and the Politics of Political History," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 3 (1992): 3-11.

⁹ Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 49, cited by Brandt, "National Unity," 10.

¹⁰ Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42-44.

¹¹ Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950 (University of Toronto Press, 1990), 9.

¹² Gail Edwards, "Writing Religion into the History of British Columbia: A Review Essay," BC Studies 113 (Spring 1997): 101-105.

13 Vatican Council I, a meeting of Roman Catholic church leaders, was called by Pope Pius IX and met from December 8, 1869 to July 18, 1870. Vatican II or 'The Council' was called by Pope John XXIII in 1959 and met from 1962-1965. Vatican Council II brought major changes to the church including use of vernacular rather than Latin in liturgies and revisions of rules and costumes of religious congregations. It also shifted the emphasis of Roman Catholicism from hierarchical and devotional to congregational culture. Modern historians studying Roman Catholicism before the 1870s or before the 1960s need to take note of the changes the councils brought. Thomas Bokenkotter, A Concise History of the Catholic Church, Revised Edition (New York: Image Books, 1979), 333-337 and 411-420.

14 Jo Ann Kay McNamara, Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 609.

15 Christine Mailloux, SSA, Esther Blondin, Prophet for Today, trans. by Eileen Gallagher SSA (Montreal: Editions Paulines, 1989), p. 147 on Pope Leo XIII's official approval of the Sisters of Saint Anne, May 2, 1884; and 121 on study of the holiness of the foundress beginning in 1892 with the efforts of Sister Mary Irene, Prefect of Studies. Papal recognition of a congregation is defined in the glossary provided by Susan Carol Peterson and Courtney Ann Vaughan-Roberson, Women With Vision: The Presentation Sisters of South Dakota 1880-1985 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). A pontifical congregation is a congregation of religious women or men whose constitution has been approved by the pope and whose ultimate governance derives from the pope. This type of congregation is the opposite of a diocesan one under the bishop's control. Sisterhoods sought pontifical approval in order to do independent missionary work, and also for status. This point has a complex history as often nineteenth-century bishops wanted sisters to help with schools and charitable institutions, but preferred to control a local branch of a respected congregation, rather than having its superior general and council, or the bishop of the home diocese, direct the assignment of sisters.

16 Vincent J. McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation: Oblate Beginnings in Far Western Canada, 1847-1864," in Western Oblate Studies 4/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 4, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1996): 47-70.

17 Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez was named titular bishop of Melitopolis and vicar apostolic of British Columbia 22 December, 1863. He was consecrated 9 October 1864. Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome I, 286.

18 Vincent J. McNally, "Victoria: An American Diocese in Canada," CCHA Historical Studies 57 (1990): 7-28.

19 For Oblate history in British Columbia see Levasseur, Les Oblats (1995), 91-103, 229-246. A popular English-language discussion is available in Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960).

20 For English-language discussion of Oblate history in Western Canada see Raymond Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, and Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995).

21 See E. Brian Titley, A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

22 No overall history of Catholic education in British Columbia exists. For an introductory survey see Sister Mary Margaret Down SSA [Edith Down], "The History of Catholic Education in British Columbia 1847-1900," CCHA Study Sessions 50, 2 (1983): 569-590.

23 Levasseur, Les Oblats (1995), 238, and Choquette, Oblate Assault, 205-208, 221.

24 Paul Laverdure, Redemption and Renewal: The Redemptorists of English Canada, 1834-1994 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996).

25 See Archives of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne Lachine [ASSAL] B51/74,7, 79, handwritten letter, N. McNeil, Archbishop Vancouver, to Dear Mother General, September 2, 1910. Archbishop McNeil had the support of Bishop McDonald of Victoria who had gone to Montreal to discuss this project. There is no printed history of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver. Margaret Whitehead, ed., They Call Me Father (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), p. 183, n. 83, identifies Archbishop Neil McNeil as formerly bishop of St. Georges, Newfoundland. In 1912 he became archbishop of Toronto. According to The Canadian Who's Who 1910 (Toronto: Musson, 1910), 161, McNeil was born in Nova Scotia in 1851. He studied at Saint Francis Xavier College in Antigonish and at the Propaganda in Rome before his 1879 ordination. He then taught and administrated at Saint Francis Xavier. He became bishop of St. Georges, Newfoundland in 1895 and archbishop of Vancouver in January 1910. Canada Ecclesiastique 1908 gives the spelling St. Georges with no apostrophe.

The Religious of the Sacred Heart established the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Point Grey municipality [Vancouver] in 1912. Their first Canadian convent was St. Jacques in 1842, transferred to the Montreal area a decade later. They established a Halifax convent in 1847. There is no overall history of Catholic women religious in British Columbia. See Sister Mary Margaret [Edith Down], "The History of Catholic Education in British Columbia 1847-1900."

26 Edwin M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization 13,3 (Fall 1954): 23-27. This formulation of the Durieu system remains the basic English-language source for modern anglophone scholars, e.g. Elizabeth Furniss, "Resistance, Coercion and Revitalization: The Shuswap Encounter with Roman Catholic Missionaries, 1860-1900," Ethnohistory 42,2 (Spring 1995): 231-263.

27 Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," 23.

28 Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), 138-139.

29 Vincent J. McNally, "From the Archives: A Defense of the 'Durieu System,'" Bulletin Western Canadian Publishers 26 (June 1997), 17-20.

30 I noticed the term 'religieuse missionnaire' while preparing Gresko, "Salomé Valois, named Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur [known in British Columbia as Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart]," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIII, 1048-1049. Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, like other pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, signed her letters home as 'religieuse missionnaire,' just as missionary priests distinguished themselves as 'prêtre, missionnaire.' See Sister Mary Rollande, s.s.a. [Marie Besner], Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur s.s.a., supérieure-fondatrice à Victoria 1858 (Lachine: Imprimerie Sainte-Anne, 1949), 54-59. This biography includes mention of this sister's signature on letters to her nephews and nieces in Quebec. See also McNamara, Sisters in Arms, 609, on "the reservation of the term 'missionary' to ordained priests."

31 ASSAL Letterbook [British Columbia] No. 227. Louis OMI Vicaire Apostolique à Ma Révérende Mère [Superior General of the Sisters of Saint Anne], 9 juin 1877, regarding calls for "une école des Soeurs" at Kamloops, B.C., as soon as possible. Also for English-language support of the Sisters' schools in New Westminster, B.C. see Frances Herring, In the Pathless West (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904), 147-148.

- 32 Choquette, Oblate Assault, 205, 221.
- 33 Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly 18 (Summer 1966); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 12-13. For a Canadian discussion see Alison Prentice et al, Canadian Women: A History Second Edition (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 155-188.
- 34 Timothy Casey succeeded Archbishop Neil McNeil as archbishop of Vancouver in 1913. See Sister Mary Margaret Down, A Century of Service, 147. Timothy Casey's biography to 1914 appears in F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present. Volume III Biographical (Vancouver: S.J. Clarke, 1914), 1126-1130.
- 35 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, xxii. "The writings of French Oblates serving in the North West. . . [reminded] their countrymen under the anti-clerical Third Republic that the glorious pre-revolutionary tradition of Catholicism *Gesta Dei per Francos*, the actions of God through the deeds of the French, was being continued in the interior of Canada.
- 36 Parr, Gender of Breadwinners, 231.
- 37 Gabrielle Spiegel, "History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," Speculum 65 (1990): 59-86.
- 38 Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History , 49.

CHAPTER TWO: INTERPRETING THE FABRIC OF MISSIONARY HISTORY

At anniversary celebrations of their congregations' work in British Columbia, Roman Catholic Sisters often speak of their histories in terms of a fabric analogy. According to this analogy, the pioneer nuns wove a tapestry as they established their Pacific Coast missions, making the fabric of their own lives, rather than just following threads set by male church leaders. The historian's task is to find and piece together evidence of the fabric that the historical actors wove.

Researching the biographies of the first twenty-four Catholic Sisters in British Columbia and their thirty male counterparts, the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, has been like going into the storage section of a museum and choosing to examine an old and dark piece of fabric, similar to pieces of cloth studied in earlier projects. Those projects, on Native residential schools at Lebret, Saskatchewan, and Mission, British Columbia, had made me acutely aware of how much of the Roman Catholic missionary education in Western Canada had been in fact the work of nuns. The historian's task now is to interpret, clarify, and contextualize this dark old fabric.¹

Spanning the years from 1858 to 1914, the fabric looks like it might have been plaid, as the various threads cross and the colours change at the crossings. The colours at first seem rooted in historical stereotypes about nuns who came west from Quebec and male missionaries from France and Ireland: blues for French and French Canadians and greens for the Irish and Irish Canadians. For the peoples they met in British Columbia there are reds and browns representing those of Aboriginal descent, white and orange for Anglo-Canadians and Americans, a tweedy-grey for other national

groups. All colours darken in association with capitalism, imperialism, colonialism. The design at first glance looks as if it follows, as might be expected, standard historical patterns of dominant male threads in religious and civil life. But these are not always sustained or clear. In mid fabric and at the edge there are fuzzy and muted spots where the nuns and Aboriginal peoples in fact negotiated their own way. Historical circumstances have meant the colours meld or the threads drop off. Stripes sometimes run parallel, sometimes merge, then cross and uncross, only to run parallel again. When the stripes and threads change direction or depth, they change colour and texture. The regular plaid becomes somewhat abstract in places. For example, some Catholic teaching Sisters dealt directly with the secular public service in establishing commercial classes in secondary schools. A few Oblates operated individually in the British Columbia missions. Like history itself, interpreting this fabric will involve appreciating and investigating its complexity.

As an historian I will attempt to indicate how the whole cloth once appeared, but may not be able to do so with complete certainty. Some colours have faded, some patterns loosened with time. A few gaps seem incapable of reconstruction. Some knotted threads in this British Columbia piece of fabric cannot be disentangled, even by reference to pieces of cloth that have been expertly analyzed in central Canada. Further study may indicate how the thread could be untangled, or how the fuzzy bits dangling from the fabric piece might be fitted back into the warp and woof. An historian is limited by the sources and techniques available for research, and by the time-distorted nature of the fabric.

Several scholarly sources also inform the analogy. Medieval historians sometimes speak of the Middle Ages as a tapestry, parts of which are now obscure.²

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on her Diary, 1785-1812, for example, employs a fabric analogy in explaining the gendered conditions of cloth production in eighteenth-century Maine. In the "complex web of social and economic exchange that engaged women beyond the household," they "had no political life, but they did have a community life." Its basis "was a gender division of labor that gave them responsibility for particular tasks, products and forms of trade."³

In a study closer to this dissertation, "None More Anonymous: Catholic Teaching Nuns, Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1925," Stephanie Burley contends that historians should look at how women wove the patterns of their own lives. Burley finds strands of class, gender and religion "interact in a complex manner and weave different patterns depending on the individual. It is these varied patterns that historians must try to come to terms with, by understanding the spinner herself, the threads she chooses, those she rejects, those forced upon her and what she creates accordingly."⁴

SCHOLARLY PERSPECTIVES

My collective biography of the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia from 1858 to 1914 is informed by a range of scholarly perspectives. Laurence Stone summarized traditional views on historical biography in 1971. "[P]rosopography (as the ancient historians call it) has developed into one of the most valuable and most familiar techniques of the research historian. Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives." Stone described it as a "tool" used

“to attack two of the most basic problems in history,” namely “the roots of political action” and “social structure and social mobility.”⁵

Gender studies, including men’s as well as women’s studies, have become prominent in Canadian historical practice in the last decade. Most men’s studies concern twentieth-century men and secular rather than religious society.⁶ Women’s studies in Canada have tended to look at the eras before 1900, but they have been similarly limited by what Ruth Compton Brouwer aptly terms the secular quarantine.

In her 1992 “Transcending the ‘unacknowledged quarantine’: Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women’s History,” Ruth Compton Brouwer points to recent religious historical work on “religion’s personal, spiritual significance for women as well as its implications for feminism and other social reforms.” Yet she finds feminist historical biographers ignoring religion except as a step on the road to the women’s movement. Brouwer calls on historians to extend their lines of inquiry, “to escape” the “secular quarantine” of Canadian history. Such effort, she concludes, would not just add to, but rather transform, “our understanding of important events in our past.”⁷

Historical writing on religious and missionary women supports Brouwer’s arguments and provides insights for a collective biography project on Roman Catholic missionaries in British Columbia. The historiography of Catholic women and Catholic missionary women through the ages has, in recent years, focussed on the women religious, popularly called Sisters or nuns, who led active, apostolic lives outside the cloister. The dominant themes concern the autonomous existence of these groups of women within a patriarchal church, the politics of gender which they played and sometimes won, their sense of sisterhood, their links into larger feminist history. Their sisterhood was that of mainly educated white women who shared an ideology and

promoted an organization and a lifestyle.⁸ The historic religious characteristics are, upon reflection, a far cry from ongoing popular stereotypes of cloistered, contemplative nuns as described by the poet Milton: “devout and pure, sober steadfast and demure.”

Medieval historians, including those who study cloistered women, have opened up new vistas on the lives and identities of nuns. They look at Sisters as workers and pioneers, establishing educational and charitable institutions on European frontiers.⁹ They note the significance of their writing life histories or necrologies of deceased nuns and then using them in daily memorial services. The hagiographies and their promotion of devotions to saintly foundresses helped the women’s communities survive in a “violent and hostile environment,” and prosper in face of “powerful and predatory men.”¹⁰

Caroline Walker Bynum in Gender and Religion applied feminist insights to the study of Catholic symbols and their gender significance. She notes the religious women’s devotion to Christ in His Humanity, versus men’s to Christ in His Divinity. Bynum also points out women’s affection for saints in the female lineage of Christ such as Saint Anne, His grandmother, and Saint Emerentienne, His great-grandmother.¹¹

Jo Ann Kay McNamara’s Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia gives a more secular overview of sisterhoods from the time of Christ to the modern era.¹² They sought equality and autonomy amid periods of patriarchal tolerance and repression. Marie Augusta Neal in From Nuns to Sisters: An Expanding Vocation identifies different stages than McNamara in the longterm evolution of women’s institutes in the Roman Catholic Church. But she agrees there were repeated instances of its officials resisting “new forms of the vowed life within the church.”¹³

Scholars researching Roman Catholic nuns in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and New France have demonstrated that active sisterhoods continued even though faced with patriarchal constraints. Micheline D'Allaire's fine studies of how Quebec sisterhoods managed their own finances, schools and hospitals in New France have not received much recognition by unilingual English-Canadian historians. D'Allaire makes an important contribution by pointing out that the Congregation of Notre Dame of Montreal, characterized since the 1840s as an elite teaching congregation, had more popular origins. In the late seventeenth century Marguerite Bourgeoys founded a Montreal order of women teachers to serve the poor and the Native children as well as the rich.¹⁴ The nuns taught poor girls of the city domestic skills in a separate school, La Providence. If such pupils showed promise as entrants to the sisterhood, they were taught to read and write. Louise Dechêne in her study of seventeenth-century Montreal remarks that numbers of habitant girls without dowries chose entrance as domestic service sisters over life as home helps for aged parents.¹⁵

Recently other scholars have extended these themes. Mary Anne Foley points out how the seventeenth-century members of the Congregation of Notre Dame were inspired by the model of Mary, the mother of Christ. They saw Mary not as a cloistered, ideal woman, but as an active woman of the early Christian church. She was a missionary educator, living "la vie voyageuse."¹⁶ Patricia Simpson explains the origins of this "positive" and "dynamic" image by noting that the medieval churches of Bourgeoys' home town of Troyes in France all had statues of Mary "being educated by her mother." Simpson says that the Marian devotion of seventeenth-century Troyes' women was not the idolatry contemporary Protestants alleged. Nor was it the oppression modern Catholic scholars see in traditional Marian devotions.¹⁷

Elizabeth Rapley's The Dévotes discusses how seventeenth-century women in France and New France were inspired by religious fervour to found active, charitable sisterhoods. The various Sisters of Charity often managed their finances by running elite convent schools in order to subsidize charitable schools and institutions. The latter institutions provided health and social services from the cradle to the grave for the poor, sometimes in the same building. Despite clerical attempts to cloister and control such activity, the women persisted and gained popular support. The government officers and church leaders too came to rely on the women's schools, hospitals, old age homes and asylums. The numerous groups of Sisters of Charity or "filles seculières" were small, localized and loosely organized. These "'active life' congregations" constituted "a new form of religious life" in the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore they democratized its personnel "by allowing women unable to afford a dowry. . . to enter religious congregations."¹⁸ In Montreal's congregation of Notre Dame, nuns under vows were accompanied in religious lives and works by numerous widows, aunts, "filles données" or lay associates.¹⁹ Although governments and male clerics attempted to limit the membership of sisterhoods of Quebec, the lay associates persisted, laying the groundwork for those of the Sisters of Saint Anne.²⁰

Claude Langlois' Le catholicisme au féminin explains how such sisterhoods survived the French Revolution and flourished in the nineteenth century in France. Langlois synthesizes the history of all French congregations headed by a superior general, that is, having their own organization recognized by the hierarchy and officially founded between 1800 and 1880. These congregations of nuns grew up not in conservative reaction to the revolution of 1789, nor out of guilt at its abuses, but rather as a continuity of religious women's work in women's way. Bishops and the Vatican

did attempt to constrain or direct them, but the sisterhoods persisted. As in Quebec and pre-revolutionary France, the nuns ran elite schools to subsidize charitable works. French congregations, however, kept more of a formal organization of choir or educated, teaching Sisters above a rank of coadjutrix or less-educated, domestic-service Sisters. During the nineteenth century French congregations regularly sent members overseas as missionaries and also, in times of political repression as refugees. Langlois thus includes some discussion of French congregations, like the Religious of the Sacred Heart, which sent missions to Quebec.²¹

The development of Catholic sisterhoods in Quebec in the nineteenth century, particularly teaching sisterhoods, was affected by the arrival of the Religious of the Sacred Heart and the competition they provided for urban convent academies. The Quebec congregations had their own dynamics from the 1840s to the 1920s, however. The studies of Micheline Dumont, Nadia Fahmy-Eid, Thérèse Hamel, Marguerite Jean, Marie-Paule Malouin and Marta Danylewycz have carefully explored the nineteenth-century Quebec congregations.²² Written in English, Marta Danylewycz' thesis is most familiar to anglophone historians. She argues that in nineteenth-century Quebec taking the veil, that is becoming a teaching or nursing sister, was an alternative to marriage, motherhood or spinsterhood. Joining sisterhoods gave women professional career options and opportunities to work on social reform in a man's world.²³ Parallel findings have come from the research of Elizabeth Smyth on the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Toronto and from the investigations of Sheila Andrew and Elizabeth McGahan on congregations in the Maritimes.²⁴ However, little academic research has been done on sisterhoods in the Canadian west.²⁵

Barbara Misner's Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies: Catholic Women Religious in America 1790-1850, shows that the history of the first eight communities of women in the United States parallels the French and Canadian themes.²⁶ Misner presents a sociological model which draws on the work of several of the previously mentioned scholars. She adapts to the study of religious congregations the three step model for the study of 'founded religions' given in Joachim Wach's The Sociology of Religion. A charismatic leader attracts "the circle of disciples." The followers as a brotherhood - often after death or deposition of the leader - spread his ideal or message. Finally there comes the systematizing and standardizing of the religion into an institution with a "doctrinal statement."²⁷

Florence Deacon's dissertation on Catholic sisterhoods in Wisconsin, discussing their evolution from "handmaids" to "autonomous women," builds on the work of Misner and indicates trends in American Catholic historiography.²⁸ Margaret Susan Thompson's survey of "Women and American Catholicism 1789-1989" also illustrates the new religious history. She contrasts the official patriarchal view of women religious as subordinate and domestic with the reality of their contributions as innovators and professionals. Nuns had some autonomy as male clerics needed them to run Catholic institutions.²⁹ Susan Peterson and Courtney Ann Vaughan-Roberson show the Irish Presentation Sisters moving from North to South Dakota and then negotiating their own professional development in teaching and nursing, just as the Sisters of Saint Ann were to do in British Columbia.³⁰

Themes noted for Catholic sisterhoods in France and North America also dominate the recent historiography of nuns in Ireland and Australia.³¹ Similar themes also mark the historiography of religious women's organizations outside the Roman

Catholic Church. American and Canadian scholars working through Protestant records have done valuable service in giving comparative material on eastern and western, home and foreign missions. By the late 1800s top-rate women missionaries were sent overseas and the less able kept for home mission work with Native North Americans or immigrants. Brouwer's New Women for God on Canadian Presbyterian women in India discusses a special aspect of their mission, namely the significance of 'the famine generation.' Numbers of widows and orphans became the major convert group for these Canadian missionaries in India, enabling them to finally achieve and report 'success' to fundraisers at home.³²

Margaret Whitehead's essays on a variety of Catholic and Protestant women missionaries in British Columbia from the 1850s to the 1940s, like those of Rosemary Gagan on Methodists or Myra Rutherford on Anglicans in the same era, contribute to a general picture of the competition the Roman Catholic Sisters of Saint Ann were to face.³³ These historians recognize neither the importance of Aboriginal and halfbreed women and children as a client group for Pacific Coast missionaries, nor the significance of the number of Aboriginal and halfbreed women who had French-Canadian or Métis partners. This dissertation, based on francophone sources, does include some discussion of these people. Margaret Whitehead and Jo-Anne Fiske have both done oral histories on francophone Catholic sisters who taught in residential schools in British Columbia.³⁴ Neither of them, however, has done extensive research in French language archives of the congregations concerned.

Few Canadian studies of male religious organizations say much on gender in modern historical terms. Histories of the Roman Catholic Church in New France, Quebec and Canada such as those of Cornelius Jaenen, Nive Voisine, Roberto Perin and

Terence Murphy and Gerald Stortz do provide necessary background on the structure of politics, the financing of organizations, and the society and culture, especially in national and ethnic terms.³⁵

Published essays from the four symposia on the Oblates in Western and Northern Canada do include several probes into the Oblate relationship with teaching and nursing Sisters.³⁶ Donat Levasseur's survey of the Oblates in Western and Northern Canada is a French-language synthesis based on years of archival study and teaching on the topic.³⁷ Anglophone scholars are fortunate to have four other recent volumes on the Oblates. Robert Choquette's The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest employs a military analogy to portray the congregation's efforts to convert Aboriginal peoples and counter Protestant competition. Choquette, a francophone religious studies professor, gives a clear explanation in English of Oblate mission and Roman Catholic practices in the nineteenth century.³⁸ Martha McCarthy's From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene 1845-1921 combines the results of her fine doctoral study on Oblate origins and reports of the Dene response with her more recent research on the Grey Nuns and with interviews with Dene elders. McCarthy sheds particular light on the role of the Grey Nuns in mission schools and orphanages.³⁹

Anne-Hélène Kerbiriou, in her Les Indiens de l'ouest canadien vus par les Oblats, considers the photographs Oblates took in Alberta and the North West Territories as a documentary source on their missionary ideology.⁴⁰ The Oblate pictures featured romantic, heroic Catholic priests and the Aboriginal peoples they aimed to convert. Nuns appeared on the margins of photographs of Aboriginal converts at missions and

schools, just as the Sisters of Saint Ann are positioned in Oblate photographs of such institutions in British Columbia.

Huel's 1996 Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis draws on his background in French-Canadian and western Canadian history. He deals sensitively with the Prairie province Oblates and their Native audiences sensitively.⁴¹ Yet he does not hesitate to criticize Oblate limitations with respect to race, ethnicity, culture. He points out, for example, the failure of Oblates in the Canadian West to encourage a Native priesthood in contrast with their counterparts in Ceylon. Huel might follow John Webster Grant in probing further the politics of gender and mission. Grant found women composed two-thirds of the staff in many Presbyterian western missions.⁴²

Only a few comparisons of women and men as missionaries have been produced. Natalie Zemon Davis discusses Ursulines and Jesuits in early New France in her study on Mère Marie de l'Incarnation.⁴³ Suzanne Schrems' dissertation deals with the Sisters of Providence of Montreal and the Ursulines teaching at the Jesuits' United States Montana mission 1864-1900.⁴⁴ Lucie Champagne and Micheline Dumont compare the financing of teaching Sisters and teaching Brothers' schools in Quebec.⁴⁵ Bernard Denault looks at male and female religious congregations in nineteenth century Quebec.⁴⁶ Guy Laperrière draws on Denault and the French historian Claude Langlois in writing about French congregations of men and women establishing foundations in Quebec between 1880 and 1914.⁴⁷

The most useful religious comparative study for this dissertation is Diane Langmore's Missionary Lives, Papua, 1874-1914. Langmore did a collective biography of 300 European women and men, anglophone and francophone, Protestant and Catholic missionaries in New Guinea. Langmore concludes these women missionaries

had longer careers, better social networks and more social power than might be expected. Like the male missionaries, however, they remained exiles in the region and did not form dynasties the way other Pacific Islands missionaries had.⁴⁸

Mary Kinnear's In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870-1970 offers another relevant comparative study - in this case secular. Kinnear discusses the gendered lives of Manitoba women lawyers, doctors, nurses, university professors and school teachers. She draws on the formulation of Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater in Unequal Colleagues regarding the historic careers of women professionals in North America. These, according to Glazer and Slater could follow one of four patterns: subordination, a separate women's culture, super performance, or innovation.⁴⁹ In Manitoba Kinnear found that women teachers had similar education to men teachers but were unequal in status and role. The women's responses to their subordination ranged from acceptance to resistance. The Sisters of Saint Ann's gendered lives paralleled those of the Manitoba women professionals in many ways, even though the nuns had a separate women's organization and culture and some opportunities to be superperformers or innovators.

Institutional histories of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates deserve mention as background studies. Although Sister Mary Theodore's Heralds of Christ the King and Adrien-Gabriel Morice's History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada can be classed as triumphalist hagiography, they evoke the spirit of the pioneer mission age as recorded by second generation missionary historians.⁵⁰ Morice wrote his book in a more academic format but also in a more partisan French and Catholic style than did Sister Theodore. When in the 1950s Kay Cronin produced her Cross in the Wilderness as a popular history of the Oblates, she was aided by the research of George Forbes

O.M.I. Twentieth-century publications by historians of both congregations merit scholarly attention. Oblates Gaston Carrière and George Forbes composed both academic and popular works discussing British Columbia Oblates.⁵¹ The Quebec Sisters of Saint Anne produced a survey of the congregation from its founding in 1850 to 1900 in both French and English versions, and a French-language survey of the period from 1900 to 1950.⁵² Augustine Prévost did a study of the Sisters of Saint Anne as educators.⁵³ Sisters Edith Down and Margaret Cantwell provide us with narratives of the Sisters of Saint Ann's service in British Columbia since 1858 and in Alaska and Yukon since 1886.⁵⁴

Little secondary work is available, however, on Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblate Fathers and Brothers as teachers. Micheline Dumont's comparative work on the finances of teaching Sisters and Brothers in Quebec has been mentioned. Studies of educational history, particularly those of feminist historians of central Canada like Dumont, do cast some light on teaching Sisters and the feminization of teaching. J.R. Miller's Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools provides a national survey including analysis of gender relations. However, Miller did little on the francophone sisterhoods who did the yeoman work of Catholic residential schools.⁵⁵ Martha McCarthy's volume on the Oblates and the Dene shows what might be done by looking at the Oblate and the Grey Nuns' records.⁵⁶

Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates are rarely mentioned in historians' British Columbia studies. When they are, the secondary works cited are sociological rather than historical, and productive of stereotypes rather than fair and accurate interpretation. Two sources frequently cited by British Columbia historians with reference to Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates are Celia Haig-Brown's Resistance and

Renewal and Edwin M. Lemert's "The Life and Death of an Indian State." ⁵⁷ In terms of my fabric analogy, both treat evidence of the lives of the Sisters and the Oblates as simply a dark old remnant of white anglophone colonialism.

But this cloth is not just a simple dark old remnant. Yet, where British Columbia scholars have interpreted this or similar pieces of fabric, they have spent little time analyzing its nature. Any research they have done on the context of Catholic missionary effort has been in secular publications. Rarely have anglophone British Columbia scholars done any research on original French documents. They have quickly pictured the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblate history in black and white terms, as mainly black – a relic of capitalist, imperialist, patriarchal oppression – and shoved it in as a swatch at the edge of a quilt constructed on the lines set by critical theorists in sociology. In Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School, Celia Haig-Brown looked at the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Native residential school at Kamloops, British Columbia without consulting the congregation's archives. Rather, she presented "the history of the school from a Native perspective," using thirteen interviews as "the kernel of the data." Haig-Brown saw herself as a "quiltmaker" arranging the stories or squares "in an effective design."⁵⁸ Her book has been widely cited as the reference on male and female Catholic missionaries in residential schools through historic time. Gender historians such as Veronica Strong-Boag have not questioned her assumption that Oblates set policy and Sisters slaved to carry it out.⁵⁹ Scholars who have challenged Haig-Brown's views and questioned both her documentary and oral history research, such as Robert Carney, have been ignored. His studies of the Grey Nuns' work in the North West Territories deserve more attention.⁶⁰

American Anthropologist Edwin M. Lemert's 1954 article, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," is used by scholars as the standard reference on the Oblate missionaries in British Columbia.⁶¹ Lemert, in a fashion similar to Haig-Brown, arranged information from a few documents and books on Oblate missions along with his own brief field notes into his portrayal of the 'Durieu System.' Lemert contends Oblate Paul Durieu himself created a theocratic system for the First Nations of British Columbia and applied it quickly and successfully. This argument originated with Adrien-Gabriel Morice O.M.I. in his publications at the turn of the century. Morice drew on printed Oblate mission reports, selecting material favourable to the Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada and particularly to francophone Oblates.⁶² Lemert did not contextualize Morice's partisanship. Furthermore, although he did consult some of Durieu's correspondence, including letters countering the success of the mission system, Lemert warned the Oblate archivist in Ottawa not to let others consult them.⁶³ He seems to have been concerned that other scholars might question his findings. He need not have worried. Few historians have consulted Oblate archival documents in English or in French. Fewer still have checked Lemert's facts or challenged his interpretation. It is ironic that two recent generations of anthropologists have built their careers studying the Salishan cultures the Durieu system supposedly wiped out.⁶⁴

Secular and anglophone biases contribute to present day scholarly neglect of religious women's archives as they do of men's. Historians' traditional gender bias has led them to overlook also the published histories equivalent to Adrien-Gabriel Morice's 1910 History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, such as Sister Mary Theodore's Heralds of Christ the King.⁶⁵ Elizabeth Rapley explains "[F]eminine congregations of

early modern France were almost buried from . . . view” owing to the French Revolution’s “disruption,” the republican historians’ “contempt,” and religious historians’ “condescension.” Nuns are ignored by present-day historians who too readily “accept at face value the women’s own lowly and humble self-image. Only lately have historians begun to investigate the possibility that these. . . women may have had a real effect both upon their times and upon their own condition.”⁶⁶ That is part of the rationale for this dissertation.

BUILDING ON THE LITERATURE, APPLYING THE ANALOGY

This dissertation builds on existing scholarship by looking at aspects of missionary lives and at sources which have as yet received little academic attention. Research is based primarily on records of the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann and the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia, and on complementary records of the Department of Indian Affairs. These sources – diaries, chronicles, codexes, correspondence, supervisory and published reports, internal histories, obituaries – have strengths and limitations. So do the printed biographies or necrologies on each deceased member of the congregation. The Oblates did not compile these accounts as regularly as the nuns, nor use them in commemorative services, but did, particularly at the end of the nineteenth century, make efforts to publish articles on pioneer missionaries in their order’s journals. The raw correspondence and reports in the Indian Affairs files of the National Archives, like the printed annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, have further limitations. They are predominantly anglophone, Protestant in tone and male in authorship. Women are rarely mentioned.

The nineteenth century Sisters of Saint Ann necrologies, like modern feminist scholars’ collections of women’s life histories, ‘are not objective.’ Their “subjective

views of women's experiences . . . are important in feminist research," according to Susan Geiger. "Life histories reflect a critical feminist question: consciousness is not simply an act of interpretation, but of constructing the social world as well."⁶⁷ It is important to see the nuns' necrologies[obituaries] in historical context. Nineteenth-century Roman Catholic Sisters read out the necrologies of deceased community members at prayers each day. They used them to create a communal identity, linking them "to a larger tradition of belief and heritage," and giving them "the spiritual strength to continue their work."⁶⁸

The nuns' documents from the nineteenth century voice the views and experiences of women members of a religious congregation. The records are naturally biased to the women's religious and social ideas and by their particular, semi-cloistered position in the Catholic Church and in British Columbia society. Similarly Oblate archival materials are biased to their ideas as Roman Catholic priests and brothers, and by the priests' positions as ordained Catholic leaders in the Church and in British Columbia society.

The Sisters of Saint Ann archives in Victoria and the Oblate archives in Vancouver have limited access to private personnel files, such as medical records, and those concerning ongoing work as teachers. Records on personnel that are not accessible include registers of persons who attempted the noviciate but did not take vows, and those who might have been refused entry. Nineteenth century requirements for entrance to the noviciate included proof of legitimate birth. The Sisters did allow me access to quantitative information on the noviciate and on their hospital patients. The Oblate archives in British Columbia did not include a noviciate register. Nineteenth century Oblates in this province did not write up their provincial council

minutes, their codexes [house logs], and their necrologies as consistently as did the Sisters of Saint Ann. For example, there is a published necrology on every Sister of Saint Ann, but none on 9 of 20 Oblate priests in the first generation in British Columbia. Most Oblate brothers had only a one line death notice. Furthermore the itinerant nature of Oblate mission effort affected retention of records.

I have not been able to access files on 1858 to 1914 at the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver and diocese of Victoria Archives. However, the Sisters of Saint Ann Archives Victoria and Lachine, and the Oblate Archives in Vancouver hold correspondence between the nuns and the bishops of these dioceses, especially as Oblate priests served as bishops of the mainland from 1863 to 1908. Vincent J. McNally has published from his research in the Victoria diocesan archives.⁶⁹ By contrast, Marta Danylewycz researched diocesan records in writing her study of the Congregation of Notre Dame in Quebec 1840-1920, but could not use the congregation archives, as they had been destroyed in a late nineteenth-century fire.⁷⁰

In researching provincial archives and those of the Department of Indian Affairs, it is important to recognize their limitations, and to beware of stereotypes. Finding aids overlook or ignore most teaching Sisters and Brothers. Modern stereotypes regarding Indian residential schools as agents of 'White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant-Imperialism' can be read back into the past. The Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates were francophone Roman Catholic organizations. They began mission schools for the children of Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia from religious motives and without government funding or regulation. These missionaries shared some of the racial views of the other white settlers, but stood at a distance from Protestant, British Imperialism, being both Catholic and French in origin. Modern researchers in government archives

need to be reminded that English-Canadian commentaries on Catholics and Catholic congregations come from a long heritage of Protestant and secular biases. They would do well to consult J.R. Miller's "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," and Fritz Pannekoek's "'Insidious' Sources and the Historical Interpretation of the Pre-1870 West."⁷¹

During preparation of this dissertation I have become aware of the varying inclusiveness of the different sets of documents consulted. While researching the Oblate records I often noted how rarely nuns or lay women were mentioned. Going through the Department of Indian Affairs annual reports or documentary materials in RG 10 of the National Archives proved more unsettling. Male, Anglo-Protestant officials dominated the texts. Women, especially religious women of Catholic and French heritage, were marginalized or altogether omitted. Likewise newspapers and local histories rarely mentioned Roman Catholic Sisters or Brothers. Mixed race children and adults who sought out missionary services did appear in the Sisters' records. They also appeared in unpublished Oblate or government documents, but rarely in printed versions. No doubt this occurred because sisterhoods were sent to the missions to care for all the needy, while male missionaries were charged with converting 'Indians' and government bureaucrats with controlling them. Published Oblate and government records focussed on 'Indians', especially the men, and on activities of organizational leaders. The norms for discussion in Oblate, government and newspaper sources were male. The Oblate writings were French or Irish Roman Catholic in viewpoint, while the latter two types of sources had an Anglo-Protestant cast. The Sisters' records were more inclusive by gender, class and race, but feminine and Roman Catholic in emphasis.

In sum, all the primary sources consulted for this study were biased by gender, religion, ethnicity, race and class, but especially by gender, and must accordingly be interpreted with care.

The next chapter will open the discussion by surveying the background and expectations of the two groups of Roman Catholic missionaries who went to British Columbia in the mid nineteenth-century.

Notes

- 1 The fabric analogy that deserves comment is not original to me. Sister Mary Harper S.A., Mother General of the Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement, particularly inspired me with her comments at their seventieth anniversary in Vancouver on May 18, 1996. She described congregational history in terms of sisters weaving the fabric of their own lives, not following threads already set by male ecclesiastics.
In this dissertation, fabric stands for evidence on the past, not history writing. Historians have used fabric as an analogy both in terms of evidence on the past and in terms of historians writing up history and thereby composing the fabric. The evidence like the history writing was itself constructed in specific social contexts. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3 and 11.
- 2 D. Herlihy, Medieval Households (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985).
- 3 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on her Diary, 1785-1812 (New York: Vintage Books, Random House 1991, c. 1990 Alfred A. Knopf), 75-76.
- 4 Stephanie Burley, "None More Anonymous: Catholic Teaching Nuns, Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1925," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1992): 143-144. Also see Susan Mann Trofimenkoff writing on "Feminist Biography" as a tool for women's history in Atlantis 10: 2 (Spring 1985): 5-7.
- 5 Laurence Stone, "Prosopography," Daedalus 100 (Winter 1971): 46-79.
- 6 Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, editors, Gender and History in Canada, (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996). See Peter Filene, "The Secrets of Men's History," in The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies, ed. Harry Brod (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 103-119.
- 7 Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women's History," Journal of Canadian Studies 27, 3 (Fall 1992): 57; Gail Malmgreen, ed. Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
- 8 Nancy Adamson et al, Feminists Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 217 ff. on the 'sisterhood' of 1970s feminists.
- 9 Judith M. Bennett et al, editors, Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), especially 198-207, Jane Tippetts Schulenberg, "Women's Monastic Communities, 500-1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline."
- 10 Jo Ann McNamara, "A Legacy of Miracles: Hagiography and Nunneries in Merovingian Gaul," in Women of the the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 37-52.
- 11 Caroline Walker Bynum, Steven Harrell and Paula Richman, editors, Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), in particular Bynum's essay, 257-288, "... And Woman His Humanity": Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages." See also Caroline Walker Bynum, Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

- 12 Jo Ann Kay McNamara's Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1996).
- 13 Marie Augusta Neal SNDDN, From Nuns To Sisters: An Expanding Vocation (Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-Third Publications, 1990) cited in Elizabeth Smyth, "Christian Perfection and Service to Neighbours. The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Toronto 1851-1920," in E.G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley, eds., Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 47.
- 14 Micheline D'Allaire, Les dots des religieuses au Canada français, 1639-1800: étude économique et sociale (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH Ltée., 1986), 170 and 186 note 5. The twentieth century image of the Congregation of Notre Dame as an old and elite educational sisterhood in the Montreal diocese has made people forget "ses origines paysannes."
- 15 Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal, trans. Liana Vardi (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, c. 1974 Paris), 270-271 and 277.
- 16 Mary Anne Foley, "La vie voyageuse for Women: Moving Beyond Cloister in Seventeenth-Century New France," CCHA Historical Studies 63 (1997): 15-28. See also Elizabeth Rapley, The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 170-173.
- 17 Patricia Simpson, Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 31-32, 184. See also Rapley, The Dévotes, 170-173.
- 18 Rapley, The Dévotes, 193-194.
- 19 Rapley, The Dévotes, 254, 100-112. Micheline D'Allaire, L'Hôpital Général de Québec 1692-1764 (Montréal: Fides, 1971), 150-151. At L'Hôpital Général de Québec women became members of the sisterhood by taking vows as choir sisters (vocales), auxiliary sisters (convers), or, without taking vows but in accordance with religious rules as "soeurs données."
- 20 Estelle Mitchell, s.g.m., The Grey Nuns of Montreal and the Red River Settlement 1844-1984, trans. J.F. O'Sullivan and C. Rioux (Montréal: Éditions du Meridien, 1987, English translation 1991), 37-47.
- 21 Claude Langlois, Le catholicisme au féminin. Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984). Their first Quebec school, in St. Jacques de l'Achigan in 1842 in Montreal diocese, relocated closer to the city in 1853. See Guy Laperrière, Les congrégations religieuses de la France au Québec 1880-1914 Tome I: Premières bourrasques 1880-1900 (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 27; and Diane Bélanger and Lucie Rozon, Les Religieuses au Québec (Montréal: Libre Expression, 1982), 294.
- 22 Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Eid, Les couventines. L'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes 1840-1860 (Montréal: Boréal, 1986); Thérèse Hamel, Un siècle de formation des maîtres au Québec 1836-1939 (Ville la Salle, Québec: Éditions Hurtubise HMH Ltée., 1995); Marguerite Jean, s.c.i.m., Évolution des communautés religieuses de femmes au Canada de 1639 à nos jours (Montréal: Fides, 1977); Marie-Paul Malouin, Ma Soeur, à quelle école allez-vous? Deux écoles de filles à la fin du XIXe siècle (Montréal: Fides, 1985); Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).

- 23 Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).
- 24 Elizabeth Smyth, "Christian Perfection and Service to Neighbours," in Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. E. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 38-54; Sheila Andrew, "Selling Education: The Problem of Convent Schools in Acadian New Brunswick, 1858-1886," CCHA Historical Studies 62 (1996): 15-32; Elizabeth McGahan, "The Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception: A Canadian Case Study," CCHA Historical Studies 61 (1995): 99-133.
- 25 Anne Gagnon, "The Pensionnat Assomption: Religious Nationalism in a Franco-Albertan Boarding School for Girls, 1926-1960," Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation 1,1 (Spring 1989): 95-117, looks at the francophone schools for girls begun by the Sisters of the Assumption from Nicolet, Quebec in Edmonton, Alberta. Sister Margaret McGovern SP analyzed the relationship between Oblates of Mary Immaculate and Sisters of Providence in western Canadian missions and schools in "Perspective on the Oblates: The Experience of the Sisters of Providence," in Western Oblate Studies 3/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 3, ed. Raymond Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1994), 91-108.
- 26 Barbara Misner, Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies: Catholic Women Religious in America 1790-1850, (New York: Garland, 1988).
- 27 Misner, Highly Respectable, 13-14.
- 28 Florence Deacon, "Handmaids or Autonomous Women: The Charitable Activities, Institution Building and Communal Relationships of Catholic Sisters in 19th Century Wisconsin" (Ph.D. diss. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1989).
- 29 Margaret Susan Thompson, "Women and American Catholicism," in Stephen J. Vicchio and Virginia Geiger, eds., Perspectives on the American Catholic Church 1789-1989 (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1989), cited in Suzanne Schrems, "God's Women: Sisters of Charity of Providence and Ursuline Nuns in Montana, 1864-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1992), 3-5.
- 30 Susan Peterson and Courtney Ann Vaughan-Roberson, Women With Vision: The Presentation Sisters of South Dakota 1880-1985 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
- 31 For Ireland see Catriona Clear, Nuns in Nineteenth Century Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987); Mary Cullen, ed., Girls Don't Do Honors. Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Dublin: Argus Press and the Women's Educational Bureau, 1987); and Suellen Hoy, "The Journey Out: The Recruitment and Emigration of Irish Religious Women to the United States 1812-1914," Journal of Women's History 7,2 (Summer 1995): 64-98.
For Australia see Stephanie Burley, "None More Anonymous? Catholic Teaching Nuns, Their Secondary Schools and Catholic Students in South Australia 1880-1925 (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Adelaide, Australia, 1992).
- 32 Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God. Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 119-127.
- 33 Margaret Whitehead, "'Women Were Made for Such Things': Women Missionaries in British Columbia 1850s-1940s," Atlantis 14 (Fall 1988): 141-150; "'A Useful Christian Woman': First Nations Women and Protestant Missionary Work in British Columbia," Atlantis 18, 1/2 (Fall/Winter 1992-

Spring/Summer 1993): 142-166; and "'Let the Women Keep Silence': Women Missionary Preachers in British Columbia, 1860s-1940s," in Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. E.G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 117-135.

Rosemary Gagan, A Sensitive Independence. Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992). Myra Rutherford, "Revisiting Colonization Through Gender: Anglican Missionary Women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945," BC Studies 104 (Winter 1994-95): 3-23.

34 Margaret Whitehead, Now You Are My Brother: Missionaries in British Columbia. Sound Heritage Series No. 34 (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1981); and Jo-Anne Fiske, "Life at Lejac," in SA TS'E: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia, ed. Thomas Thorner (Prince George: College of New Caledonia Press, 1989), 235-272. See also Jo-Anne Fiske, "Pocahontas's Granddaughters: Spiritual Transition and Tradition of Carrier Women of British Columbia," Ethnohistory 43,4 (Fall 1996): 675.

35 Cornelius Jaenen, The Role of the Church in New France (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1976). Nive Voisine directed the five volume Histoire du catholicisme québécois project. Nive Voisine co-authored Volume II, Philippe Sylvain et Nive Voisine, Histoire du catholicisme québécois, Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, Tome 2: Réveil et consolidation (Montréal: Boréal, 1991). Roberto Perin, Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). Terence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, eds., Creed and Culture: The Place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993). See also the valuable work of Paul Laverdure, Redemption and Renewal: The Redemptorists of English Canada, 1834-1994 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996).

36 Margaret McGovern, SP, "Perspective on the Oblates: The Experience of the Sisters of Providence," in Western Oblate Studies 3/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 3, ed. Raymond Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1994), 91-108.

37 Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., Les Oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada, 1845-1967 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995).

38 Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995).

39 Martha McCarthy, From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene 1845-1921 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995).

40 Anne-Hélène Kerbirou, Les Indiens de l'ouest canadien vus par les Oblats, (Sillery: Les Editions du Septentrion, 1996).

41 Raymond Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996) .

42 John W. Grant, "Two-Thirds of the Revenue: Presbyterian Women and Native Indian Missions," in Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. E.G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 99-116.

43 Natalie Zemon Davis, Women on the Margins. Three Seventeenth Century Lives (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 93-99.

- 44 Suzanne Schrems, "God's Women: Sisters of Charity of Providence and Ursuline Nuns in Montana, 1864-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1992).
- 45 Lucie Champagne and Micheline Dumont, "Le financement d'un séminaire diocésain. Le Séminaire de Sherbrooke, 1915-1950. Comparaison avec le financement des pensionnats de religieuses," Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation 2,2 (1990): 339-351.
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CHAPTER THREE: ORIGINS AND EXPECTATIONS

In 1858 both the Sisters of Saint Anne and the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate established missions in the territory now known as British Columbia.¹ Comparison of the origins and expectations of the two groups indicates how autonomy and asymmetry marked gender relations for both congregations in the church and in the world. The Sisters of Saint Anne were founded by Mother Marie-Anne [Esther Blondin] in the diocese of Montreal in 1850.² Bishop Bourget of Montreal clashed with and then deposed the foundress, replacing her with Sister Marie-Angèle. Despite this, the nuns developed their own sisterhood and religious mission. They volunteered to assist in his mission a fellow French-Canadian, Modeste Demers, the bishop of Vancouver Island, and sent him a group of nuns in 1858. The Oblates, founded in 1816 in Provence, struggled to develop their congregation within the Roman Catholic Church of post-revolutionary France. Ventures to foreign missions spurred Oblate growth. The founding superior, Eugene de Mazenod, sent a group of priests and brothers to assist the Quebec mission to the Pacific in Oregon Territory in 1847. By 1858 the Oregon Oblates' differences with the bishops and the settlers of the American frontier led to their superior's decision to move from the United States to Vancouver Island so as to exercise their mission autonomously.³

ORIGINS OF RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS OF WOMEN IN QUEBEC

Scholars who have researched Quebec Catholic women's congregations in the nineteenth century have focussed on their history in that territory, while the significant role of these women in the Catholic missions to the West has been largely overlooked.

In his recent survey of those efforts, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest, Robert Choquette casts women religious as humble footsoldiers, numerous but silent labourers in the campaign of conversion directed by male ecclesiastical commanders.⁴

Research in the archives of one such congregation, the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, shows that these women brought west from the Montreal diocese their own identity, their own sense of sisterhood and religious mission. This identity developed as they negotiated their own way in the patriarchal civil and ecclesiastical communities of the Pacific West. This very identity assisted the Sisters of Saint Ann in overcoming the disadvantages of being women in a man's world.⁵

The origins of the Sisters of Saint Anne lie in both the history of women religious or nuns and the history of Quebec in the mid-nineteenth century. Medieval historians trace the development of nuns' work as mystics and ministers in building the Roman Catholic Church. Through the early modern era autonomous women's organizations struggled to survive in a church whose male leaders were sometimes encouraging, and other times repressive.⁶ Some sisterhoods were cloistered and some not. Sisters were both constrained and liberated by their enclosure in cloistered convents following the rulings of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Women religious could work together, write the biographies of their members, promote the sainthood of their female spiritual leaders, and network with the communities outside their walls. Sisterhoods used devotions to their saints to defend their position in the world. In some eras, however, male politicians and church leaders dominated or even destroyed large formally organized sisterhoods.

All through the Christian era smaller, informally organized communities of women exercised an active apostolic ministry outside monastic enclosures. In a study

of nineteenth-century French congregations of women Claude Langlois points out the heritage of these women including medieval beguines, the beates of Le Puy diocese, and the filles seculières. Such “bonnes soeurs,” or Sisters of Charity, rose up particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They continued through war, revolution and changes in the papacy or Vatican regulations. The many nineteenth century French active sisterhoods were founded not by the call of men after the revolution, but from the ongoing work of religious women.⁷

Elizabeth Rapley’s The Dévotes outlines how, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, French women inspired by a religious revival to do charitable works through non-cloistered or secular congregations began to organize.⁸ Male church administrators in old France and its colony of New France did not call these women forth. They came forth on their own as secular sisters, did good works and gained the support of local communities and male church leaders. By the 1700s it had become normal and necessary for active women religious to do charitable works. Thus male clerics approved their efforts though still constraining them via rules and regulations.

Popular traditions influenced how the women’s congregations did their work. The Congregation of Notre Dame founded in 1658 by Marguerite Bourgeoys, and the Grey Nuns of Montreal founded in 1737 by Marguerite d’Youville, are examples. Male clerics limited their official members under the French colonial government prior to 1760, and under the British in the 1760s-1840s. But the tradition of lay women associates assisting in the work of congregation members continued. Eventually, the public and church leaders came to rely on the services of these congregations.⁹

The Congregation of Notre Dame ran schools for the children of Montreal and also for those in smaller towns.¹⁰ These Sisters also undertook charitable works in general. The Grey Nuns established institutions called in French “asiles” and “hôpitaux,” charitable institutions that combined services to young and old members of the urban poor. The Grey Nuns’ teaching activities consisted mainly of catechism and elementary instruction for children in day nurseries.¹¹ The Hôtels Dieux (or hospitals), by contrast, originated from Royal initiatives and were staffed by cloistered nuns. In the convents of New France “three distinct social grades [of nuns] performed different functions.” Choir Sisters from seigneurial families directed or taught. “Convers,” nuns from ordinary families, took minor vows and cared for the sick. Données “performed domestic service in return for their keep.” Wealthy patrons paid the dowries of some lower class girls who entered as “religieuses de choeur.” The average age at entrance, nineteen, supports the argument that such women opted to enter the congregation, rather than joining late in life for lack of husbands.¹²

Descriptions of the vibrant continuity of women’s congregations in Quebec after the British Conquest of 1760 run counter to the picture often presented in histories of women and religion in Quebec. Some scholars regard the years from 1760 to 1840 as the dark age when women’s congregations, lacking French government and elite aid, struggled to survive.¹³ Such scholars would agree with Jan Noel’s argument that by the mid-nineteenth century women “activists were overshadowed” by men in the provision of social welfare. In the Montreal region, for example, Bishop Bourget had men direct but let women continue “to supply much of the labour.”¹⁴

Yet the research of historian Allan Greer on rural Quebec society from 1760 to 1840 confirms findings of feminine agency in popular culture. According to Greer, the

religious revival in Quebec in the 1840s, albeit conservative, offered women opportunities in parish devotional organizations and in new or expanding religious congregations. 15

Quebec sisterhoods of the mid-nineteenth century drew on the traditions and the pedagogy of French Catholic women's charitable institutions. It was "a pedagogy based on conversion and withdrawal from the world." The terminology nuns applied to their clients is significant. Needy children were classed as orphans or "preservés." Destitute women seeking refuge might also be given the latter title. Women of ill repute who sought the nuns' assistance were encouraged to progress through stages of a redeemed religious life. They could become penitents or advance to religious vows as Magdalenes, although very few women did so.¹⁶

The Grey Nuns, the Sisters of Providence, the French Sisters of the Good Shepherd, and the Sisters of Misericorde took the initiative during the crises of the 1840s, the peak years of the Irish famine immigration, in giving spiritual and physical relief to masses of men, women and children in the Montreal diocese.¹⁷ The nuns' achievements in social work should not be subsumed under those of male church leaders, like Bishop Bourget, as Jan Noel and J.I. Cooper suggest.¹⁸

Nor should the nineteenth-century expansion of teaching sisterhoods in Quebec be attributed to Bourget alone. Micheline Dumont remarks that in Quebec in 1841 there were only two Roman Catholic teaching congregations of women and twenty boarding schools and seven other schools.¹⁹ By the 1890s ten Quebec congregations had been founded, members of several French congregations had established Quebec convents and the number of boarding and day schools run by nuns had risen to 265.²⁰ Dumont, like Marta Danylewycz, correctly attributes the increase in teaching sisterhoods to

women's economic and social aspirations in a rural society just beginning to industrialize.²¹

Legislators, church leaders and parents in French-Canadian society supported development of government-funded but religiously-separate elementary schools for the general population. During the late nineteenth century most of the Catholic schools were French-speaking and nearly all of the Protestant schools were English-speaking.²² Within the Catholic system the majority of teachers were women, with religious women and men the majority in urban areas. Protestant schools in Quebec were staffed by lay people. As in Catholic schools, women formed the majority both of rural teachers and of elementary teachers.²³

During the nineteenth century, fee-paying convent academies for daughters of affluent Quebec families grew along with the economy and women's congregations. Boarding schools run by teaching sisterhoods served both as female secondary schools and normal schools. Their student fees subsidized the sisterhoods' charity schools and orphanages. The provincial government did not develop, run or fund girls' secondary education, as the women's congregations, supported by churchmen, guarded their right to do so. Each congregation developed its own program of studies and teacher training system, although these were not that dissimilar.²⁴ By contrast in other provinces of Canada most convent academies, whether associated with government funded separate school operations or not, began to use the provincial department of education program of studies.²⁵

Two of the religious congregations of women running convent boarding schools in Quebec in the mid-nineteenth century, the Congregation of Notre Dame and the Religious of the Sacred Heart, served as the models for new congregations established

in that era.²⁶ Both the Congregation of Notre Dame and the Religious of the Sacred Heart used the profits of their elite convent academies to run charity schools for the poor and, in some cases, missions.²⁷

THE FOUNDING OF THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANNE IN QUEBEC

The foundress of the Sisters of Saint Anne, Esther Sureau dit Blondin, organized a group of women interested in teaching school to rural boys and girls in the parish of St. Michel de Vaudreuil, twenty-four miles west of Montreal, in the 1830s and 1840s.²⁸ Esther and her colleague Suzanne Pineault had both been students of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Esther, a poor farm girl, had only begun her education at age nineteen when she went to work for the Sisters of the convent at Terrebonne, Lower Canada.²⁹ Blondin and Pineault both attempted the noviciate of this congregation but left for health reasons. However, both were interested in teaching elementary schools in their rural home district. In 1833 Blondin accepted a teaching position in Pineault's private school at Vaudreuil. When Pineault retired in 1839, Blondin took over the direction of the school.³⁰ She grew concerned about the illiteracy of most rural youths. The Vaudreuil curé, Paul-Loup Archambault, a supporter of parish schools, assisted her educational efforts as he saw the opportunity of taking advantage of new legislative provisions for funding schools in the United Canadas.³¹

In 1840 Ignace Bourget became bishop of Montreal. Bourget, who championed the Catholic cause with dynamism and an emphasis on ultramontanism, promoted the dominance of the church in education.³² He welcomed the interest of Esther Blondin and her colleagues in founding a religious community to provide education for rural youth. Bourget appointed the parish priest at Vaudreuil, Paul-Loup Archambault, as chaplain to the group and supported Blondin as she organized her religious

congregation in 1849 and 1850.³³ It was patterned on the early Congregation of Notre Dame which taught both girls and boys of the countryside and trained rural school teachers.³⁴

In September 1850, Esther Blondin and her companions took vows and religious names as Sisters of Saint Anne. Blondin, now known as Soeur Marie-Anne, was elected as superior general. As such she became known as Mother Marie-Anne and took charge of organizing pedagogy and expansion of the congregation to other parishes.³⁵

By 1853 the young congregation needed to build a new boarding school at Vaudreuil to accommodate both pupils and aspirants. When the fabrique or council of the parish of Vaudreuil declined financial assistance, Bishop Bourget arranged for the administration of the congregation and the noviciate to move to St. Jacques de l'Achigan [Montcalm]. There the Sisters of Saint Anne would move into a boarding school recently vacated by the Religious of the Sacred Heart.³⁶

At St. Jacques de l'Achigan, Mother Marie-Anne and her congregation met their newly assigned chaplain, Louis-Delphis-Adolphe Maréchal. The middle-aged Mother Marie-Anne was soon locked in a conflict with the young priest. Maréchal "felt torn . . . between a life of action" and a life of the spirit. Since his ordination as a priest, he had held several appointments and been dissatisfied with all. He sought the chaplaincy of the Sisters of Sainte Anne in order to fulfill his spiritual yearnings.³⁷ He may also have hoped to gain the religious status accorded the associates of the saintly foundress of the Religious of the Sacred Heart.

The founding members of the Sisters of Saint Anne were French-Canadian country-women, many of limited educational background, but all inspired by the 1840s religious revival in their province. That event was not a simple reaction to the Lower

Canadian rebellions of 1837 and 1838. Rather it was linked to contemporary Catholic revivals and temperance crusades in the United States and Europe.³⁸ These women, like the founding members of the Sisters of Charity of Providence of Montreal, held different expectations of their personal mission than did the male clerics.³⁹ The desire of Mother Marie-Anne and the Sisters of Saint Anne to teach both young boys and girls conflicted with the policies of Bishop Bourget and his clerical appointees. Bourget, in approving a sisterhood teaching of mixed or coeducational classes had gone against the official policy of the church. He moved quickly and harshly to rectify the error.⁴⁰

The chaplain Maréchal and Bishop Bourget viewed their conflict with Mother Marie-Anne as a matter of her "obedience and humility in the face of decisions made by ecclesiastical superiors." Maréchal as chaplain and Bourget as bishop both had expectations of a female religious community shaped by what they knew of Catholic traditions of governance regarding women's communities in Quebec, and what they had learned recently of the French Religious of the Sacred Heart. Bourget and his men wanted and needed women religious to staff schools and institutions. As conservative, ultramontane clerics they accepted lay women's initiatives to do charitable works, but wanted control of the enterprise. The male leaders held that the structures of nuns' lives should be as cloistered as possible. Women religious should be restricted to teaching girls, and, where necessary, boys at the primary level.⁴¹ What the Sisters of Saint Anne wanted to do in the diocese of Montreal had to be fitted into Bishop Bourget's models. And it would be the Sisters who would struggle to yoke the two traditions, cloistered and active, in busy apostolic lives.⁴²

By the end of 1854 "the struggle, in which the clerics were attempting to seize control of a young community of women whose leaders did not want to abdicate their

power of decision but in which all the actors spoke the same religious language, was beginning to die down.”⁴³ Mother Marie-Angèle Gauthier replaced Mother Marie-Anne as Superior General. Mother Marie-Anne went to other administrative posts but was soon sidelined to domestic duties at the motherhouse.⁴⁴

From the viewpoint of male church historians the conflict between Mother Marie-Anne and her religious superiors died down with her demotion in 1854 and the promotion of chaplain Maréchal in 1858 to parish priest. Technically he was only official religious superior of the congregation.⁴⁵

The difficulties between male clerics and the Sisters of Saint Anne over the direction of the congregation abated in the late nineteenth century as the congregation sent missions west and south and worked to gain pontifical status. Rome’s eventual approval of that initiative meant more structural autonomy for the women religious. Once the nuns comprised a pontifical congregation, they reported directly to the Vatican, not their local bishop, and struggles such as those described above could henceforth be avoided, thus leaving the organization with much autonomy.⁴⁶

Behind the politics of the Sisters of Saint Anne in Quebec in the 1850s lay the economic and social aspects of their lives. The Sisters had to manage finances carefully, given the lack of public funding for education in Quebec or Lower Canada.⁴⁷ Parishes and local governments supported some schools, but the training of priests and professionals, such as lawyers, was more of a priority than women’s education. The Sisters had to operate in an educational market complicated by French and Irish Catholics, English Protestants, and British Colonial governments.

The Sisters of Saint Anne, like other congregations, developed strategies for survival and expansion of their work,⁴⁸ such as adding piano lessons to their

curriculum.⁴⁹ They found English-speaking patrons and political contacts, for example the Vaudreuil 'seigneur' Robert Harwood and his wife Louise.⁵⁰

Socially, the first members of the congregation of the Sisters of Saint Anne consisted of a majority of French-Canadian farm women, in their twenties and thirties along with a significant minority of Irish or Irish-Canadian women.⁵¹ Only a few women who joined the new congregation had had life experience in urban areas or education with another more established congregation. The French-Canadian and Irish Sisters of Saint Anne, like other Lower Canadians of French and Irish background in the mid-nineteenth century, got along fairly well with one another. Irish aspirants to the sisterhood, unless already bilingual, did have to learn to speak French, but did not otherwise face discriminatory practices.⁵² Irish immigrant women had experienced a revival of Roman Catholicism in Ireland after the famine of the 1840s. This revival shared much with the Quebec revival, for example preachers and devotional practices from France.⁵³

Additional links between the Sisters of Saint Anne and the popular culture of Catholicism in Quebec in the mid-nineteenth century existed in the name of the order and the participation of lay associates. The congregational patron, Saint Anne, grandmother of Christ, had long been a focus of Irish as well as French, Acadian and French-Canadian women's devotions.⁵⁴ Women lacking education but wanting to participate in the spiritual life and charitable works of the congregation could join it as lay associates. The Sisters of Saint Anne here followed Quebec tradition rather than the more formal European practice of having a rank of coadjutrix nuns.⁵⁵

As regards education, the Sisters of Saint Anne were a community of women who felt called, as had Mother Marie-Anne, to dedicate their lives as women religious

teachers of the rural youth of Quebec. Each of the women went through a two year noviciate preparing for religious community life and teaching. The novices became accustomed not only to prayer and study but to the discipline of congregational rules. These were shaped by the history of women's religious congregations and included aspects both of the cloistered life, such as silences, and of the active apostolic life, such as home visits with students' families.⁵⁶ At the end of the noviciate each took vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and instruction. Each received a new name and a new costume.⁵⁷

The entrance ceremonies usually took place in the summer near the feast of Saint Anne, July 26, or the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, August 15. These feastdays held significance for French-Canadian Catholics. At this point in the year the superior, mother general or mother provincial assigned or gave an obedience/nomination to each new member in the teaching or domestic works of the congregation. Once professed, the members of the congregation went to their posts.⁵⁸ Each summer members returned to the motherhouse for an annual religious retreat, a period of study and vacation. In between times the ties of community were forged by correspondence with the motherhouse, chronicles of activities going in, circulars coming out, Sister Visitors coming round. Deceased members of the community were remembered on the annual anniversary of their deaths by the reading out of their necrologies or obituaries. The reading of the necrologies did more than memorialize the departed Sisters; it helped model the remaining women religious along the lines of the recorded virtues of 'good nuns.'

THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANNE'S EXPECTATIONS OF WESTERN MISSIONS

The religious revival which swept Catholic Quebec in the 1840s not only inspired the formation of new religious congregations of women and the foundation of Catholic works of mercy, it also assisted development of the French-Canadian missionary movement of the mid-nineteenth century. Female religious congregations, such as the Sisters of Saint Anne, heard the preaching of the missionaries Bourget had encouraged to come from France, the Jesuits and the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Some of the Oblates may have mentioned Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, Oblate missionary to the Natives of Vancouver Island from 1849 to 1852. Some of the Grey Nuns of Montreal may have spoken of his letters to them.⁵⁹ As a Montreal area sisterhood the Sisters of Saint Anne likely read of the adventures of the French-Canadian missionaries, François-Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, to the Quebec mission to the Pacific, begun in 1838. By 1846 F.N. Blanchet had become archbishop for the region. From Oregon City, near present-day Portland, he himself ministered to the area west of the Cascade mountains. Demers was made bishop of Vancouver Island, while Blanchet's brother Augustin-Magloire was named bishop of Walla Walla (the American territory east of the Cascade mountains).⁶⁰ There were frequent contacts between Quebec and the west coast of North America. F.N. Blanchet visited the Sisters of Saint Anne at Vaudreuil in 1852. The Sisters of Providence of Montreal sent a mission west to Oregon in 1856.

In 1857 when Bishop Demers of Vancouver Island visited the Sisters of Saint Anne at St. Jacques, he told them of the need for missionaries to serve Aboriginal peoples and the families of French Canadian fur traders. Demers requested the Sisters' help as teachers of "halfbreed and Indian girls" in his new diocese. The Sisters

responded positively, as, although they were members of a teaching congregation, their rule also allowed “the care of the poor in orphanages and hospitals.”⁶¹ All the professed nuns volunteered to go west to Demers’ diocese.⁶²

Mother General appointed four Sisters to set out for Fort Victoria. Sister Marie Alphonse, commissioned as superior, fell ill while studying nursing in Montreal. Sister Marie du Sacré-Coeur replaced her as superior and Sisters Marie-Angèle, Conception and Luména were added to the list. Marie Mainville accompanied these women as their lay assistant. ⁶³

All of the appointed missionaries toured or interned at Montreal area charitable institutions, such as the Asile de la Providence of the Sisters of Providence. The Sisters of Saint Anne destined for the west also received gifts and prayers from several Montreal communities of religious women. These examples of feminine friendship and cooperation indicate that ‘the great missionary movement’ unified Catholic efforts and muted the usual competition between sisterhoods, particularly teaching sisterhoods.⁶⁴

Both the directress and Sister Marie-Angèle wrote chronicles of the journey from Montreal to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island while traveling as part of a contingent of missionaries heading west. En route to their Pacific Coast mission the Sisters went by train to New York and by steamer from there to Panama, San Francisco and Portland. The Portland stopover was notable in that no congregation of women hosted them, but the local community tried to hijack them into staying permanently in a convent building already prepared.⁶⁵

The Sisters of Saint Anne who arrived in Fort Victoria from Portland in June 1858 expected that their mission would parallel the works of the Grey Nuns of Montreal in the Red River Settlement in the territory of Rupert’s Land, or the mission the Sisters

of Providence began in 1856 at Fort Vancouver in the Oregon territory. Bishop Demers had described for them the Victoria community he knew: a fur trade fort with a small colonial establishment. A few British settlers had come into the area but local agricultural growth was slow as the adjacent American territory had better developed facilities. The nuns thought they would teach some daughters of fur trade company employees, but learned the Anglican church would compete with its schools. The Sisters of Saint Anne presumed they would focus on catechizing and doing charitable services for the children and women of fur trade families, especially those of Roman Catholic and French-Canadian background, or for abandoned halfbreed children. They aspired to move on to minister to the Aboriginal peoples, particularly the school age children.⁶⁶

The Sisters of Saint Anne expected Vancouver Island would be a classic mission territory 'at the ends of the earth.' In Victoria they met a tent city built to serve miners going to the Fraser River gold mines on the mainland. They were as shocked as Bishop Demers that the fur trade fort and adjacent Aboriginal lands had become development sites. The Sisters of Saint Anne had not expected to encounter the gold rush, the immigration of European, American and Canadian settlers, or the amplification of the British presence. Accordingly, these nuns had to adjust their plans to fit the new situation. Their origins and identity as a teaching congregation from the Montreal diocese would shape that adjustment, and that is the subject of the next chapter.

ORIGINS OF THE OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE

A group of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate who met the Sisters of Saint Ann on Vancouver Island in 1858 would work in this region with the Sisters in the missions of the Roman Catholic Church.

In shaping mission methods, Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, the Oblate superior at Esquimalt near Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island in 1858, used his congregation's French practices, reports of Canadian and Red River missions, and the lessons of the Oblates' Oregon ventures, including the examples of the Jesuit Rocky Mountain Mission and of one Oblate on Vancouver Island.⁶⁷ Thus to understand Oblate history in British Columbia, it is necessary to review both the origins of the Oblates in France, and their Oregon background.⁶⁸

Eugène de Mazenod and the men who joined him in 1816 in founding a congregation were dedicated to the rechristianization of the southern part of France after the French Revolution. De Mazenod himself had studied for the priesthood with the Sulpicians. In organizing his congregation, first called the missionaries of Provence, de Mazenod used historical examples of preaching congregations from other European countries and other eras such as the Oratorians, the Redemptorists and the Jesuits of the Counter-Reformation. The motto de Mazenod chose for his order, "to preach the gospel to the poor He hath sent me," echoes that of the Redemptorist preaching congregation of eighteenth century Italy.⁶⁹

The early Oblate home mission techniques bear remark as they became the basis for foreign mission work, including that of British Columbia. The Oblate founder, de Mazenod, like to remind priests of his congregation to stick to "the method that we follow in France."⁷⁰ The missionaries of Provence evangelized the masses of the region in week long evangelization sessions or 'missions,' noted for use of the Provençal language. These culminated in grand penitential processions. To ensure adherence of the laity to Catholic practices after or between missions, the Oblates distributed devotional literature and organized religious societies for them.⁷¹

In promoting his new congregation's efforts de Mazenod benefited from the support of his uncle, Fortuné de Mazenod, the bishop of Marseilles. In 1837 he succeeded his uncle as bishop.⁷² Until his own death in 1861, de Mazenod manoeuvred ecclesiastical politics so as to benefit the congregation's growth.⁷³ Vatican approval was given in 1826, at which point the congregation took a new name, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, partly out of agreement with the papal promotion of Marian devotion, partly to have a distinguishing name.⁷⁴ Then to compete with the revivification of diocesan clergy and older orders for members, de Mazenod had the Oblates take on some parish work, junior seminaries, and the direction of shrines. The latter activity tied in with the order's home missions as the shrines were sites for pilgrimages and centres for lay associations.

Teaching school, though taken up by Oblates in parishes, seminaries and missions, did not become part of the congregation's official mandate until the end of the century. The Oblates had a group of non-ordained vowed members called brothers who taught, did manual labour and technical work, but their numbers were not large. The "function of lay brothers was enhanced when the Oblates accepted foreign missions. Lay brothers became missionaries, builders of churches and schools and assumed apostolic responsibilities as catechists and teachers in schools."⁷⁵

The Oblate congregation was also assisted by the revival of women's active congregations in France at this time. For example, the Holy Family Congregation of Bordeaux came to the Oblates' aid in establishing schools and charitable institutions in the south of France and in the missions of Ceylon.⁷⁶

The 1840s religious revival in France with its conservatism, ultramontanism and missionary emphasis contributed to the growth and identity of the Oblate

congregation. During the 1830s the Oblates ventured a mission to Algeria. Although the Oblates withdrew from that territory after a brief period, the next decade saw them send missionaries to England, Ireland, the Canadas, Texas, Red River, Ceylon. They became known for their 'mission' sessions, preaching in local languages, working with the poor and working class, sponsoring temperance societies. In Canada the college, later the University of Ottawa, became a major part of the Oblate work, but elsewhere missions to the Native peoples and the poor, rather than schools, were the Oblate forte.⁷⁷

By the 1840s when the French-Canadian bishops of Oregon Territory applied to de Mazenod for priests for their Aboriginal missions, the Oblate congregation in France and the missions consisted of 50 priests, 4 brothers, and 17 seminarians.⁷⁸ The economic and social profile of the congregation members was mainly, 'pauvre, pur et dur': French, lower-middle class and rural. Some members, though, did come from Ireland and from professional or upper-middle class and urban backgrounds. The average Oblate priest had joined the congregation at about age eighteen. He studied Latin texts on theology and philosophy for four years at their seminary near Marseilles.⁷⁹ Some ordained secular priests joined the Oblates and did a year or two of noviciate. All were instructed in the moral theology of St. Alphonsus Ligouri, a less rigid theology than the old Jansenist French variety.⁸⁰

The Oblate Marseilles seminary, and seminaries which opened in Ireland and Canada, provided no specific mission orientation. Oblates were trained as priests in the ultramontane Roman Catholic church, destined to spread and defend its faith, not for specific missions.⁸¹ As McCarthy notes, the French congregation did not distinguish the work of home and foreign missions.⁸² However, Huel notes that the founder

revised his initial directive on missionary work, which encouraged the use of mission sessions as in Provence, in light of overseas experience. By 1853 it became part of the Oblate rule. Significantly “the Oblates were [now directed] to establish a school in each mission in which the young would be instructed in ... Christianity and ... receive a practical education to prepare them to live in a sedentary civilized society.”⁸³ De Mazenod also encouraged Oblates going to British colonies to learn English, by assigning them to study in England or Ireland.⁸⁴

Like the Sisters of Saint Anne, entrants to the Oblate congregation as priests or brothers made vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, but also of perseverance in the congregation. Perseverance meant making a commitment to remain an Oblate for life. The Oblates bonded together as a congregation through daily religious and social life as a community, according to an established rule and customs. The founder and his successors communicated with Oblates by regular letters. They sent visitors to report on the vicariates or districts of the congregation. Oblates in each vicariate were supposed to gather for an annual retreat but this was waived in mission situations. Printed reports of Oblate work in popular French mission magazines, such as the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith (Lyons), and the Oblates’ own Missions (established 1862), created links and a sense of common identity.⁸⁵ Reports of General Chapters, held every five years, were important too. Each Oblate province sent its superior as a chapter delegate, but members of each province also elected and sent their own delegate.⁸⁶

THE OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE'S EXPECTATIONS OF MISSIONS TO VANCOUVER ISLAND AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

In addition to their French heritage, the experiences of the Oblates in Oregon Territory from 1847 to 1858, shaped the congregation's expectations of future missions on Vancouver Island and in British Columbia.⁸⁷ In 1847 a small band of priests and brothers arrived in Oregon territory to assist in the Aboriginal missions planned by Bishop Augustin Magloire Blanchet of Walla Walla, one of the Quebec missionaries to the Pacific.⁸⁸

Once in Oregon territory, the French Oblates cooperated with the European Jesuits who had earlier begun missions in the Rocky Mountains and east of the Cascade mountains. The Oblates' local superior, Pascal Ricard, however, soon quarrelled with the French-Canadian ecclesiastics. Ricard "insisted that canon law permitted the congregation to own and operate its own missions," while the French-Canadian bishops thought they should control all Catholic enterprises. When François Jayol, one of the few diocesan priests, asked to be admitted to the Oblate congregation in 1848, tensions increased between the bishops and the Oblates.⁸⁹ Vincent McNally has thus aptly termed the era of Oblate beginnings in the far west, "Fighting for a Foundation."⁹⁰

Battles going on around the Oblate founders of Oregon complicated their lives. Although many of the Cayuse and the Yakima welcomed the Oblate missionaries, the years of Oblate beginnings in their territory were marked by a series of conflicts between Aboriginal peoples and settlers. The Whitman massacre of November 1847 was followed by vigilante violence, and then the Yakima war of the mid-1850s. American settlers and Protestant missionaries suspected the Oblates of aiding Aboriginal uprisings. The Americans' suspicions rose from their nativist distrust of Roman Catholics, the Oblate use of Aboriginal languages, and their support of

Aboriginal peoples against vigilantes. However, the Oblates got on well with most federal troops and federal officials.⁹¹

Although Oblate superior Pascal Ricard removed his headquarters from the wartorn interior valleys of Oregon to the Puget Sound town of New Market [later named Olympia], in 1848, his administrative problems continued. He was not able to assign priests to evangelize local Salishan peoples until 1850. Ricard ran short of funds owing to wartime destruction of mission properties, and disruption in communications from France during and after the revolution of 1848.⁹² Even with additional priests and brothers sent from France, Ricard never had more than nine men at his disposal for both coastal and interior missions. He complained "our poverty prevents us from becoming missionaries, we have become simple tillers. We have hung our crosses at the sides of our beds and we have taken up the hatchet and the pick axe."⁹³ Ricard had to deal with brothers revolting against their heavy workload.⁹⁴ When Ricard was ill in 1854 and needed an assistant he drew veteran missionaries' resentment for moving Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, a young protégé of de Mazenod from the wartorn interior missions to Olympia.⁹⁵

Another new Oblate missionary sent from France to Oregon, Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, initially provided encouraging reports of his work on Vancouver Island 1849 to 1852. Lempfrit, an ordained priest, inspired by the 1840s religious revival in France, left a Trappist monastery to join the Oblates. They had quickly acceded to his desire for foreign mission work, sending him to assist Ricard in Oregon. ⁹⁶

Ricard assigned Lempfrit to begin a mission at Fort Victoria, a Hudson's Bay Company post in bishop Modeste Demers' diocese. Lempfrit initially got on well with Demers, Hudson's Bay Company officers and the Salishan peoples. He began a school

in the fort for wives and children of the French-Canadian fur trade employees,⁹⁷ preached to hundreds of Salishan peoples, and baptised great numbers as members of the Roman Catholic church. However, when Lempfrit visited the Cowichan people, further up the coast of Vancouver Island, he drew an angry response, forcing Governor James Douglas to send men to rescue him. Several explanations have been advanced for Lempfrit's problems, including rumours about his alleged affairs with Aboriginal women, including the fathering of a child.⁹⁸ French-Canadian Bishop Demers, already concerned by the French priest's too hasty baptizing of converts, was horrified to receive reports of his embarrassing removal from Cowichan. In religious terms the scandal grew as Bishop Demers complained to his metropolitans about Lempfrit's behaviour, and Lempfrit in turn complained to Rome about Demers. Accordingly, in 1852 Lempfrit left Vancouver Island and then proceeded to France where he withdrew from the Oblate congregation and became a parish priest.⁹⁹

Although embarrassed by the Lempfrit scandal, Ricard was more concerned about the survival of Oblate missions in the wartorn interior of Oregon and Washington and the tension between settlers and Aboriginals on Puget Sound. By the time Ricard was recalled to France in 1856 he and his temporary successor, d'Herbomez, were recommending that the Oblates move north to Vancouver Island to gain peace and autonomy for their work.¹⁰⁰ In 1857 the superior general, de Mazenod, sent Oblate François-Xavier Bermond to Oregon with powers as visitor and superior.¹⁰¹ Bermond endorsed the directions proposed by local Oblates: abandon wartorn Yakima and Cayouse missions, keep Puget Sound posts, and move to Demers' diocese of Vancouver Island. Bermond recommended seeking an autonomous area for Oblate missions by petitioning Rome for an apostolic vicariate.¹⁰² He had learned that the Salish peoples

of the area were favorably disposed and that Bishop Demers was “desperate” for priests.¹⁰³ The mainland British colonial territory adjacent to his episcopal seat, Fort Victoria, seemed the best potential region for autonomous Oblate missions. Thus in 1858 Bermond officially began the Oblates’ move north to assist Bishop Demers. A not so hidden aspect of their agenda was that they knew Demers would have to allow them wide latitude in direction of Aboriginal missions.¹⁰⁴

Bermond, like the Oregon Oblates, expected that the Vancouver Island and mainland missions would be mainly Aboriginal missions. Since the Oblates were convinced that few white settlers would come, particularly to the fur trade centre of Fort Victoria,¹⁰⁵ the emphasis would not be on implanting a European church but on saving Native souls. Priests should learn Aboriginal languages in order to preach the gospel. They could baptize children and the dying. But adults interested in Catholicism would have to go through a year’s preparation and testing, and renounce polygamy and Aboriginal beliefs.¹⁰⁶

As a veteran of Oblate missions in Ruperts Land, Bermond gave d’Herbomez, the incoming superior, advice on how to strengthen missionary methods. In assessing six years of work among the Yakima with only 160 converts, d’Herbomez had opined, “as long as we follow the system we have adopted up to now, reside in one place and fail to visit the Indians in their camps, we will do nothing.” He recommended following the Red River Oblates’ practice of making missionary efforts nomadic.¹⁰⁷

D’Herbomez endorsed Bermond’s directives, for example, assigning a young Oblate, Paul Durieu, to help establish a mission and a school at Tulalip.¹⁰⁸ There, at St. Francis Xavier, Eugene Casimir Chirouse gave mission instructional sessions, organized temperance societies in Snohomish villages, built chapels at central sites, and

proceeded with itinerant mission work. Chirouse, like other Oregon Oblates, had adopted use of the Quebec missionaries' illustrated Bible History, the Catholic Ladder and temperance society. The temperance society was a village confraternity headed by Native chiefs, catechists and watchmen to ensure converted Salishan peoples kept to Catholic religious practices, avoided traditional Salish religious leaders and abstained from alcohol consumption. Like both Quebec missionaries and Jesuit priests, Chirouse used the Chinook jargon or interpreters in beginning evangelization. Then he set about learning local languages and translating Catholic hymns and prayers. Within a few years the mission and boys' school Chirouse began at Tulalip would impress officials and gain government financial support.

Where Chirouse, d'Herbomez and the Oregon Oblates differed from Bermond in missionary methods was in their interest in the Jesuit "reductions" of Paraguay of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits there had gathered Native converts in church-centred agricultural villages isolated from European settlements. These utopian settlements elected their own officials and had their own police and courts.¹⁰⁹ Bermond had seen the failure of George-Antoine Belcourt's attempt at an agricultural village or reduction for the Saulteaux at Baie St. Paul, Manitoba.¹¹⁰ However his Oregon confrères had visited a 'modified reduction' organized by the Jesuits at St. Paul's at Colville, Washington Territory,¹¹¹ and were impressed with Jesuit achievements among nomadic peoples. The Jesuits established a mission church and school and made circuits out to preach in Native camps, but did not try to get Aboriginal peoples to settle down to farming. Locating such 'modified reduction' missions in traditional Aboriginal territory helped guard the converted from the threats of liquor traders or vigilantes.¹¹²

In the spring of 1858 as the gold miners poured into Fort Victoria on their way to the Fraser River mines, the Oblate superiors focussed on plans to move north and undertake Aboriginal missions. In July 1858 Fathers Bermond and d'Herbomez founded the Oblate mission at Esquimalt near Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island.¹¹³ The influx of settlers meant that there was even more reason to follow the Jesuit model for 'modified reductions' and the methods Chirouse had tested at Tulalip.

Scholars who have researched the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia have focussed on one French Oblate bishop, Paul Durieu, and his system for conversion and control of the Aboriginal peoples of the Pacific West. Research on Durieu's biography and for this chapter indicates that the Oblates' mission system for British Columbia actually drew on French experiences predating Durieu's entry into the congregation, and Oregon experiences predating his arrival in that mission territory.¹¹⁴ This finding counter's E.M. Lemert's argument that Durieu created a theocratic system and applied it quickly and successfully to Salishan peoples.¹¹⁵ What is important to note at this point is that the Oblate mission system was not Durieu's creation but a composite, centred on a modified rather than a classic reduction, and that the Oblates had problems applying and maintaining their mission system all along. Two major difficulties for the Oblates, also experienced by the Rocky Mountain Jesuit Missions, were the shortage of priests to supervise and the intrusion of frontier settler vices, particularly liquor sales, in Aboriginal communities.

COMPARISON OF ORIGINS

A comparison of the origins of the Sisters of Saint Anne and Oblates of Mary Immaculate brings forward both interesting similarities and significant differences. The Sisters of Saint Anne were founded thirty-four years after the Oblates, in a rural area of

a colony of Britain, rather than in a country where Catholicism had been the state church. The Sisters' foundress had no bishop-uncle to support her. In contrast to the Oblate founder she was a person closer to the margin than to the elite of society. As women the nuns' positions and activities were inherently restricted within the patriarchal Roman Catholic Church. However, Esther Blondin, like Eugene de Mazenod, had run her own organization prior to its official foundation within that church. Both founders had colleagues and religious mentors to assist them. Both new congregations were impelled by contemporary religious revivals and conservative politics after political disruptions.

The Sisters modelled their teaching on the Congregation of Notre Dame and the recent example of the Madames of the Sacred Heart in Montreal. The spirituality of the latter congregation, modeled on that of the Jesuits, was favoured by Bishop Bourget and L.A.D. Maréchal, the second chaplain of the Sisters of Saint Anne.¹¹⁶ The Oblates followed Oratorian, Redemptorist and Jesuit examples in spiritual life and in works. Both congregations aimed to teach the Catholic faith, but the men in the traditional sacerdotal and school ways, the women in schools and social service only. The mottoes are significant. The Oblates' was "to preach the gospel to the poor He has sent me." The Sisters of Saint Anne cite the Latin for Matthew 5: 19: "He that shall do and teach shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."¹¹⁷ These mottoes reflect the gendered norms of the nineteenth-century Roman Catholic church. Only men could be ordained to the sacerdotal and pastoral ministry. The Sisters as women could not lead formal liturgies nor administer parishes, but the congregation of women could organize and deliver education and social services for the church.

Both congregations drew on the Catholic missionary literature of the early nineteenth century. In France, where the papally approved popular mission societies were headquartered, that was flavoured by a sense of the “pre-revolutionary tradition” of *Gesta Dei per Francos*, God leading the Catholic church through the French.¹¹⁸ In Quebec, the centre for a diocese extending as far as Oregon on the Pacific, mission magazines proudly spread word of the arrival of priests at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia in the 1830s, and of the arrival of the Grey Nuns of Montreal at Red River in 1844.¹¹⁹ A group of Oblates from France and Canada arrived a year later.

In the mid-nineteenth century both congregations were invited by French-Canadian bishops of Oregon Territory to found missions on the Pacific Coast. The pioneer missionaries of each group were aware of the Grey Nuns of Montreal and Oblate foundations at the Red River settlement serving both the Aboriginal Peoples and the fur traders and settlers.

The Sisters of Saint Anne and the Oblates based their plans for particular missions in Demers’ Vancouver Island diocese on impressions garnered from the reports of Lempfrit.¹²⁰ They expected to meet Salishan peoples interested in Roman Catholicism for its religious ceremonies and for services it might offer families disrupted by epidemic disease or social problems.¹²¹ The two congregations, however, did not share Lempfrit’s romantic notions about the Salishan peoples. The Sisters heard Demers’ negative opinions regarding these western Aboriginal peoples on their voyage west. The Oblates had had both negative and positive experiences with the Salish of Puget Sound.¹²²

In terms of gender and mission both the Sisters of Saint Anne and the Oblates brought a system for their practical works as well as a set of expectations to their new

mission field. The Oblates' Oregon experience as French frontier male missionaries to the Aboriginal peoples, and as male missionaries unaided by nuns, shaped their mission system and their plans, just as the Sisters of Saint Anne's background as a Montreal diocese community of women shaped theirs. How the expectations of the two groups of missionaries played out in their lives and works will be the subject of the following chapters.

Notes

- 1 The mainland territory of the present-day Canadian province was named New Caledonia by North West Company fur trader Simon Fraser in the early 1800s. The British government made Vancouver Island a colony in 1849 and the mainland a separate colony in 1858. The two colonies were united in 1866, and British Columbia became a province in the Canadian confederation in 1871. The fine points of constitutional history are explained by James Hendrickson's introduction to The Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of British Columbia and Vancouver Island 1858-1871, Vol. I Journals of the Council, Executive Council and Legislative Council of Vancouver Island 1851-1866 (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1980).
- 2 I am using the Dictionary of Canadian Biography English spelling of Mother Marie-Anne's name and that of the Sisters of Saint Anne of Quebec. These spellings vary from those used in some other publications. See Eugène Nadeau, "Esther Sureau dit Blondin, Mother Marie-Anne," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 864-865.
- 3 Vincent J. McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation: Oblate Beginnings in Far Western Canada, 1847-1864," in Western Oblate Studies 4/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 4, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1995): 47-70.
- 4 Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995).
- 5 See Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 160.
- 6 Jo Ann Kay McNamara, Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).
- 7 Claude Langlois, Le catholicisme au féminin. Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984).
- 8 Elizabeth Rapley, The Dévotes. Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).
- 9 Marguerite Jean, s.c.i.m., Évolution des communautés religieuses de femmes au Canada de 1639 à nos jours (Montréal: Fides, 1977), 27-35, and 49-60. Marguerite Bourgeoys founded the Congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal in 1658. Marguerite d'Youville began her community in Montreal in 1737. It was known as the Grey Nuns of Montreal, but formally termed "Soeurs de la Charité de l'Hôpital Général de Montréal."
- 10 Patricia Simpson, Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).
- 11 Jean, Évolution des communautés, 52, 55-56, 66-68.
- 12 Explanation in English from W.J. Eccles, "The Role of the Church in New France," in his Essays on New France (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 32-37. Similar themes appear in Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants, 1992 English translation. [English language references are given where possible.]

- 13 Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, 17; Lucien Lemieux, Histoire du catholicisme québécois Vol. 2 Les XVIIe et XIXe siècles (1760-1898. Tome 1: Les années difficiles (1760-1839) (Montréal: Boréal, 1989), 218.
- 14 Jan Noel, "Women and Social Welfare in the Montreal Region, 1800-1833: Preliminary Findings," in Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. E.G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 261-283.
- 15 Allan Greer, The Patriots and the People. The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 214-216; and Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, 17-18.
- 16 Micheline Dumont, "Marie-Elmire Cadotte, named Marie de Saint-Alphonse-de-Ligouri, provincial superior of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd (Angers), [1848-1909] Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 146-147.
- 17 M. D'Allaire, "L'originalité de l'oeuvre sociale des Congrégations Religieuses de Montréal au xixe et xxe siècles." SCHEC Etudes d'histoire religieuse 59 (1992): 25-41, Grey Nuns on p. 27. See also Clio Collective, Quebec Women a History (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), 140-141.
- 18 Jan Noel, "Women and Social Welfare in the Montreal Region, 1800-1833," and J. I. Cooper, "The Social Structure of Montreal in the 1850s, CHA Annual Report 1956, 63-73, especially 70.
- 19 Micheline Dumont, Préface, to Augustine Prévost, S.S.A., L'Éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985 (Montréal: Editions du Meridien, 1986), 9-11.
- 20 Micheline Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec 1639-1960, Canadian Historical Association Booklet No. 49, trans. C.E. Cochrane (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1990), 10-11. Clio Collective, Quebec Women a History, 173, "In 1870, there were ten times as many nuns as in 1830. By 1900 one woman in a hundred over the age of twenty-one took final vows in Quebec." Many more had some experience of life in the noviciate. Compare the discussion in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, The Dream of Nation. A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec (Toronto: Gage, 1983), 122-124.
- 21 Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec 1639-1960; Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, 17 passim; see also Micheline Dumont, "Evolution et rôle des congrégations religieuses enseignantes féminines au Québec, 1840-1960," SCHEC Sessions d'étude 50 (1983): 201-230. This contains material similar to that in Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec 1639-1960.
- 22 Louis-Philippe Audet's overview of the history of education in Quebec is useful here. See his contributions to Canadian Education: A History, ed. J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp and L-P. Audet (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1970), 2-23, 70-85, 145-189.
- 23 Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec 1639-1960, 10; Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, 57-60; Clio Collective, Quebec Women a History, 164-165. By 1856 the majority of teachers in Quebec were women and women constituted 68% of public school teachers.
- 24 Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec 1639-1960, 10-12. For a detailed discussion see Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Eid, Les couventines: l'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes 1840-1860 (Montréal: Boréal, 1986), 252-274.

- 25 Elizabeth Smyth, "'Developing the Powers of the Youthful Mind': The Evolution of Education for Young Women at St. Joseph's Academy, Toronto, 1854-1911," CCHA Historical Studies 60 (1993-94): 103-125.
- 26 The Congregation of Notre Dame of Montreal in 1823 began to change its curriculum, adding English, geography and music. The congregation also founded "new prestigious boarding schools." In 1843 it "finally received permission from Bishop Bourget of Montreal to increase the number of its members, which until then had been limited to eighty." See Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec 1639-1960, 9. Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, 77, notes additional members helped the Congregation of Notre Dame compete against other orders, particularly the Religious of the Sacred Heart in running urban convent academies.
- The significance of the Religious of the Sacred Heart [RSCJ], founded by Sophie Barat in Amiens, France in 1800, as educators of young women, merits comment. Barat intended the name, the Society of the Sacred Heart, to parallel that of the male Society of Jesus or Jesuits. She aimed to restore the Catholic Church in post-revolutionary France, just as the Jesuits worked to restore it in post-Reformation Europe. Barat followed European traditions in having choir nuns teach and lay sisters do domestic labour. When her order was invited to Canada by Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal in 1842, it began a convent boarding school in St. Jacques de l'Achigan [Montcalm]. The nuns moved closer to Montreal in 1853. There, as in other North American metropolises, the Religious of the Sacred Heart taught their standard curriculum, stressing piety, feminine accomplishments and academics. They adopted the English language, but kept their elite French culture, setting the style for their competitors. See Diane Bélanger and Lucie Rozon, Les Religieuses au Québec (Montréal: Libre Expression, 1982), 294.
- 27 Bélanger and Rozon, Les Religieuses au Québec, 287-289, By 1863 the Congregation of Notre Dame had 32 missions in Canada and 3 outside and were running 42 free classes. Guy Laperrière, Les congrégations religieuses: de la France au Québec, 1880-1914. Tome 1. Premières bourrasques 1880-1900 (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 27-28, notes that the Religious of the Sacred Heart ran a school for workers' children at Sault au Recollet after 1853. Compare Nikola Baumgarten, "Education and Democracy in St. Louis: The Society of the Sacred Heart," History of Education Quarterly 34,2 (Summer 1994): 171-192.
- 28 Nadeau, "Esther Sureau dit Blondin, Mother Marie-Anne," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XI, 864-865. See also the congregation's own history: Soeur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos, s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne un siècle d'histoire Tome 1: 1850-1900 (Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 1950).
- 29 Hugh A. Halliday, "Terrebonne: from seigneurie to suburb," Canadian Geographical Journal 84,4 (April 1972): 131-139, the Terrebonne convent opened in 1826. Esther Blondin worked and studied there beginning in 1828.
- 30 Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 28-32; Sister Mary Margaret Down, SSA [Edith Down, SSA], A Century of Service: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska 1858-1958 (Victoria: Morriss Printing for the Sisters of Saint Ann, 1966), 28-29; Augustine Prévost, s.s.a., L'éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985 (Montréal: Éditions du Meridien, 1986), 27-39 and 63. Prévost explains that Suzanne Pineault returned to Blondin's Vaudreuil school to join the nascent congregation of teaching sisters in 1848-49.
- 31 Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 34; Prévost, L'éducation hier et aujourd'hui, 48. Louis Rousseau, "Paul-Loup Archambault," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume VIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 19-21. See also Real G. Bouilanne, "The French Canadians and the Schools of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, 1820-1829," Histoire sociale/Social History 10 (November 1972): 152, 157.

- 32 Philippe Sylvain, "Ignace Bourget," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 94-105. For a definition of ultramontanist see the glossary of Terence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, eds., Creed and Culture: The Place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).
- 33 Rousseau, "Paul-Loup Archambault," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. VIII, 19-21.
- 34 Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 34-38 and 455-458, appendix of original documents on the name and goals of the new congregation.
- 35 Nadeau, "Esther Sureau dit Blondin, Mother Marie-Anne," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XI, 864-865. See also the congregation's own history: Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 59-64; Bélanger and Rozon, 150-160; and Jean, Évolution des communautés. On educational aspects see Prévost, L'Éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985, 60-61.
- 36 Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 96-100. St. Jacques was an Acadian settlement. The Sisters of Saint Anne began a convent school at Lachine and moved their administration to that location in the 1860s. So the congregation is sometimes mentioned as the Sisters of Saint Anne (Lachine).
- 37 Louis Rousseau, "Louis-Delphis-Adolphe Maréchal," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 697-698.
- 38 Philippe Sylvain and Nive Voisine, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Vol. 2 Les XVIIe et XIXe siècles Tome 2 Réveil et consolidation (1840-1898) (Montréal: Boréal, 1991), 17-26. Charles Forbin Janson came from France to Montreal to lead a religious crusade during 1840 and 1841. The Quebec religious revival which Janson inspired parallels movements in the United States. See Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 212-13; and Jay P. Dolan, Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience 1830-1900 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 37-48.
- 39 Marguerite Jean, "Emilie Tavernier (Gamelin)," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume VIII, 863-865; and Philippe Sylvain and Nive Voisine, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Vol. 2 Les XVIIe et XIXe siècles Tome 2 Réveil et consolidation (1840-1898) (Montréal: Boréal, 1991), 51.
- 40 Lucien Lemieux, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Vol 2 Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Tome 1: Les années difficiles (1760-1839) (Montréal: Boréal, 1989), 205, explains bishops and parish priests had always been against co-educational schools, but they had existed, particularly in the Montreal diocese.
- 41 Jean, Évolution des communautés, 84-91, discusses the conflict from the viewpoint of canon law. The sixteenth-century code did not foresee the structures of "filles seculières," or active congregations working in more than one diocese. Bishop Bourget was inexperienced and hasty in dealing with their superiors general and too ready to borrow French models. Mailloux, Esther Blondin, 19 discusses the Ignatian or Jesuit spirituality which Bourget and later Maréchal emphasized with the Sisters of Saint Anne.
- 42 Margaret Cantwell SSA, North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann, 1992), 9.
- 43 Rousseau, "Louis-Delphis-Adolphe Maréchal," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII, 697-698. For an English-language account of the conflict between Mother Marie-Anne and Maréchal and Bourget, based on research for her canonization as a saint, see Christine Mailloux, SSA, Esther Blondin. Prophet For Today, Trans E. Gallagher SSA (Montréal: Les Éditions Paulines, 1989).

- 44 Mailloux, Esther Blondin, 76, 77, 82, 99, notes some members of the congregation continued to express affection and respect for the foundress.
- 45 Rousseau, "Louis-Delphis-Adolphe Maréchal," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII, 697-698.
- 46 Jean, Évolution des communautés, 88-91; Bélanger and Rozon, Les Religieuses au Québec, 150-160.
- 47 Lucie Champagne, "Le financement des pensionnats de jeunes filles au Québec: le modèle de la congrégation des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 1850-1905," (Mémoire de maîtrise en histoire, Université de Sherbrooke, 1989); and Lucie Champagne and Micheline Dumont, "Le financement d'un séminaire diocésain, Le Séminaire de Sherbrooke, 1915-1950. Comparaison avec le financement des pensionnats de religieuses," Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation 2, 2 (1990): 339-351.
- 48 Sheila Andrew, "Selling Education: The Problem of Convent Schools in Acadian New Brunswick, 1858-1886," CCHA Historical Studies 62 (1996): 15-32.
- 49 Prévost, L'Éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985, 65.
- 50 Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 44 and 83. See also John Beswarick Thompson, "Robert Unwin Harwood," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume IX (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 373-374. Robert Harwood, 1798-1863, was a merchant and politician. His wife, Marie-Louise Josephite de Lotbinière, inherited the seigneurie in 1829. Robert Harwood then "exchanged ... Montreal society for the countryside." Though he was referred to as a "seigneur," the seigneurial lands were commuted into freehold tenure between 1846 and 1853.
- 51 The Matricule, Les Soeurs de Sainte Anne par ordre de profession. The Sisters of Saint Anne by order of Profession (Lachine [Sisters of Saint Anne] 1989), 1-4. The first 100 members of the congregation, those professing vows between 1850 and 1864, include ten women with Irish surnames. There are also a few non-French and non-Irish surnames. Also there are non-French first names such as Anna. The adoption of Irish orphans of the 1840s by French-Canadian families may provide an explanation, in that some of the women with French-Canadian surnames may have been Irish orphans. Prévost, L'Éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985, 60. Blondin was thirty-nine when she took the first steps to founding a religious community. The average age of its first members was twenty-three.
- 52 Prévost, L'Éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985, 64-65, 109-110, Louise Harwood had taught English to the nuns at Vaudreuil. By 1874 Sister Mary Irene was teaching English to the novices and the students at the Lachine convent. By 1890 a formal English curriculum developed with a separate prefect of studies. See also Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 108-109 and notes 341 on English-speaking students of the Sisters of Saint Anne and English-speaking, mainly Irish entrants to the congregation.
- 53 J.J. Lee, "Women and the Church Since the Famine," in Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha O'Corrain, eds., Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension. Contributions in Women's Studies No. 4 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 37-44.
- 54 Lucien Lemieux, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Vol 2 Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Tome 1: Les années difficiles (1760-1839) (Montréal: Boréal, 1989), 326.
- 55 The coadjutrix Sisters' separate noviciate began in the 1890s and lasted only until 1909. Separate coadjutrix status lasted only until 1926. See [Sister Marguerite Boucher, SSA, researcher], "From the 'Filles de Bonsecours of 1880 to the Associates of 1982," Annals of the Community 52, 415 (January-July

1982): 87-92 for a short article in English expanding on the discussion in Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 298.

56 Cantwell, North to Share, 1-11, "Thematic Introduction."

57 Novices wore clothing denoting their status. The Sisters' habits were modelled on those of the Congregation of Notre Dame until Maréchal ordered them revised as too expensive and pretentious. Yet the habit he had the Sisters of Saint Anne 'choose' in 1857 was remarkably similar to that of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. See: Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 52 description of original habit with head dress similar to Congregation of Notre Dame; 136 new habit in 1857; photographs of early costume 81, 88, and after Maréchal, 104.

58 Champagne, "Le financement," 112 gives dates for establishment: 1850 Vaudreuil, 1851 St. Geneviève, 1853 St. Jacques, 1855 St. Ambrose, 1857 St. Cyprien.

59 Patricia Meyer, editor, and Catou Levesque, translator, Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, O.M.I., His Oregon Trail Journal and Letters from the Pacific Northwest 1848-1853 (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1985), 14 of introduction, 221-226, letter of Lempfrit to Grey Nuns in Montreal, written February 9, 1850 at Fort Victoria, Vancouver Island, describing six months of work and thanking the Grey Nuns and the Sisters of the Holy Names at Longueil for their chapel decorations etc.

60 Vincent J. McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation: Oblate Beginnings in Far Western Canada 1847-1864," Western Oblate Studies 4/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 4, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1996), 50; David Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers: The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Olympia, Washington: State Capitol Historical Association, 1976), 2.

61 ASSAV RG I S24 Box 2 of 3 [Original in Box 1 of 3] Dix Premières Années des Soeurs de Sainte Anne, Victoria B.C. 1858-1868. Narrées par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 1990, 3-5.

62 Sister Marie Anne Eva, SSA, A History of the Sisters of Saint Anne Volume One 1850-1900 (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), "The Great Missionary Movement," chapter VII, 133-58, in English translation of Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne. There were 42 professed members of the congregation in 1857; i.e., women who had taken vows as Sisters of Saint Anne.

63 Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 298. Marie Mainville's experiences in the west contributed to her becoming the first coadjutrix Sister of Saint Anne.

64 The competition came both from male church leaders' efforts to control women's groups and the efforts of older congregations of women, e.g. the Grey Nuns, to protect their rights against newer orders. Conflicting lines of male patronage fed this competition in that the Grey Nuns had the Montreal Sulpician superior, Joseph Vincent Quiblier, as a patron versus the Sisters of Saint Anne with Bishop Bourget as a patron. Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, 77; and Sylvain and Voisine, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Vol. 2 Les XVIIe et XIXe siècles Tome 2 Réveil et consolidation (1840-1898), 47-51.

65 "Lettre de la Soeur Marie-Angèle, Soeur de Ste Anne, à Vancouver," L'Ordre (Montréal) 1, 5, 19, 22 avril 1859. [Typescript and translation in ASSAV RG 1 S 24, 24-1-5].

66 Marie Anne Eva, Sisters of Saint Anne, 139-140.

- 67 For Jesuit missions to the Salishan, Kootenai and Coeur d'Alene peoples in what are today eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and northwestern Montana see Jacqueline Peterson with Laura Peers, Sacred Encounters: Father DeSmet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West (Norman and London: The De Smet Project, Washington State University in association with the University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 97-117, and map 95.
- 68 This survey will draw on archival and published records on these developments, and several fine recent secondary works sponsored by the Western Oblate Project. Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., 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); Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995); Martha McCarthy, From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene 1847-1921 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995); Raymond Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996).
- 69 McCarthy, From the Great River, 3-5 on history of de Mazenod and Oblates; Peterson, Sacred Encounters, 28 on the Jesuits founded in 1541; and Paul Laverdure, Redemption and Renewal: The Redemptorists of English Canada, 1834-1994 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996). On Oblate History also see Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., A History of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate Vol. I, Towards a Synthesis, 1815-1898 (Rome: General House, 1985) and Vol. II, 1898-1985 (1989), trans. John Rheidt OMI and Aloysius Kedl OMI.
- 70 C.J. Eugène de Mazenod to Fathers Maissonneuve and Tissot [at Red River in Manitoba], November 24, 1858, in Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1851-1860. Collection Oblate Writings II, Translated from the French (Rome: General Postulation OMI, 1979), 200.
- 71 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 1-10; McCarthy, From the Great River, 1-5; and also see Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995).
- 72 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 22, Eugène de Mazenod was made a bishop in 1832 and an auxiliary to his uncle, Fortuné de Mazenod. Eugène de Mazenod succeeded him as bishop of Marseilles in 1837. An English translation of an older work by Levasseur, History of the Oblate Congregation (Ottawa: Editions des Etudes Oblats, 1959) [A course for seminarians], 63-68 gives details.
- 73 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 8; Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1841-1850: Collection Oblate Writings I, trans. John W. Mole (Rome 1978); Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1851-1860. Collection Oblate Writings II, Translated from the French (Rome: General Postulation OMI, 1979).
- 74 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 1-8.
- 75 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 312 note 57. For more information on Oblate brothers see William Woestman, The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate: A Clerical Religious Congregation with Brothers (Ottawa: Faculty of Canon Law, St. Paul's University, 1995).
- 76 Langlois, Le catholicisme au féminin, 340; Jean Leflon, Eugene de Mazenod. Bishop of Marseilles, Founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate 1782-1861 Vol. IV Pastoral and Missionary Work, trans. Francis Flanagan OMI (New York: Fordham University Press, 1970), 196, 294-297; and Levasseur, History of the Oblate Congregation, 1959, 115-116. The Holy Family congregation of Bordeaux, founded in 1815, affiliated with the Oblates, beginning in 1857. See Missions de la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée [Missions], 1891, 99.

- 77 Gaston Carrière, "Oblates of Mary Immaculate," New Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. X (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 612. See also Lemieux, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Vol 2 Tome 1: Les années difficiles, 34-36; Levasseur, History of the Oblate Congregation, 1959, 91-93. Oblates arrived in the diocese of Montreal in 1841. They preached missions and temperance crusades. They ministered to lumber camps and the Indians of the Upper Ottawa and the North Shore of St. Lawrence River. Bruno Guigues, o.m.i. was named bishop of a new diocese of Bytown (Ottawa) in 1847. Martha McCarthy, To Evangelize the Nations: Roman Catholic Missions in Manitoba, 1818-1870. Papers in Manitoba History Report No. 2 (Winnipeg, 1990), discusses missions to the Aboriginal peoples of the western interior.
- 78 Levasseur, History of the Oblate Congregation, 1959, 93 and table on 225.
- 79 Choquette, The Oblate Assault, 11-18; Leflon, Eugene de Mazenod ... Vol. IV, 16-18.
- 80 Choquette, The Oblate Assault, 11-18; and Claude Champagne, "La formation des oblats missionnaires dans le Nord-Ouest canadien," SCHEC Sessions d'étude 56 (1989): 21-33. The correspondence of the Oblate founder, Eugène de Mazenod shows he insisted that entrants to his congregation follow a strict moral code. He told novice masters to beware "particular attachments," i.e. homosexual relationships. Candidates with a history of adultery or fornication were to be sent away. De Mazenod insisted that priests hearing women's confessions do so, not in a parish office, but in a confessional with grilles to obscure the confessor's vision. C.J. Eugène de Mazenod to Father Boisramé, novice master at Sicklinghall, England, June 25, 1858, in Eugene de Mazenod, Letters and Documents Concerning England and Ireland 1842-1860, Collection Oblate Writings III, Trans. J.W. Mole O.M.I. (Rome: General Postulation O.M.I., 1979), 141-142 regarding "particular attachments," and adultery or fornication. De Mazenod's requirements for confessionals appear in his Act of Visitation ... Inchicore, Dublin, July 26, 1857, in the same volume, 192.
- 81 Champagne, "La formation des oblats missionnaires," 30-33.
- 82 McCarthy, From the Great River, 1-10.
- 83 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 5-6.
- 84 For example Charles Grandidier was sent to England before assignment to British Columbia, see Gaston Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada Tome II (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1977), 104-105. De Mazenod wrote to Robert Cooke, provincial in England, July 30, 1858, about sending Grandidier, see Eugene de Mazenod, Letters and Documents Concerning England and Ireland 1842-1860, Collection Oblate Writings III, 144-45.
- 85 Missions de la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée [Missions], (Paris: 1862-).
- 86 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 7-9.
- 87 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 9. Oblate missions in the Montreal and Ottawa dioceses and at the Red River Settlement began in 1841 and 1845 respectively, but these mission districts developed separately. Personnel were rarely transferred.
- 88 His brother, François-Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City and Vicar Apostolic of Oregon had requested Oblates of de Mazenod with no success. A.M.A. Blanchet appealed directly to Oblate

Father Bruno Guigues, the superior at Montreal, who in turn appealed to de Mazenod. Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 31; and McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 47-52.

89 McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 56-57; Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 32-34. Note that the publication date is included with the reference to Levasseur as he had a long career and published several volumes. The use of short titles for them might easily confuse future researchers.

90 McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 47-69.

91 McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 54, 59. See also Gaston Carrière o.m.i., "The Yakima War," Vie Oblate Life 34 (1975), 147-73, 261-94, and David Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers: The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Olympia, Washington: State Capitol Historical Association, 1976), 5. Nicandri cites American archival sources and Pascal Ricard, "Les origines de nos Missions de l'Oregon d'après un mémoire du P. Ricard," Missions 1912, 67-83, 163-176.

92 Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers, 7 passim.

93 Seattle Archdiocese Archives, Ricard to Brouillet [vicar general of Walla Walla diocese], January 10, 1850, cited in Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers, 8.

94 In 1854, Oblate brothers Gaspard Janin and Célestin Verney revolted against the heavy workload set them by Father Eugene-Casimir Chirouse at St. Rose Mission. Ricard managed to get them to obey regulations and work for Chirouse again. Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers, 16, citing Oregon Historical Society Archives, Catholic Church in the Northwest, Oblates, Microfilm Roll 1: Chirouse to Ricard, February 24 and 28, 1854 and Janin to Ricard, June 29, 1854.

95 De Mazenod Letters to North America 1841-1850 Collection Oblate Writings I (Rome: General Postulation OMI, 1978), 230-231, De Mazenod to Father Richard, November 17, 1849 sending L.J. d'Herbomez as your "first consultor" and successor in case of illness or death. See Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1851-1860 Collection Oblate Writings II, trans. (Rome: General Postulation OMI, 1979), 69-70, E. De Mazenod to Father Ricard March 7, 1854, appointing d'Herbomez as vice-vicar of Oregon. On the Oregon Oblates' opinion of d'Herbomez see Father Aubert quoted in a note in the same volume, 156, on how d'Herbomez "has not been well accepted by all the fathers in Oregon." Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers, 14-17, discusses the Richard-d'Herbomez friendship. The latter's transfer to Olympia in 1854 was on account of stomach problems. Ricard's poor health was probably due to tuberculosis.

96 Émilien Lamirande, "Le Père Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit: son ministère auprès des autochtones de l'île de Vancouver (1849-1852)," Western Oblate Studies 1/Études Oblates de l'Ouest, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1990), 53-70; Patricia Meyer, editor, and Catou Levesque, trans., Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, O.M.I., His Oregon Trail Journal and Letters from the Pacific Northwest 1848-1853 (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1985).

97 Émilien Lamirande, "Le Père Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit," 55. On Lempfrit's school see Chief Factor James Douglas to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, October 27, 1849, in H. Bowsfield, ed., Fort Victoria Letters 1846-1851 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1979), 59. The wives would have been Aboriginal or Métis women and the children halfbreed or Métis.

98 Vincent J. McNally, "A Lost Opportunity: A Study of Relations Between the Native Peoples and the Diocese of Victoria," Western Oblate Studies 2/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 2 (Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 164. Also see: Émilien Lamirande, "Le Père Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit," 63-64; McNally,

"Fighting for a Foundation," 61-63; Meyer and Levesque, Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, O.M.I., editor's introduction.

99 Émilien Lamirande, "Le Père Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit," 70; Meyer and Levesque, Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, O.M.I., editor's introduction, 21-40 especially 33, 37-39.

100 Ricard was recalled in 1856 but did not leave Olympia until the spring of 1857. Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960), 48-49. For original correspondence see Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1851-1860 Collection Oblate Writings II, 126-128, C.E. de Mazenod to Father Ricard November 15, 1856, recalling Ricard from Oregon.

101 Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1851-1860 Collection Oblate Writings II, 156, De Mazenod to Father Bermond, Visitor in Oregon, September 9, 1857, and editor's note quoting Father Aubert that d'Herbomez could not yet be named superior, and on how he "has not been well accepted by all the fathers in Oregon."

102 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 34. McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 60 and 65.

103 McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 63 on Demers "desperate" for priests. See also Jean Usher, "Modeste Demers," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume X, 222.

104 McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation," 66, on Demers' awareness of Oblate intentions "to replace him or have a new independent jurisdiction detached from his huge diocese."

105 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 35-36.

106 Achiel Peelman, "Les Missionnaires oblates et les cultures amérindiennes au 19e siècle," SCHEC Études d'histoire religieuse 62 (1996): 31-47. Professor Peelman drew his conclusions from examination of the published versions of 246 Oblate letters 1847-1856, in Les oblates de Marie Immaculée en Orégon 1847-1860, 3 vols., ed. P. Drouin, o.m.i. (Ottawa: Archives Deschâtelets, 1992).

107 Carrière, "Yakima War," 283, quoting d'Herbomez to de Mazenod, April 22, 1857. Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers, 26, on how d'Herbomez's 1856 tour with E.C. Chirouse among the Snohomish near Tulalip had followed the Red River "mission ambulante" style.

108 Jacqueline Gresko, "Pierre-Paul Durieu," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 281-285. For a history of the Tulalip mission and a biography of Chirouse see [Nellie Sullivan], Sister Mary Louise OP, "Eugene Casimir Chirouse and the Indians of Washington," (M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 1953).

109 H. Storni, "Reductions of Paraguay," New Catholic Encyclopedia Volume 12 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 165-166.

110 W.L. Morton, "George-Antoine Bellecourt (Belcourt)," Dictionary of Canadian Biography X 1972, 46-48. See also Gaston Carrière, "The Early Efforts of the Oblate Missionaries in Western Canada," Prairie Forum 4: 1 (Spring, 1979), 4. Belcourt was not an Oblate. He began his reduction in 1833. His bishop, Provencher, condemned it saying, "it would have been better to have a little less ploughing and a little more catechism."

- 111 Pandosy and Durieu fled their Yakima mission and took refuge with the Jesuits at Colville in October 1855, see Carrière, "Yakima War," 168-170.
- 112 Robert I. Burns SJ, "Roman Catholic Missions in the Northwest," Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 4 History of Indian White Relations, W.E. Washburn volume editor (Washington: Smithsonian, 1988), 494-500; and Robert Ignatius Burns SJ, The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 41-47, on the modification of the reduction model to local circumstances and Jesuit finances. See also Robert M. Waver, "The Jesuit Reduction System Concept: Its Implications for Northwest Coast Archaeology," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes (Fall 1977): 163-169.
- 113 Bermond's last letter from Oregon to de Mazenod, October 22, 1858, is cited in Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, 53.
- 114 Gresko, "Pierre-Paul Durieu," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XII, 281-285.
- 115 Edwin M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization 13, 3 (Fall 1954): 23-27.
- 116 Rousseau, "Louis-Delphis-Adolphe Maréchal," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII, 697-698; and Mailloux, S.S.A., Esther Blondin, 19.
- 117 McCarthy, From the Great River, 4 on Oblate motto, "Evangelizare pauperibus misit me," which she translates as He has sent me to teach the Good News to the poor." Cantwell, North to Share, vi, on Sisters of Saint Anne's motto, "Qui fecerit et docuerit hic magnus vocabitur in regno coelorum."
- 118 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, xxii.
- 119 Marie Anne Eva, Sisters of Saint Anne, "The Great Missionary Movement," chapter VII, 133 ff. in English translation of Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, reflects the enthusiasm of French Canadians for missions.
- 120 Lempfrit's letter to the Rev. Grey Sisters Montreal, February 9, 1850 appears in Patricia Meyer, editor, and Catou Levesque, translator, Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit, O.M.I., His Oregon Trail Journal and Letters from the Pacific Northwest 1848-1853 (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1985), 221-225.
- 121 On the impact of epidemic diseases on Salishan peoples see Cole Harris, The Resettlement of British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997). On the problems of alcohol, prostitution, and diseases see Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia Vol. 1 The Impact of the White Man (Victoria: Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1965), 40-45. More recent scholarship appears in Wayne Suttles, editor, Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 7 The Northwest Coast (Washington: Smithsonian, 1990).
- 122 McNally, "A Lost Opportunity," looks at the negative views of Victoria diocese clerics and nuns. He does not consider the more positive viewpoints cited in Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE LIFE HISTORIES OF THE FIRST GENERATION

“Life will be mostly what women truly wish it to be”

This chapter compares the lives of the first twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann and the lives of the first thirty Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia missions. Discussion of the leadership and then the group in each congregation shows how their expectations played out in their life histories. This biographic approach, countering present day stereotypes about Oblate priests as directors, and the nuns and brothers as docile servants, lays groundwork for further examination of how two missionary organizations evolved in British Columbia.¹

The collective biography shows that the Sisters were a sisterhood, a unified organization with ideology and associations, able to negotiate their own way in a patriarchal church. The Sisters of Saint Ann saw themselves as missionaries, apostles of the Christian church. The Oblate priests and brothers, for all their formal status as the missionary apostles of the church in British Columbia, were an organization divided in ideology and associations, especially by the politics of church, class, ethnicity and personality. Prior to the 1960s ordained priests were the official Roman Catholic Church. As priests and as men in a British colonial society the Oblates were drawn into the politics of public life. The Oblate brothers were inferior to the priests in their congregation but were equal to them in colonial law. The Sisters, who were much more of a homogeneous group, had relatively more freedom and equality in their lives than the brothers. The Sisters operated as a religious congregation in the larger church with their own superiors and their own rules and customs. The brothers were the lowest

rank of the Oblate congregation and came under its rules. However, as many were not educated to read Latin, the language of official church documents, they could not access their own rules. Twenty-three of the twenty-four nuns served in British Columbia as professed members of the congregation; only one worked as a lay assistant during her western assignment. Yet the Sisters remained a lower order in the patriarchal church. They might gain male ecclesiastics' approbation for their teaching or charitable and missionary works, but they could never become their ordained officials' equals. The disparities of gender and the peculiarities of church organization marked the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates' lives and identities throughout their history in British Columbia.

In the sense of spiritual achievement as well as church organization, religion was a key factor in the material and mental lives of both orders. The Sisters considered themselves primarily women religious, missionaries, teachers of the Catholic faith even though their assignment might be nursing or domestic duties. The Oblates considered themselves missionary priests and brothers called to evangelize Aboriginals, even though their assignment might be parish work with settlers or teaching. They constructed their identity in relationship to their congregation based in Marseilles, then Paris, to their local superiors and colleagues and to the populations they served. The Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia constructed their identity in relationship to their own congregation based at Lachine, Quebec, to their local clerical advisors, co-workers and superiors, and to the populations they served.

LIVES OF THE FIRST TWENTY-FOUR SISTERS OF SAINT ANN LEADERSHIP

Salomé Valois, the first superior of the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, was born April 30, 1830 in the rural community of Vaudreuil near Montreal in Lower

Canada.² She was the eldest of six children of a French-Canadian farm couple, Joseph Eustache Valois and Angélique Lefavre. Her parents' Catholicism and relative prosperity motivated them to send Salomé to the parish school, the Blondin Academy in Vaudreuil. They supported her decision to enter the noviciate of the Sisters of Saint Anne in 1851 and later her volunteering for the mission to Vancouver Island.³

On June 22, 1852 in Vaudreuil, Salomé Valois finished her postulancy and received her habit and her religious name, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur [Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart], from Archbishop François-Norbert Blanchet of Oregon City.⁴ Blanchet called her to be a Christian missionary in foreign lands.

Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart heard additional promotion of French-Canadian Catholic missions in the west during her noviciate, but her main concern was her commitment to train as a religious teacher with the Sisters of Saint Anne. At her perpetual profession in 1853, when she was twenty-three years old, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, like the other nuns, took vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and teaching, thus becoming the twenty-second professed member of the congregation. When the motherhouse transferred to St. Jacques de l'Achigan that same year, she remained at Vaudreuil to teach in the parish school. However she did go to St. Jacques as sacristan, then went back to Vaudreuil to teach, then returned to St. Jacques to work in the garden, infirmary and household accounts.

When in 1857 the Sisters of Saint Anne accepted the call from Bishop Modeste Demers of Vancouver Island for teachers and healthcare workers, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart was one of the four commissioned. When the directress of the missionary group, Sister Mary Alphonse, fell ill early in 1858, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart replaced her.⁵

Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart was one of the more experienced teaching Sisters going west. The other, Sister Mary Angèle [Gauthier], had served as superior general of the congregation for three years after the deposition of Mother Marie-Anne. Sister Mary Lumena [Brasseur] and Sister Mary Conception [Lane] had only recently made profession as members of the Sisters of Saint Anne. The lay assistant, Marie Mainville, made a personal vow to Bishop Bourget of Montreal to remain attached to the four professed Sisters.⁶

On their arrival at Fort Victoria June 5, 1858, the four pioneer nuns immediately saw the impact that the gold rush on the Fraser River had made on the fur trade post. This caused them to change their original plans to teach French-Canadian fur traders' children and Aboriginal children. As the directress, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart soon oversaw classes for white settler children as well as halfbreeds and Indians, home nursing, and care of the bishop's residence.⁷ A near-unilingual francophone herself, she recognized her limitations and those of her three francophone companions in an English-speaking urban community. In a gold rush town cash from paying pupils was needed to fund charitable efforts. Only Sister Mary Conception, an Irish-Canadian, had the fluency in English to run classes entirely in that language. So Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart wrote to her superiors asking for English-speaking Sisters, preferably with musical ability, to direct a select fee-paying school.⁸

The Superior General of the Sisters of Saint Anne and her Council at St. Jacques, Quebec received and acted on this request. Neither Bishop Modeste Demers of Vancouver Island nor Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal interfered with the arrangements.⁹

In November 1859 Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart happily turned over direction of the log cabin convent in Victoria to one of two newly arrived English-speaking Sisters, Mary Providence McTucker.¹⁰ She would change the congregation's name in British Columbia to Saint Ann, and shift its curriculum to the English language.¹¹ For the next five years Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart continued to teach in Victoria, to advise on administration and to help with the domestic chores of the convent and its boarding and day schools.

The private correspondence of Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart hints that the pioneer directress stepped aside, not only so that an anglophone nun could promote the congregation's missions, but also so that a new superior could resolve personnel problems. One of the pioneer nuns had criticized her management style and disrupted the harmony of the Victoria convent community. It was tough emotionally to have to make her subordinates work hard and to have to admonish them, but she found it even more stressful that one unnamed nun resented the slightest correction and had turned against her, calling her a tyrant. To preserve harmony in the convent all the other nuns gave in to this nun's opinions. Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart asked her superiors for the means to show this nun that she was mistaken and to bring her into line, i.e. into loyal and harmonious working relations. Most probably this person was Sister Mary Angèle, a former superior general. After 1859 both she and Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart assisted Sister Mary Providence, but they never worked together again for more than a brief period. These assignments contrast with the other nuns of the 1858 contingent.¹²

Beginning in 1864 Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart and one assistant pioneered the establishment of the Sisters of Saint Ann mission school at Quamichan or Cowichan,

now Duncan. Sister Mary Conception served as the long term assistant, although Sisters Mary Angèle, Lumena and Bonsecours also held brief appointments. In spite of the aid of these Sisters, who had learned Chinook, the fur trade jargon familiar to Aboriginal families, and that of the local missionary priest, French-Canadian Pierre Rondeau, few Indian pupils came or stayed. There were few settler families to supply paying pupils. Orphans were left in the Sisters' care before their garden or farm could supply adequate food.¹³

The hard labour at Cowichan wore down Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's health. So in 1869 she was reassigned to the Victoria convent to assist with administration, supervision of manual works and care of boarders. The arrival of more English-speaking nuns from the East and the construction of a new convent academy on Humboldt Street in Victoria meant these were not small tasks. She also helped out nuns at other missions on the mainland. For example on May 3, 1870, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart went to St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser, east of New Westminster, and helped the two nuns there make forty-four quilts. Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's continued difficulty speaking English limited the role she would take in the select convent school in Victoria. The boarding students, however, expressed great affection for the Sister they knew as "my Aunt Sacred Heart."¹⁴

When in 1876 the Sisters of Saint Ann established St. Joseph's Hospital near the Victoria convent, Mother Providence assigned Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart to oversee its laundry and old men's ward. This ward grew out of the Sisters' arrangement for hospital fundraising. They charged for annual and/or lifetime hospital society memberships and promised hospital care and/or geriatric care in return. In the

late nineteenth century the Sisters took in Aboriginal and Asian patients who were not admitted to all area public hospitals.¹⁵

Only a short appointment near her family near Montreal in the 1890s and the rheumatism of advancing age interrupted Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's hospital routines. In her letters to family, she encouraged one nephew and two grand-nephews to become priests and two grand-nieces to join the Sisters of Saint Anne.¹⁶

Her religious community recognized Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's fiftieth anniversary of profession in 1903 and her death in 1906, at 76 years of age. But she did not receive much public recognition. She would not have objected to a comparison of her final assignment as laundress in the Victoria provincial house with that of her congregation's foundress at the motherhouse in Lachine.

A younger Sister of Saint Ann, the historian Sister Mary Theodore, credited the shaping of the sisterhood's British Columbia missions to Sisters Mary Providence and Anne of Jesus, the provincial directresses who succeeded Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, as well as to their male ecclesiastical superiors.¹⁷ But Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's initiation of the log cabin school in Victoria, as well as her efforts with Aboriginal and orphan children at Cowichan and patients at St. Joseph's Hospital set the original pattern. Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's missionary venture with Aboriginal and orphan pupils of both sexes, with hospital patients, and with a largely English-speaking non-Roman Catholic society contrasted with the activities of her congregation in Quebec.

The biography of Sister Mary Providence backs up findings on Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart as a 'religieuse missionnaire,' a nineteenth-century Canadian nun with a strong sense of sisterhood and mission.¹⁸ Eleanor McTucker was born October 10,

1836 in Sligo, Ireland. "Educated by governesses and tutors," she also attended "a finishing school." Then, when she was in her teens, a "reversal in family fortunes" caused her family to emigrate to Montreal.¹⁹

Eleanor McTucker, the daughter of a devout Catholic family, was no doubt familiar with the resurgence of Irish sisterhoods in the nineteenth century. These nuns drew on their own traditions, such as financing charity schools out of the fees of paying pupils, or establishing orphanages and refuges for destitute women. Irish teaching sisterhoods also promoted secondary education for women.²⁰

Monseigneur Prince, the coadjutor bishop of Montreal, introduced sixteen year old Eleanor McTucker to Mother Marie-Anne, superior of the Sisters of Sainte Anne. Miss McTucker entered the noviciate of the Sisters of Saint Anne, making her vows as Sister Mary Providence on September 21, 1853, thus becoming the twenty-third member. She quickly achieved great fluency in French. Her abilities in English, French and music instruction made her a valuable directress for the St. Jacques convent school.²¹

However, when the nun appointed to replace the western directress in 1859 took ill, the superiors commissioned twenty-two year old Sister Mary Providence. In terms of gender, it is significant to note that she chose to follow a male missionary model when departing the Montreal area. "[I]n imitation of Saint Francis Xavier," she "passed her home without stopping to bid 'Adieu' to her aged father."²² Then she made valuable female contacts by visiting convents in San Francisco as she travelled west with Sisters of the Holy Names going also to Portland, Oregon, and with the Sisters of Providence going to Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory.

When Sister Mary Providence arrived in Victoria, in October 1859, she began an administrative term that would run through to 1881. It would be followed by a hospital directorship 1882-1892, one more year as provincial director, 1892-1893, and provincial council status after that. Along the way the British Columbia convents became a vicariate within the order, and Sister Mary Providence became Sister Vicar, then Mother Vicar. She expanded the Sisters' schools for settler and Aboriginal children, their work in the care of the orphans and the sick, and brought in new curricula from music to stenography. The new curricula reflected both her practical outlook on education for women and her appreciation of the need to compete with other educational providers for fee-paying students. She anchored the new developments out of the Victoria convent academy on Humboldt Street in downtown Victoria.²³ The laying of its foundation stone in 1871 symbolized the grounding of the Sisters of Saint Ann in the British colonial settler society.²⁴ [This building is part of the complex restored by provincial heritage groups in 1998 and made a national historic site in 1999.]

Sister Mary Providence became known and respected all along the Pacific Coast. Behind the scenes she dealt with administrative crises: shortages of staff and funds in the 1860s, deaths of new missionaries in the decade following, ongoing problems over property ownership with the provincial government, and continuing conflicts regarding mission administration by the Oblate superiors, bishops d'Herbomez and Durieu, on the mainland of British Columbia.

The way Sister Mary Providence dealt with these crises shows the administrative scope accorded a local superior of a Roman Catholic sisterhood and her own ability and persistence. In 1862 the Clerics of Saint Viator, the French teaching brothers who came to Victoria with the nuns in 1858, returned to Montreal, deciding to do so as they did

not have the staff to run classes for fee-paying English pupils.²⁵ Concerned about the increased workload of the six Sisters, their isolation and their financial situation, Sister Mary Providence requested that they too be permitted to return to Montreal. Although her superiors refused the request on the grounds of cost and dedication to the mission cause,²⁶ they did send her more Sisters, but still expected her to manage the Victoria mission. In this she would be supported by her small council of veteran advisors, by the visit of the superior general for ten months in 1866-67, and by Bishop Demers.²⁷

Sister Mary Providence's skills as a female religious superior were tested in the negotiations with Oblate Bishop d'Herbomez regarding the foundation of convent schools in his diocese, at New Westminster in 1865 and at Saint Mary's Mission on the Fraser in 1868. The Lachine archive letterbooks of the Sisters of Saint Anne detail Sister Mary Providence's firm insistence on the Sisters' autonomy, their religious rule and customs, in the face of pressure from Bishop d'Herbomez who wanted the Sisters of Saint Ann to move to his mainland diocese, or to send him a group of nuns who could become a diocesan congregation under his control. The Oblates' Deschâtelets archives, in contrast, contains an unsigned memorandum from the same era, expressing Oblate frustration with the Canadian Sisters of Saint Ann, and the hopes some malleable French congregation of women could be persuaded to come to this western mission in their place.²⁸ Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, like bishops in France, wanted to have nuns in diocesan congregations under his control.²⁹ He presumed French-speaking nuns from France would staff Aboriginal missions and would help raise funds from the Holy Childhood, the Catholic mission organization dedicated to funding Aboriginal mission education.³⁰ He did not want to have to negotiate with Sister Mary Providence who

could call on his political opponents, like the Canadian Modeste Demers, the bishop of Vancouver Island, for support.³¹

Until her death in 1904 Mother Mary Providence served, by all reports, as both mentor and model, a “distinguished” teacher and administrator. One young protégée remembered her “most often repeated quotation was, ‘A woman’s influence is not limited; life will be mostly what women truly wish it to be.’”³²

THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANN AS A GROUP

Two leaders, along with the other twenty-two Sisters of Saint Ann who came to British Columbia by the time of Confederation in 1871, form the first generation of the congregation in the west. Similar patterns can be seen in background, internal congregation life, and external social life of the two dozen Sisters.

Of the twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann in the first generation in the west, 3 were born in the 1820s, 8 in the 1830s, and 13 in the 1840s. All of the women were born to Catholic families. Four would die before the end of 1871 and a total of 15 would die by 1914, with the last Sister dying in 1933. Among the twenty-four nuns were two pairs of biological sisters, Sisters Mary Providence and Catherine of Sienna McTucker, and Marie Mainville and Angèle Mainville, both known in religion as Sister Marie des Sept Douleurs [Mary of the Seven Sorrows]. By ethnicity 14 were French Canadian, 1 German and 9 Irish. Where birthplaces were recorded 8 were given as rural Quebec, particularly the western part of the diocese of Montreal, and 1 as Sligo, Ireland. Where occupations of parents were given 6 were farmers and 2 were Irish families of some affluence. In terms of educational preparation of the group, 12 had had some formal schooling prior to entering the congregation. One had studied at the Religious of the Sacred Heart Convent at St. Jacques, 2 attended parish or rural schools in Quebec, 8

attended the Blondin Academy at Vaudreuil or St. Ann's school there or at St. Jacques. Only one nun, Sister Mary Providence, had been educated by tutors and at a finishing school. Parents of eight young women were able to pay for their daughters' piano lessons. Devoutly religious mothers and fathers influenced several of the first generation.³³

The majority of the twenty-four pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann had entered the congregation at age nineteen and made their profession two years later at age twenty-one. All of them began their noviciate at the motherhouse of St. Jacques, or after 1864, at Lachine.³⁴ For two others the noviciate was lengthened from the standard two to nearly five years by a move west during the noviciate. Sister Mary Patrick and Sister Mary Catherine of Sienna were English-speaking novices sent to help teach in the Victoria select school in 1863.³⁵ The age range for profession ran from seventeen to thirty years. Of the twenty-four first generation nuns the range of years 'in religion' as a professed Sister was 2 to 69 years, with the average being 38 [if Marie Mainville is included at age 24, and 37 if she is not counted from her first set of vows].³⁶ None of the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann in the west left the congregation before death. In terms of missionary experience, including noviciate and 'retirement' in British Columbia and Alaska, the twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann ranged from one to sixty-seven years of service, with the average being a little over thirty years.

The first twenty nuns travelled west from the motherhouse via Panama or Nicaragua. The last four travelled west by rail, after the 1869 completion of the American transcontinental. All the pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann made the final leg of the journey by steamship from San Francisco to Victoria. So the first twenty nuns in

particular shared a sense of group survival which modern historians should not discount.

All twenty-four pioneer nuns held their initial British Columbia appointments at the provincial house or its attached orphanage and hospital. In terms of internal congregational ranking, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart and six others stood as the 'real pioneers' of 1858 and 1859. The log-cabin Victoria convent served as an orientation centre for experienced teachers coming to western missions, and as an internship centre for newly professed nuns. The western noviciate opened in 1890 enhancing this role. Those Sisters located elsewhere in the province came to Victoria for their annual spiritual retreat and vacation, and several nuns began retirement there. The Sisters thus developed a strong sense of regional religious community. Twelve of the Sisters worked only from the Victoria convent. All twenty-four had some experience with a town school, a select school or a city orphanage in the capital, in New Westminster, Nanaimo, Kamloops or Vancouver. Six worked in St. Joseph's Hospital and several others visited the sick. Two served in Alaska and two others visited Alaska. Twelve staffed mission and Indian schools that were established at Cowichan, St. Mary's on the Fraser, St. Joseph's at Williams Lake, Kamloops Indian Industrial School and Kuper Island Industrial School. Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's appointments at the Victoria log cabin and convent schools, Cowichan mission and St. Joseph's Hospital with several years also on council matched the experience of half of the generation.

The other half, those who worked only from the Victoria convent, were perhaps the basis for the Oblate perception that the Sisters of Saint Ann were more 'ladies' than missionaries, more pampered instructors of the elite than hardworking teachers and nurses of the needy.³⁷ When Oblates characterized the Victoria nuns as ladies, they

overlooked the orphanage and hospital aspects of these women's works. Yet the Oblates here acknowledged the internal hierarchy of the sisterhood, in which those not capable of teaching finishing school classes to wealthy pupils in Victoria were assigned to labour in the background.³⁸

In terms of the larger British Columbia society the first generation Sisters of Saint Ann were members of a distinct female culture and organization. Its networks would be significant in their lives and identities. Most of them shared the same mentors, friends, associates, and enemies. Thirteen nuns had been directly associated with Esther Blondin, the foundress of the congregation. All Sisters of Saint Ann in the West were encouraged by the personal visits of her successors, the Superior Generals.³⁹ Notable mentors in the congregation in the west included the five pioneer nuns and Sister Mary Providence as directress or provincial superior from 1859 to 1881.⁴⁰

Spiritual mentorships existed for the Sisters of Saint Ann. Their necrologies show that twenty-one had a particular devotion to Jesus as God, six to the Virgin Mary, and as many to Saints Anne, Joseph and the Apostles. When the Sisters of Saint Ann named schools and institutions, they named them mainly for their patron saint, Anne, or for St. Joseph, patron of Canada. Although Marian devotions were important to the Sisters of Saint Ann, the nuns modelled themselves on Christ and the apostles more than on an idealized version of his mother Mary. This religious practice is significant. It contrasts with the Marian devotion Danylewycz noted in her study of two contemporary Montreal diocese congregations of women.⁴¹ It continues the medieval European women's devotion to Christ in His humanity, versus men's to Christ in His divinity as described by Caroline Walker Bynum.⁴² A final aspect of spiritual mentorship was that the religious names of six nuns who died in the early years of the

western mission were taken up by other young women who joined the Sisters of Saint Ann.⁴³

Mentorships also can be deduced in reconstructing the biographies of the pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia. It is not surprising their necrologies and writings mention the influence of Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal, Bishop Modeste Demers of Victoria, and say little or nothing of Bishop L.J. d'Herbomez and the tensions between Oblate administrators and superiors of the Sisters of Saint Ann. Pioneer nuns do laud the Jesuit missionaries to Alaska, even though few first generation nuns worked there, since all nuns posted at the provincial house met Jesuits en route to missions in Alaska, part of the Victoria Catholic diocese to 1894.⁴⁴

Before 1903, while the bishop of Victoria reported to the Portland, Oregon, archbishop, the Sisters of Saint Ann established a pattern of traveling down the coast to that city and to Seattle and Vancouver, Washington for ecclesiastical and educational gatherings. There they could renew associations made with Sisters of Providence and Sisters of the Holy Names during travels from Montreal west. Sisters Mary Bridget and Mary Virginia in 1876 went to study with the Sisters of Providence at their St. Vincent's Hospital in Portland, in preparation for the opening of St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria.⁴⁵

All of the Sisters of Saint Ann did some work with lay Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics. The necrologies of nine of the twenty-four first generation Sisters mention special recognition from lay Catholics and five from the non-Catholic public, particularly for their long teaching or nursing careers. Less than twenty per cent of British Columbians were Catholic, and the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists also believed that God had specially called them to convert the population of the

region.⁴⁶ The age was one of intolerance and intense religious competition, not harmony and ecumenism, and therefore this recognition is significant.

Necrologies of the Sisters who worked among the Salishan peoples of southwestern British Columbia record the names the Natives gave them, but gloss over the paucity of long term converts. The needy, the female, the orphan and the ill did make use of the Sisters' services.⁴⁷ Meanwhile most Aboriginal peoples continued with their own religion - even if ninety per cent listed themselves as adherents of Christianity and of that number about sixty per cent as Catholic.⁴⁸

The Sisters of Saint Ann initially expected to teach halfbreed children as members of French-Canadian fur trade families. In the long term the nuns served both anglophone and francophone halfbreed children. Some came as fee-paying settler pupils and others as needy orphans of Native descent. Halfbreed children who attended mission schools, such as St. Mary's on the Fraser River, and later lived in Aboriginal communities merged with these communities in statistical terms and often in religious practice.⁴⁹ The Sisters, grounded in French-Canadian Catholicism of the nineteenth century, were unwilling to make more than minor concessions to Aboriginal cultures. The nuns' ethnocentricity helps explain their lack of long term converts among Aboriginal or mixed race peoples.⁵⁰ However, the nuns did not meet a range of these peoples as touring male ministers did. Instead they most often met them as families or children in crisis at a mission school or orphanage.

Although the Sisters of Saint Ann by the requirements of their rule had to live in convents and attend daily mass, they did travel. Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, appointed to Cowichan, and Sister Mary Lumena Brasseur, appointed to Saint Mary's Mission on the Fraser, traveled back to Victoria as councillors to Mother Mary

Providence, the provincial directress. Thirteen Sisters traveled long distances after their arrival in Victoria. One struggled through the over 300 mile journey to Williams Lake. Four went to Alaska. Six went back to the motherhouse at Lachine for a visit.⁵¹ Several went to Lachine for other postings, for healthcare, or for retirement. Some returned west for subsequent appointments, duty tours or retirement.⁵²

Of the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia 8 died early in their careers, but only 5 officially retired, mostly when ill or infirm and at an average age of 72 years. For example, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart helped with the geriatric ward at the hospital until aged 75. Sister Mary Conception, one of her pioneer companions in Victoria, was still teaching at St. Mary's Mission Indian School in 1906 at age 80. She then served as matron at St. Mary's Mission Indian School in 1907-1908, before retiring to the Victoria convent infirmary. Sister Mary Bridget, the last of the first generation Sisters to die - in 1933 - did not retire from St. Joseph's Hospital and provincial administrative councils until she was nearly 80 years of age.⁵³

Nine of the Sisters of Saint Ann in the first generation to come west celebrated fiftieth anniversaries of religious profession and three celebrated sixtieth anniversaries. One of the largest celebrations was the joint sixtieth anniversary celebration in the Victoria cathedral for Sister Mary Bridget and Sister Mary Lucy, the longtime St. Joseph's Hospital administrator and convent academy superior.

The deaths of these two Sisters, among the longest surviving of the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann, in Victoria in 1933 and 1926 received public recognition in form of funeral tributes. Humble, long-lived Sisters like Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart and the 6 Sisters who died at Lachine did not.

Looking back on the lives of this first group of Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia shows that, like Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, most had chosen to join a congregation which memorialized the “beloved Sister,” the “humble religious,” and the teacher of Aboriginal peoples who had left her homeland for the missions. The nuns’ internal ranking may have elevated the stellar academy instructor and denigrated the domestic worker, but their rhetoric elevated the cooperative, humble nuns and especially those who taught the non-Christian Aboriginals.

Causes of death are not recorded for all of the Sisters but looking at the numbers who died per decade, and remembering that 3 were born in the 1820s, 8 in the 1830s and 13 in the 1840s, does lead to some informed speculation about the causes. In the 1860s, 2 died; in the 1870s, 4; in the 1880s, 2; in the 1890s, 1; in the 1900s, 5; in the 1910-1919 decade, 5; in the 1920s, 4; and in the 1930s, 1. The 6 deaths of the 1860s and 1870s might have been caused by the poverty of the early noviciate, the hazardous trip west, and the prevalence of tuberculosis in female boarding academies – or a combination of these factors. One of the deaths in the 1880s seems to have been from staph infection in hospital service. The average age at death for the Sisters was 61.25 years. By 1900 to 1919 when 10 of the 24 first generation Sisters died, their ages were reaching 60, 70 and more, a long lifespan for women at the turn of the century, thus suggesting death from normal causes.⁵⁴

THE LIVES OF THE FIRST THIRTY OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE

When the lives and careers of the thirty Oblates of Mary Immaculate who came to British Columbia before the end of 1871 are compared with those of the twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann, the character of both the men and the women members of the

religious congregations in British Columbia can be seen in context, particularly the context of gender and mission.⁵⁵

LEADERSHIP

The life of Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, appointed superior of the Oblates in British Columbia about the same time as Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, provides a way in to such discussion.⁵⁶ Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez was born January 17, 1822 in a rural village of the Cambrai diocese in France. He worked with his shoemaker father until age seventeen and then entered the diocesan seminary. His Catholic family supported that choice and his later decision to enter the Oblate noviciate in Nancy in 1847. The religious revival in Nancy in the 1840s fired young Louis-Joseph's zeal for the missions. So did his seminary experience at the headquarters of the congregation at Marseilles. There he heard how Oblates in post-revolutionary Provence led a Catholic religious revival using the local language and grand processions of the Passion.⁵⁷ Seminarian d'Herbomez also heard of the Oblate missions to the Red River and Oregon. He became acquainted with the Oblate founder and superior general, Eugene de Mazenod, who ordained him in 1849.

De Mazenod sent Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez to the Oregon mission in 1850, telling the superior, Pascal Ricard, to treat him as first consultor (primary advisor).⁵⁸ D'Herbomez reported back to De Mazenod on Oblate difficulties with French-Canadian bishops' ambitions, Aboriginal-settler warfare, and their own finances and personnel.⁵⁹ Between 1851 and 1853 d'Herbomez served at St. Joseph d'Ahtanum mission to the Yakima along with Eugene-Casimir Chirouse and Charles Pandosy. D'Herbomez suffered the "hardships and hunger" of this interior post as well as the tension between Chirouse and Pandosy. Like them, he enjoyed the friendship of the nearby Jesuit

missionaries.⁶⁰ In 1854 Ricard called d'Herbomez to his headquarters at Olympia on Puget Sound. Ricard appreciated his administrative assistance during the Yakima War of 1855-56. De Mazenod, however, concerned that d'Herbomez "was not well accepted by all the Fathers in Oregon," only named him acting-superior when recalling Ricard in 1856. The delegate de Mazenod sent, François Xavier Bermond, supported d'Herbomez's projects for moving the Oblates from American territory to Modeste Demers' diocese of Vancouver Island, and for revising missionary methods to include more regular pastoral tours of Aboriginal territory.⁶¹

The 1858 Fraser River gold rush and the establishment of the new colony of British Columbia supported Oblate manoeuvres to make their missions autonomous of Bishop Demers. Once d'Herbomez was appointed bishop and vicar apostolic of British Columbia in 1863, he withdrew Oblates from Vancouver Island to the mainland. Starting with the Fraser Valley and adjacent coast, d'Herbomez directed the Oblates in founding central mission posts from which they could travel out to Aboriginal villages. Each mission hosted periodic gatherings for the peoples of the region. Between these instructional and liturgical sessions the converted Aboriginal peoples returned to live in their villages according to the rules, officials and courts of the missionaries' temperance society. The latter required them to abjure traditional religion as well as alcohol. D'Herbomez intended that the central mission posts, like St. Mary's on the Fraser River, near present day Mission, B.C., would include schools and model villages, along the lines attempted by both the Red River Oblates and the Pacific Northwest Jesuits.⁶²

From his episcopal seat of New Westminster, d'Herbomez deployed the Oblates present in British Columbia, those sent from France and Ireland, and those he personally recruited on trips to Europe.⁶³ Those voyages, to general chapters and the

Vatican Council, kept him in touch with congregational headquarters and developments in other missions, for instance in Ceylon.⁶⁴ Back in British Columbia he toured mission districts to confirm converts and to bless churches.⁶⁵ Bishop d'Herbomez oversaw founding of missions in the Okanagan, Kamloops, Kootenays, Cariboo-Chilcotin, and Fort St. James areas. Only the mission at Fort Rupert, later Harbledown Island, on the east Coast of Vancouver Island, would fail and be closed in 1874. Tulalip Mission on Puget Sound remained under Oblate administration until 1876, thanks to an American government Indian school contract.⁶⁶ Oblate priests also ministered to the few urban parishes for non-Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia, such as St. Peter's in New Westminster.

Through the 1870s and 1880s d'Herbomez continued to establish Aboriginal missions. The bishop and the Oblates petitioned the federal government regarding increasing Aboriginal reserves and education funds.⁶⁷ D'Herbomez saw peace and territorial integrity for the Aboriginal peoples and government grants for residential schools as necessary to his mission projects. The grand annual Salishan gatherings d'Herbomez organized at St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser River impressed the federal government agents as indications of the Aboriginal people's progress towards the government ideal of Christian civilization.⁶⁸ They did little, however, to settle the Indian land question or to fund mission schools.

D'Herbomez left most efforts to run Catholic boys' schools for English-speaking settlers to the few Irish Oblates, and girls' schools to the Sisters of Saint Ann. He did lobby the provincial government regarding Roman Catholic separate schools, but without success.⁶⁹ With no separate school legislation in the province, schools established by Oblates and Sisters of Saint Ann were obliged to operate as private

institutions. Although he tried, d'Herbomez was unable to get control of the direction of these nuns or to convince another congregation to volunteer for work in his missions. This failure bothered him greatly.⁷⁰

In 1888 d'Herbomez turned over the title missionary vicar to Paul Durieu, his coadjutor. Durieu, like d'Herbomez, was a protégé of Oblate founder Eugene de Mazenod. De Mazenod ordained Durieu in 1854 and sent him to Oregon.⁷¹ Like D'Herbomez, Durieu served at the Yakima mission with Pandosy. When war broke out in 1855, the mission was destroyed and the Oblates had to take refuge with the Jesuits at Colville. In 1856 Durieu was posted to Olympia where D'Herbomez was the acting superior. Durieu studied mission methods for the Salishan peoples with him and with Chirouse at Tulalip, and subsequently served in southwestern British Columbia missions. When d'Herbomez went to Europe for the Vatican Council in 1869-70 he named Durieu as his replacement. Then as d'Herbomez aged, he made Durieu his field commander, securing him coadjutor status in 1875. When d'Herbomez died in 1890, Durieu succeeded him.

Like d'Herbomez, Durieu travelled to Europe for General Chapters of the Oblate congregation, and to keep up connections with its officials.⁷² However, he focussed more on Aboriginal missions, going on episcopal tours of British Columbia villages, particularly those of the Salishan peoples, and organizing grand annual gatherings for them.⁷³ He needed priests to staff these missions in the 1890s as two veterans had transferred out of British Columbia, and three others had died.⁷⁴ But only three of eleven new priests at Durieu's disposal undertook long term Aboriginal mission work.⁷⁵ Since the Sisters of Saint Ann withdrew from St. Joseph's Mission, at Williams Lake, in 1888 and declined to return, Durieu had to seek the aid of his niece's French

congregation, the Sisters of the Child Jesus of Le Puy, to staff a new Indian industrial school there in the 1890s.⁷⁶ He used Oblate connections in Ottawa to compete against Protestants for funds for Indian residential schools.⁷⁷

The Chirouse case of 1892 highlighted problems Durieu faced in Aboriginal missions: continued Native resistance, Protestant opponents and the pressure of settlement in once isolated Aboriginal communities. In spring 1892 Father Eugene-Casimir Chirouse, the young nephew of a first generation Oblate of the same name, was charged in civil court. While visiting Fountain, near Lillooet, Chirouse had approved a missionary court sentence for whipping given to an unmarried woman called "Lucy" for sexual immorality ["keeping company with a young man"].⁷⁸ Durieu managed to have Chirouse pardoned, then moved him to the background. The bishop feared the disgrace of the missionary in front of the Aboriginal people and in face of the province's Anglo-Protestant society.⁷⁹ He knew some Fountain villagers had resisted missionary control in the past and that resistance had increased with the coming of the railway and more seasonal employment opportunities.⁸⁰ A report from Indian Agent J.W. McKay to his superior supports Durieu's concern about the impact of the Chirouse case. McKay remarked that it woke Natives in the Kamloops area to the way Catholic missionaries and their tribunals "usurped authority" of "regularly constituted courts."⁸¹ Needless to say the civil legal case also scandalized Oblate hierarchy, much as Durieu's appeal to the Governor General had resulted in remission of the prison sentences for Chirouse and the Aboriginal men involved in the case. Newspaper accounts of the case in 1892 discredited the efforts of Oblates to convert Aboriginal peoples to Roman Catholicism and furthered the Anglo-Protestant British Columbians' negative image of the French Roman Catholic priests.

In the wake of the Chirouse controversy, Durieu reorganized the Catholic missionaries' village governance system as the legally incorporated Indian Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia.⁸² This society would be able to discipline its own members. Durieu also promoted grand missionary celebrations, such as Oberammergau-style Passion Plays at Saint Mary's Mission, partly to give good publicity to the Oblate missionary efforts.⁸³ His main aim with these dramas, however, was to draw Salishan peoples of southwestern British Columbia to Roman Catholicism, away from their own religion, the new Indian Shaker Church, Methodist and Anglican missions, and secular attractions of the towns.⁸⁴

By the late 1890s Durieu recouped prestige in the Oblate congregation.⁸⁵ Within his diocese he superintended new services for the growing numbers of white Catholics, such as a young men's club and a monthly magazine. After his death in 1899, Durieu's reputation as the premier Oblate of the pioneer generation was furthered by such organizations. Meanwhile the public's memories of his mentor, Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, and of his associates, such as James McGuckin, dimmed.⁸⁶

THE OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE AS A GROUP

Of the thirty Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the first generation in the west, 1 was born in 1798, 1 in the 1800s, 4 in the years 1810 to 1819, 6 in the 1820s, 12 in the 1830s, and 6 in the 1840s. Of the thirty Oblates 20 were priests and 10 brothers. The brothers took vows but were not ordained to the sacerdotal ministry, so most of their work was in teaching or domestic and farm labour. The birth date ratio for the majority was the same. Eight of 20 priests were born in the 1830s and four of 10 brothers. All the men were born to Catholic families. Two would die before the end of 1871, and a total of 25 would die by 1914, with the last Oblate priest of the group dying in 1935, and the

last brother estimated to have died in 1926. It should be noted that both of these men, Jules Villemard and Patrick Hough, left the congregation, the first through apostasy in 1867, and the second through dispensation from vows in 1889. The last Oblate priest in the congregational group died in 1918, and the last brother in 1919.⁸⁷

Among the thirty Oblates only Brother Felix Guillet had a biological brother serving in the congregation's Western Canadian missions. However, Father Eugene-Casimir Chirouse had an Oblate nephew, also named Eugene-Casimir Chirouse.⁸⁸

By ethnicity, 17 of 20 priests and 4 of 10 brothers were French, 1 priest was Belgian, and 1 brother was German. Only two priests but 5 of 10 brothers were Irish. Birthplaces varied little from ethnicity. Most Oblates were born in small towns or rural areas. Parental occupations included 4 farmers, 2 artisans, 1 merchant, 1 notary, 1 landowner, 1 policeman, 1 sea captain and 1 labourer. Five priests and three brothers had formal schooling before entering the congregation's noviciate.⁸⁹

The majority of the thirty first generation Oblates entered the congregation at about age 24 years for the priests, and 30 years for the brothers. For priests, profession occurred at age 25 and, for brothers, the equivalent final vows at age 36. The thirty Oblates did not all attend the same noviciate. Eight of the priests had attended seminaries and thus had shorter noviciates. Ten Oblates made their noviciate at Notre-Dame de l'Osier in France, 11 at Marseilles in France, and 10 part or all in Oregon or British Columbia. For some of the priests and brothers, assignment to missions lengthened the period before final vows or ordination. Candidates for the priesthood took vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and perseverance near the end of their studies, although some men were ordained without finishing the set course of studies.⁹⁰ Brothers took similar vows but in stages: temporary vows after about two

years and final vows four years later. Two of the Oblates, George Blanchet and Edmond Peytavin, came to the missions as brothers but prepared for ordination by order of d'Herbomez.

For the first British Columbia Oblates, the range of years 'in religion' as a professed Oblate ran from 4 to 60 years with the average for priests at 38 years and brothers 35 years. It should be noted that three priests and one brother left the congregation before death.

In terms of missionary experience in the Pacific West the Oblates ranged from 2 to 49 years of service, with the average being 31 years in British Columbia. The priests averaged 30 years and the brothers 32 years in the province. If the 7 priests and 3 brothers who served in Oregon and then in British Columbia are considered as a group the average of their total mission years comes to 47, with 49 years for the priests as a sub-group.⁹¹

One priest, Edward Horris, and two brothers, Patrick Allen and Patrick Hough, held their British Columbia appointments at the provincial house, doing only town ministry. All thirty Oblates were supposed to come to the provincial house for annual retreats or conferences, but the rule was not strictly followed. Most priests spent some time itinerating out from the New Westminster headquarters of St. Charles Mission district. Twenty-seven Oblates were stationed off in wilderness missions for long periods. They developed strong individual identities rather than a sense of regional religious community. The fact that most French Oblates worked only as field missionaries was the basis for the public perception that the Oblates were Indian missionaries rather than parish priests.⁹²

The majority of Oblate priests and brothers served in missions with attached Indian schools such as those at St. Mary's on the Fraser, St. Louis at Kamloops [Kamloops Indian Residential School], and St. Eugene's at Cranbrook. Yet only nine francophone priests and one francophone brother are recorded as having taught or administered a school. Irish Priests Horris and McGuckin, and Irish Brothers MacStay, Allen, Burns, Ryan and Hough did the yeoman work of teaching at the Indian schools and at schools for settlers' children such as St. Louis College, New Westminster. Sisters of Saint Ann, however, began to take on instruction of small boys in Oblate schools by the 1880s.⁹³ For the Oblates, the pattern of who taught was shaped by ethnicity, and mother tongue.

In terms of internal congregational networks, Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez was one of eleven Oblate priests and four brothers to have had some direct association with de Mazenod. D'Herbomez also shared with nine others the distinction of being the 'real pioneers,' those who coped with both the Oregon Missions and the establishment of the congregation in a gold rush society. He and fourteen other Oblates shared the distinction of founding particular mission posts in British Columbia.

In the provincial society of British Columbia these thirty men stood out as religious congregation members. Most of them shared the same friends and enemies. They appreciated the advice of 'visitors' sent by the Oblate superior general, and the opportunity to elect their own delegate to the general chapter.⁹⁴ Internal mentorships in the congregation in British Columbia included Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez for other francophone priests and Irish Oblates, especially James McGuckin, for Irish newcomers.

As well as ethnic and linguistic divisions already noted, there were notable internal divisions among British Columbia Oblates. D'Herbomez and Durieu, protégés of the French superiors, became administrators and set themselves apart from fellow Oregon veterans like Charles Pandosy, and from more recent arrivals like Leon Fouquet. They thought Pandosy ill-mannered and differed with Fouquet, a theology professor from France, on methods of evangelization.⁹⁵

Social class divided the ordained priests and non-ordained brothers, and the teaching and domestic brothers, just as it did the nuns. Though brothers did much of the mission building and school teaching, only priests wrote reports for the order's French journal. They seldom mentioned brothers, particularly labouring brothers like John Burns and Célestin Verney. The journal editors had to remind Oblates to treat brothers as members of the family, not as servants.⁹⁶

Spiritual relationships did override some Oblate divisions. They shared devotion to Jesus as God and to the Virgin Mary as patroness of their congregation.⁹⁷ They worked together on Aboriginal gatherings featuring grand processions memorializing the Passion of Christ and in lay organizations dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. When the Oblate superiors named missions they named them for their patroness, Mary Immaculate, or for the patrons of their founder, Charles-Joseph-Eugene de Mazenod or bishop Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez: for example, Immaculate Conception Mission in the Okanagan, St. Charles Mission in the Fraser Valley, St. Louis Mission at Kamloops, and St. Eugene's Mission [at Cranbrook] in the Kootenays.⁹⁸

As regards Oblate associations with other Catholic leaders, Oblate bishops of New Westminster stuck to their own French-speaking Oblate kind, going to Ottawa and Montreal more often than to Victoria or Portland, Oregon. The Oblate diocese

headquartered in New Westminster was until 1903 tributary to the see of St. Boniface in Manitoba.⁹⁹ Yet Oblates posted in Interior valleys did visit the Jesuit missionaries in neighbouring American territories,¹⁰⁰ and the superiors had some social connections with nearby American dioceses. They used these connections in the early 1890s to lobby the Sisters of Providence [Montreal], who had taught in the Oblates' Tulalip mission school, to provide staff for the St. Eugene's Mission Indian Industrial School near Cranbrook.¹⁰¹ The Oblates' failure to obtain Sisters of Saint Ann for the Williams Lake School meant that they had to go to France to recruit the Sisters of the Child Jesus.

All of the Oblates worked with lay Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics. The latter included Hudson's Bay Company officials at various posts, and local businessmen like William and John Irving, steamboat captains on the Fraser River.¹⁰² These people respected the bishops, the English-speaking pastors in New Westminster, and the longtime Native missionaries – for example, the steamboat captains arranged special rates and accommodation for dignitaries going from New Westminster to gatherings at St. Mary's Mission. However, in the late-nineteenth century Catholics were in a minority in the province and there was strong competition between Catholic and Protestant missionaries.¹⁰³

Oblate reports admitted that denominational competition, as well as the continuity of Aboriginal religion, limited the numbers of Roman Catholic adherents. Even in the Salishan missions of southwestern British Columbia, with the grand reunions adapted to Salishan languages and culture, most Aboriginal parents did not send their children to the mission residential schools.¹⁰⁴ The Oblate leadership tried to use the reunions both to promote the schools and to educate the masses.

Oblate attitudes to mixed race or halfbreed peoples changed over time. The Oblates had ministered to halfbreeds as part of mission or town congregations and had admitted halfbreed students to mission and to settler schools. When the federal government dictated in the 1890s that Indian schools it funded could enroll only 'registered Indians,' the Oblates complied.¹⁰⁵ Oblate school principals did register some mixed race children as Indians both to meet the government per capita grant requirements and to provide assistance to needy families.¹⁰⁶ These activities sometimes received tacit government approval.

The Oblates with their itinerant mission system did travel long distances within mission districts, but not outside them. Only four priests and one brother returned to visit their homelands. Three went back for health care, or for retirement.¹⁰⁷

Of the thirty first generation Oblates in British Columbia, only 11 priests and 4 brothers officially retired, mostly when infirm and at an average age of 68 years. Among the longest serving were Father George Blanchet with 12 years in Oregon and 47 in British Columbia, and Brother Philippe Surel with 10 years in Oregon and 49 in British Columbia. Four of the Oblates of the first generation, three priests and one brother, passed the fiftieth anniversary of religious profession. Two Oblates passed the sixtieth anniversary, but only Brother Surel had a large official celebration.¹⁰⁸

As might be expected, consecrations of bishops overshadowed the occasions of the lives of ordinary Oblates, and so did celebration of the bishops' funerals in New Westminster and at St. Mary's Mission. Thirteen of 20 priests and 7 of 10 brothers were buried at that mission, not in the town cemetery.¹⁰⁹

Causes of death are not recorded for all of the thirty British Columbia Oblates. Considering that 24 were born before 1840, and that 25 died between 1890 and 1930,

most Oblates died of old age. The deaths before 1880 included one from old age, one from illness and one from a hunting accident. The two longest living Oblates were Jules-Xavier Villemard, who left the church and became the Anglican Reverend Willemar at Comox and died at 93, and Brother Philippe Surel who died at 89.¹¹⁰ The average age at death for priests was 67 years and 75 years for brothers. By contrast d'Herbomez died at 68 years. These were long lifespans for men at the turn of the century.¹¹¹

Looking back on the lives of these first Oblates in British Columbia shows that, aside from Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, most did not receive grand public recognition in their lifetimes. However, that is not to say they had not sought fame as well as adventure in the missions. Fifteen priests and one Brother wrote reports or books in Indian languages. Seven of the priests, all francophones, were memorialized in geographic names by A-G. Morice.¹¹²

COMPARISON

Comparison of the lives of twenty-four Sisters of Saint Ann and thirty Oblates who came to British Columbia before December 31, 1871 shows patterns of gender and mission similar to those found in analysis of their origins and expectations. Both the women's group and the men's group could negotiate autonomy in the church for their works, but the works of both groups were marked by the asymmetrical nature of gender in both church and society of the time.

By background both the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates as groups were from Roman Catholic, rural, lower middle class families. There were distinctions in the backgrounds of the leadership, as has been noted for Sister Mary Providence and Paul Durieu. The Sisters of Saint Ann had had slightly more formal elementary education

and were more likely to have attended a convent boarding school. The Sisters as a group were younger than the Oblates, both by dates of birth in the nineteenth century and by age at entrance to religious life. Several Oblate brothers were 'late vocations,' entering the congregation on the frontier. The Sisters' French-Canadian heritage predominated in their British Columbia membership, even though their longtime superior was Irish. The Oblates as a French foundation sent mainly French priests to the missions, but relied on Irish brothers, especially for mission schools.

As a religious community the Sisters had fewer divisions, as there were twenty-three professed Sisters and only one lay assistant under vows. All of the nuns had attended the motherhouse noviciate and all but the lay assistant made the same vows. The provincial house in Victoria served as orientation and retreat centre for all the Sisters. Half of the twenty-four religious women spent their careers in British Columbia in Victoria. Half served in missions and Indian Schools. Several moved from teaching to other tasks in the mission field. Just three Oblates did only town ministry. The majority served long periods in wilderness missions. So the public perception emerged and has remained: the Sisters were more Victoria ladies than missionaries, and the Oblates more French missionaries to Indians in the wilderness than town pastors or school masters.

Although this public perception of nuns as Victorian ladies and Oblates as wilderness missionaries is not far off the mark, it obscures an important aspect of the historical reality of their lives. The religious mission experience was the main motivation for both the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates coming to the west. The Sisters of Saint Ann emphasized devotion to Christ and their patron saint, and the Oblates to Christ, the Blessed Virgin and the patron saints of their superiors. The nuns'

religious practice continued medieval women's devotion to Christ in His humanity, versus men's to Christ in His divinity. In each congregation the distinguished members were the early missionary contingent and the northern missionaries. The Oblates explored Alaskan mission sites in the 1860s and 1870s but were unable to send in priests. The Sisters of Saint Ann began establishing Alaskan missions through the diocese of Victoria in 1886, and preceded the Oblates to Dawson, Yukon Territory during the 1898 gold rush, facts that did not endear them to historians of the Oblates.¹¹³

The Sisters of Saint Ann spent, on average, a slightly longer part of their lives in religious profession than did the Oblates: 38 years as compared with 36 years. They spent almost as long in the British Columbia missions after 1858: 30 years as compared with 31 years. So the women and men missionaries were quite similar in overall length of working lives.

The Sisters of Saint Ann were a more unified and sociable group in British Columbia than were the Oblates. They had stronger links to their local and general superiors and better relationships with non-Oblate bishops in Montreal and the west than did the Oblates. The Sisters generally had good working relationships with secular priests and other congregations of Sisters. Oblates were divided by Oregon experience or the lack of it, by ethnicity (French and Irish), by regional camps of administrative favourites and dissidents, by dislike or admiration for the Jesuits, and by class. French Oblate leaders had some difficulty in negotiating with the Canadian Sisters of Saint Ann. The women's congregation asserted itself and directed its own mission enterprises. The Sisters knew church laws created opportunity and propriety for such actions. They could draw support from Montreal superiors, the Victoria

bishop, and their clients. The nuns were not docile and dependent as the Oblates would have wished. The Sisters of Saint Ann had better relationships with the non-Native laity, and as good or better with the Native and mixed-race peoples as did the Oblates. The latter seems remarkable given that the Sisters were tied to their convents and their culture, while the Oblates itinerated out to Native villages and adapted their preaching to local culture. The Sisters, however, were not the official Roman church. They were Canadian nuns speaking English, French and Chinook and willing to teach or provide hospital care without requiring conversion.

The Sisters who did retire, did so later than their Oblate counterparts, at 72 years as opposed to 68 years. More Sisters of Saint Ann celebrated fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries. The Oblates accorded only one brother, francophone Surel, a sixtieth anniversary celebration. No nun left the congregation but three priests and one brother left the Oblates, one to become an Anglican priest. The Sisters of Saint Ann first generation in British Columbia died on average at 61 years, ten years younger than the Oblates. However, young nuns were more likely to be affected by tuberculosis. The overall cause of death for both groups was old age and diseases or infirmity related to it.

Most Sisters joined their congregation and volunteered for the missions seeking humble sacrifice. Several Oblates sought sacrifice, but also adventure and fame. Fifteen Oblate priests wrote significant reports while only 7 nuns did so, and 7 Oblates were memorialized with geographic names while none of the Sisters were.¹¹⁴ This might be said to simply reflect the sexism of the day, but such sexism itself indicates patterns of gender in the church and society.

CONCLUSION

Comparing biographies of groups like the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the British Columbia missions, an historian would expect to find dependent women religious serving briefly on the frontier, leading to their characterization as tributary to male church leaders. Research on Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia shows, however, that they kept their own organizational structure and unity as a group. They had some power to act independently, had their own agenda, and their own ways of doing things and acted accordingly.

Most scholars have ignored the religious and ethnic nature of the missionaries' lives and careers, the existence and importance of the nuns' work, and the overall significance of gender. They have argued that life was mostly what the male, not the female, missionaries wanted it to be.¹¹⁵ The next chapter will therefore explore the organizational history of the two generational groups.

Notes

- 1 For an example of the present day stereotypes see Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum, 1988), 32.
- 2 This biographic sketch is based on research begun while preparing my "Valois, Salomé, named Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur [known in British Columbia as Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart]," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XIII (University of Toronto Press, 1994), 1048-1049.
- 3 Biographic information from the Archives of the Sisters of Saint Ann, Victoria, B.C. [ASSAV] includes "Extrait de Baptême de Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur, St. Michel de Vaudreuil, 30 avril 1830," and Soeur Marie Rollande s.s.a., Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur s.s.a. supérieure-fondatrice à Victoria 1858. Collection Missionnaire SSA (Lachine: Imprimerie Sainte Anne, 1949), 10-11. This brief biography was prepared from archival sources for the centenary of the sisterhood in 1950.
- 4 Soeur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos, s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne un siècle d'histoire Tome I: 1850-1900 (Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne 1950), 504 note 17 on F.N. Blanchet. [Pathmos, Soeurs de Sainte-Anne].
Note on names: English versions will be used in discussing the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia. Within two years of their arrival at Victoria, Vancouver Island, the nuns provided educational and welfare services as an English-speaking branch of the Quebec congregation. Internal correspondence continued in French.
- 5 Pathmos, Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 168-169. The English translation of this volume contains the same text but briefer notes. Sister Marie Anne Eva SSA, A History of the Sisters of Saint Anne, Volume One 1850-1900 (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), 135-137. [Marie Anne Eva, Sisters of Saint Anne]
- 6 Pathmos, Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 504-505, notes 24, 25, for capsule biographies.
- 7 ASSAV RG I S17 Box 8 and RG I S 24-2-2, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur à Reverende-Mère supérieure, 17 juillet, 1858; 10 décembre 1858; Marie Anne Eva, Sisters of Saint Anne, 138-141.
- 8 ASSAV RG I S17 Box 8 and RG I S 24-2-2, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur à Reverende-Mère supérieure, 17 juillet 1858.
- 9 ASSAV RG I S17 Box 8 and RG I S 24-2-2, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur à Bonne et chère Mère, 9 novembre, 1859. The Roman Catholic diocese of Victoria archives was not available for research. The Archives of the Sisters of Saint Anne Lachine [ASSAL] includes correspondence of Bishop Modeste Demers showing him supporting the sisterhood in Victoria. ASSAL B51/76,1 Mod [Demers], Ev. de l'Île Vancouver à Soeur Marie de la Purification, Supr Srs Ste Anne, 9 novembre 1859. Demers thanked the Sisters for having sent Sister Mary Providence and Bonsecours and discussed arrangements for a day school.
- 10 ASSAV RG I S17 Box 8 and RG I S 24-2-2, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur à Bonne et chère Mère, 9 novembre, 1859.
- 11 Sister Mary Providence's career is described in Sister Mary Margaret [Edith Down] SSA, A Century of Service: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska 1858-1958 (Victoria: Morriss Printing for the SSA, 1966). [Down, Century of Service.]

- 12 ASSAV RG IS17 Box 8 and RG IS 24-2-2, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur à Reverende-Mère supérieure, 17 juillet 1858.
- 13 ASSAV RG IS24 Box 2 of 3 [original in box 1 of 3] *Dix Premières Années des Soeurs de Sainte Anne*, Victoria, B.C. 1858-1868. Narrées par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs, trans by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 1990, 98-103, on first year at Cowichan. ASSAV RG II S36 Box 36, 45-1-4 *St. Ann's School for Boys Monograph 1864-1950* [Typescript history compiled from archival sources on the Sisters of Saint Ann's various schools at Cowichan B.C., no page numbers]. The section "1864-1876, The Indian Girls School," says the 1864-65 register included 22 girls aged 4 to 18. The total registrations 1864 to 1875 were 144, averaging 20 pupils a year. Aboriginal, white and halfbreed girls attended this school.
- 14 For Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart's health and postings see Soeur Marie Rollande s.s.a., Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur, 36-37 on Cowichan and 39-40 on boarding school and hospital assignments. The reference on quilts is from Sister Mary Theodore's manuscript "The Sisters of Saint Ann on North Pacific Shores," p. 79. The term 'Aunt,' an informal term carried over from the customs of the Congregation of Notre Dame, was used by the Sisters of Saint Ann until the 1870s when it was replaced by the term 'Sister.' This change was made by other congregations in Canada, for example the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto.
- 15 No academic history of St. Joseph's hospital exists. See 100 Years of Service 1876-1976 The Hospital Story St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria General Hospital ed. by Sister Mary Doris SSA, (n.p.) 7-20 for discussion of pioneer nuns' work. Soeur Marie Rollande s.s.a., Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur, 39-44 discusses her work in hospital administration, laundry and old men's ward.
- 16 Soeur Marie Rollande s.s.a., Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur, 54-59; Down, *Century of Service*, 127 and 129 on her golden jubilee.
- 17 Sister Mary Theodore, Pioneer Nuns of British Columbia. Sisters of St. Ann [sic] (Victoria, B.C. [Printed by the Colonist Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd.] 1931), 81, 120-121.
- 18 Soeur Marie Rollande s.s.a., Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur, 54-59. She signed herself 'religieuse missionnaire' rather than as a simple 'religieuse' or nun.
- 19 Note name in Matricule, ASSAL records and necrology "Tucker," but Sister Mary Providence signed legal documents in British Columbia as McTucker. See Down, Century of Service, 45-46 on biography, and 54, quoting Crown Grant files re land transactions of Mary Ellen McTucker, Sister Mary Providence SSA.
- 20 Catriona Clear, Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987), 112, 120-125; and Anne V. O'Connor, "The Revolution in Girls' Secondary Education in Ireland 1860-1910," in Girls Don't Do Honors. Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries, ed. Mary Cullen (Dublin, Women's Educational Bureau [Argus Press], 1987), 31-54. It is interesting to compare Irish and Quebec sisterhoods in the mid-nineteenth century. The Irish sisterhoods, like the Quebec congregations, faced competition from elite French convents recently established in Ireland and schools founded by non-Roman Catholic competitors.
- 21 Pathmos, Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 508 note 48 to page 173.
- 22 Necrology of the Sisters of Saint Ann 1850-1930. Vol. I January - July, Vol. II July-January, Translation n.d., n.p. (Original French version c. 1931 Lachine). [Subsequent publications and more recent unpublished necrologies [or obituaries] are kept on file in ASSAV with this necrology, and the title,

Necrology may be used to refer to both the c. 1931 volumes and the files of more recent obituaries. [Necrology SSA].

23 Necrology SSA, Vol. I, 371-74; Down, Century of Service, 45-47.

24 Down, Century of Service, 68-69, cites account in Victoria, British Colonist, September 13, 1871.

25 François Lanoue, "Joseph Michaud," cleric of St. Viator, Dictionary of Canadian Biography XIII, 700-701; Leo-Paul Hébert, "Cyrille Beaudry," cleric of St. Viator, Dictionary of Canadian Biography XIII, 50-51.

26 Marie Anne Eva, Sisters of Saint Anne, 143 and 144 citing correspondence from Bishop Demers, Sister Mary Lumena the secretary of Sister Mary Providence's council, and Mother Marie Jeanne de Chantal to the Sisters in Victoria September 15, 1862. See supporting letters from Demers and the Sisters' chaplain, Julien Baudre OMI: ASSAL B5/[?] , Mod.[Demers] Ev. de Vancouver à Revde M. Jeanne, 22 août 1862; ASSAL B54/105.1, J.M. Baudre, o.m.i. à Ma Révérende Mère, 9 mars 1862.

27 ASSAL B4/2,8 Circulaire de la Supérieure Générale des Religieuses de Ste Anne, à toutes les Maisons de l'Institut, 7 avril 1863, announced the sending of 8 nuns to Victoria in response to the requests for help. Pathmos, Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 189 on the visit of the superior general in 1866-67. Mother Mary Angèle, former superior general of the congregation held a long term appointment on the council of the Victoria directress. See also: ASSAL Du registre des Actes de délibérations du Conseil, Acceptation d'une mission éloignée Colombie Anglaise, 6 avril 1865. In accepting d'Herbomez request of January 4, 1865 regarding a convent at New Westminster, the council recorded that Sister Mary Providence, "Directrice provinciale de Victoria, a été autorisé de régler cette affaire avec le vicaire apostolique [d'Herbomez]."

ASSAL B7/46, 13, Mod. [Demers] Ev. de l'Île Vancouver à Revd. Marie Jeanne Sup. G. Soeurs de Ste Anne, 15 mai 1867, from Halifax. Demers again had happy news of the Sisters in Victoria, their harmony and their work.

28 ASSAL Letterbook [British Columbia] No. 85, Soeur Marie-Jeanne, Supérieure Générale à Mgr. d'Herbomez 12 juin 1867, revisions of the Sisters' rule are delayed as Bishop Bourget has yet to review them. Compare: Archives Deschatelets, Ottawa, HPK 5002.B866(28) unsigned memorandum from Administration générale, Rome, avril 1867. An unidentified priest had written from the "Vicariat de la Colombie Britannique . . . que les Soeurs de Ste Anne . . . ne peuvent remplir les exigences de ces missions à cause des distances, et surtout à cause des prescriptions de leurs règles. Pour cela il conclut au remplacement de ces soeurs canadiennes par une communauté française. . . ."

29 Claude Langlois, Le catholicisme au féminin. Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle (Paris: Les Éditions Cerf, 1984).

30 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 9.

31 During Sister Mary Providence's lifetime, the Sisters of Saint Ann, who were headquartered in Victoria, lived in an American ecclesiastical territory under French-Canadian and Belgian bishops. See: Vincent J. McNally, "Victoria: An American Diocese in Canada," CCHA Historical Studies 57 (1990), 7-28.

32 Sister Mary Matthew McBride SSA cited in Down, Century of Service, 46.

33 While preparing this dissertation I compiled tables of biographical information. These tables were based primarily on research in the Archives of the Sisters of Saint Ann, Victoria, the Necrology SSA, standard histories of the congregation, and the British Columbia Archives and Records Service. Interesting comparative findings from a study of 41 entrants to an American congregation founded in the 1890s to serve missions to 'Indians and Blacks' appear in Patricia Lynch SBS, "Collective Biography: Founding Women of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament," US Catholic Historian 10, 1-2 (1991), 101-106.

34 The general administration of the Congregation moved to Lachine by 1864.

35 The average age at which the noviciate ended and final profession of vows made was twenty-one, if Marie Mainville's vow to Bishop Bourget as a lay assistant in 1858 is considered as her profession, rather than her vows as coadjutrix Sister aged fifty-eight, in 1894. Necrology SSA Vol. I, 164-165. Marie Mainville came west in 1858 as a lay assistant. Her sister, Angèle Mainville arrived in Victoria in 1863, the year of her profession as Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs. She died in 1876. Marie returned to the motherhouse where she took vows as a coadjutrix Sister in 1894, with the same religious name as Angèle, Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs.

36 Some numbers have been rounded here: the average of years 'in religion' as a professed Sister was 38.45, and if Marie Mainville is included at age 24, 37.9 years.

37 University of British Columbia, Library, Special Collections, Father George Forbes OMI Papers, Manuscript Group 240, Unsorted notes, 1-7, Father François-Marie Thomas reported Bishop Durieu and other Oblates preferred the French Sisters of the Child Jesus to the Canadian Sisters of St. Ann. According to Thomas, Durieu considered the latter nuns as "trop dames."

38 The nuns classed Marie Mainville, the lay assistant, who cared for the younger resident pupils at the Victoria convent as a nurse for the 1881 census, that is as a childcare worker not a lady. Mainville, who returned to Quebec in 1883 and became a coadjutrix nun, was given some credit for her missionary labours, no doubt to encourage other lay assistants. Necrology SSA Vol. I, 164-165.

39 For example the 10 month visit of Mother Marie-Jeanne-de-Chantal Giroux, 1866-1867. See Down, Century of Service, 65. See Pathmos, Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 189 on that visit and that of Mother Marie Eulalie in 1876, and 446 on Mother Marie de l'Ange-Gardien in 1899.

40 There were also the two pairs of biological sisters, the Mainvilles and the [Mc] Tuckers. See note above on Angèle Mainville the first Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs and her sister, Marie Mainville. Sarah Tucker came west in 1863 as a novice. She finished her noviciate in a convent directed by her biological sister, Sister Mary Providence. Sarah professed vows as Sister Mary Catherine of Sienna in 1867 and died in 1870. See Necrology SSA Vol. I, 319.

41 Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec 1840-1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 42-43. Danylewycz studied the Congregation of Notre Dame and the Sisters of Misericorde. Danylewycz says historians discuss nineteenth century "Mariology" as "part of the larger struggle of the male hierarchy to enhance their power." However her research indicated "that the impact of religion on women's consciousness was very complex," and deserved further consideration.

42 Carolyn Walker Bynum, "'... And Woman His Humanity': Female Imagery in Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages," in Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols, ed. C.W. Bynum et al (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 257-288.

- 43 For example Sisters Mary Catherine of Sienna and Sister Mary Romuald.
- 44 Down, Century of Service, 102 re Jesuits Pascal Tosi and Aloysius Robaut in June 1886; 103 re G. Genna S.J. and Brother J.P. Rosatti S.J. Cantwell, North to Share, 13-33, Rome assigned Alaskan missions to the Victoria diocese 1873-1894, then to the Jesuits.
- 45 ASSAV, St. Joseph's Hospital Victoria B.C. 1875-1950 [Monograph compiled for the centenary of the congregation in 1950], 4, Sisters Mary Bridget and Virginie had studied for their new assignments at St. Vincent's Hospital, Portland, Oregon. The Sisters of Providence ran this hospital.
- 46 Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), table 10, 367 on population figures; Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995) on Anglican and Methodist beliefs. See J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," Canadian Historical Review 66, 4 (December 1985), 474-494.
- 47 Jacqueline Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions within the Dominion: Early Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia," in Indian Education in Canada, Vol. I The Legacy, ed. Jean Barman et al (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).
- 48 On religious continuity see Pamela Amoss, Coast Salish Spirit Dancing: The Survival of an Ancestral Religion (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978); and Alan McMillan, Native Cultures and Peoples of Canada (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1988). For statistics see Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia Vol. I The Impact of the White Man, Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 5, Provincial Museum of British Columbia (Victoria, B.C.: Queen's Printer, 1964), 87.
- 49 Sheila Nickols, Maple Ridge. A History of Settlement (Maple Ridge, B.C. Branch of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 1972), 35, indicates halfbreed children of settler Peter Baker and his wife, a "Kwantlen woman" attended St. Mary's Mission School in the 1870s and 1880s. The sons later worked with their father on his homestead. The daughters' life after school is not detailed. For an example of halfbreed children residing in Aboriginal communities after their years at St. Mary's Mission School see the interview with Mary Englund, "An Indian Remembers," in Margaret Whitehead, Now You are My Brother: Missionaries in British Columbia (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1981), Sound Heritage Series No. 34, 57-67.
- 50 Vincent J. McNally, "A Lost Opportunity? A Study of Relations Between the Native People and the Diocese of Victoria," Western Oblate Studies 2/Etudes Oblates de l'Ouest, ed. Raymond Huel (Queenston, Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 169-170.
- 51 Necrology SSA Vol. I, 112-114. In 1900 Bishop Bruchesi of Montreal paid the fare of Sister Mary Bonsecours, one of the oldest western nuns, so she could attend the 50th anniversary of the institute. Private donors paid the fare of other Sisters.
- 52 See note 33 regarding biographic tables.
- 53 Necrology of the Sisters of Saint Ann [sic] 1930-1938, Prepared by Sister Margaret Mary (Lachine n.d.), 14-20.
- 54 Historical Statistics of Canada, B 59-74, Series B65-74, "Life expectancy by sex at selected ages, Canada, census years, 1871 to 1971," does not give life expectancy at birth for persons born in 1831 or 1841. The table does indicate that at birth in 1931 men could expect to live 60 years and women could

expect to live 62.10 years. The table indicates that at age 20 in 1871 women's life expectancy was 47.3 years, and at age 40 in 1871, 33.6 years. However these latter figures concern women who had survived to age 20 or age 40.

55 See note 33 above. Information on the thirty Oblates was compiled in biographical tables in preparation of this dissertation. These tables were based primarily on research in the Oblate Archives, Vancouver, the Missions, and standard histories of the congregation. Gaston Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique Tome I-III (1976-1979), and Donat Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995) were particularly helpful. It should be noted that one more Oblate might be added to the list of thirty given here. Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), mentions Brother Léon Weymaere who arrived in Oregon in 1854. He returned to France in 1861 owing to his declining health.

56 This biographic sketch is based on research begun while preparing: Jacqueline Gresko, "Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XI (University of Toronto Press, 1982), 401-402.

57 Martha McCarthy, From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene 1847-1921 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995), and Choquette, The Oblate Assault, provide good English-language introductions to Oblate methods.

58 Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1841-1850 Collection Oblate Writings I (Rome: General Postulation OMI, 1978), 230-231, De Mazenod to Father Ricard, November 17, 1849.

59 Eugene de Mazenod, Letters to North America 1851-1860 Collection Oblate Writings II, trans. (Rome: General Postulation OMI, 1979), 61-62 De Mazenod to Father d'Herbomez November 11, 1853, commenting on "the great pleasure that your letters always give me. . . . You have done well in speaking honestly to me about the state of affairs in Oregon." On the state of Oblate missions in Oregon see Vincent J. McNally, "Fighting for a Foundation: Oblate Beginnings in Far Western Canada 1847-1864," Western Oblate Studies 4/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 4, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1996),

60 Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960), 29 quoting d'Herbomez correspondence on hardships. Cronin does not discuss the tension between Chirouse and Pandosy directly, but de Mazenod did, see Letters to North America 1841-1850 Collection Oblate Writings I, 211-213, de Mazenod to Father Ricard, February 10, 1849, sorry the two "do not get along with each other as two good brothers should." Chirouse left Pandosy at the Yakima mission and went off to try to re-establish the Cayuse mission, preferring to face the hostile Cayuse rather than to labour alongside Pandosy.

61 De Mazenod's concern about d'Herbomez is noted in his Letters to North America 1851-1860 Collection Oblate Writings II, 156 with de Mazenod to Father Bermond, September 9, 1857. On Bermond's visit and the move north see Missions de la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée [Missions], 1862, 112-20; and Donat Levasseur, o.m.i. Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada 1845-1867 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers), 35-36.

62 See Missions, 1862, 183-184, d'Herbomez used the term "reduction." See also A. Louis, O.M.I. [Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez], "Letter from His Lordship the Bishop of Miletopolis and Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia," published in [H.L. Langevin] British Columbia: Report of the Hon. H.L. Langevin, C.B. minister of public works (Ottawa, 1872), 158-160.

63 D'Herbomez coped with the loss of three priests before 1871: one from death, one from ill-health and one from apostasy. Biographies of Oblates who served in Canada can be found in Gaston Carrière, o.m.i., Dictionnaire biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, tome I 1976, tome II 1977, tome III 1979) [Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique]. Denis Lamure died in a hunting accident December 12, 1870, Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique II, 242-243. Charles Grandidier retired to France in 1882, Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique II, 104-105. Jules Xavier Villemard [aka Willemar] left the Oblates and the Roman Catholic Church for the Anglican church in 1867, Dictionnaire biographique III, 267-268.

64 On d'Herbomez's trips to France for the general chapters of 1861 etc. see his "Nécrologie," Missions 1890, 385-392. One book that was probably a souvenir of d'Herbomez's trips to these general chapters and discussions with bishop Semeria is in the Oblate Archives Vancouver, Rev. Ch[arles] [OMI] Missionary Apostolic, A Few Words on Catholic Education in Ceylon (Madras: Robert Galway at the Examiner Press, 1860). See Robrecht Boudens OMI, Catholic Missionaries in a British Colony, Successes and Failures in Ceylon 1796-1893 (Nouvelle Revue de Science missionnaire, 1979).

65 Missions 1870, 90, 1868 tour to St. Joseph's Williams Lake and the Cariboo Mission district.

66 Eugène-Casimir Chirouse, 1821-1892, in Dictionnaire biographique I, 200-201. He went by the name Casimir. His nephew, also named Eugène-Casimir Chirouse, went by the name Eugène after his arrival in B.C. 1879.

67 Oblate Archives Vancouver photocopy of Archives Deschâtelets PB 517.P47R 1, Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations (Oregon & B.C.) 1851-1892, and 1916 [Vicarial Minutes], 78, 23 février, 1876 on Indian lands and reserves. British Columbia, Papers connected with the Indian Land Question 1850-1875 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden Government Printer, 1875), with the addition of Papers connected with the Indian land question 1877, 48 for James McGuckin OMI to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, May 12, 1868, supporting the Natives of Soda Creek; 136 Peter Ayessik, Chief of Hope to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs July 14, 1874 regarding sending a petition on lands via Father Durieu; and Louis [d'Herbomez] OMI to James Lenihan, Indian Commissioner, September 24, 1874, transmitting C.J. Grandidier to the Victoria Standard August 28, 1874 on the dissatisfaction of the Indians of the Upper Country regarding the land question. Peter Ayessik's petition appears as Indian Petition to Dr. I.W. Powell, July 14, 1874 in British Columbia Sessional Papers 1875, 674-675. British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Colonial Correspondence, F503/4, Louis D'Herbomez to Superintendent Indian Affairs, Victoria [I.W. Powell] 5 January 1874, conveys Paul Durieu's report on St. Mary's Mission School including a request for federal funds for such schools.

68 Indian Agent P. McTiernan in Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report 1882, 59.

69 A.L.J. D'Herbomez, compiler, Secular Schools versus Denominational Schools (Printed with the Press of St. Mary's Mission, B.C. partly by the pupils of the Indian School, 1881), contains correspondence and a petition by the bishops of British Columbia to the legislature regarding funding for schools. Other petitions were presented in 1876 and in 1883, see McNally, "A Lost Opportunity."

70 ASSAL No. 5a. "Copie pour Victoria" B51/84, 10, Soeur Marie Jeane Supre Génér[al] à d'Herbomez Vic. Ap. de la Colombie Ang[laise], 29 juin 1866, explaining to him that Victoria would remain the centre of the western vicariate of the Sisters of Saint Ann and that the directress, Sister Mary Providence, will take direction 'from us.' ASSAL B?/46, 13, Mod. [Demers] Ev. de l'Ile Vancouver à Revd. Marie Jeanne Sup. G. Soeurs de Ste Anne, 15 mai 1867, from Halifax. Demers supported the Sisters' decision to keep their western headquarters in his diocese. He mentioned "les intrigues des Oblats," and how he had

written to the Bishop of Montreal that the Victoria convent should remain the principal foundation of the Sisters of Saint Ann in the west.

See Oblate Archives Vancouver photocopy of Archives Deschâtelets PB 517.P47R 1, Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations (Oregon & B.C.) 1851-1892, and 1916 [Vicarial Minutes] , 45 re August 10-13, 1864 discussion of news that the Sisters of the Holy Family of Bordeaux would not come to the aid of d'Herbomez diocese.

71 Jacqueline Gresko, "Paul Durieu," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 281-285.

72 Missions 1893, 389-409; 1898, 245-257, Durieu's reports.

73 Missions 1891, 153 description of grand reunion Sechelt June 1890 for blessing of a new church.

74 Leon Fouquet and James McGuckin transferred out of B.C. in 1889, while death took Julien Baudre, E.C. Chirouse senior and Charles Pandosy.

75 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tomes I, II, III, for priests available to Durieu in the 1890s. Emile Bunoz, André Michels, François Marie Thomas took up Aboriginal mission work. The others did not: William Whelan, John Whelan, Bernard McKenna, Heinrich Boening, Pierre Plamondon, Augustin Dontenwill, and J.M. Fayard.

76 The Sisters of the Child Jesus, founded in Le Puy, France in 1667 as the Sisters of the Instruction of the Child Jesus are now headquartered at Versailles. The Archives of the Sisters of the Child Jesus, North Vancouver, B.C., 1 B 2, Notes Historiques Soeur M. Felicien [Typescript recollections of one of the first four Sisters who came to Williams Lake, B.C. in 1896, recorded c. 1940]; and Early History of the Congregation in Canada (1896-1943) Notes taken from Sister Felicien's Journal [English typescript]. The Oblate Archives Vancouver has a copy of the latter version.

77 James McGuckin OMI, a former British Columbia colleague, was in the 1890s rector of the University of Ottawa in the 1890s. He advised Oblates and lobbied federal government officials. Also Missions 1893, 395 in Durieu's report to the 1893 general chapter re funding concerns as the government had put all schools, boarding and industrial on a per capita basis.

78 This case has been surveyed by several scholars. Margaret Whitehead ed., They Call me Father. Memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 94 and 178 n. 17, says the woman was charged with an "unspecified sexual offence." Tina Loo, "Tonto's Due: Law, Culture and Colonization in British Columbia," in Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement, ed. Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996), 88 says Lucy's offence was "keeping company with a young man." Joanne Drake-Terry, The Same as Yesterday. The Lillooet Chronicle the Theft of Their Lands and Resources (Lillooet, B.C.: Lillooet Tribal Council, 1989), 180, draws on Margaret Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1981), 95-97.

See Victoria British Colonist May 10 and 12, 1892, and July 5 and 12, 1892.

Oblate accounts of the case appeared in "The Lillooet Affair and Rev. Father Chirouse," The Month Vol. 1 No. 6 (June 1892), and in Missions 1893, 132-140. In the Oblate Archives, Vancouver, The Codex historicus 1889-1914 New Westminster, Maison Saint Charles de New Westminster B.C., Codex historicus Vicariat de la Colombie Britannique [sic], [post journal], May 27, 1892 says that the first result of the sad affair was that the grand gathering being planned for Kamloops would be held at St. Mary's mission instead. [See Gaston Carrière, "Le père Albert Lacombe, o.m.i., et le Pacifique Canadien (suite et fin)," Revue de l'University d'Ottawa 68 (1968), 316-326.

79 Oblate Archives Vancouver, photocopies of letters from Prince George Roman Catholic Diocese Archives (The originals were sent from Fort St. James to Prince George May 29, 1942. Father Thomas Lascelles OMI, the archivist, allowed me access to these uncatalogued letters when I was preparing the biography of Durieu for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.) Durieu-Bunoz, 22 avril, 1892, 6 mai 1892, 1 août, and 1 octobre, 1892. Durieu discussed his fears of missionary disgrace and suggestions for writing the account for missions with Emile Bunoz OMI, Chirouse's junior partner on the missionary circuit. Regarding Anglo-Protestant society in British Columbia see the New Westminster British Columbian, June 6, 1899, account of local Orangemen preparing a "monster demonstration" for the glorious twelfth of July.

80 Regarding resisting RC missionary control see Loo, "Tonto's Due," 88 on an 1875, incident. Durieu's own comments appear in 1883-84 letters to Jean-Marie LeJacq, missionary in the Fountain area. See Archives Deschâtelets [AD] Oregon 1, C-vii, 2 Durieu's System [Also listed as HPK 5 241], "Lettres de Mgr. DURIEU au R.P. Le Jacq sur la direction des Sauvages (typescript of MSS) 23 novembre 1883, 23 et 25 février, 1884. In the first letter, "23 novembre 1883," Durieu as missionary vicar warned Jean-Marie Le Jacq about Indians who left their home villages to work at Fountain. They returned to gamble, drink, attend 'bad' Indian feasts, and avoid Catholic prayers. In the last letter dated 25 February 1884, Durieu remarked that Aboriginal 'washed pagans' regarded the sacraments as passes for heaven or 'medicine.' See New Westminster codex 1887 on Fountain people disorderly i.e. buying liquor with profits of seasonal jobs, so not allowed to attend reunion at St. Mary's mission.

81 Tina Loo, "Tonto's Due", 88 citing J.W. McKay to A.W. Vowell, Kamloops-Okanagan Agency, Kamloops, B.C. 24 May 1892. RG 10 V 3875 f90, 667-2: C-10193.

82 Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate 5 (1895), 336. Members pledged to avoid alcohol, gambling, and "dangerous and rowdy festivities such as potlatches." Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission, 95-97, describes Durieu's tour of the Cariboo in 1895 and organization of this society in the wake of the Chirouse affair.

83 Missions 1893, 151-156.

84 On the continuity of Salishan, i.e. Stalo religion see A. Drinkwater in Imbert Orchard, Growing Up in the Valley (Victoria: Provincial Archives of B.C., Sound Heritage No.40, 1983), 70. On the Shaker Church see G.P. Castile, ed. The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells [Congregational Missionary] (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985). Methodists had a mission and school at Coqualeetza, Sardis, B.C. in the Fraser Valley opposite St. Mary's Mission, and Anglicans had their mission and school at Lytton in the Fraser Canyon. As regards evil attractions in towns, the New Westminster British Columbian November 3 and 4, 1892 discusses Indian women prostitutes and liquor sales to Indians.

85 Missions 1898, 245-257, Durieu's report to the general chapter was well-received.

86 See Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome I, 291-292 on the career of Augustin Dontenwill. He edited the monthly magazine in the mid-1890s and organized the young men's club. He became Durieu's coadjutor in 1897. Later Vancouver, B.C. Roman Catholic diocesan publications, such as the Monthly Bulletin of 1917-22 celebrate Durieu as the pioneer missionary. When the international Catholic men's club became established in the Vancouver archdiocese it organized the Knights of Columbus Durieu Council.

87 See note 55 above.

- 88 See Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome I, 200-201.
- 89 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995). These findings are similar to those of Levasseur in his survey of the Oblates in western and northern Canada. His biographical chapter, like his book is more global in emphasis and my study is more local and field-based.
- 90 Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995), 15-18.
- 91 Numbers have been rounded in this paragraph, e.g. priests averaged 37.7 years in British Columbia; the brothers averaged 10.3 years in Oregon and 33.6 years in British Columbia. The average mission years for all Oblates who served in Oregon and British Columbia was 46.9.
- 92 Choquette, The Oblate Assault, 205-206, on the francophone majority.
- 93 Paul Monahan OMI, Roses in December: An Oblate's Melody of Memories (Vancouver: Oblates of Mary Immaculate St. Paul's Province House, 1990). Monahan discusses his own experience as an elementary pupil at St. Ann's Academy, New Westminster, B.C., before going on to the Oblates' St. Louis College.
- 94 Oblates of each province of the congregation elected a delegate to the general chapter of the congregation, and this delegate attended it in addition to the local superior. In 1887 James McGuckin was the elected delegate from British Columbia.
- 95 Duane Thomson, "Charles Pandosy," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XII, 817-818. Pandosy was buried in a Jesuit cassock – which he may have borrowed of necessity then kept as protest. See Thomas Lascelles, "Father Léon Fouquet, Missionary Among the Kootenays," Western Oblate Studies 1/Études Oblates de l'Ouest 1 (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1990), 71-87. Lascelles brought to my attention: Archives Deschâtelets III-G-35, P 2674-2685, L. Fouquet à L. d'Herbomez, 8 février, 1875. Fouquet, speaking of Durieu, refers to "son genre accapareur." Fouquet hints that Durieu was considered an egotistical monopolist for arrogating to himself the praise due all of the Oblates. Fouquet moved to Alberta when Durieu became superior and returned to British Columbia only after Durieu died.
- 96 Brother John Burns, 1830-1908, made his profession of vows in 1876. He worked at Cranbrook for many years. Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, I, 150 lists only the Oblate general archives in Rome as bibliography for him. He had no death notice in Missions after 32 years of service. Célestin Verney, 1814-1889, a veteran of Oregon and British Columbia missions and 38 years in the congregation, received a one line death notice in Missions 1889, 553.
- 97 Laura Peers, "The Guardian of All: Jesuit Missionaries and Salish Perceptions of the Virgin Mary," in Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History, ed. J.S.H. Brown and E. Vibert (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1996), 284-303, is interesting here.
- 98 Exceptions include St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser named for St. Mary of the Desert, and St. Michael's Mission, Fort Rupert.
- 99 Vincent J. McNally, "Victoria: An American Diocese in Canada," CCHA Historical Studies 57 (1990), 7-28.

- 100 Duane Thomson, "Charles Pandosy," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII, 817-818.
- 101 Margaret McGovern SP, "Perspective on the Oblates: The Experience of the Sisters of Providence." in Western Oblate Studies 3/Études Oblates de l'Ouest, ed. Raymond Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1994).
- 102 Captain Irving, a Presbyterian, gave free passage to Adrien-Gabriel Morice and his boys' band from St. Mary's Mission for their fund raising trip in 1881. See Missions 1881, 387-395.
- 103 Barman, The West Beyond the West table 10, 367, for statistics. For contemporary accounts of competitors see Thomas Crosby, Among the An-ko-me-nums or Flathead tribes of the Indians of the Pacific Coast (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907) [Methodist]; and Rev. Herbert H. Gowen, Pioneer Church Work in British Columbia. Being a Memoir of the Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe D.D., D.C.L. First Bishop [Anglican] of New Westminster (London: AR Mowbray, 1899).
- 104 Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions."
- 105 J.R. Miller, "Denominational Rivalry in Indian Residential Education," Western Oblate Studies 2/Études Oblates de l'Ouest (Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 144, explains that "By 1892 the bureaucrats were becoming alarmed at the rising cost" of both fully funded industrial schools and "more modestly-endowed boarding schools." To cut costs "Ottawa shifted to a system of per capita funding for all residential schools." This policy increased denominational competition. ASSAV RG I S24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena Brasseur, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C. 1868-1892, entries for 1891 and 1892. Durieu wanted the Sisters of Saint Ann to shift orphans, that is the halfbreed girls, to an orphanage recently opened in New Westminster.
- 106 Henry Pennier, Chiefly Indian. The Warm and Witty Story of a British Columbia Half Breed Logger, ed. Herbert L. McDonald (West Vancouver: Graydonald Graphics, 1972), 21. Pennier's family were halfbreeds and "supposed to come under the white man's status. But the priests were very kind and they made an exception in our case." They took Henry to St. Mary's Mission School about 1912 [for five years].
- 107 See note 55 on biographical tables.
- 108 Missions 1908, 411, has the account of Surel's anniversary.
- 109 Very few Oblates who died as members of the congregation in British Columbia were not buried at St. Mary's. One of the few buried elsewhere was Father Charles Pandosy at Penticton, B.C. See Duane Thomson, "Charles Pandosy," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII, 817-818.
- 110 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome III, 267-68 on Villemard, and tome III, 203-204 on Surel.
- 111 Historical Statistics of Canada, B 59-74, Series B65-74, "Life expectancy by sex at selected ages, Canada, census years, 1871 to 1971" does not give life expectancy at birth for persons born in 1831 or 1841. The table does indicate that at birth in 1931 men could expect to live 60 years and women could expect to live 62.10 years. The table indicates that at age 20 in 1871 men's life expectancy was 47.9 years, and at age 40 in 1871, 33.4 years. However these latter figures concern men who had survived to age 20 or age 40.

112 Gaston Carrière, "Oblate Geographical Names in British Columbia," British Columbia Genealogist 2:3 (May 1973), 1-3. Examples include Carion Lake, now disappeared from maps, and Lejac Lake, now Lake Tetacuk.

113 For example, Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée, 132-33, does not mention the Sisters' Alaskan and Dawson developments. Down, Century of Service, 99-100, explains that Oblates explored Alaskan mission sites in 1862, 1869, and 1872-73. In 1873 the territory came under the jurisdiction of Bishop Charles Seghers of Vancouver Island. Cantwell, North to Share, 32, explains that Rome made Alaska a Prefecture Apostolic with a Jesuit superior in 1894; and 82-83 that the Sisters of Saint Ann went to Dawson in 1898 at the request of Father William Henry Judge S.J. The Jesuits realized the Yukon was in "Oblate ecclesiastical territory" and reassigned him.

114 The Oblates also published works in Aboriginal languages. See the listing for Paul Durieu in Gaston Carrière, "Catalogue des manuscrits en langues indiennes. Conservés aux archives oblates, Ottawa," Anthropologica n.s. 12, 2 (1970).

115 Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal, 32; Edwin M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization 13,3 (Fall 1954): 23-27; Cole Harris, The Resettlement of British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

CHAPTER FIVE:

A HALF CENTURY OF MISSION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

This chapter describes the activities of the two founding generations including additions in British Columbia from 1858 to 1914, emphasizing the differences in the two congregations' organization, particularly as these differences were grounded in gender. Over time two Roman Catholic mission systems evolved: the Sisters' system and the Oblates' system. That the latter became known in academic literature as the Durieu system is part of the gendered story. The official records of the time and the writings of historians celebrate the male missionary efforts, particularly of dignitaries like Bishop Paul Durieu, and tend to overlook those of the women's congregation. This chapter will follow modern historical convention and use the term Durieu system in discussing the Oblates' system, but will make concluding comments using the latter term.

A MODEL FOR NARRATION AND ANALYSIS

A model adapted from the sociology of religion will be used to advance the narrative and analysis of the religious organizations' history. While Canadian historians have drawn on the model of sociologist Jachim Wach for "founded religions" in discussing congregations, most of their writing has concerned Quebec francophone communities.¹ Barbara Misner adapted the Wach model to the study of "the members and apostolates" of the eight Catholic sisterhoods in the United States, 1790-1850. Like the Canadian Sisters of Saint Ann, these American women served in dioceses where bishops and clergy were often Frenchmen or men educated by French seminary professors. Misner's framework for the history of these American congregations suits

the study of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia.²

As described by Misner, these religious congregations went through the three stages: the circle of disciples around the founder, formation of a brotherhood or sisterhood to spread the founder's ideas, and the institutionalization of the organization. Charismatic leaders, Eugene de Mazenod and Esther Blondin, gathered associates and began their congregations. After the deposition of Blondin in 1854 and the death of de Mazenod in 1861, the members of their congregations worked on spreading their ideas. As the religious congregations matured as ecclesiastical bodies they became institutionalized; i.e., they not only sought pontifical approval, they "standardized" their oral traditions into doctrinal statements.

Misner notes that religious congregations in the nineteenth century Roman Catholic church started off with written rules of life approved by the local bishop. But "only in the later stages of development" did these become "a primary force in the lives" of the members.³ The rules and their interpretations were determined more by what branches of the religious congregation chose to do, rather than what they "were capable of doing." Biographies of the founding members of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates in British Columbia fit these patterns. They also support Misner's observation in that, during the institutionalization stage, the Sisters' efforts to centralize and consolidate their operations often conflicted with those of ecclesiastical authorities.⁴ In British Columbia the Sisters and the Oblates had to deal with the institutionalizing of the church hierarchy in Canada, as well as that of the Department of Indian Affairs.

For the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates in British Columbia, then, the first stage of Misner's model lasted from 1858 to 1871 as the pioneer members arrived, bringing the founders' ideas. During the second stage from 1871 to the late 1880s, the sisterhood expanded its schools and caring institutions across the province, and the Oblates their missions, schools and parishes. Institutionalization came in the 1890s and 1900s as provincial superiors and their councils consolidated their works and codified their practices in face of challenges from church leaders, the public, and government officials. Politically, the dates for these periods coincide with the colonial era 1858 to 1871, the Confederation period before the transcontinental railway, and the time from post-railway settlements and developments through to the economic boom years of the early 1900s.

For the purposes of this study in narrating what the two groups of Roman Catholic missionaries did in British Columbia, the terminal dates of the three stages - 1871, 1887 and 1908-1910 - will be used as vantage points. For each date an overview will be given on the congregation members' activities, particularly their most comparable work, teaching. Then the organizational history will be analyzed in light of the Misner framework in order to bring out the differences in the two congregations as they were grounded in gender.

1858-1871, THE FOUNDATION YEARS: THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANN

For the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia the highlight of the year 1871 was the laying of the cornerstone of their new Victoria convent academy. By that time twenty nuns in the first generation group were still living in British Columbia. Four pioneer Sisters had died in the region.⁵ Native and halfbreed former students also lived and worked with the sisterhood. One of the latter women had taken annual vows

as a lay assistant, but she left before 1871.⁶ Yet before the year was over three Victoria convent alumnae, Cecilia and Anna McQuade and Mary McEntee, completed their noviciates at the Lachine motherhouse and made vows as Sisters of Saint Ann.⁷

A geographical survey of what the Sisters of Saint Ann were doing in British Columbia by 1871 shows urban convent academies founded in Victoria in 1858 and New Westminster in 1865, and Aboriginal mission schools established at Cowichan in 1864 and St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser in 1868. The nuns received some initial help from Bishop Modeste Demers in purchasing and renovating their 'log cabin convent' in Victoria. However, Demers could give little further help in funds or manpower.⁸ Brother Joseph Michaud of the Clerics of St. Viator did help the Sisters of Saint Ann with buildings.⁹ But the Clerics of St. Viator returned to Quebec in 1862, and the Oblates provided chaplains to the nuns in Victoria only until they left for the mainland in 1865.¹⁰ In the latter region the Oblates would be ecclesiastical superiors and chaplains to Sisters of Saint Ann at the convents at New Westminster and St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser. They would also expect and receive the sisterhood's financial support for establishing these institutions.

The development of their Victoria and Vancouver Island works shows that the Sisters of Saint Ann directed their own establishments. The first four nuns had been joined by two more in 1859, another eight in 1863, and then successive additions, making a total of twenty-four nuns arrived at Victoria by 1871.¹¹ The Sisters of Saint Ann went from a one-room school for white, halfbreed and Aboriginal pupils into a set of educational and health and welfare services centred on the Victoria fee-paying convent academy but including a charity school, an orphanage and home nursing. As women the nuns did not have direct access to missionary society funds. They had to be

self-supporting and had to balance the costs of charity work against the fees of select school students, donations, or the benefits of their annual bazaar. The motherhouse at St. Jacques and then Lachine could afford little beyond the costs of sending additional Sisters west.¹² The colonial authorities made it difficult for the Sisters of Saint Ann, a Roman Catholic society, to incorporate and to undertake property transactions which might have supported the schools.¹³

Competition from other religious and private schools meant Sister Mary Providence and her council had to make tough decisions.¹⁴ In order to market their educational services to white Victoria parents who wanted racially segregated classes, the nuns had to separate Native or black pupils from white pupils in the select school. The parents of blacks protested to the Sisters and the bishop. Then, as the bishop did not overturn the nuns' policy owing to white parent protests, the black parents withdrew their children.¹⁵ Few Aboriginal students came or stayed and their parents did not protest. Mixed-race students who were enrolled as fee paying students by their white fathers did attend the Victoria select school. Those mixed-race students who were consigned as charity cases or orphans to the nuns' care by Native mothers did not.¹⁶

The Sisters of Saint Ann's New Westminster school followed a pattern similar to that of the Victoria convent, except that it was founded at the request of the Oblate superior and bishop of the mainland, Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez. Two Sisters, Mary Conception and Mary des Sept Douleurs, began a boarding and day school for girls in 1865. White parents accepted the school but wanted their daughters in select classes separate from the Native girls. The nuns taught the halfbreed and Native girls

separately, then accepted d'Herbomez's offer of accommodation for them at St. Mary's Mission in 1868.¹⁷

The provincial directress, Sister Mary Providence, and her superiors had to negotiate assertively with Bishop d'Herbomez. Like other French bishops he wanted to control nuns serving in his diocese. As an Oblate missionary vicar he wanted to subsume their efforts to those of his congregation. However, d'Herbomez had to respect the sisterhood as he depended on the Sisters' financial support. For example, when he was unable to arrange the promised funding for establishing the girls' school at St. Mary's Mission, it was the women's congregation which made up the shortfall.¹⁸

In founding their school at St. Mary's Mission in 1868, Sisters Mary Lumena and Bonsecours followed the pattern of Sisters Mary of the Sacred Heart and Mary Conception in establishing Cowichan four years earlier. The curriculum of religion, basic elementary education and domestic skills was modeled on the orphanage charity schools of Montreal. At both Cowichan and St. Mary's Mission the nuns struggled to build and furnish the school, to establish the garden and feed the pupils, and to fight the mosquitoes and the winter cold. The Salishan peoples' response to these schools was similar in each case: initial curiosity, attendance for songs, stories and festivities, and then absence or withdrawal from disciplined classes or domestic and farm labour. Over time Cowichan became a charity school/orphanage with some paying pupils.¹⁹ At Cowichan, Father Pierre Rondeault, a priest of the Vancouver Island diocese, ran the mission parish church, and a day school for boys and itinerated among Aboriginal villages.²⁰ At St. Mary's Mission the nuns' school was intended to parallel an Oblate mission boarding school for boys. As at Cowichan the nuns cared for several halfbreed

orphan pupils. At St. Mary's school the Oblate directors asked parents to pay for the pupils' food and supplies.²¹

1858-1871, THE FOUNDATION YEARS: THE OBLATES

While the Sisters of Saint Ann capped their foundation years in British Columbia with the laying of a new convent cornerstone in the colonial capital, Victoria, in 1871, the Oblates completed theirs the same year with the gathering of Salishan converts from the Lower Fraser River and adjacent coast at St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser River, forty miles east of New Westminster. Their Temperance Society banners bearing the motto, "Religion, Temperance, Civilization," showed that the Salishan peoples had followed the Oblates' directives on spiritual and daily life. They had earned the right to attend religious ceremonies and greet bishop d'Herbomez on his return from a year in Rome.²²

By 1871 twenty-seven of the thirty Oblates who had come to British Columbia remained in the region. The three departures included H.T. Lempfrit, who had left the missions and the congregation in disgrace in 1852; J.X. Villemard, who quit Roman Catholicism for the Anglican church in 1867; and Denis Lamure, who died accidentally in 1870. The Oblates remaining in British Columbia were a diverse group in terms of age and experience. Thus in 1871, ten years after de Mazenod's death, there were differences among the British Columbia Oblates regarding the founder's message and how to spread it. However, his protégé, Oregon veteran Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, tried to maintain unity of action.

Bishop d'Herbomez gave a geographical survey of the Oblate missionaries' projects in 1871 when he responded to a request of H.L. Langevin, the Canadian Minister of Public Works, for recommendations on Indian Affairs. D'Herbomez

advised settlement of the Indian land question with reserves in traditional territories, so as to avoid the situation which led to American Indian wars. D'Herbomez described Oblate mission posts for evangelization of the Aboriginal peoples and the civil districts each covered. St. Charles district served Yale District and part of Lillooet; Immaculate Conception, Okanagan, Kootenay and part of Yale/Lytton; St. Joseph's at Williams Lake, Lillooet and Cariboo; N.D. de Bonne Esperance [sic] at Stuart Lake, the northeast; and St. Michael's, the Kakouals [sic] of Fort Rupert. In regard to federal government intentions to educate Aboriginals, d'Herbomez advised against day schools. American experience showed they were expensive and unsuited to migratory hunters and fishers. The "best" schools would be "industrial and agricultural schools," where children could be "boarded [for] several years ...acquiring regular habits of order and discipline ...while they receive[d] elementary instruction." The Oblates had established such a school at St. Mary's Mission. It educated boys and girls from the civil districts of New Westminster, Yale and Lillooet. The boys' school was managed by "two Brothers," and the girls' by the Sisters of Saint Ann. The Oblates recommended the federal government grant assistance so they could found similar schools in each mission district.²³

In the early 1860s d'Herbomez established both his episcopal and the Oblates' headquarters at New Westminster. The mission of St. Charles would serve the Aboriginals of the city and district, i.e., the Fraser Valley and south coast, and the parish of St. Peter, the white settlers. An English-speaking Oblate priest, Edward Horris, ministered to that parish and headed St. Louis College, an elementary and secondary school for boys. This school, founded in Victoria in 1863 at the request of Demers after the Clerics of St. Viator departed, was refounded in New Westminster

under the same name in 1865.²⁴ Although French Father Julien Baudre had been the first principal, Irish recruits like James McGuckin took over its operation.

Meanwhile, French missionaries like Leon Fouquet itinerated throughout the province. They aimed to convert whole Aboriginal communities and establish in each Roman Catholic Native village a temperance society organization to direct prayer and moral life during the priest's absences. They also brought converts together periodically at central mission sites for religious instruction and ceremonies. Fouquet founded St. Mary's Mission opposite Matsqui on the Fraser River in 1861 and a boys' school there in 1863.²⁵ Florimond Gendre organized boys' classes at this school on French military lines, appointing captains of the slates and mops.²⁶ Paul Durieu established mission posts at Sechelt and Squamish villages north of Burrard Inlet. In the Okanagan Valley Charles Pandosy founded Immaculate Conception Mission at present-day Kelowna in 1858. This mission exemplifies individual variations in Oblate works. Rather than employing the Chinook jargon in evangelization as d'Herbomez did, Pandosy emphasized taking time to learn and use Interior Salishan languages.²⁷ By the mid-1860s the Oblates also ran a day school at Okanagan Mission for a dozen pupils, girls as well as boys. The presence of Métis settler families assisted Oblate efforts here because they too spoke French.²⁸ Charles Grandidier's efforts with other Interior Salishan peoples, the Lillooet and Shuswap, resulted in the organization of converts in temperance communities and in their chiefs' entrusting him as author of petitions to the colonial government on land claims.²⁹ The French Oblates found establishing a mission to the Kwakiutl at Fort Rupert in 1863 difficult owing to Aboriginal resistance and the presence of liquor traders who worked against their interests. Even when Paul Durieu moved the location of the mission away from the fort

to Harbledown Island four years later, neither the evangelization efforts nor the small day school made much headway.³⁰

Opening missions to northern Aboriginals and Cariboo miners presented tough challenges but seemed to bring early rewards. D'Herbomez withdrew young Irish Father James McGuckin from New Westminster to send him to assist Le Jacq in establishing St. Joseph's Mission at Williams Lake. McGuckin made only a few tours north to the Carrier at Stuart Lake. Instead he got the mission farm going and assisted Aboriginal farmers nearby. He wrote Victoria officials on behalf of Soda Creek Aboriginal converts whose lands were being grabbed by a settler.³¹ McGuckin made regular visits to the Barkerville mining district, building a church and starting a reading room in Richfield.³² He collected funds for missions, schools and orphanages. In 1870 he forwarded to his bishop requests from settler parents that he become the teacher of a common school at Richfield. However, the bishop and his council turned them down, preferring to focus on Aboriginal missions.³³ They thereby passed up the opportunity to establish Catholic separate schools in British Columbia before Confederation with Canada.

1858 to 1871, THE FOUNDATION YEARS: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS

The Oblates' ranking of pastoral activities over teaching deserves further comment. Although teaching was the most easily comparable work of the Oblates and the Sisters of Saint Ann, the gender differences were clear. While teaching was the actualization of the Sisters' vocation, the Roman Catholic Church dictated the sacerdotal function as the main priestly vocation.³⁴ Priests might teach catechism classes to both sexes or secondary subjects to adolescent boys. Brothers in the Oblate congregation did domestic and technical work, such as building design and construction and taught

younger boys. The Oblates did not have a specific group of trained teaching brothers or a congregation of them to assist in their missions as teachers.³⁵

Nevertheless, by 1871 the two groups' activities ran parallel or overlapped in teaching school and caring for orphans, particularly in the mission residential schools. The Oblates ran only one 'college' for boys at New Westminster, two mission residential schools (Tulalip and St. Mary's), and assorted temporary day schools; e.g., at Okanagan Mission, Fort Rupert and Williams Lake. The Oblates, who were focussed on conversion of Aboriginal nations to the Roman Catholic faith, also believed in schools so as to fit the future generation into the modified reduction system. The availability of anglophone Irish brothers had allowed the Oblate Tulalip boarding school to access American government grants. D'Herbomez, like his Oblate colleagues in the Western Interior of British North America, believed young women had to be educated as well as young men. Otherwise, the Oblates' plans for Aboriginal mission villages would not work.³⁶ Like the Oblates at Red River, d'Herbomez sought the assistance of Canadian nuns as teachers and childcare workers for the girls' residential schools. The Sisters' school and garden labours freed priests for the harvest of souls. Their presence reduced the need to hire lay staff, and helped fill in for shortages of lay brothers who were often occupied in non-teaching duties.

The Oblates had got into schooling in Oregon territory and British Columbia owing to their care for numbers of Aboriginal children orphaned by war or disease, and the availability of funds from the French Holy Childhood Society which supported such work.³⁷ Again, the Oblates needed nuns to care for female orphans. When funds from the Holy Childhood or the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons were delayed, the Oblates

drew on the Sisters' financial assistance, for example, in setting up St. Mary's Mission girls' school.³⁸

Male non-Aboriginal fur traders, gold miners and settlers who left British Columbia in the nineteenth century frequently abandoned Aboriginal wives and mixed-blood children.³⁹ Mission boarding schools like St. Mary's offered refuge to children not supported by Aboriginal communities, white officialdom or their white fathers. The Salishan peoples, for example, did not always welcome back women deserted by white partners, since they and their children were without patrimony in a patriarchal social structure.⁴⁰ The British Columbia Indian superintendent complained in 1884 that Indian women deserted by white men became a burden to their tribes, and that "the children of such parentage [grew] up to be the most disreputable characters."⁴¹ Thus the Oblates and Canadian nuns in British Columbia, like those in the Northwest Territories, began mission residential schools as orphanages. And, as Robert Carney concluded, they were for many years "essentially hostels for unwanted, orphaned and diseased children."⁴²

The Oblates and the Sisters of Saint Ann did differ in their management of schools for settlers' children. The nuns, situated in town convents, developed fee-paying elite institutions as part of their system of financing their charity/mission schools. The Oblates had begun educating settlers through St. Louis College, Victoria, in 1863. They took over the effort defaulted on by the French-Canadian Clerics of St. Viator, partly to please Bishop Modest Demers. The Oblates also expected the gold rush cycle would continue and that a local college would provide vocations to the priesthood.⁴³ By 1863 d'Herbomez had recruited a few Irish teaching brothers. Their presence had given French-Canadian Bishop Demers some hopes for a Catholic

separate school system on Vancouver Island.⁴⁴ However, Bishop d'Herbomez put the priority on Aboriginal missions for the mainland of British Columbia, not on the establishment of schools for white settlers.⁴⁵

When set against Misner's model of the development of religious congregations, both the pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates fit the foundation pattern. As disciples of Mother Marie-Anne, the Sisters worked together on her ideas. Initially they relied more on oral tradition than written documents. For example, they came west without a written contract with Bishop Demers.⁴⁶ The first Victoria directress followed the founder's example in stepping down from her position for the good of the organization.⁴⁷ The Sisters of Saint Ann negotiated quietly but firmly with the Oblate superiors regarding the New Westminster and St. Mary's convents. The nuns pressed for written confirmation so that these could be managed according to their own rules and customs.⁴⁸ Mother General Jeanne de Chantal, visiting the west coast from 1866 through 1867, confirmed decisions the Victoria directress, Sister Mary Providence, had made regarding organization and staffing.⁴⁹

Like the Sisters of Saint Ann, the first generation of Oblates followed the ideas of their founder Eugene de Mazenod for evangelization and initially relied more on oral tradition than written documents. However, the pioneer Oblates illustrate another aspect of Misner's observations on the foundation stage in the development of religious congregations, namely, the possibility that there might be dissenters regarding beliefs, ceremonial or organization.⁵⁰ J.X. Villemard, who quit the Oblates and the Roman Catholic Church in 1867, represents an extreme case.⁵¹ Paul Durieu, by contrast, accepted d'Herbomez's policies and gained appointment as his replacement during his absence at the Vatican council of 1870. Grandidier, Fouquet and McGuckin wanted

d'Herbomez to pay more attention to influencing colonial officials so as to secure Aboriginal land claims and funding for settlers' schools. As a veteran of Oregon territory Indian warfare and legislative discrimination against Catholics, d'Herbomez was willing to press federal government officials on Aboriginal lands but reluctant to tangle with local colonial politicians on education.⁵²

In summary, in 1871 Oblate superiors as men and priests saw themselves as the missionaries, and brothers and nuns as mere auxiliaries.⁵³ The Sisters, however, saw themselves as missionaries too, and negotiated with the Oblates as a separate congregation in the church, and a congregation based in Montreal and Victoria, not New Westminster and Paris. These patterns of gender and mission had consequences for the expansion stage in the two congregations' history in British Columbia.

1872 to 1887, THE EXPANSION YEARS: THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANN

Between 1871 and the late 1880s, the Sisters of Saint Ann expanded their organization in British Columbia alongside and in face of Oblate leaders' attempts to subordinate them to masculine direction of missions and schools.

In the years 1872 to 1887, the Sisters of Saint Ann lost seven first generation nuns, four by death and three by transfer to Lachine, Quebec. By 1887 thirteen of twenty-four of the first generation members were still active. Thirty-eight additional Sisters had come west from the motherhouse to teach or join the nursing staff.⁵⁴ Two more young women from British Columbia settler families went there to enter the congregation, making a total of five by 1887.⁵⁵ The Sisters of Saint Ann also hired young halfbreed women as dormitory supervisors and teachers' helpers. Some of these, like Susan Suckley who assisted at Nanaimo in 1877, went on to teaching careers of their own.⁵⁶

A geographical survey of the Sisters of Saint Ann's works in British Columbia between 1872 and 1887 shows overall expansion of existing institutions: the Victoria and New Westminster convent academies and the Cowichan and St. Mary's mission schools. Since the number of paying boarders at Victoria rose and the number at Cowichan declined, the Sisters transferred the Victoria orphans there in 1876. The same year, the Sisters opened a boarding school for settlers' children alongside the boys' school at the Oblates' St. Joseph Mission, Williams Lake. Then in 1877 they began a convent school in Nanaimo and, in 1880, one in Kamloops. The sisterhood undertook two new activities, St. Joseph's Hospital in Victoria in 1876 and a hospital in Juneau, Alaska in 1886. The sisterhood got involved in Alaskan missions in response to the persistent requests of the head of the Victoria diocese, archbishop Charles John Seghers, who superintended that territory.⁵⁷ First generation nuns were foundresses of all but the Kamloops school.⁵⁸

First generation Sisters Mary Bonsecours and Mary Victor pioneered to the northern Juneau mission under Sister Mary Zenon as superior. This Alaskan missionary venture, like the hospital and the Nanaimo school, were in the Vancouver Island diocese, not the Oblate-directed New Westminster diocese. The Alaskan missions, involving efforts with Aboriginal peoples further to the missionary ideal of 'the ends of the earth,' had greater prestige as missionary ventures than did assignments in hospital work or in Indian residential schools. The Alaskan convents were initially directed by the Lachine generalate of the congregation but used the Victoria provincial house as an orientation and local administration centre.⁵⁹

What the Sisters of Saint Ann did not do between 1872 and 1887 is also significant. In 1873, despite his personal visit to Lachine to lobby the motherhouse, the

nuns declined Paul Durieu's requests for staff for additional Oblate mission schools around the province.⁶⁰ The Sisters of Saint Ann took their time before finally acceding to Oblate pleas for nuns for a school at St. Joseph Mission, Williams Lake. They agreed to staff it as their contribution to Catholic competition with the public boarding school at Cache Creek, and as part of their outreach to children of Aboriginal descent.⁶¹

By the late 1880s the decline in paying pupils at St. Joseph's Mission school and the costs of supporting its few charity students made the nuns and the Oblates consider closing it. Both orders would move staff to other needs, but the nuns had their own priorities, namely Alaskan mission hospitals and a school for the new city of Vancouver.⁶² The latter institution opened as an elementary school in 1888. The Sisters of Saint Ann turned down Oblate requests for staff for a New Westminster hospital and for Indian residential schools. Through their friendship with the Montreal-based Sisters of Providence who served in nearby American states, the Sisters of Saint Ann knew Oblates were lobbying them too.⁶³

Like the Sisters of Providence, the Sisters of Saint Ann got on well with some Oblates but generally not with the administration.⁶⁴ The nuns spoke appreciatively of the support of James McGuckin, their superior at Williams Lake, and later school chaplain at New Westminster. They applauded the kindness of French missionary Oblates like Charles Marchal.⁶⁵

Between 1872 and 1887, Sisters of Saint Ann did not teach in government-funded separate schools as Catholic nuns did in other provinces, such as Ontario, for British Columbia had no government funded separate schools. In the colonial period in British Columbia non-sectarian schools had been established for the children of settlers, and this principle was confirmed when the province entered Confederation in 1871.⁶⁶ In

1876 and 1881 d'Herbomez and the Roman Catholic bishop of Vancouver Island, as the male church 'leaders,' petitioned the provincial government for funding for Roman Catholic schools for settlers' children on the model of separate schools in Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba.⁶⁷ Although only one-fifth of the British Columbia population was Catholic, the bishops believed that proportion could increase as construction of the transcontinental railway progressed.⁶⁸ Settler families wanted elementary education for their children in 'Sisters' schools,' schools directed by nuns.⁶⁹ Catholic settler families, like the hierarchy, would have preferred 'free' separate schools as an integral part of the public system on the Ontario model. The dominance of Protestants in the politics of British Columbia meant the bishops' petition did not gain legislative approval.

As regards secondary education, both the hierarchy and Catholic settler families preferred convent education for girls. Many non-Catholic settlers likewise sent their children to denominational colleges or to convent academies, as they did in Ontario.⁷⁰ The Anglican and Methodist churches provided competition for Catholic secondary schools in cities like Victoria and New Westminster from 1871 to 1887. Public secondary education developed slowly, with high schools established in Victoria in 1876, New Westminster in 1884 and Nanaimo in 1886.⁷¹

1872-1887, THE EXPANSION YEARS: THE OBLATES

With regards to expansion of missions and education from 1872 to 1887, the Oblates had both a greater range of activities and a greater number of problems than did the Sisters of Saint Ann. Although more of the first generation Oblates remained at work in British Columbia, there were fewer newcomers to this congregation's missions than there were to the nuns' missions. Significantly only one son of a British Columbia

family, William Murphy from Lac la Hache, went east to the Oblates' Ottawa noviciate (in 1885).⁷²

With an ongoing shortage of manpower, the Oblates lacked priests capable of learning Aboriginal languages for travelling among the converted villages and also English-speaking brothers for teaching school.⁷³ Between 1872 and 1887, five of the 27 remaining first generation Oblates departed. One priest and two brothers passed away.⁷⁴ Charles Grandidier returned to France to secular parish ministry in 1882. Brother Patrick Ryan transferred to Alberta missions. Failing health made Edward Horris give up his work as pastor in New Westminster. A young French Oblate priest, Louis-Napoleon Grégoire, scandalized its Roman Catholic community with his apostasy in 1883.⁷⁵

Few new priests came from Europe between 1872 and 1887 to fill the needs of the Oblates' British Columbia missions. All told, two newly ordained priests arrived from France but only one from Quebec. Although eight Irishmen joined the Oblates in British Columbia as brothers from 1872 to 1887, they were mature in years and not trained as teachers.⁷⁶

Bishop d'Herbomez attempted to meet the need for missionary priests in British Columbia by ordaining two lay brothers in 1872, namely George Blanchet and Edmond Peytavin.⁷⁷ The bishop also withdrew E.C. Chirouse (senior) from Tulalip, Washington, in 1876, so as to assign a priest versed in Salishan languages at the Fraser Valley missions.⁷⁸ When three seminarians arrived as exiles from France in 1879, he sent them to finish their studies at St. Mary's Mission, learn Chinook and English, and help teach boys' classes. Two of them, Nicolas Coccola and Jean-Dominique Chiappini, were soon ordained and assigned to missionary circuits.⁷⁹ The third, Adrien-Gabriel

Morice learned languages quickly but neglected his studies and skipped classes for his own scholarly pursuits. Morice's insubordination delayed his ordination and his subsequent appointment to a northern mission post.⁸⁰

A geographical survey of Oblate missions in British Columbia between 1872 and 1887 tells a story of challenge to the Oblate superiors from both within and without. Resistance of the Kwakiutl to Oblate conversion efforts had led to the closure of the St. Michael's Mission at Harbledown Island near Fort Rupert in 1874.⁸¹ This mission's last superior, Leon Fouquet, a theological expert but an adversary of Durieu, was assigned to open St. Eugene's Mission to the Kootenays near Cranbrook. However, his health problems, the need to start a mission farm, and the nomadic lifestyle of the Kootenay people combined to make progress difficult.⁸² In the Okanagan valley the Oblate fathers also progressed slowly in evangelizing nomadic people.⁸³

At St. Joseph's Mission in the Cariboo young Father James McGuckin started a boys' boarding school in December 1873.⁸⁴ Meanwhile Bishop d'Herbomez had transferred Le Jacq from St. Joseph's at Williams Lake north to Stuart Lake to begin the mission of Our Lady of Good Hope and head off Protestant missionaries coming in from the coast.⁸⁵ Five years later d'Herbomez reorganized the Okanagan Oblates so as to have priests to begin St. Louis Mission at Kamloops, along the projected line of the transcontinental railway. The Oblate attempt to match the Sisters of Saint Ann Kamloops convent, which opened in 1880, with the establishment of a boys' school floundered for lack of staff by 1882.⁸⁶

In the Fraser Valley St. Charles Mission district, centred on the parish of St. Peter in New Westminster, d'Herbomez faced similar problems and some new challenges. Aboriginal peoples persisted in their own religious beliefs and ceremonies. Methodist

ministers continued to present strong competition for converts. Some Catholic converts among the Aboriginals fell away from practice of their new faith. In the 1880s railway construction crews, boomtowns, and seasonal cash jobs threatened Roman Catholic Aboriginals with increased liquor sales, gambling and prostitution. In 1883 and 1884 Durieu, as coadjutor bishop and missionary vicar for d'Herbomez, put in writing his concern regarding the missionary methods for the Fraser Valley and adjacent canyon districts. He gave directives on Aboriginal mission work to an experienced Oblate missionary, Jean-Marie Le Jacq, who had already served in several British Columbia missions. To counter the occasions for sinning presented to Aboriginals by seasonal employment outside the villages and away from the supervision of the missionaries' 'watchmen' and catechists, the priests had to intensify the religious direction and moral regulation of the Oblate system for those villages.⁸⁷

In 1882 the Oblate visitor or inspector from the congregational headquarters, Father Martinet, recommended more attention be paid to incoming settlers and less segregation of Aboriginal communities.⁸⁸ D'Herbomez therefore transferred James McGuckin, who had served both communities well in the Cariboo Mission, to New Westminster. He replaced the ailing Father Horris as bursar of the vicariate, pastor for the settlers, principal of St. Louis College, and chaplain to St. Ann's Academy. McGuckin built a new parish church and converted a prominent judge, John Foster McCreight, to Catholicism. Elected as the members' delegate to the general chapter of 1887, he toured his homeland, returning with recruits for the missions. It is not surprising that francophone Oblates like Paul Durieu, the coadjutor bishop, raised no complaint when the congregation called the dynamic, ambitious McGuckin to Ottawa as university rector in 1889.⁸⁹

1872-1887, THE EXPANSION YEARS: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS

As in the foundation years, so in the expansion stage the Oblates' and Sisters of Saint Ann's activities overlapped in teaching school and caring for orphans. The Oblates continued to rank pastoral activities over educational, and to assign brothers and/or obtain the assistance of nuns to deal with the latter. The Oblates' shortage of manpower accentuated this trend. The Sisters of Saint Ann brought recruits from Quebec to British Columbia but insisted on their congregational right to administer their operations as they saw fit. They refused several Oblate requests for teachers while, on the other hand, acting on those of the Victoria bishops.

The Sisters of Saint Ann's refusal to take on staffing of new Indian residential schools, even where the Oblates were negotiating government funding, is significant in gender terms. The nuns could not take up management of such schools unless they had available young halfbreed women who could do the childcare with young boys. The nuns considered such work morally incorrect for themselves as vowed religious women, but not for their lay helpers. The priests wanted to assign to the nuns not only the teaching of boys, but also dormitory supervision, owing to their own shortage of staff, particularly brothers. Sister Mary Providence's correspondence with Bishop Durieu illustrates the nuns' viewpoint. In 1891 she told Bishop Durieu that the General Council of her congregation refused to accept William's Lake Industrial School as they were "hard pressed to answer the needs of existing works," had refused new requests for foundations, and would refuse Industrial Schools. The latter, involving dormitory supervision of boys and girls, "were not in accordance with [the congregation's] constitution, and in order to take the direction of these, it [would be] necessary that [the nuns] have specially qualified girls to help [them], to give necessary care to the male

children, which is distasteful and not proper to religious." She reminded Durieu "you know, as we do that this help is missing."⁹⁰

For the Sisters of Saint Ann the years 1872 to 1887 were years of some instability but few divisions. New transcontinental railways aided communications with their Lachine superiors. Longtime directress Sister Mary Providence remained in Victoria to advise, and, when necessary, replace successors.⁹¹ The annual retreats and vacations at the Victoria convent unified the British Columbia Sisters. Only one nun left, and her reason, although not reported publicly, was probably burnout.⁹² The one nun with difficult personality, Sister Mary Theodore, a niece of one of the order's founding members, was discreetly moved from assignment to assignment and finally made congregational historian and publicity writer at the Victoria convent. In some senses this paralleled the Oblates' permitting A-G. Morice to use his post at Fort St. James for writing mission history and studies of Aboriginal peoples. The difference was that Sister Mary Theodore was fit in at regional headquarters and the eccentric Morice was allowed out on his own.⁹³

The Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia confirm Misner's point on written records becoming more important in this stage of the organizational history. The 1886 visitation report of the order's Mother General treats the British Columbia vicariate as part of the larger sisterhood. Mother Marie Anastasie comments on the nuns' efforts with school pupils and orphans, as part of the Sisters' system of balancing fee-paying convents and charity institutions. The report does not specifically mention missions to Aboriginal peoples, but rather it emphasizes the congregation's rules and customs, for example the need to file regular reports. The visitor warned nuns to be circumspect in dealings with male Roman Catholic missionaries. She also admonished British

Columbia Sisters of Saint Ann not to allow 'adopted' children to call any nun "mamma."⁹⁴ These last two points illustrate the superior general's awareness of contemporary Anglo-Protestant propaganda about the immorality of Roman Catholic convent life.

The Oblates, however, fit Misner's model of religious congregations' history for the expansion stage somewhat differently than the nuns, as they experienced greater instability and more divisions than the nuns. Like the nuns, the Oblates did come to rely more on written records, for example, Durieu's 1883 and 1884 letters to Le Jacq restating the Oblates' system for making and keeping converts.⁹⁵

The insistence of bishops d'Herbomez and Durieu that accounts be published of grand reunions at Salishan missions can be seen in a similar light. At St. Mary's, Squamish and Sechelt the Oblates organized reunions to teach, confirm and celebrate their converts. The processions of the passion of Christ harkened back to the Oblate founder's work in Provence, and indicated that conversion of the Salishan peoples to Roman Catholicism, the core of Eugene de Mazenod's directive on missionary work, had been accomplished. The Oblates' system seemed successful in educational as well as religious aspects, for school pupils or former pupils comprised the brass bands which greeted guests at the reunions. Both Indian Affairs Department Annual Reports and the Oblate missionary reports praised these participants. The British Columbia Oblate superiors edited out of their published accounts any mention of resistance or backsliding among Salishan peoples. For example, the published versions of late 1880s Aboriginal reunions mention only 'good' Salishan villagers who were invited to participate, not the 'misbehaving' Aboriginal community members who were barred from attendance.⁹⁶

In 1887 Durieu, as vicar of missions, brought Fraser Valley and Interior missionaries and their converts to a grand reunion at St. Mary's Mission. He cooperated with French-Canadian Father Albert Lacombe from Alberta in arrangements with the new Canadian Pacific Railway to bring Oblate superiors and bishops from central Canada. Lacombe's renown as a negotiator with the Blackfoot nation on the railway route and with the Department of Indian Affairs on western Indian Industrial Schools would attract the attention of the secular as well as religious press.⁹⁷

Oblate reports on such mission events in British Columbia mentioned Sisters of Saint Ann marginally if at all, for example, as teachers in Oblate-directed 'Indian' schools, or as audiences for the processions of converted villagers. The aims of the Oblates' modified reduction system in Oblate eyes seemed to have been met. Female teachers seemed entirely subordinate to male missionaries.

The Sisters' reports on their activities in British Columbia, such as Sister Mary Lumena's diary of St. Mary's Mission, told a different story. The Sisters of Saint Ann ran the girls' school part of such mission schools according to their own policy and rules. In them, the Indian mission school also served as an orphanage for children of various races and the nuns reported to their own superiors on who they served and what they taught. However, gender determined the origin and circulation of the nuns' chronicles. Copies of Sister Mary Lumena's chronicle went to the provincial house, then the mother house. It was used to inform the superiors and gain the support of colleagues as well as to attract missionary vocations among convent students. By contrast, the Oblate codex or house chronicles of St. Mary's Mission and St. Peter's, New Westminster, became the basis for accounts published in the Oblates' French

missionary magazine and in the Roman Catholic missionary society annals. As male officials in the patriarchal church, they controlled these publications and the nuns' accounts were excluded.

1888-1910, THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION YEARS: THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANN

Twenty years after the grand St. Mary's reunion of 1887, the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates both planned fiftieth anniversary celebrations. Significantly, the two British Columbia groups chose different dates to celebrate. The Sisters marked 1908 as the golden anniversary of their arrival in the province. They published a picture of St. Ann's Academy and its grounds in Victoria with insets of earlier convent/orphanage/hospital buildings. Like other local pioneers they showed their progress from log cabin to classic stone building. The Oblates chose 1910, the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of their mainland headquarters, St. Peter's Parish and St. Charles Mission in New Westminster. The first photograph in their commemorative booklet showed St. Louis College and adjoining rectory in that city. The headquarters building for the male missionaries represented the historic centre of all Roman Catholic effort on the mainland of British Columbia. The local story was less important than highlighting political presence in the international church and Canadian province. ⁹⁸

These pictures cast light on the institutionalization stage in the history of each of the two congregations in the province, and especially of the role of the pioneer generation. Between 1888 and 1910 six more pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann died and three more transferred to Lachine, Quebec. Ten of the twenty-four first generation nuns were still alive with eight remaining in British Columbia. Sixty-five more Sisters had come west from the motherhouse to teach or join the nursing staff. Sixteen young women from British Columbia entered the congregation. The opening of the Victoria noviciate

in 1890 played an important role in increasing the number of western entrants to the order. Some young women came from Eastern Canada or Europe to enter the Victoria noviciate making up a total of 54 novices in Victoria between 1891 and 1914.⁹⁹

A geographical survey of the Sisters of Saint Ann's works in British Columbia between 1887 and 1910 shows the maturing of existing institutions and consolidation of activities. In 1896 the congregation organized provinces. British Columbia and Alaska became St. Joseph province and the directress became Mother Provincial.¹⁰⁰ By that date the Sisters of Saint Ann convent academies in Victoria, New Westminster and Kamloops offered kindergarten, elementary and secondary classes, and as well as instruction in music, art, stenography, and typewriting. By the 1900s pupils sat provincial government exams for high school entrance and matriculation.¹⁰¹ St. Mary's Mission girls' school received federal grants as an Indian Boarding School but still admitted a few halfbreed pupils. At Cowichan the number of orphans declined and the number of local settler families rose in the late 1880s, and so the nuns made it a boarding school. Then in 1904 the girl students transferred to Nanaimo, and the building became a boys' orphanage.¹⁰² That project had begun in Victoria six years previous with the bishop agreeing to provide lay childcare workers so as to meet requirements of the nuns' rule.¹⁰³ The Sisters closed their Williams Lake boarding school in 1888 but opened an elementary school in Vancouver for which they bore the sole financial responsibility. They struggled to keep it going during the depression of the 1890s.¹⁰⁴ The Lachine superiors of the congregation took on several Alaskan and Yukon hospitals and schools, but these had a local base of direction in Victoria.¹⁰⁵ In British Columbia, the Sisters of Saint Ann staffed the Kamloops Industrial School in 1890 for a short term, left, then returned in 1892. The same year the sisterhood also

began classes for girls at Kuper Island Industrial School in the diocese of Vancouver Island.¹⁰⁶ The Victoria convent supplied a Sister to teach at the Songhees reserve day school from 1894 through 1910. An even more notable venture was the initiation of the St. Joseph's Hospital school of nursing in Victoria in 1900.

The Sisters of the 1890s and 1900s opened more institutions in the Victoria bishop's domain and in Alaska than in the Oblate-directed mainland diocese. The Victoria bishop agreed with the superiors of the Sisters of Saint Ann that the nuns would have hired help for dormitory supervision for the Victoria boys' protectorate [orphanage] in the 1890s, but the Oblate superiors were less willing to provide similar assurances regarding new Indian industrial schools, e.g. at Williams Lake. Young women aspirants to the sisterhood seemed to consider such male-directed schools as 'backwaters' in comparison with the sisterhood's own 'cutting edge' northern missions. Entrants to the noviciate from Europe, Eastern Canada and the United States perceived missionary labours 'midst snow and ice' as more challenging and prestigious.¹⁰⁷

In the years 1888 to 1910 the Sisters of Saint Ann continued to run institutions according to their own rules. With the maturing of the congregation came formal printed rules, pedagogical guides, and a system of prefects of study [superintendents of instruction]. The Sisters' management sometimes found itself in conflict with that of male organizations which had also reached a stage of centralization and consolidation. However, on Vancouver Island there were few conflicts between the nuns and the bishops, for several bishops served such short terms they did not attempt consolidation of Catholic education. The fact that various groups of teaching brothers came to Victoria and subsequently left meant the bishops depended on the Sisters of Saint Ann to run schools and charitable institutions.¹⁰⁸

On the mainland of the province, in the diocese of New Westminster, particular conflicts arose between the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblate bishops. At St. Mary's Mission in 1891-92, Durieu wanted the Sisters to send the halfbreed orphan pupils to a new orphanage. He could thus meet requirements for federal funds for Indian boarding schools. He also wanted the Good Shepherd Sisters, recently arrived in New Westminster, to focus more on orphanage work and less on refuge work, the rescue of prostitutes. As a Catholic leader in a largely Protestant town, Durieu was concerned both about the public image of nuns helping prostitutes and the difficulties of fundraising for such efforts vis à vis fundraising for orphans and other needy children. Sister Mary Lumena, the longtime girls' school superior at St. Mary's Mission, wanted to keep 'her' orphans and her commitment to their parents to educate them locally. (It should be remembered here that the nuns classed all needy children consigned to them for care as 'orphans,' even those with living parents.¹⁰⁹) Bishop Durieu succeeded in having Sister Mary Lumena transferred away to St. Ann's Convent, Kamloops. Within a year, however, she was caring for 'her' orphans as she liked at the Sisters' Cowichan convent. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd continued to focus more on their refuge than their orphanage work in New Westminster, in defiance of Durieu's wishes.¹¹⁰

Meanwhile Bishop Durieu had had to accede to the Sisters' policy, organization and rules for the Kamloops Indian Industrial School. He had no other nuns with whom to staff it and he did not want to let the government contract to fund such a school go to Protestant competitors in the mission field. Before the school opened in 1890, Durieu had agreed to have Michael Hagan, a Roman Catholic layman, as principal so as to secure the government grant for the Catholic Church without having to appoint a missionary priest to serve as principal.¹¹¹ Durieu and Department of Indian Affairs

bureaucrats assumed 'Sisters of Charity' would staff the classes, dormitories and provide domestic services, as seemed to be the norm in Catholic-managed Indian industrial schools.¹¹² The Sisters of Saint Ann, however, objecting to Hagan's management of the school as unsuited to the life of women religious and incompatible with their rules, withdrew their services. The Sisters demanded a priest principal, an on-site chapel and schedules suited to their religious life.¹¹³ A priest principal could celebrate daily mass and give catechism classes. The Sisters would teach the classes and manage the residence following their order's routines. Hagan brought in Oblate Father Albert Lacombe who took up the Sisters' side by pointing out the poor design of the school laundry and kitchen.¹¹⁴ Durieu rearranged operation of the institution. After Hagan was let go and a priest principal was found, the Sisters of Saint Ann returned to teach classes and supervise the domestic operations of Kamloops Industrial School. The Kamloops case serves as a good example of the Sisters of Saint Ann getting their way through persistent resistance. It also illustrates an ongoing issue in Roman Catholic gender relations: women teachers were nuns in a congregation with historic rights and abilities to organize and serve as they saw fit.

When the Sisters of Saint Ann did not meet Oblate requests for staff for hospitals and schools between 1888 and 1910, the male church leaders sought the aid of other congregations. That led to competition for the education of wealthy pupils, the main source of funds for charity work. For example, the New Jersey-based Sisters of Saint Joseph of Peace began schools for Kootenay towns such as Nelson, and the French Sisters of the Child Jesus began a boarding school in North Vancouver.¹¹⁵

The Sisters of Saint Ann, however, found individual Oblates supportive of their works. Augustin Dontenwill, as principal of St. Louis College and later as bishop,

assisted the nuns' educational enterprises at St. Ann's Academy, New Westminster.¹¹⁶ He publicized their academic, artistic and commercial teaching in the diocesan magazine, The Month, in the 1890s. As superiors at St. Mary's Mission School, Brother Patrick Collins and Father John O'Neill worked harmoniously with the Sisters of Saint Ann. The nuns appreciated O'Neill's assistance in recruiting Irish vocations including his own sister.¹¹⁷

After Dontenwill left British Columbia to become superior general of the Oblates in 1909, the Victoria superior of the Sisters of Saint Ann withstood the attempt of the new Archbishop of Vancouver, Neil McNeil, a non-Oblate from the Maritimes, to take over direction of Catholic schools. He wanted to put Sisters of Saint Ann on salary as parochial school teachers and bring in the Religious of the Sacred Heart, headquartered in France, to run an elite convent academy in Vancouver. This new academy would threaten the financial balance of the pioneer teaching sisterhood. The Sisters of Saint Ann did contract with the archbishop to provide paid parochial school staff, as the arrangement alleviated the problem of supporting charity students in Vancouver. However, the Sisters pointed out to the archbishop that they would keep operating boarding academies in other cities as these contributed to their Victoria noviciate.¹¹⁸ In this manner, the Sisters of Saint Ann held on to the right to reproduce themselves as they saw fit. The archbishop's manoeuvre only delayed the Sisters of Saint Ann's plans to open an elite Vancouver academy, Little Flower Academy which opened in 1926. They continued to run a girls' high school in Vancouver for those families who could not afford Convent of the Sacred Heart fees, or preferred the British Columbia provincial curriculum or commercial classes to specialized French convent studies.¹¹⁹

1888-1910, THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION YEARS: THE OBLATES

Turning to a survey of the Oblate personnel and activities in British Columbia between 1888 and 1910, what stands out in comparison with the Sisters of Saint Ann is that there were few first generation Oblates remaining and very few local entrants to replace those departing. In 1888 there were 24 Oblates remaining from the first generation group of 30. Sixteen more of that group had passed away by 1910. Only a few of the first generation Oblates still served in British Columbia. Leon Fouquet spent most of the 1890s in Alberta, and James McGuckin had gone to Ottawa.¹²⁰ The Oblates who came to British Columbia as priests [11] or as scholastics near ordination [7] were mainly francophone Europeans. A few priests moved on to other Oblate provinces and some left the congregation for American diocesan service.¹²¹ The four brothers who entered the congregation locally had varied backgrounds.¹²² The Oblate superiors opened Nazareth junior seminary in New Westminster in 1895 hoping to attract priestly vocations, but it closed twelve years later for lack of students. Consequently the Oblates had to consolidate seminary preparation in eastern North America.¹²³ During the turn of the century period only two British Columbians, Herbert Bessette and Antoni Swenceski, were ordained as Oblate priests, and only one local man, Joseph Betancourt, made vows as an Oblate brother.¹²⁴

A survey of Oblate work in British Columbia from 1887 to 1910 shows how they had to consolidate activity in Aboriginal missions and schools to deal with the ongoing shortage of manpower. The Oblates pressed the feminization of teaching. The requirements and the growing stinginess of the Department of Indian Affairs regarding school subsidies accentuated the need to enlist the aid of nuns in this endeavour. The continuity of Aboriginal religion and politics had to be challenged with regular

missionary visits and education for the younger generation. The church hierarchy wanted Roman Catholic settlers' children educated in denominational schools, which, in British Columbia, meant promoting more Sisters' schools. Through the 1890s Durieu blessed new Aboriginal village churches and opened industrial schools at Williams Lake, Kamloops, and Cranbrook. These constituted the fruition of the Oblates' plans for a modified reduction system, as did pilgrimages to St. Mary's Mission's new shrine to Our Lady of Lourdes, and grand gatherings of Aboriginal converts at various missions organized as Passion Plays.¹²⁵ After Durieu's death, his successor Dontenwill opened the Squamish Boarding School in 1900 and the Sechelt Boarding School in 1904. The Sisters of the Child Jesus from Le Puy, France, built and administered these institutions and the Oblates provided chaplains - which was an interesting development in the feminization of teaching.¹²⁶

The Oblates did recognize the downward trend of the Aboriginal population in relative terms and the increase in Anglo-Protestant immigration. For example, in New Westminster by the 1900s the Oblates no longer served a large seasonal population of Native cannery labour, and so the aging St. Charles Indian Church was torn down rather than replaced.¹²⁷ When James McGuckin returned from Ottawa in 1898 the Oblates assigned him to Holy Rosary parish in Vancouver. He built a grand 'cathedral' church there, nicknamed McGuckin's folly for its size and financial problems.¹²⁸ In 1909 another Irish Oblate, Father William O'Boyle assisted the Canadian Western Lumber Company in bringing French Canadian workers and their families west to Coquitlam. The company assisted the settlers in starting their parish and school, staffed by the Sisters of the Child Jesus, and the millside settlement became known as Maillardville after its French-Canadian Oblate pastor, Father Maillard.¹²⁹

There are several key dates in terms of the Oblates' activities in the period 1888-1910. Bishop d'Herbomez died in 1890 at which time Paul Durieu, his coadjutor, became Oblate superior and first bishop of the new diocese of New Westminster. In 1892, Durieu struggled with the Chirouse case which discredited the village governance aspect of Oblate Aboriginal missionary practice. Afterwards Durieu incorporated the temperance society organization and intensified grand missionary celebrations. He kept lobbying the federal government for Indian residential school funding. In 1897 he chose Augustin Dontenwill, an educator and administrator, as his coadjutor, rather than his protégé in field missions, Émile Bunoz, or his former protégé, E.C. Chirouse.¹³⁰

Other significant dates include Durieu's death in 1899 and the accession of Augustin Dontenwill as his successor. Dontenwill's 1908 elevation to the archbishopric coincided with the separation of his Vancouver archdiocese from the northern part of the province. It became a prefecture apostolic under Durieu's protégé Émile Bunoz in 1908.¹³¹ More important yet was Dontenwill's election as Oblate superior general and the Vatican appointment of a non-Oblate as archbishop to replace him in 1909.¹³² That event signalled the maturation of the province from Aboriginal mission territory to archdiocese, and also the demographic shift in British Columbia from Aboriginal to Anglo-Canadian population. In the new archdiocese Oblates continued to staff several parishes and all Aboriginal missions. After 1908, Oblate priests and brothers came from central Canada rather than France.¹³³

The landmark event in the institutionalization phase of the Oblate missions in British Columbia came when Bishop Dontenwill withdrew Adrien-Gabriel Morice from Stuart Lake Mission. Dontenwill had spent 1896-97 at Williams Lake Indian Industrial School where he saw the results of Morice's egocentric application of the "Durieu

system for missions.”¹³⁴ Morice, a prolific author, had built himself a reputation as a missionary king of the country.¹³⁵ However, he neglected religious instruction and services to the Aboriginal peoples and denied their requests for a school. Durieu’s private correspondence indicates he knew of this situation.¹³⁶ To correct this situation, in 1903-1904 Dontenwill sent Morice south for his health, then east to assist francophone Oblates with publications.¹³⁷

Dontenwill assigned other priests, particularly the capable and genial Nicolas Coccola, to ensure the Stuart Lake mission, Notre Dame de Bonne Esperance, would follow Oblate mission form. It would have a church and an Indian residential school funded by the government. From the mission centre, priests would itinerate out to minister to Aboriginal communities. The replacement of Morice, who preferred to be scholar rather than missionary, and the development of the school, which the Carrier requested and Morice denied, all represent the Oblate superior’s efforts to centralize, consolidate, and unify Oblate work in British Columbia, and to bring it in line with Oblate mission work elsewhere in western and northern Canada.¹³⁸

Dontenwill organized the conversion and education of the Aboriginal peoples of the Northern Interior. From Oblate experience in southern British Columbia, he knew the projected railway and settlements would affect Catholic missionary efforts. Protestant missionaries with connections to Anglo-Protestant government bureaucrats were already in the territory, and they had to be fended off. A Sisters’ school, like the showcase St. Mary’s mission, would be part of the Oblate public relations package for the Northern Interior Mission, headquartered at Fort St. James and opened in 1916.¹³⁹

1888-1910, THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION YEARS: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS

Between 1888 and 1910 both the Oblates and the Sisters of Saint Ann came into conflict with other organizations also entering the institutionalization phase of their history. The Sisters of Saint Ann, as an organization of religious women, within a patriarchal church and state, faced more such conflicts, which centred particularly on policy, organization and rules.

The Sisters of Saint Ann's organizational development for this period fits patterns noted in Misner's study of American women's religious organizational development. Misner cites conflict between a local bishop and the superiors of a sisterhood as the most important factor in the difficulties early American communities of women had in going from the sisterhood to the institutional stage.¹⁴⁰ The "women religious had to shoulder most of the responsibility for their own finances and ... management of their institutions," yet have "major decisions" approved by the local bishop. The bishops often disagreed with what the American nuns wanted to do.¹⁴¹ To maintain their founders' ideas, American communities of women turned to "written documents to insure the unity of the common goals and the way in which these goals were met." As Misner points out, documents took "precedence over oral tradition" in the development of religious communities.¹⁴² When sisterhoods chose to, or had to, "set limits on the extent of their work," they justified their position "in terms of the needs" as the "sisters saw them ... not in terms of what they ... were capable of doing."¹⁴³

The Sisters of Saint Anne in Quebec, as the directors of the whole congregation, promoted institutionalization along the lines Misner outlines. From the late 1880s through to 1914, they consolidated operations and moved to written records. Vatican

approval of their organization and rules in 1888, expansion into New England and competition between teaching sisterhoods in Quebec, all contributed to these developments. They divided the congregation into provinces in 1896. They added to the existing practice of periodic visitation of all convents, tours by prefects of studies.¹⁴⁴ By the 1900s the general administration circulated printed English language versions of the rule, the pedagogy and letters of mother general.¹⁴⁵ The congregation's institutional structures supported the British Columbia superiors of the Sisters of Saint Ann in their dealings with the Oblates, the department of Indian Affairs and the Vancouver archbishop.

To promote their autonomy within the church and society, the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia took advantage of opportunities to document their work as teachers and missionaries. They themselves sent in information requested by Vatican delegate Falconio in 1901 regarding secondary education both in their Victoria convent academy and in their St. Mary's Mission Indian Boarding School. In other parts of Canada male ecclesiastics reported on the nuns' activities.¹⁴⁶ The nuns also provided descriptions of their work to the Vancouver Catholic directories in the 1900s.¹⁴⁷

In contrast with the Sisters of Saint Ann of the 1900s, the Oblates in British Columbia ran only one non-Indian school, St. Louis College in New Westminster. Like the Sisters' academies, it followed the provincial curriculum, but the Oblates did not have the staff to replace their aging Irish brothers as teachers, or to meet the competition of public high schools and new boys' private schools.¹⁴⁸

Oblate institutionalization in British Columbia centred on fitting Aboriginal missions and schools into a Western Canadian pattern where government-funded and nun-managed residential schools served as centres for itinerant mission efforts, and

other congregations were brought in to assist with settler parishes and schools. The French Oblates, until the 1900s, had been the bishop administrators of Western Canada. Then they were challenged by an increasingly Anglo-Protestant civic society and an increasingly Anglo-Canadian Roman Catholic Church. French-Irish divisions within the Oblate congregation loomed larger. By the 1920s anglophone bishops took control of Western Canadian sees and the Oblate congregation split into anglophone and francophone provinces. However, the Oblates still expected to be the main missionaries to Aboriginal peoples with the nuns as their auxiliaries.¹⁴⁹

It is interesting to look at the place of the 'Durieu system' for Aboriginal Missions and of the Sisters of Saint Ann in the reports of British Columbia Oblate superiors to the general chapters of the 1890s and the 1900s. In 1893 and 1898 Durieu put Oblate efforts to convert and control Aboriginal communities first and subsumed the religious women's efforts to those of the Oblate missions. In 1904 and 1908 his successor, Dontenwill, mentioned the Durieu system briefly, as regards religious conversion more than governance. Emphasizing the role of the residential schools as central sites in the mission system,¹⁵⁰ he gave new attention and respect to the nuns who did the major part of school teaching and management, as he recognized the Sisters of Saint Ann were teaching boys in parish schools and residential schools, and that the Sisters of the Child Jesus had the entire management of several of the latter institutions.

This should not be taken to mean that Durieu was a villain and Dontenwill a hero as regards the Sisters of Saint Ann. Rather, both men were conditioned by their times and cultures. Durieu, raised in post-revolutionary France and a conservative Catholic culture, spent most of his life in British Columbia missions, particularly

Aboriginal missions. He had few central Canadian contacts. Dondenwill, an Alsatian, studied for the priesthood in Ottawa and taught languages at the University of Ottawa prior to his posting to British Columbia. His work on the west coast centred on urban parishes. Dondenwill deployed his Canadian background wisely, using it to develop relationships with local non-Roman Catholic leaders while maintaining old ones with Oblates in eastern Canada.

CONCLUSION: THE SISTERS' SYSTEM AND THE OBLATES' SYSTEM

The Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates brought systems for their practical works to Vancouver Island in 1858. Each congregation intended to teach and convert Aboriginal peoples, and each missionary system was grounded in gender. The nuns brought the Sisters of Charity of Montreal system to the west. Service to the needy and Aboriginal peoples, particularly care of orphans, would be supported from fee-paying classes. Oblate superiors intended their mission system to convert and control Aboriginal peoples in a modified reduction system. Priests would itinerate among villages of converts where missionary-appointed dignitaries would watch over the faithful between clerical visits. School/orphanage institutions at central mission posts would provide Aboriginal and mixed-race youths with education in 'Christian civilization.' The Oblates would use church funds, contributions of the nuns, and federal government school grants to support their efforts.

The Sisters' system and the Oblates' system came together at mission residential schools, where, owing to gender politics, the nuns who taught were officially in subordination to the Oblates' system. But the nuns had a separate culture and were not entirely integrated into that male system. As a female religious congregation in the

Catholic church, the sisterhood could choose which members taught, which schools or missions to operate and how to manage them internally.

The gender history of the two pioneer missionary organizations in British Columbia does not simply reverse the standard history where the Oblates, as men, appear central, and the Sisters of Saint Ann, as women, appear on the margins. Instead, as feminist historians of this province contend, “taking gender into account” both widens the range of discussion and points out to scholars “the complex interaction of gender” with other aspects of its history.¹⁵¹ In this vein, the next chapter will explore gender in the working lives of the teaching Sisters and Brothers.

Notes

- 1 Bernard Denault et Benoit Lévesque, eds., Elements pour une sociologie des communautés religieuses au Québec (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1975).
- 2 Barbara Misner, "Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies." Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790-1850 (New York: Garland, 1988), 13, 14. This model has also been used by Canadian scholars Denault, Danylewycz, Laperriere.
- 3 Misner, "Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies," 53-54.
- 4 Misner, "Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies," 253.
- 5 The deceased nuns included Sister Mary Emerentienne whose death was attributed to her difficult voyage west via Nicaragua in 1863, and Sisters Mary Alphonse, Catherine of Sienna, and Anne of Jesus, who died in 1869, 1870 and 1871 respectively. There are indications they died of tuberculosis.
- 6 For example, Amanda, a Saanich woman who had worked as a cook for the Sisters in the 1860s.
- 7 Necrology SSA I, 98-100, Cecilia McQuade took vows as Sister Mary Charles in 1870. Necrology SSA I, 243, Anna McQuade took vows as Sister Mary Agnes in 1871. Necrology SSA II, 34-35 Mary McEntee took vows as Sister Mary Catherine of Siena in 1871. The McQuade sisters were the daughters of a prominent businessman and McEntee was an orphan whose mother had consigned her to the Sisters' care.
- 8 Jean Usher, "Modeste Demers," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. X (1972), 221-222.
- 9 François Lanoue, "Joseph Michaud," a Cleric of St. Viator, Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIII (1994), 700-701. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1860.
- 10 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne à Victoria, 1858-1868. Narrées par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 79-83. I checked both the original and the translation to ensure accuracy. To assist anglophone scholars I will refer to the original French version and the English translation.
- 11 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 225 ff. "Dates of Arrival of Sisters at Victoria, B.C.
- 12 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 83-85 regarding arrangements and financing for sending additional Sisters west from Montreal in 1863.
- 13 Victoria Colonist November 18, 1867, "The 'Society of the Sisters of St. Ann' an association of religious ladies of this colony, whose object is the education of children, will apply for an act of incorporation at the next session of the Legislature." James E. Hendrickson, ed, Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1851-1871, Vol. V. Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia 1866-1871 (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1980), 163 and 171. Governor F. Seymour on 1 May 1868 said he "must hesitate before bestowing the Royal Assent on the Bill for the Incorporation." On 17 December 1868 he explained "The act to incorporate the Sisters of Saint Ann has been thought to savour too much of the principles of Mortmain."

Yves F. Zoltvany, ed., The French Tradition in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 84 note 3, explains "According to canon law, Church lands [in New France] were legally inalienable. They were said to be held in mortmain or deadhand, because they could never be sold, transferred, or given, and hence were forever lost to lay society."

14 Elsie Watts, "Attitudes of Parents Towards the Development of Public Schools in Victoria, British Columbia during the Colonial Period," (M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1986) surveys the competition.

15 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 39, 53-55.

16 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 53-61.

17 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 108-112.

18 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 153-154. Also see ASSAV RG II S 55 55-1 Monograph St. Mary's Mission School, Mission City, B.C. 1868-1950, 5, Bishop d'Herbomez had agreed to pay \$200 a year for each of two Sisters for St. Mary's girls' school. He could not afford to pay. He informed Sister Mary Providence and she gave him the money to support the Sisters during their first year running a school for girls at St. Mary's Mission.

19 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 98-103.

20 Down, Century of Service, 32, 53, calls him Peter Rodeault. His day school existed from 1858 to c. 1874.

21 ASSAV RG I S 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur), Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C. 1868-1892, 11-12.

22 ASSAV RG I S 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C. 1868-1892, 32-33.

23 A. Louis [d'Herbomez] O.M.I., "Letter from His Lordship the Bishop of Miletopolis and Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia," 19 September 1871, published in [H.L. Langevin], British Columbia: report of the Hon. H.L. Langevin, C.B. minister of public works (Ottawa, 1872), 158-160. D'Herbomez's letter does not mention the advice both the Oblate founder, Eugene de Mazenod, and his 1858 delegate, Red River veteran F-X. Bermond, had given on establishing schools for Aborigines. Nor does d'Herbomez's letter explain that by 1871 Oblate father E.C. Chirouse was receiving American government funds as agent and schoolmaster for the Snohomish at Tulalip, Washington Territory. See Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, 132-150.

24 No history of St. Louis College exists. There are clipping files at the Oblate Archives Vancouver and the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

- 25 Missions 1865, 324-325, d'Herbomez's account of the history of St. Charles Mission [New Westminster and Fraser Valley] District taken from the reports of Father L. Fouquet.
- 26 Missions 1865, 290-295 gives Gendré's report on the school 1863-1864.
- 27 Duane Thomson, "Charles Pandosy," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII (1990), 817-818. See also Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers, and Gaston Carrière, "The Yakima War."
- 28 David Dendy, "Schools at Okanagan Mission before 1885," Okanagan Historical Society Report 41 (1977), 38-43.
- 29 For reference to Grandidier's letter to the Victoria Standard, August 28, 1874, see British Columbia, Papers connected with the Indian Land Question 1850-1875 (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden Government Printer, 1875), 144-45.
- 30 Missions 1867, 227 for Le Jacq's report on the Fort Rupert venture; and Missions 1870, 122-133, Lettre du R.P. Fouquet au TR.P. Supérieur Général, 20 décembre, 1868. P. Besson, Un Missionnaire d'Autrefois: Monseigneur Paul Durieu (1962 privately printed biography based on family and Oblate sources in France), 92-105, gives details of Durieu's career omitted by Canadian Oblates like A.G. Morice. Durieu was sent to Fort Rupert in 1865. In 1866 he moved the mission site to Harbledown Island. In 1867 he was called to New Westminster to assist d'Herbomez and to direct St. Mary's Mission. Interestingly in each of his postings in the 1860s Durieu replaced Pandosy.
- 31 Missions 1870, 87-108, Le Jacq's 1868 report on Williams Lake. Whitehead, Cariboo Mission, 47-48. McGuckin did not replace LeJacq as superior at Williams lake until 1873. For McGuckin's 12 May 1868 letter to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works regarding the Soda Creek land see British Columbia, Papers connected with the Indian Land Question, 48.
- 32 Cariboo Sentinel August 23 and September 20, 1866, and December 2, 1871. Also see: Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia from the Oblate Historical Archives, St. Peter's Province, Holy Rosary Scholasticate, Ottawa (Public Archives of Canada Microfilm 1962, copies at Oblate Archives Vancouver and University of British Columbia Library), Microfilm Reel 708 (4), McGuckin to d'Herbomez, October 2, 1866, and January 7 and March 16, 1867. [Hereafter cited as Oblate Missions of B.C. Microfilm]
- 33 Oblate Missions of B.C. Microfilm Reel 708 (4), McGuckin to d'Herbomez, October 24, 1866 on his missionary tours. Oblate Archives Vancouver, Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations (Oregon & British Columbia) 1851-1892 & 1916 (Vicarial Minutes), 9 janvier 1871, entry on Oblate superiors' refusal of McGuckin's request to take up an offer to become the government paid teacher of a common school, i.e. public school at Richfield, B.C.
- 34 Elizabeth Smyth, "Christian Perfection and Service to Neighbours: The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Toronto, 1851-1920," in Changing Roles of Women in the Christian Church in Canada, ed. G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 51.
- 35 There were, in other areas, such as Quebec, male congregations devoted to teaching. See William Woestman, The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate: A Clerical Religious Congregation with Brothers (Ottawa: Faculty of Canon Law, St. Paul's University, 1995).
- 36 Missions 1865, 313.

- 37 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 71-72.
- 38 See note 18 above.
- 39 Jean Barman, "Lost Okanagan: In Search of the First Settler Families," Okanagan History 60 (1996): 8-20.
- 40 Marjorie Mitchell and Anna Franklin, "When You Don't Know the Language, Listen to the Silence: An Historical Overview of Native Indian Women in British Columbia," in A History of British Columbia: Selected Readings, ed. P. Roy (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 49-65.
- 41 Indian Affairs RG 10 Vol. 3658 File 9404, Victoria, B.C., Correspondence Regarding the Concubinage of Indian Women by White Men 1878-1884. [UBC Microfilm AW1 R6402: 18 MCR C#10115] I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1884.
- 42 Robert Carney, "Relations in Education between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, NWT, 1867-1961," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1971), 165-168, quoted in Rene Fumoleau OMI, As Long as This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11 1870-1939 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 143.
- 43 Missions 1865, 320. D'Herbomez report of August 25, 1863, expressed the hope that the Oblates' "pensionnat" would become "un collège et un séminaire."
- 44 Vincent J. Mc Nally, "Victoria: An American Diocese in Canada," CCHA Historical Studies 57 (1990), 7-28.
- 45 ASSAV RG IS 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG IS 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 112.
- 46 ASSAV RG IS 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG IS 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 3-5, regarding the verbal request of Demers October 19, 1857 and the Sisters' verbal acceptance.
- 47 Jacqueline Gresko, "Salomé Valois, Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII (1994), 1048-49.
- 48 ASSAL Letterbook No. 55 Louis [d'Herbomez] Ev. de Miletopolis, Vic. Ap., à Soeur Marie de la Providence, 10 juin 1865; and Louis-Joseph Ev. de Miletopolis à Rev. Mère Sup. Gén. des SSA, 22 juin 1865, regarding negotiations on the foundation of St. Ann's convent school, New Westminster.
- 49 ASSAV. The Nominations or appointments for the years before and after her visits show that there were no major shifts.
- 50 Misner, "Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies", 13.
- 51 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome III, 267-268. Villemard became an Anglican minister, married and served at Comox until his death in 1935. ASSAV RG IS 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG IS 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 136, says that in October 1867 a French Oblate created a scandal when he became a Protestant.

- 52 Fouquet had published a pamphlet on Catholic schools in 1865. Grandidier and McGuckin's work on lands and schools has been discussed above. See the Vicarial Minutes and Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers on Washington Territory Legislation.
- 53 Woestman, Missionary Oblates. . . Brothers, 207.
- 54 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1, Dix premières années. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin SSA, 225 ff. "Dates of Arrival of Sisters at Victoria, B.C.
- 55 Necrology SSA II, 178-79, Emily Henderson made vows as Sister Mary Florence in 1877. Necrology SSA II, 193-94, Mary Lyons made vows as Sister Mary Romuald in 1878.
- 56 ASSAV 14-3-17 Victoria Convent Historical Eye-View and Nominations, 74-75, "Expansion in the West." See Appendix Timeline: Schools and Institutions Founded by the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska. For the biography of Susan Suckley, see Anita M. Bonson, "A Tale of Two Susans: The Construction of Gender Identity on the British Columbia Frontier," Ph.D diss. Educational Studies, University of British Columbia, 1997.
- 57 Cantwell, North to Share, 15-17, explains Mother General Marie Anastasie gave in to Archbishop Seghers' repeated requests in 1885. Seghers had only one priest, Father John Althoff, to station in Alaska, so wanted a Sisters of Charity hospital to support his efforts to convert both Natives and newcomers. See Gerard G. Steckler, "Charles John Seghers," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XI (1982), 805-806. Seghers' nomination as bishop of Vancouver Island in 1873, coadjutor to the archbishop in Portland, Oregon, in 1878, and then bishop of Vancouver Island in 1885, meant he held the personal title of archbishop-bishop while superintending the latter diocese. Seghers was murdered while on tour in Alaska in 1886.
- 58 ASSAV 14-3-17 Victoria Convent Historical Eye-View and Nominations, 74-75, "Expansion in the West." See Appendix Timeline: Schools and Institutions Founded by the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska.
- 59 Cantwell, North to Share, 15-17, on development of Alaskan missions. See also Down, Century of Service, 98-102, notes that the mother general had agreed to send nuns to start a hospital in Juneau. These nuns, aware Alaskan families had already sent their daughters to board at the Victoria convent, soon decided to open an elementary school, ignoring Father John Althoff's advice that the local families "were mainly Presbyterian, Russian Orthodox and Jewish."
- 60 ASSAL Letterbook No. 184, P. Durieu à Rev. Mère, 1 décembre 1873; and No. 185, Sr. M. Eulalie à Rev. Père Durieu, 19 janvier, 1874.
- 61 ASSAV RG II S63, Williams Lake, B.C. St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historique de la Mission St. Joseph (1876 à 1883) [n.d. typescript], 1. Down, Century of Service, 76-79, on agreement to staff Williams Lake.
- 62 For Sisters' priorities see ASSAV 14-3-17 Victoria Convent Historical Eye-View and Nominations, 74-75, "Expansion in the West." Down, Century of Service, 107-109, explains the Vancouver school, an elementary school for the parish of Holy Rosary, grew to include a girls' high school and commercial classes. The latter parts of the enterprise were moved to Little Flower Academy when it opened in 1926.

- 63 ASSAV 14-3-17 Victoria Convent Historical Eye-View and Nominations, discusses the friendship of the two congregations dating from the 1850s. The Sisters of Providence opened St. Mary's Hospital New Westminster 1886 and provided staff for St. Eugene's Indian Industrial School at Cranbrook in the 1890s. The Oblate Vicarial minutes contain additional discussion.
- 64 Margaret McGovern, SP, "Perspective on the Oblates: The Experience of the Sisters of Providence," in Western Oblate Studies 3/Etudes Oblates de l'Ouest 3, ed. R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1994), 91-108.
- 65 ASSAV RG II S 63 Folder 1, Sister Marie Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph (1876 à 1883). See also ASSAV RG I S 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C. 1868-1892, 49 on 1875-1876. The St. Mary's Mission convent chronicler mentions d'Herbomez only as the bishop, and Durieu as "M. le directeur."
- 66 British Columbia, alone of all Canadian provinces, did not subsidize religious separate schools. In 1977 independent schools including religious schools gained access to some government funding. Jean Barman, "Transfer, Imposition or Consensus? The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth Century British Columbia," in Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, edited by Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1986), 241-264.
- 67 Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia 1876, 34, 27 April 1876 regarding a petition signed by Charles Seghers and others; see report in Victoria Colonist of 28 April 1876. The 1881 petition and related correspondence were printed in A.L.J. D'Herbomez, compiler, Secular Schools versus Denominational Schools (Printed with the Press of St. Mary's Mission, B.C. partly by the pupils of the Indian School, 1881).
- 68 Barman, West Beyond the West (1996), 383 Table 10. The 1881 figure for Roman Catholics in the British Columbia population was 28%, but by 1891 had dropped to 21% and 1901, 19%. The bishops, like modern historians, probably took overall trends rather than exact figures from census-based statistics.
- 69 ASSAL, Letterbook [British Columbia] No. 227. Louis OMI Vicair Apostolique à Ma Révérende Mère [Superior General, SSA], 9 juin 1877, regarding calls for "une école des Soeurs" at Kamloops as soon as possible. On British Columbia population statistics see Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), table 10, 367.
- 70 British Columbia, Superintendent of Education, Annual Report 1876-77, 20. For Eastern Canada see Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 105; and R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990), 77.
- 71 The Anglicans provided Angela College in Victoria. Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster: The Royal City (Vancouver: JM Dent & Sons and the City of New Westminster, 1958), 56-57, explains the Methodists helped sponsor a collegiate high school in 1881. This development led to the founding of a public high school in 1884. The Anglican Sisters of All Hallows began a school at Yale in 1885. Patrick Dunae, The School Record, 9, gives dates of public secondary schools.
- 72 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome II, 418-419.

- 73 Missions 1879, 411-17 and Missions 1887, 97-124 and 475-477, on D'Herbomez's trips to the congregation's general chapters. He used these meetings to publicize the need for missionaries and to recruit new priests and brothers.
- 74 Florimond Gendre, died in 1873. Oregon-veteran Brother Gaspard Janin died in 1880 and St. Mary's trades teacher, Brother Henry De Vries died in 1881.
- 75 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome II, 111-112. Grégoire returned to Catholicism just before his death in 1908.
- 76 See Appendix, Date of Profession or Ordination. The Brothers included M. Mansfield, J. McBride, M. Cunningham, P. Harkins, J. Flynn, W. Whelan, P. Collins, J. Mulvaney. Priests E.C. Chirouse and J.M. LeJeune came from France after ordination, and so did Olivier Cornellier from Quebec.
- 77 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome II, 102-103 and tome III, 71-72. George Blanchet had come to Oregon as a scholastic brother but refused ordination on the grounds that he had damaged one of his hands in an accident. Edmond Peytavin, a well-educated young man had wanted to be a catechist to Aboriginal peoples.
- 78 Missions 1879, 410-412; and Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, 136-50 on Chirouse.
- 79 See Appendix, Date of Profession or Ordination. The 1879 seminarians were in the final stages of preparation for the priesthood and were termed scholastics. These three men, who were later ordained in British Columbia, included D. Chiappini, N. Coccola and A-G. Morice.
- 80 Mulhall, Will to Power, 10. Morice tried to write a Stalo dictionary using Cree syllabics.
- 81 Missions 1879, 410-412.
- 82 Thomas Lascelles, "Father Leon Fouquet, Missionary Among the Kootenays," in Western Oblate Studies I/Etudes Oblates de l'Ouest I, ed R. Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1990).
- 83 Duane Thomson, "The Response of Okanagan Indians to European Settlement," BC Studies 101 (Spring 1994), 103-105, says Oblates established a residential school for Okanagan and Shuswap children in 1865. He does not say how long it ran. Thomson says missionary letters record that Aboriginal peoples shifted to an agricultural economy and permanent villages under missionary direction. Susan Allison, who ranched across the lake from Okanagan Mission, records instances of Aboriginal religious and social continuity and of the tensions between Aboriginal peoples and settlers in the 1870s. See M. Ormsby, ed., A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1976), 42 and notes on 175.
- 84 Oblates Missions of B.C. Microfilm Reel 708 (4), McGuckin to d'Herbomez, December 9, 1873.
- 85 Whitehead, Cariboo Mission, 75.
- 86 Mary Balf, Kamloops: A History of the District up to 1914, Second Edition (Kamloops: Kamloops Museum Association 1981), 61-62. See Also M. Whitehead, ed, They Call Me Father: Memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola [OMI] (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988) on Coccola's impressions of Kamloops mission.

- 87 Archives Deschâtelets Oregon 1, C-vii, 2 Durieu's System, [Also listed as HPK 5 241] "Lettres de Mgr. DURIEU au R.P. Le Jacq sur la direction des Sauvages (typescript of MSS), 23 novembre 1883, 23 et 25 février, 1884. Durieu wrote these letters on religious direction of Aboriginal peoples to an experienced missionary. Le Jacq, born in 1837 in France, was ordained an Oblate priest there in 1862. He then was sent to British Columbia. By 1883 he had served in the missions of Vancouver Island, Fraser Valley and Coast, Williams Lake, Stuart Lake and Kamloops. A residential school on Fraser Lake (Lejac) was named after him.
- 88 Mulhall, Will to Power, 14, citing Oblate Assistant General Martinet's visitation report.
- 89 Jacqueline Gresko, "James M. McGuckin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIII (1994), 641-642.
- 90 ASSAV RG IS 17 Box 5, Williams Lake Correspondence, S.M. de la Providence to Msgr., [Durieu], 11 juin, 1891.
- 91 Necrology SSA.
- 92 Sister M. du St. Rosaire, see Chapter Six this dissertation.
- 93 Necrology SSA on Sister Mary Theodore, and Mulhall, Will to Power on Morice. Sister Mary Theodore preferred her literary pursuits to other assignments. She showed little enthusiasm for doing her share of the humble housework tasks assigned to all nuns no matter their station. Father Morice served on his own and in his own way despite the attempts of the bishops to give him an Oblate assistant, e.g. G. Blanchet.
- 94 ASSAV RG IS 3-1-9, Recommendations de notre très Revde Mère Générale M. M. Anastasie Sup. génl. [1886], [Signed , Victoria avril, 1886].
- 95 Archives Deschâtelets Oregon 1, C-vii, 2 Durieu's System, [Also listed as HPK 5 241] "Lettres de Mgr. DURIEU au R.P. Le Jacq sur la direction des Sauvages (typescript of MSS), 23 novembre 1883, 23 et 25 février, 1884.
- 96 Missions 1888, 72 ff. Le Jacq's account of 1887 events at St. Mary's Mission is based on Codex historicus, St. Peter's House, New Westminster, from February 1887 to December 31st, 1889. [Father Forbes OMI noted at the end of the book that the recorder of the latter was E.C. Chirouse the younger]. E.C. Chirouse, recorder for the Codex historicus notes that not all the Tlayamines (Sliammon) came to Burrard Inlet for instruction beginning May 28, 1887. He also mentions the loss of Catholic practice over the winter as the village had not been visited by a priest.
- 97 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome II, 219-222 on Lacombe. He had been given a CPR pass for negotiating a railway route with the Blackfoot nation. Lacombe's experience included his roles as founding principal of the Dunbow Industrial School in Alberta, and negotiator for the Qu'Appelle or Lebret Industrial School.
- 98 Copies of the Sisters' picture and the Oblates' booklet illustration could be appended.
- 99 Appendix: Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families. Note that Victorians Elizabeth and Anna Grimm chose to enter the noviciate as coadjutrix. They went through a common noviciate and became choir Sisters early in their careers. Necrology SSA on Elizabeth and Anna Grimm,

Sisters Mary Amelia and Wilhelmina. As education levels increased for all entrants, the congregation ended the separate coadjutrix membership in 1926.

¹⁰⁰ Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 355-356.

¹⁰¹ Down, Century of Service, 113-115. Annual Reports of the British Columbia Public Schools support her account.

¹⁰² Down, Century of Service, 124-126.

¹⁰³ Down, Century of Service, 125, explains the arrangements concluded by Bishop Alexander Christie of Victoria in 1898 and the Council of the Sisters of Saint Ann for St. Aloysius Protectorate [boys' orphanage] included this provision: "That lay help be engaged to render services not judged suitable for religious." When this institution opened Mrs. Le Blanc was put in charge of the pre school boys.

¹⁰⁴ Down, Century of Service, 107-109, on the Vancouver school. Down refers to it as Sacred Heart Academy. The columns of The Month, the diocesan newspaper of the 1890s, indicate that this was an elementary school for Holy Rosary parish in what is now downtown Vancouver. Down explains the Vancouver school was renamed St. Mary's Academy in 1900 and, in 1904 when a boarding school division was added, St. Ann's Academy. Little Flower Academy which opened in 1926 replaced this school. Not until 1903 would the Sisters of Saint Ann open another parish elementary and then it would be in Whitehorse in the Yukon Territory. [1909 Ladysmith, 1913 Kitsilano].

¹⁰⁵ See Cantwell, North to Share. The northern missions included schools and/or hospitals at Holy Cross Alaska in 1888, Douglas Island near Juneau in 1894, Akulurak in Alaska from 1894 to 1898, Dawson in the Yukon in 1898, Nulato, Alaska, in 1899.

¹⁰⁶ The Oblates did not work at Kuper Island until the mid-twentieth century. Diocesan priests, then the Montfort Fathers, served at Kuper Island.

¹⁰⁷ See Sister Mary Joseph Calasanctius SSA (De Ruyter) The Voice of Alaska (Lachine: St. Ann's Press, 1947), a book on Alaskan experiences by a Belgian entrant to the sisterhood. Cantwell, North to Share, 55, and 267 note 16 on this Sister's career in Alaska, beginning in 1888 at Holy Cross Mission. From Quebec Elmina Lanouette came west to become Sister Mary Odila SSA, and Antoinette Sanders became Sister Mary Zepherin. Irish women include Sisters Mary Inez O'Neill and Mary Malachy.

¹⁰⁸ Down, Century of Service, 124-126, on Sisters teaching boys and running an orphanage for boys in Victoria in the 1890s. The latter institution moved to Cowichan in 1903.

¹⁰⁹ Sister Mary Theodore SSA, Heralds of Christ the King: Missionary Record of the North Pacific 1837-1878 (New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1939), 256.

¹¹⁰ ASSAV RG IS 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C. 1868-1892, for Sister Mary Lumena's views. See St. Peter's New Westminster Codex historicus and Oblate Vicarial minutes.

¹¹¹ See Down, Century of Service, 118-119. See note 114.

¹¹² The narrative here has been pieced together from government and missionary sources. RG 10 Indian Affairs Vol 3799, file 48, 432-1 [Microfilm AW 1 R6402: 42 MCR C 10139] contains Department of Indian

Affairs and Oblate correspondence: J. Le Jacq to J. Mara, M.P., March 11, 1889; extract of Deputy Superintendent General L. Vankoughnet to Superintendent General E. Dewdney November 22, 1889; telegram from J. Mara M.P. to E. Dewdney May 21, 1890; Inspector J.A. Macrae to Deputy Minister Indian Affairs June 2, 1890; A. Lacombe to E. Dewdney 20 June 1890; Inspector J.A. Macrae to E. Dewdney July 24, 1890; E. Dewdney Memo for the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs December 17, 1890; A.W. Vowell to L. Vankoughnet December 29, 1891; and A.W. Vowell to L. Vankoughnet January 14, 1892 enclosing letter from Kamloops Indian Agent J. MacKay. Ken Favrholt, "Michael Hagan," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 398-399, explains Hagan was chosen as superintendent of the Kamloops Indian school on the recommendation of the local M.P., J. Mara. "However, controversy over the appointment of a layman resulted in the withdrawal" of the nuns in 1891. Hagan resigned in 1892, after the government decided to turn the administration of the school over to the Oblates. The view of the Sisters of Saint Ann appears in Sister Marie Anne Eva SSA, A History of the Sisters of Saint Anne Volume One 1850-1900 (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), 296-297. According to Sister Marie Anne Eva the failure of lay teachers led to the appointment of the nuns. The lay principal Hagan refused them both an on site chapel and sufficient food. The nuns' superiors withdrew them from the school while the bishop and the government bureaucrats took their time in dealing with the nuns' complaints. Eventually, in 1893, after the appointment of a priest as school principal, the nuns returned to staff Kamloops Indian Industrial School. This account is based on Sister Marie Joachim's report on the Industrial School, July 12, 1890, and Mother Marie de l'Ange Gardien, Report of the Official Visit, Kamloops, April 28, 1893.

¹¹³ Sister Marie Anne Eva SSA, A History of the Sisters of Saint Anne Volume One 1850-1900, 297. See also ASSAV RG 15 St. Ann's Williams Lake and Kamloops Correspondence, typescripts of original letters. Paul Durieu to Rev. Mother, 8 April 1890 and 15 April, 1890. S.M. Anne of Jesus to His Grace, 10 April 1890 agreeing to take the industrial school at Kamloops. S.M. Anne of Jesus to his Grace [Durieu], 18 September 1890, stating that the superiors consider the "position of sisters" at Kamloops "very painful." If the situation did not improve the Sisters would not be able to stay. They accepted the school on the condition that they could live "as religious" and that they would have "the entire administration" of the girls' school. Oblate Bishop Durieu passed on the Sisters' complaints. For the correspondence regarding them see RG 10 Indian Affairs Vol. 3799, file 48, 432-1. J.M. Lefacq OMI, by order of Bishop Durieu to J.A. Macrae, Dominion Inspector Industrial Schools NWT, August 2, 1890; J. A. Macrae to Superintendent General Indian Affairs August 8, 1890; Paul Durieu to E. Dewdney, 25 September 1890. In the latter Durieu called attention to "the unsatisfactory management of the Industrial School for Indians at Kamloops. The Sisters of Charity who were appointed ... find it impossible to remain much longer" under a lay principal as he has "no idea of the rule of life which the Sisters must observe. Therefore, where the Sisters are employed the [principal] should be a Catholic clergyman."

¹¹⁴ RG 10 Indian Affairs Vol. 3799, file 48, 432-1, [Private Letter] Albert Lacombe to Edgar Dewdney, 20 June 1890, indicates Lacombe visited the Kamloops Indian Industrial School at Hagan's request. Lacombe had been an industrial school principal in the N.W.T. and a negotiator between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Note that a Toronto Empire 14 October 1890 article on "Our Indian Wards" in this file quotes a Toronto visitor to the Kamloops school in support of Albert Lacombe and the nuns on the poor building design. Finally an extract of L. Vankoughnet's 21 November 1889 letter to E. Dewdney in this file on early arrangements for the school questioned Hagan's "antecedents as, or if he ever was a teacher."

¹¹⁵ There is no overall history of religious women in British Columbia. The Sisters of Providence began St. Paul's hospital in Vancouver in 1894 and taught at St. Eugene's Industrial School at Cranbrook. Their nearest convent academies were in Washington State, e.g. [Fort] Vancouver.

- 116 See his columns on schools in the diocesan newspaper, The Month, 1893-1896. The St. Ann's Academy, New Westminster Yearbook of 1933 says that he donated a typewriter to the school in the 1890s to assist with startup of commercial classes.
- 117 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome III, 26-27. His sister became Sister Mary Inez SSA.
- 118 ASSAL B51/74, 7, 79, handwritten letter, N. McNeil, Archbishop Vancouver, to Dear Mother General, September 2, 1910.
- 119 Down, Century of Service, 147-148.
- 120 See Chapter Four note 55 on biographic tables.
- 121 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome II, 23-24; Tome III, 52-53 and 274-275. Oblates like Father Jean-Marie Fayard moved on to other Oblate provinces. Fathers Rémi Pecoul and Jean Wagner left the congregation for the diocese of Boise, Idaho, which had a francophone bishop.
- 122 See Appendix table Entrants to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate from British Columbia families.
- 123 See F[ranois] L[ardon], "Religious Vocations in the West. Native Priesthood Needed," Monthly Bulletin 1:10 (October 1917), 38-43, on the opening of Edmonton junior seminary, and Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 238-242 on the Oblates Ottawa seminary preparing priests for anglophone parishes of Western Canada after 1909.
- 124 See Appendix table Entrants to the Oblates from British Columbia Families.
- 125 Jacqueline Gresko, "Paul Durieu," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII (1990), 281-285.
- 126 RG 10 Indian Affairs Vol. 1318, Indian Affairs British Columbia Superintendency, Inspector of Indian Agencies Letterbook 1916-1917, contains the following documents: No. 454, W.E. Ditchburn, Chief Inspector Indian Agencies to R.H. Cairns, Inspector of Indian Schools, June 6, 1917 regarding fires at Alberni and Sechelt Indian boarding schools; No. 483, "Result of a converece with Sister Theresine [Sisters of the Child Jesus]," prinicipal of Sechelt Boarding School as to rebuilding of the school after the fire; W.E. Ditchburn to R.H. Cairns, June 11, 1917 regarding reconstruction of that school including the fact that \$6000. of insurance covered the property of the Sisters in the chapel. There was no mention of Oblates in any of these documents.
- 127 Father George Forbes, The History of St. Peter's Parish (Oblate Fathers) New Westminster B.C. 1860-1960 (1960), 23-24, St. Charles Church was demolished by 1910.
- 128 Paul Monahan OMI, Roses in December. An Oblate's Melody of Memories (Vancouver: Oblates of Mary Immaculate, St. Paul's Province, 1990).
- 129 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome III, 22-23 on O'Boyle's career. This parish, Our Lady of Lourdes, was the first specifically francophone parish the Oblates had founded in British Columbia since their efforts in Victoria 1858-1863.
- 130 Jacqueline Gresko, "Paul Durieu," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XII (1990), 281-285.
- 131 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 178-179.

- 132 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 179, 233.
- 133 Levasseur, Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée (1995), 238.
- 134 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome II, 404-405.
- 135 A-G. Morice, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904; London: The Bodley Head, 1906), for Morice's conclusion describing himself and his work.
- 136 Mulhall, Will to Power, 156, 170, see also Oblate Archives Vancouver, Prince George correspondence file on Durieu.
- 137 Mulhall, Will to Power, 172-74.
- 138 Compare Whitehead, They Call Me Father, 134-139, Nicolas Coccola's memoirs of going into Morice's former mission territory in 1905 and what Mulhall, Will to Power, 156-70 has to say regarding the events of Morice's removal and the experiences of his replacement. Nicolas Coccola, Morice's long-term replacement, had finished his theology at St. Mary's Mission in Durieu's territory but he had been mentored in his Kootenay labours by Albert Lacombe. Lacombe was known for his negotiations with the Aboriginals, the settlers, the railways, the Ottawa bureaucrats who granted funds to industrial schools, and the Sisters who agreed to teach in them.
- 139 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique, tome I, 211-212. Stuart Lake Indian Boarding School at Fort St. James was founded by Nicolas Coccola in 1916. It was replaced by Lejac Indian Residential School at Fraser Lake in 1922. See also Whitehead, ed., They Call Me Father, editor's "Introduction," 59-61.
- 140 Barbara Misner, "Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies." Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790-1850 (New York: Garland, 1988), 153-54.
- 141 Misner, 252.
- 142 Misner, 254. What Michael Katz, historian of public education has referred to as the bureaucratization of schools was taking place in religious institutions as well. See Michael Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).
- 143 Misner, 202.
- 144 Down, Century of Service, 133-34. By 1894 there was an English prefect as well as a French, and a British Columbia prefect. They kept statistics as did their provincial counterparts.
- 145 ASSAV RG I S4-1, Sisters of Saint Ann Circular Letters of Mother General, January 25, 1914 to September 8, 1919. Mother M. Melanie Superior General.
- 146 Elizabeth Smyth, "Educating Girls and Young Women in a Nineteenth-Century Convent School: The St. Joseph Academy Experience," in Dimensions of Childhood, ed. Russell Smandych, et al (Winnipeg, 1991), 97, note 30: "In 1901 the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Falconio sent a survey to all institutions of higher education in Canada." Smyth cites it as Documenti vari - Statistiche sugli istituti di educazione superiore nelle provincie di Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto e St. Boniface," Archivo Segreto Vaticano 179.4.

Smyth provided me with a copy of survey pages on western Canada, included in the ecclesiastical province of St. Boniface.

147 Until 1908 New Westminster was the diocesan centre for the mainland of British Columbia. The Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver has a copy of the Official Yearbook 1905 Diocese of New Westminster [no pages, no publisher]. St. Ann's Convent, New Westminster, is described as having Sister Margaret as superior, 7 nuns and a Miss Sweeney B.A. on staff. There were 90 pupils. In Vancouver Sister Mary Lucy superintended "St. Ann's Academy, a higher grade of school for girls, conducted by the Sisters of Saint Ann,"

148 I compiled a St. Louis College staffing table from biographical information as there is no history of the school. The Oblate Archives Vancouver does have a 1917 St. Louis college calendar.

149 Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 226-228. Significantly it would be Augustin Dontenwill, the last Oblate bishop-superior of British Columbia Oblates, who, as superior general of the congregation, would promote the cause of sainthood of the founder, Eugene de Mazenod, and divide the congregation into provinces on linguistic lines.

150 Missions 1893, 385-409; 1898, 245-257; 1905[1904 report], 269-288; 1909 [1908 report], 1-12.

151 Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction: Taking Gender into Account in British Columbia," in British Columbia Reconsidered, ed. G. Creese and V. Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang, 1992), 5. A similar argument is made by Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage in their "Editors' Introduction," in Writing the Range: Race, Class and Culture in the Women's West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 3-16.

CHAPTER SIX: THE FOUNDING GENERATIONS IN ACTION AS TEACHERS

This chapter expands on the gendered organizational history of Roman Catholic missionaries in British Columbia by exploring the work of the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates as teachers in the year 1881.¹ Comparison of the two orders' work experience focusses on the nuns and on the Oblate brothers, as these two groups did most of the teaching. The sites for study - New Westminster, St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser and St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake - include parallel Sisters' schools and Oblates' schools and a range of teaching situations: college, convent academy, mission and country boarding school. The year 1881 provides a vantage point midway through the late nineteenth-century experience of the two congregations in British Columbia.

OBLATE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF SAINT ANN AS TEACHERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

As we have seen, the French Oblates "had no philosophy of secular education." They regarded elementary schools as catechism classes and secondary schools as preparation for priestly studies.² In the years prior to 1881, Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez as Oblate vicar in British Columbia, like his contemporary Vital Grandin in Alberta, began to establish schools for Aboriginal, Métis and settler children. In theory these Oblate superiors might assign priests, 'scholastic brothers,' or lay brothers to teaching duties. In actuality the demands of the missions meant that most priests were sent into the field when they arrived and most scholastics were ordained as soon as possible. D'Herbomez, like Grandin, specifically recruited brothers, including anglophone Irishmen, to run schools. In the Pacific province Fathers Edward Horris and James

McGuckin encouraged several mature Catholic men to become brothers and staff classrooms or supervise farm labours. The efforts of Oblate brothers who had instructional experience meant that in British Columbia, as in the Western Interior, education became “an extension and enhancement” of missionary work.³

By contrast, the Sisters of Saint Ann, who had lay assistants but no formal coadjutrix Sisters until 1894, staffed their classes mainly with professed nuns.⁴ These trained teachers received ongoing support via visits of a provincial directress, Sister Mary Providence, who herself was an experienced instructor.⁵

The Sisters of Saint Anne of Quebec, like the Oblates, began as a religious congregation in a francophone diocese of the Roman Catholic church. But as women they were denied the sacerdotal ministry, and instead they emphasized school teaching. The nuns sent to the British Columbia missions were prepared as teachers by Mother Marie-Anne [Blondin] and her associates. As several had studied at her academy or convent boarding schools, the nuns had had a more uniform educational experience than had the Oblates.⁶

Noviciate teacher preparation reflected Mother Marie-Anne’s wish to prepare teachers for rural parish schools for boys and girls. Teacher trainees gained experience as monitorial assistants to teachers. Colonial legislation in Lower Canada left curriculum, secondary education and teacher training to religious congregations or private enterprise. At Vaudreuil, Mother Marie-Anne added English language instruction to the original curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic, religion and music. At St. Jacques, the Reverend Maréchal instructed the nuns in further subjects, e.g., mathematics and geography, and limited their teaching to girls only. His

initiatives followed the model of the French Religious of the Sacred Heart as well as the directives of Bishop Ignace Bourget.⁷

In the 1860s the Sisters of Saint Anne taught Lower Canadian girls in rural parish schools, boarding schools and their new convent academy at Lachine. These fit into the developing provincial pattern of schooling in Quebec. Girls' schools were conducted by religious or private associations of women, segregated from boys, and divided by class. For boys there were private religious schools and state funded schools. Children in rural areas attended government-assisted co-educational elementary schools, but these were neither free nor compulsory.⁸

One of the clerics responsible for shaping the schools of Quebec in the nineteenth century, Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal, was, until 1876, also the official ecclesiastical superior to the Sisters of Saint Anne. However, neither Bourget nor his appointed clerics directed the evolution of the sisterhood in the West.⁹

The superiors of the Sisters of Saint Anne in Quebec superintended the directresses of the congregation in British Columbia. They guided western nuns via rules of pedagogy and superiors' visits, which required that the teachers continually study and improve their instructional abilities.¹⁰ As a self-supporting organization of women teachers, the Sisters had to have a secular as well as a religious philosophy of education.¹¹

By the early 1880s religion and gender shaped the way the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates ran schools in British Columbia. The Sisters of Saint Ann ran fee-paying convents, parish charity schools, and mission schools for girls and cared for some young boys in the latter institutions. The Oblates ran their one college for young men and mission schools for Aboriginal children, particularly boys.

As regards schooling for Aboriginal children in British Columbia in 1881, the federal government did provide some grants to mission schools where Aboriginal children attended, for example those run by the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates at St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser River. The Department of Indian Affairs, however, was just setting up Indian agencies in the Pacific province at that time.¹² Its Ottawa bureaucrats had not yet begun Indian industrial schools with intensive vocational training. They did not yet require missionaries to have aggressive 'civilization' curricula in their boarding schools or to limit registrants to 'full status' Indians only.¹³ When federal bureaucrats negotiated with church leaders regarding the management of Indian schools, they presumed religious women, nuns in the Catholic case, would staff girls' classes and provide domestic service. Oblate mission superiors as male priests constituted the official Catholic church, and as males they had status as persons in civil society. The Sisters of Saint Ann as women held neither leadership positions in the overall church hierarchy, nor citizenship status in civil society. So it was the Oblates who sought government grants for their own boys' institutions and the nuns' schools for girls.¹⁴

Further context for the development of Roman Catholic schools for settler and Aboriginal children lay in the foundation of provincial public schools. By the 1880s the largely anglo-Protestant society reached a consensus. British Columbians rejected fee-paying, denominational schools in favour of free, non-denominational schools as mandated in the School Act of 1872. The Sisters' schools and the Oblate college would have to compete with growing state or public schools and surviving fee-paying private schools.¹⁵

NEW WESTMINSTER

By 1881 New Westminster, the second largest city in the province, was served by several schools, including government funded elementary schools for boys and girls.¹⁶ Parents paid fees for their children to attend private schools in the city such as St. Ann's Academy, St. Louis College, and the Anglican school, Columbia College.¹⁷ These private schools' boarding accommodation also served families in rural areas where schools were just being developed.¹⁸ Since the only public high school in the province in 1881 was in Victoria, parents in New Westminster had to pay for their children's secondary education at the Methodist Collegiate, St. Ann's convent, or St. Louis College.¹⁹

The Oblates' St. Louis College, founded in 1865, educated boys on the model of European Catholic colleges. Its curriculum ranged from elementary through post secondary studies. Classes were conducted in English as Irish Oblates were available to teach and as parents wanted English-language instruction. Scholastic brothers, men preparing for the priesthood, might assume responsibility for some upper level classes. In 1881, the Oblates were proud of the new premises of St. Louis College and the forty students it boarded. With both boarders and day-scholars, half the student population of seventy was non-Catholic. Many sons of prominent families attended the institution. A few senior students from wealthy families continued their studies at the Oblate-run University of Ottawa.²⁰

St. Louis College's success spoke well for the efforts of Edward Horris OMI, as principal, and Brothers Edward MacStay and Patrick Allen as teachers. Brother Allen had taught in both the Victoria and New Westminster colleges. Brother MacStay had attended both Christian Brothers schools and the Irish National schools prior to joining

the Oblates. He had taught in both local Oblate colleges and Indian residential schools, having been director of an Indian residential school at Tulalip, Washington Territory. Brother Patrick Hough also served the Oblate house and college at New Westminster. But he left the congregation in 1889 apparently because he did not get along well with other New Westminster Oblates such as the francophone bishops, d'Herbomez and Paul Durieu, and the two francophone priests, E. Casimir Chirouse and François Jayol.²¹

In the Oblates' published reports for 1881 St. Louis College compared favourably with the local Catholic girls' school with respect to its physical plant, staff and reputation.²² Nevertheless, internal records indicate that there were not enough brothers trained as teachers and never enough recruits from overseas, particularly English-speaking brothers. Entries in the vicarial council minutes and the Codex for Saint Peter's parish show Oblate superiors continually forced to scramble to staff the college.²³ Only a few Irish brothers like Edward McStay and Patrick Allen had teacher training or previous classroom experience. Most French Oblates arriving from overseas were priests or students preparing for the priesthood, and they wanted to go to Aboriginal missions. The Irishmen who came from overseas or who entered locally as novice brothers came under tutelage of Irish pastor Edward Horris in New Westminster. Some Irish brothers sought posts with Irish superior James McGuckin at Williams Lake.²⁴

The workload of Irish Oblate brothers and priests at St. Peter's, New Westminster bears remark. Several men entered the Oblate noviciate as brothers at New Westminster but left before making permanent vows.²⁵ Former brother Patrick Hough's memoir indicates that his difficulties with francophone administrators

included the workload they set subordinates. Father Edward Horris served the same francophone superiors without complaints regarding assignments as pastor, Oblate provincial bursar, college principal and penitentiary chaplain. However, his health declined and he retired to Ireland.²⁶

The larger society developed a slightly different image of Oblate brothers than it did of the Sisters of St. Ann. Frances Herring, an early local author, recalled St. Louis College as “small structures of wood, but the school, as conducted by the Brothers ... and superintended by Father Horris, ... was quite a boon to the community.” Turning to the beautiful two-storey convent directed by the Sisters of St. Ann, Herring stated that it was “busily occupied with the daughters of the settlers. As many boarders as they could take, both white and mixed, came from the upper country and day scholars [too] No sad recluses were these Sisters all seemed bright, busy and cheerful.”²⁷

Herring found it easy to compare the two institutions as they were located within two blocks of one another on Agnes Street. The college front entrance on Blackwood Street overlooked the city’s commercial core. The convent front door faced residential Agnes Street, but the parlour entrance and the clocktower looked out on the nuns’ own gardens, the park-like Albert Crescent and a romantic vista of the Fraser River and coastal mountains.

By 1881 the Sisters of Saint Ann had replaced their wooden buildings, in use since 1865, with the fine new stone structure which impressed Herring. There, five trained religious taught elementary and secondary classes to fifty students and music to many more. Over half of the boarding and day scholars were non-Catholic. The local press waxed eloquent over annual concerts and prize days. On November 14, 1882, for example, the *Victoria Colonist* described the convent in the Royal city with 30 boarders

and almost as many day students, and with two pianos and 19 music students. "The good sisters [wished] to see the institution filled with young ladies destined to be the guardians of pure civilization." 28

The success of the Sisters of Saint Ann in attracting fee-paying students to schools like the New Westminster convent was due in part to the actions of their first two western directresses. Francophone Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart (Valois) had recognized in 1858-59 that the region would have an anglophone future and had requested an appropriate replacement for herself.²⁹ Irish-born Sister Mary Providence (McTucker) arrived in 1859 to begin a twenty-two year administration. Given wide latitude in local matters by her superior general back in Quebec, Sister Mary Providence established fee-paying academies in Victoria and New Westminster in order to fund schools for Native and orphan children. Sister Mary Providence organized the English curriculum on the model of Ontario Catholic schools. That curriculum and the music lessons, in addition to the moral atmosphere and on-going nature of the Sisters' schools, made them attractive to settler families.³⁰

In 1880-81, Sister Mary Providence assigned five teachers to the New Westminster academy: Sister Mary Praxedes (as superior), Mary Beatrice (as assistant), Marie Dominique, Bruno and Marie Jean de Dieu. Of these, Sisters Mary Praxedes, Marie Dominique and Bruno were French-Canadian, whereas Sisters Mary Beatrice and Marie Jean de Dieu were Irish. During their terms at New Westminster Sister Mary Praxedes, a music specialist, and Sister Mary Beatrice, an experienced English-language teacher, earned the esteem and confidence of Bishop d'Herbomez and the public. The other Sisters also gained repute as devoted teachers.³¹ Those teachers who spoke only

French gave the impression that they “were anxious to learn English as soon as possible.”³²

Frances Herring, a local author who herself had taught school in Langley district in the 1870s, praised the quality of the nuns’ work. Herring noted that the majority of their pupils were Protestants. These girls were exempted from religious education but not from Sister Mary Praxedes’ moral direction. The young women’s parents appreciated that during her term as superior “only one runaway match occurred,” that is, only one boarding pupil eloped with a suitor.³³ The possibility of this type of event worried parents who sent their daughters away to boarding school.

The New Westminster Sisters of Saint Ann’s daily schedule and annual routines closely followed the rule of the congregation, including set periods of prayer and of educational or domestic work. Where the Sisters’ daily timetable differed from that of the Oblate teaching brothers was in the rule of silence.³⁴ As semi-cloistered religious women, the nuns observed silence outside specified duties or recreation periods. This requirement could and did disrupt the active work of the Sisters and their relationships with pupils and with one another. Brothers could converse freely at any time, but did not have the Sisters’ regular, structured opportunities for community retreats, vacation and study at the local administration centre, Victoria. The brothers could not get away from the Oblate priests, and did not have their own organization or even a support group.

Sister Mary Praxedes’ direction of St. Ann’s convent, New Westminster, was significant to harmonious relations among the teaching nuns. Her subordinates knew Sister Mary Praxedes had a human side. She had adopted an orphaned infant, Cornelia Brantford. In 1881 Cornelia was a boarding pupil at St. Ann’s, New Westminster. Sister

Mary Praxedes knew just how to encourage her feminine community, as this memorial to her attests "For her Superiors, she always had the respect of a child for its mother: 'Let us go to her with confidence,' she would say: 'It is God who speaks to us by her.'"³⁵ This maxim illustrates the significance of the Sisters of Saint Ann as a separate female organization and culture within the patriarchal, hierarchial Roman Catholic church.

ST. MARY'S MISSION

In 1881 the Oblates' school at St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser River, begun in 1863, and the Sisters' school, begun there in 1868, constituted quite different teaching situations than the New Westminster institutions, and, in the case of the Oblate staff, included one unique teaching 'brother.' Adrien-Gabriel Morice, a French scholastic brother (Oblate novice), was posted to St. Mary's Mission to finish his priestly studies and to teach in the boys' school. Refusing to submit to the authority of his superior, Alphonse Carion,³⁶ he tried to win the favour of Bishop d'Herbomez by writing an account of his teaching assignment for the Oblate missionary magazine.³⁷

Morice reported enthusiastically on how he revived the St. Mary's Mission School boys' brass band. Then he and young Father Jean-Marie LeJeune took the band on a fundraising trip to CPR construction camps. Morice was less enthusiastic about his daily teaching duties, involving classes for boys in catechism, music and English. Father Carion superintended the mission station and the boys' school and also, in theory, the school for girls operated by the Sisters of Saint Ann. Carion and the other priests taught some catechism classes, as did Morice. Henry DeVries, a steamboat captain, had joined the Oblates in B.C. and now, as a lay brother, dedicated himself to providing vocational training for boys. According to Morice, Brother Henry taught

reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history. Morice does not record the teaching assignment of Brothers Patrick Ryan and Célestin Verney. Nor does he comment on another young priest, Eugène C. Chirouse, nephew of the novice master at New Westminster.³⁸

Morice contended that St. Mary's school and its pupil numbers, 50 for the total school, were not what they had been. In the early 1860s, 50 Indian boys attended. Now in 1881 Morice described the pupils as "métis" not the 'real Indians' he had long dreamed of evangelizing. The 1881 manuscript Census of Canada record on St. Mary's Mission School supports Morice by listing 21 boys' names and 22 girls' names and indicating non-European ancestry for only three of the boys and four of the girls. Two of the boys and two of the girls were halfbreed children of the Peter Baker family of Maple Ridge. Peter Baker, aka Ferdinand Boulanger had jumped ship on the east coast, gone to the California and then B.C. gold rushes and married a "Kwantlen woman."³⁹ Given such students to teach, it is not surprising that in the following year, 1882, Morice agreed to be transferred to a more northern mission, St. Joseph's at Williams Lake. As his later publications would show, Morice was a romantic who wanted to evangelize Aboriginal people untouched by white civilization, and this transfer north moved him closer to his ideal posting.⁴⁰

Morice's correspondence on St. Mary's boys' school and the memoir of one of his contemporaries, Nicolas Coccola, show that this institution, like St. Louis College in New Westminster, lacked both brothers trained as teachers and recruits from overseas or local volunteers. Even when they had some brothers to appoint as teachers or some scholastics to delegate to classroom duties, Oblate superiors had to hire local men as farm instructors or labourers.⁴¹ The public and government officials saw St. Mary's

Mission school as an Oblate institution administered by priests and, consequently, they were not cognizant of the work performed by the brothers.⁴²

As might be expected, Morice had reported little on the nuns' school at St. Mary's Mission other than to note its existence. The chronicles of the Sisters of St. Ann for the 1880s provide more information on the school for girls. There were three Sisters employed as teachers and childcare workers, a few hired assistants and three dozen students. The Oblate bishop's reports and Indian department records lauded the nuns' efforts for elementary and domestic education of young girls of Native descent, without specifying pupils' ancestry.⁴³

On the other hand, the sisters' private records, such as Sister Mary Lumena's diary, reveal the extent to which they were dynamic contributors to St. Mary's Mission school. The women religious worked for a minimal government grant, \$12 per pupil per year in 1881, thus indirectly subsidizing the operation of the school. No financial ledgers survive to indicate the total cost of running the school. Oblate correspondence indicates the nuns were allocated \$400 per year when funds were available.⁴⁴ Sister Mary Lumena's diary indicates that the Sisters' garden vegetables and fruits supplied basic food for the nuns and their pupils. The Sisters made their own furniture of logs and made quilts for student dormitories. The nuns' direct financial contributions from New Westminster aided the showcase Oblate mission at St. Mary's. It was the Sisters of Saint Ann and not the Oblates who organized the curriculum of their school for girls. The nuns insisted on religious services parallel to those at their institution in New Westminster. They managed their own enrollment, accepting Aboriginal children who the Oblates brought in from missionary tours, and 'orphans' presented by Aboriginal and mixed-race families. The Sisters cared for the latter children for periods of time as

their parents requested, much as they might have accommodated 'orphans' in French-Canadian cities.⁴⁵ There the term 'orphan' included any child placed for temporary or long term care in an orphanage.

It is Sister Mary Lumena who deserves credit for recording the activities of the Sisters of St. Ann at the school at St. Mary's Mission. This daughter of rural Quebec had helped found the girls' school in 1868 and spent much of her career there. Her diary entries indicate that at St. Mary's the nuns' daily and annual schedules varied somewhat from New Westminster. For example, Sister Mary Lumena, as superior, incorporated garden and farm work in her own and pupil routines. When only two nuns were available as staff for class, dormitory and kitchen, keeping silence was difficult. There was a mission church organ but no convent piano, so musical education and performances played a smaller part at St. Mary's convent school than at the city convent. Parents and parishioners could not walk over and visit the mission school, but they did come by boat to Sunday mass and to annual mission celebrations for the Aboriginal peoples.⁴⁶

Few biographical details exist on one of Sister Mary Lumena's 1881 assistants, Sister Marie du-Saint-Rosaire, although she is recorded as doing her share of the mission school labours.⁴⁷ The other, Sister Mary Conception, had contributed to founding both St. Ann's in New Westminster and St. Mary's Mission schools. Sister Mary Lumena noted Sister Mary Conception's teaching and domestic efforts at the mission convent. She herself was a member of the nuns' vicarial council and periodically had to go to Victoria for meetings, leaving Sister Mary Conception in charge. Oblate priests and brothers remembered this tall, hard-working Irishwoman with affection.⁴⁸ She helped orient new Oblate priests and brothers to mission

classrooms and farm work. One of Sister Mary Conception's favourite sayings was: "Among us there are neither French nor Irish but only Sisters of Saint Ann."⁴⁹ This saying reflects not only her cheerful work alongside French-Canadian Sister Mary Lumena, but also her diplomatic notation of the more serious ethnic division between French and Irish Oblates.

ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION, WILLIAMS LAKE

The schools at St. Joseph's at Williams Lake, twelve miles southwest of the town of that name, present a different picture from those of New Westminster or St. Mary's on the Fraser.⁵⁰ The mission at Williams Lake, often called the Cariboo Mission, had been founded in the late 1860s on the premise that a Native residential school would be built there.⁵¹ By the 1870s, however, James McGuckin, who had become its superior, shared the vision of the Cariboo miners and ranchers of developing a settlement frontier. McGuckin accorded priority to building Catholic schools that could compete with newly-established public schools, rather than founding Indian mission schools. In addition, McGuckin knew that the farm at St. Joseph's Mission could not support a free school for Indian children, and that donations and fees could only be collected for a school that catered to the children of settlers. In 1869 he informed the Oblate bursar in New Westminster: "The Miners will subscribe for orphans [mixed race children] not for Indians,"⁵² meaning that white miners would support offspring of Native-white liaisons but not children of Aboriginal families.

Consequently McGuckin began a Catholic boys' boarding school at the Williams Lake Mission in 1873. He campaigned to get a female religious community to staff a similar school for girls. Both of these institutions were deemed vital as competition for the soon-to-be 'immoral' public boarding school at Cache Creek.⁵³ McGuckin

convinced his bishop and the Sisters of St. Ann on the merits of his proposed boarding school. As a result, three members of the congregation arrived to open the girls' school in 1876. The advertisement in the *Victoria Colonist*, 24 August, 1879, however, mentions only a "Boarding School for Boys, St. Joseph's Mission, B.C. under the direction of the Oblate Fathers The course of study embraces a thorough English and Commercial Education." This does not necessarily mean the girls' school was being ignored, but perhaps rather that the boys' institution needed more advertisement.

McGuckin's reports for 1881 and the letters of the Sisters of Saint Ann sent to Lachine describe the Williams Lake schools as institutions that were struggling financially. The pupils were mainly boarders with some local day students. Most of the pupils were children of Native mothers and white fathers, as was the case at the public boarding school at Cache Creek.⁵⁴ A downturn in mining and bad weather for the ranchers reduced the number of day and boarding pupils. In 1880 McGuckin reported 43 boys and 33 girls attending the schools of the Cariboo Mission.⁵⁵ A year later, in 1881, there were only 13 boys and 16 girls. The staff included three Sisters of Saint Ann (Clement, Octavie and Joachim), three Oblate brothers (Guillet, Mansfield and McBride), and two labourers (Hartland and Kelly).⁵⁶ In later years a former pupil would remember that McGuckin occasionally used good students as monitorial assistants, as for example when "Mike Hanley, the best scholar among us, would teach the younger ones."⁵⁷

McGuckin's direction of the school alienated some of the brothers he had attracted as teachers. He fussed over the English accent and grammar of Brother Patrick Ryan and demoted him from teaching duties to kitchen chores. Brother Ryan then obtained a transfer to St. Mary's Mission.⁵⁸ While there was little public

appreciation of the work performed by brothers at the mission school, many brothers elected to remain there. McGuckin's attention to the St. Joseph's Mission school and farm, more than to the field missionary circuits, probably was appreciated by the majority of the brothers. The names of some of the brothers who chose to stay at Williams Lake appear on the census of 1881 and in some brief biographic notes in Oblate archives. Félix Guillet, for example, built missions and schools throughout British Columbia. John McBride, from Ireland, and Morris Mansfield, a former miner, were two of the men McGuckin recruited for the Cariboo Mission with tales of a wild free life on its ranch. In addition to the brothers there were two labourers, Patrick Hartland and George Kelly. Kelly stayed on at the mission for several years, becoming a tutor in the school, then went on to a career as a journalist, but retained happy memories of Williams Lake.⁵⁹

The Sisters of Saint Ann at St. Joseph's Mission were French Canadian and came from farm backgrounds. Sisters Mary Clement, Joachim and Octavie all remained cheerful despite isolation from their religious community. In contrast to the Sisters teaching at New Westminster and St. Mary's Mission, these nuns were much more isolated without regular steamboat service for travel or mail to the Victoria provincial house, or the periodic visits of the Victoria directress. In addition, the Williams Lake Sisters endured crowded conditions in their log convent, limited food supplies, and the necessity of 'begging trips' to the mining camps to raise funds.⁶⁰ The Sisters' regular daily schedule and classroom routines at Williams Lake paralleled those of the Oblates more closely than elsewhere, since in the frontier situation the nuns could not do their domestic tasks, supervise children and at the same time keep silence. Keeping silence while trying to perform these tasks in a tiny, ill-equipped log cabin convent was

impossible for the small group of nuns, which caused the superior, Sister Mary Clement, some concern.⁶¹ However, Sister Mary Octavie noted that as the nuns' retreat was held at the mission during the first annual school vacation, the presence of pupils learning household skills and attending religious conferences made the the convent seem like a mini-noviciate. Furthermore, during the year Sister Mary Clement made herself 'an apostle' to the parents of children at the mission school. That meant she acted like one of the builders of early Christian communities when she brought Catholic fathers back to the practice of their religion and convinced them to marry their Aboriginal partners so as to save their souls and raise good children.⁶²

All the Sisters at Williams Lake appreciated Father McGuckin's hard work and his religious instruction. Nevertheless, the nuns learned that a convent in the Cariboo did not have the potential of one in New Westminster with respect to fee-paying pupils. At Williams Lake, many were cared for at the cost of the mission.⁶³ In August 1881 the Sisters owed the Oblates \$500 for food supplies for their students.⁶⁴ By 1885 the nuns were teaching boys' classes to work off the debt.⁶⁵ Depressed conditions in the mines and on local farms cut pupil numbers further so that by 1888 there were three Sisters of Saint Ann but only 12 girl pupils.⁶⁶ Thus, once the Sisters of Saint Ann had established their convent in the new CPR town of Kamloops, and planned one for Vancouver, they withdrew from Williams Lake. After the nuns' departure, in 1888, the Oblates closed the boys' school too. When the Oblates reopened the school in the mid-1890s, they received a government grant to operate an Indian industrial School, and secured the services of a teaching sisterhood from France, namely the Sisters of the Child Jesus.

Like Adrien-Gabriel Morice in his history, the Oblates would, in light of those events, minimize the contribution of the Sisters of Saint Ann at Williams Lake, recalling

them as ladies rather than as members of a team of missionary workers.⁶⁷ The nuns were not just lady teachers presiding over classrooms, they begged for funds in the mining camps, acted as 'apostles' to heads of halfbreed families, and chanted masses when the aged Father Baudre could not. The Sisters themselves would, like George Kelly, the lay assistant to the Oblates, retain happy memories of St. Joseph's despite the hard work and the difficulties they experienced in putting up with some Oblate priests. The nuns had been inspired by their mother general's advice when she left them at St. Joseph's in 1876, that they should be good to the Oblate Fathers and remember "ils sont missionnaires comme vous."⁶⁸ The Sisters were too zealous as Christian missionaries and too 'ladylike' to record that the boys' classes they taught in 1885 were the classes Morice himself shirked so he could focus, not on local missionary activity, but on his own scholarly pretensions.⁶⁹

BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF 1881 TEACHERS

In order to assess the lives and careers of teaching brothers and nuns in British Columbia it is instructive to reconstruct the staff lists of Oblate Brothers and Sisters of Saint Ann for the three parallel schools. The congregational necrologies or obituaries and other sources provide evidence on 20 individuals. Lists of teaching personnel identify 9 brothers and 11 sisters. Biographic evidence is available on the one scholastic who taught, thereby enlarging the male group to 10 members. Information was not found on one woman, reducing the sisters to a group of 10.⁷⁰

Of the 10 men considered as brothers, 6 were Irish, 3 French and 1 German. Most were from rural farm or lower middle class urban families, but there is little information available on their education or work experience. The average age of the brothers was 43 and only three were under 30 years of age. Most had served six years before taking

perpetual vows and most had done their noviciate while serving in the missions. All of the brothers except two spent their careers in the British Columbia missions. One was dispensed from his vows and left the congregation, while the other went to serve in Alberta residential schools. James McGuckin, superior at Williams Lake in 1881, was mentor to the brothers, rather than Casimir Chirouse, master of novices at New Westminster, or Edward Horris, the pastor in that city. Chirouse had Morice to contend with and Horris had serious health problems. To the extent that there were social linkages among the brothers, these were based on their Irish ethnic identity and anglophone background. As a class, the brothers had little in the way of a support group in the civic community.

Interaction between the Oblates and that community was hierarchical, with the pastor or principal speaking for the order. That helps explain why there are so few archival records concerning the brothers. No correspondence between brothers and pupils or parents of the 1880s survives, whereas a few letters to the nuns who taught at New Westminster or Williams Lake were kept on file.⁷¹ Newspaper articles, even one in the Portland, Oregon, Catholic Sentinel, on the New Westminster Catholic community, mention only priests, not brothers.⁷² Mission reports, obituaries and institutional histories give scant information on brothers, even longtime St. Louis College New Westminster teachers Edward MacStay and Patrick Allen. No complaints are on file in the archives regarding brothers' discipline or academic instruction.⁷³ There are few positive comments either.⁷⁴ However, Frances Herring did recall the efforts of brothers at St. Louis College as a "boon to the community," in the time before the city had a public high school.⁷⁵

Perhaps former brother Patrick Hough's memories of his heavy teaching load at St. Louis College, New Westminster, and hard labour clearing land – despite his one-armed status – hint at another reason why the public overlooked the brothers. The public, like the Oblates themselves, expected physically fit Catholic men who felt a call to religious life to train for the priesthood, not to teach and work in the background like religious women.⁷⁶ This comment is not meant to demean the brothers but to convey contemporary public opinion on handicapped persons, brothers, and women.

In contrast to the brothers, the 10 Sisters of Saint Ann in the case study group included 7 French Canadians and 3 Irish Canadians. They came mainly from rural families. There were 5 women under 30 years of age, the average age being 35. The Sisters did a two year noviciate prior to interning with experienced teachers. All of these women had taken vows before leaving Quebec for British Columbia. All remained as members of their religious community throughout their lives. They died at an average age of 70. Eight of the ten sisters would die in British Columbia. Sister Mary Providence, long-time provincial superior, served as mentor to the sisters.

The nuns' social connections were stronger than those the brothers had or could expect to have in 'Victorian' society. They had linkages with religious women educators within the congregation, with other congregations, with students' families and benefactors. Links among Catholic sisterhoods have already been noted. The nuns' interaction with women and children in the lay community was Catholic effort but the nuns, as non-ordained, unofficial church members were much less likely to offend Protestant sensibilities. It should be remembered that the brothers' cassocks looked very similar to those of the priests, especially to non-Roman Catholics. Francis Herring reminisced about how pioneer local families, including non-Roman Catholic

families, relied on the continuity of the Sisters' schools, as opposed to other schools which closed or lost single women teachers to marriage.⁷⁷ Some non-Catholic pupils, like the daughters of steamboat Captain William Irving, attended the school to 'finish' their education.⁷⁸ Others, like the daughters of lumberman Jeremiah Rogers, converted to Catholicism. Later, their mother and grandmother converted to Catholicism as well.⁷⁹

Non-Roman Catholic members of the provincial elite also appreciated the Sisters' schools. Sarah Crease, travelling with her husband Judge Henry P.P. Crease in the Interior in 1880, visited both his sister Emily's Anglican mission school at Lytton and the Sisters of Saint Ann's schools at Williams Lake and Kamloops. At Williams Lake she met two daughters of Pat Gannon, a Lac la Hache rancher, and at Kamloops she was escorted by Emma Tait, daughter of Hudson's Bay Company officer John Tait.⁸⁰ Thus the Sisters of Saint Ann as a group appear to have enjoyed relatively more support in the civic community than the brothers. Furthermore, the Victoria bishops supported the Sisters of Saint Ann, no doubt partly as a means to attract them to new mission fields, for example, Alaska in 1886.⁸¹

Although the focus of this chapter is school teachers' experience, it is interesting to do some analysis of Oblate priests assigned in 1881 to the schools under study. These men might teach catechism classes to boys and girls and occasionally some boys' secondary classes, but overall spent little time in teaching. Ten of the 12 priests were francophones.⁸² Louis Joseph d'Herbomez, the bishop and Oblate superior, served as their mentor. The priests' network was dominated by Frenchmen come to evangelize the Native peoples of British Columbia. A nascent Irish network among the Oblates consisted of a few key priests and brothers who directed their efforts to the settler

population and the conversion of Protestants.⁸³ In a largely Protestant settler society and in a competitive Aboriginal mission field, it is not surprising that the priests, as members of the Catholic leadership and the 'official church,' received more formal attention and attracted more public controversy, than either the brothers or the sisters. Furthermore, the French priests, even when they became fluent in English, spoke the language with a 'foreign' accent.

CONCLUSION

By 1881 the efforts of the Oblate congregation, including those of the brothers as school teachers, had become identified as those of the priests. The public at large regarded the schools, hospitals and orphanages in which the nuns worked as the sisters' projects, not those of the Catholic bishop or priests.⁸⁴ Looking at the lives and careers of the Sisters of Saint Ann from the inside shows that they had agency, recognition and respect, and all to a greater degree than did the brothers. The Sisters' music education for the children of the wealthy and orphanage care for the children of the needy brought community-wide recognition. Like the brothers, the nuns volunteered for the missions and had freedom to develop curriculum at the elementary level. But there were far more trained elementary teachers among the nuns. The Sisters of Saint Ann knew that their schools were an essential component of the bishops' petitions for funding for religious separate schools and Native residential schools. The Oblates relied on and encouraged the educational effort of the Sisters, although they were jealous of some of its aspects.⁸⁵

Correspondence regarding establishment of mission schools at New Westminster, St. Mary's and St. Joseph's indicates the Oblate administrators like Bishops d'Herbomez and Durieu developed respect for the Sisters of Saint Ann as

negotiators.⁸⁶ Clerics envied the ability of sisters to attract fee-paying pupils and benefactors and thus to finance the construction of their convents. Oblates like James McGuckin made collections on behalf of the sisters and also took them on fund-raising tours in the Cariboo.⁸⁷ Correspondence dealing with requests for sisters as childcare workers, for boys as well as girls, in mission schools indicates that the Sisters of Saint Ann discussed such arrangements, including pertinent provisions of Canon law with the Grey Nuns, their counterparts in the Oblate missions of the Northwest Territories.⁸⁸

The Oblate brothers, on the other hand, had less structure and less scope for negotiation, as well as less unity and vision than the Sisters of Saint Ann. In addition the brothers, as a group, did not possess the public image enjoyed by the sisters, be it in the church or in the larger society. The anglophone brothers experienced greater division as a result of their training, vows and ethnicity. They trained and worked individually or in small numbers at missions run by francophone priests, whereas the Sisters worked in groups under their own Sister superior. As individuals the brothers could leave missions and travel and mingle with the general public of towns, or visit Native people in their homes. But as a teaching sisterhood, the nuns had more agency, recognition, and more latitude for negotiation. They networked with other women religious and with the women of the larger society and could consult various priests and bishops.

An examination of the lives and careers of Oblate Brothers and Sisters of Saint Ann who taught in British Columbia schools shows that, although they served in an hierarchical church, neither group completely lacked agency, recognition, or respect. Negotiation and asymmetry characterized relations of class, ethnicity, and gender. The Sisters of Saint Ann, like women religious elsewhere, were able to negotiate on their

own terms with the male hierarchy and to serve as they saw fit.⁸⁹ The Oblate Brothers had less scope for doing so.

Discussion on the founding generation of Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates as teachers in British Columbia has brought forward the asymmetry of gender, the feminization of teaching and the masculinization of mission work. Such gender patterns affected the continuity of the two religious orders into the next generation, as the following chapter will show.

Notes

- 1 This chapter draws on my essay, "The 'Serfs of the System': Oblate Brothers and Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia Schools, 1858-1920," Western Oblate Studies 4/Etudes Oblates de l'Ouest 4 (1996). I appreciate the advice of Professor Raymond Huel, director of the Western Oblate History Project and of participants at the 1995 symposium at St. Boniface.
- 2 Martha McCarthy, From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene 1847-1921 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995), 169 ff. Compare John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 159-150. Roman Catholic leaders in Ontario promoted elementary and university education but were somewhat suspicious of the intent of public secondary schools.
- 3 Raymond Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996), 99 ff., Chapter Six: "Education: An Extension and Enhancement of Mission."
- 4 Margaret Cantwell, SSA, North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann, 1992), 6-10. See also Pathmos, Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 505 n. 24. For an English-language clarification of aspects such as coadjutrix status in the history of women religious in Canada see Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil.
- 5 Down, Century of Service, 47 ff. on Sister Mary Providence; and 133-134 Prefects of Studies were appointed to supervised instruction in each province of the congregation beginning in 1894.
- 6 Soeur Marie -Jean-de-Pathmos, s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne un siècle d'histoire Tome I: 1850-1900 (Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 1950); and Augustine Prévost, s.s.a., L'éducation hier et aujourd'hui 1850-1985 (Montréal: Éditions du Meridien, 1986), both cover this topic. Several students entered the congregation and made their noviciate at Vaudreuil, or after 1853 at St. Jacques. A few began their noviciate and internship as teachers after the motherhouse was transferred to Lachine in 1864.
- 7 Prévost, L'éducation hier et aujourd'hui, 38-39, 63-75. Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 77 discusses the impact of the Religious of the Sacred Heart on convent educators in Quebec. The Sisters of Saint Anne moved into the convent school vacated by the Religious of the Sacred Heart at St. Jacques in 1852.
- 8 Micheline Dumont, Girls' Schooling in Quebec, 1639-1960 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Booklet No. 49, 1990).
- 9 Philippe Sylvain, "Ignace Bourget," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XI (1982), 94-105, and Louis Rousseau, "Louis-Delphis-Adolphe Maréchal," Dictionary of Canadian Biography XII (1990), 697-698. By the 1870s Maréchal was no longer the bishop's appointed chaplain to the Sisters of Saint Anne. He made only one trip west, in 1892, just before his death.
- 10 Sister Mary Margaret [Edith Down], SSA, A Century of Service 1858-1958: A history of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann and Morriss Printing, 1966), 47 ff. Prévost, L'éducation hier et aujourd'hui, 75, 109, notes rules of pedagogy written in 1851 were updated and printed for distribution after the general chapter of 1872.

- 11 Lucie Champagne et Micheline Dumont, "Le financement d'un séminaire diocésain: Le Séminaire de Sherbrooke, 1915-1950, Comparaison avec le financement des pensionnats de religieuses," Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation 2,2 (1990), 339-351; and Marie-Paule Malouin, Ma sœur, à quelle école allez-vous? Deux écoles de filles à la fin du XIXe siècle (Montréal: Fides, 1985).
- 12 Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1881, 139, and 166, regarding the selection of 6 new Indian agents for the province and the first report of P. McTiernan on the Fraser River Agency. Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia Vol. I: The Impact of the White Man, Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 5 (Victoria, B.C.: Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1964), 63, explains that Indian Affairs came under the federal Secretary of State from 1867 to 1873, then became a branch of the Department of the Interior in 1873. From 1880 to 1936 there was a separate Department of Indian Affairs. In British Columbia Dr. I.W. Powell became Indian Commissioner in 1872. In 1875 the province was divided into Victoria and Fraser River or Mainland superintendencies. In 1881 these were replaced by six agencies, with more added in later years.
- 13 Jacqueline Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions Within the Dominion. Early Catholic Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia," in Indian Education in Canada, Vol. I The Legacy, ed. J. Barman et al (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1986); and Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 99 ff. In Quebec the Sisters of Saint Anne did not begin to teach in Native schools until they went to Caughnawaga in 1915. See Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1915-1916.
See also Jean Barman, "Families vs Schools: Children of Aboriginal Descent in British Columbia Classrooms of the Late-Nineteenth Century," in Ed Montigny and Lori Chambers, eds., Family Matters (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1998).
- 14 On Vancouver Island, a separate diocese, government grants for Sisters of Saint Ann schools were formally negotiated by the bishop. Informal arrangements were often made directly by government agents and the nuns, for example, those concerning the Sisters who taught at the federally funded Songhees Day School in the 1890s.
- 15 Jean Barman, "Transfer, Imposition or Consensus? The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth Century British Columbia," in Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, edited by Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1986).
- 16 Researching New Westminster history is difficult as an 1898 fire destroyed the centre of the city and many historical records. The brief discussion in Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster The Royal City (Vancouver: JM Dent & Sons and the City of New Westminster, 1958), 56, should be supplemented with the chronology in Patrick Dunae, The School Record: A Guide to Government Archives Relating to Public Education in British Columbia 1852-1946 (Victoria, B.C.: British Columbia Archives and Records Service, 1992), 9. The latter indicates the first "non-denominational 'public' school" opened at New Westminster in 1862. The British Columbia Department of Education, Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia 1874-1875, 23, reported that the New Westminster city public school had one of the best teachers but only 37 pupils as others were being educated elsewhere. The New Westminster Mainland Guardian, August 26, 1882, 3, noted the completion of a new city school house.
- 17 Kathryn Bridge, Henry and Self. The Private Life of Sarah Crease 1826-1922 (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1996), 194-197. Sarah Crease went to the opening of the Anglican Columbia College in November 1880. Rosa Rendall, a twenty-five year old woman was the principal. There were "8 pupils to begin with."
- 18 Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia 1875-76, 106 noted that at the country school in Trenant or Ladner, twenty miles down the Fraser from New Westminster, "Rainy weather, muddy

roads and no roads at all," prevented more than 10 of 31 local children of school age from attending school regularly. Furthermore only 22 of the 31 were registered for school. Ten students was the minimum number for a school receiving a government grant.

19 Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster The Royal City (Vancouver: JM Dent & Sons and the City of New Westminster, 1958), 56. The Victoria high school opened in 1876. The New Westminster high school opened in 1884. Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia 1876-77, 20, reported the public school in the city "gaining in attendance and confidence of the parents" over the "several denominational private schools." Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia 1877-78, 190, noted enrollment of 75 boys and 57 girls with an average attendance of 90 at the New Westminster city school, over twice the 1874-75 figure. However of the 26 students writing the high school entrance examination 6 were from private schools.

20 Lettre du Père E.C. Chirouse, 24 janvier 1881 Missions 1881, 381, and Missions 1879, 415. See also Victoria Colonist 24 December 1878, "St. Louis School, New Westminster." Students who went on to the University of Ottawa included Denis Murphy, later a lawyer and Supreme Court Justice in British Columbia. See Paul Monahan, OMI, Roses in December: An Oblate's Melody of Memories (Vancouver: Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1990), 77. No history of St. Louis College, New Westminster exists. There are a few archival files but no registers. It has not been possible to give exact figures on the total number of pupils. The number seventy here is an estimate based on references in contemporary sources.

21 Lettre du Père E.C. Chirouse, 24 janvier 1881, Missions 1881, 381 for staff list. For all Oblate biographies see Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique. Patrick Hough's biography in tome II, 158, has been supplemented here by "Recalls Early Days," January 18, 1926 New Westminster British Columbian. I excluded from this study four brothers listed at the Oblate House in New Westminster in the Manuscript Census of Canada 1881. One was visiting from Stuart Lake Mission, two were in temporary vows and never became Oblates, and one, Michael Cunningham, was just beginning his novitiate.

22 Lettre du Père E.C. Chirouse, 24 janvier 1881 in Missions 1881, 381-382.

23 Oblate Archives Vancouver, Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations (Oregon & B.C.) 1851-1892 & 1916 [photocopy of Archives Deschâtelets PB 517.P47R 1, Deliberations du Conseil provincial], entries for 1878-1884; and Codex Historicus Saint Peter's House, New Westminster, B.C. from February 1887 to December 31st 1889, on staffing problems St. Louis College.

24 Gresko, "James Maria McGuckin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIII, 641-642.

25 The Census of Canada 1881, British Columbia, EA 187, New Westminster District B North, 35, household 176, for example, gives a longer list of brothers at St. Peter's New Westminster than a list compiled from Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique. Carrière explains in the introduction to tome I of his Dictionnaire biographique that the official personnel list only included men who made permanent vows, and that the personnel list was published irregularly.

26 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique II, 157, biography of Edward Horris. See "Rev. Father Horris," The Month Vol. 1 No. 2 (February 1892), 29-31.

27 Frances Herring, In the Pathless West (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904), 147-148. See Adele Perry, "Frances Elizabeth Herring," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIV (1998), 485-486.

28 ASSAV RG II S 54, Scrapbook New Westminster, undated clippings from New Westminster Mainland Guardian or British Columbian, Victoria Colonist and Dominion Pacific Herald, c. 1879-1882.

The Colonist quotation is from a dated clipping. There are no pupil registers for 1881 so the student numbers are taken from the newspaper sources and scrapbook references.

29 Jacqueline Gresko, "Salomé Valois, Soeur Marie du Sacré Coeur," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XIII (University of Toronto Press, 1994), 1048-1049.

30 Down, Century of Service, 47-52 and 131-34, and "Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte Anne, Victoria, 1858-1868." See Herring, In the Pathless West, 147-148 on settlers' views; and also Jean Barman, "Birds of Passage or Early Professionals? Teachers in Late Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," Historical Studies in Education 2: 1 (Spring 1990), 17-36.

31 Biographic details have been drawn from Necrology of the Sisters of Saint Ann 1850-1930 Vol. 1 January - June, Vol. 2 August - December (Lachine: The Sisters of Sainte Anne, 1930). Hereafter cited as Necrology SSA. Sister Mary Praxedes biography appears in Necrology SSA, II, 95-99. She served at New Westminster from 1867 to 1884. Sister Mary Beatrice, according to Necrology SSA, I, 353-354, served there from 1877 to 1892. As Theresa Daly she had taught school before her entrance to the sisterhood in 1867 at age 20.

32 Herring, In the Pathless West, 148.

33 Herring, In the Pathless West, 147-148. For Herring's biography see Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, Biographical.

34 No daily schedule survives for the brothers who taught at St. Louis College. James McGuckin's timetable for St. Joseph's Williams Lake in Missions 1881, 209-211, is probably a good approximation. For the Sisters' daily schedule see Cantwell, North to Share, 8-9.

35 Necrology SSA II, 95-99 Sister Mary Praxedes, Agnes Marceau, 1845-1926. When she was appointed to Lachine in 1886, she placed her adopted daughter Cornélie Brantford with her own parents in Quebec. Cornélie died of tuberculosis at their home.

36 The other two scholastics who had been sent from France to St. Mary's Mission in 1880-81, Jean-Dominique Chiappini and Nicolas Coccola, were ordained by Bishop d'Herbomez in April 1881. See Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique, tome I, 198-99 and 211-212.

37 Lettre du Frère Morice, frère scolastique, le 24 juin 1881 in Missions 1881, 387-395. Biographic details are taken from Carrière, Dictionnaire Biographique. David Mulhall, Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 1-12, provides additional information. In elementary school in France Morice was "a non-conformist" who "resisted the routine and discipline [He] was only happy when he was busy with projects of his own, all intended for public consumption." During training for the priesthood both in France and in British Columbia Morice showed insubordination and "vanity." Mulhall describes his personality as one of anarchistic individualism.

38 Lettre du Frère Morice, frère scolastique, le 24 juin 1881 in Missions 1881, 387-395.

39 The Census of Canada 1881, British Columbia, EA 187, New Westminster District B North, 74-75, household 309, listing of the pupils at St. Mary's Mission School on the Fraser River supports Morice. The story of the Baker family comes from Sheila Nickols, Maple Ridge A History of Settlement (Maple Ridge, B.C. Branch of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 1972), 35. See also Gigi Huxley,

"The Role of St. Mary's Mission School in Settlement," BC Historical News Vol. 17 No. 2 (1984), 16-17. Huxley contends many of the St. Mary's Mission pupils were halfbreeds.

⁴⁰ Missions 1881, 387-395.

⁴¹ Margaret Whitehead, ed., They Call Me Father: Memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 91-92.

⁴² Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1881, 216. The staff lists and tabular statements on Indian schools mention only Father A. Carion or Sister M. Lumena by name. See also Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1882, 252-253.

⁴³ Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report 1881, 216-217.

⁴⁴ Oblate General Archives Rome, File D'Herbomez 8 (2), d'Herbomez à Fabre, 27 septembre 1884. D'Herbomez reported to his superior general, Joseph Fabre, that the girls' school at St. Mary's was staffed by four Sisters who received an annual sum of \$400. (The late Gaston Carrière, o.m.i. provided me with a typescript of this letter, February 14, 1969.) Compare ASSAV RG II S55 1 Mission City, B.C. St. Mary's Indian Residential School Monograph 1950 [bound typescript], 5, Bishop d'Herbomez agreed in 1867 to pay \$200 per year for each of the two nuns who would be assigned to the school.

⁴⁵ ASSAV RG 1 S 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur) SSA, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C.1868-1892, 71-75, entries for 1880-81, 1881-82, and 1882-83. In 1882-83 the family of a ten month old girl child left the child with the Sisters. Her parents had been St. Mary's pupils. The father gave his father a letter to give the Sisters. They later 'adopted' this child, but through the informal, familial processes of the 1880s, not modern government regulations. See also Gigi Huxley, "The Role of St. Mary's Mission School in Settlement," BC Historical News Vol. 17 No. 2 (1984), 16-17; and Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in Face of Death, Illness and Poverty in Montreal, 1860-1885," in Joy Parr ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 109-128.

⁴⁶ ASSAV RG 1 S 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur) SSA, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C.1868-1892, 71-75, entries for 1880-81, 1881-82, and 1882-83.

⁴⁷ Sister Marie du-Saint-Rosaire left the congregation. See Matricule of the Sisters of Saint Anne, October 31, 1990 corrected list by order of profession. She was Sister number 222, Emma Lamarre, born in 1855, professed c. 1874, arrived in Victoria 1875 [see Arrivals list in ASSAV], and left the congregation in 1897. No records are kept on women who left the congregation. ASSAV RG 1 S 24 box 1 file 8, Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur) SSA, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission B.C.1868-1892, 71-73, entry for 1880-81. In 1880 after vacation the arrival of Sister Marie du-Saint-Rosaire as the third nun at the mission school meant that for the first time in twelve years there were three women to share the work. Now the rule could be observed more closely. The following year when Sisters Mary Lumena and Mary Conception were both called to Victoria, Sister Marie du-Saint-Rosaire was left in charge of the mission convent.

⁴⁸ University of British Columbia, Father George Forbes O.M.I. Papers, Manuscript Group 240, Box 2, [Carbon of typed manuscript] St. Mary's Mission 1861-1961, 2 on L. Fouquet O.M.I. reminiscences of Sisters of Saint Ann.

- 49 Necrology SSA. Also see University of British Columbia, Father George Forbes O.M.I. Papers, Manuscript Group 240, Box 2, [Carbon of typed manuscript] St. Mary's Mission 1861-1961, 2 on L. Fouquet O.M.I. reminiscences of Sisters of Saint Ann.
- 50 Location of St. Joseph's Mission from Margaret Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1981), 9.
- 51 Lettre de Mgr d'Herbomez au TRP Supérieur Général, New Westminster, le 28 novembre 1868 in Missions 1870, 90.
- 52 McGuckin to Horris, 27 August 1869, HPK 6282 AD Ottawa, cited in Margaret Whitehead, "Missionaries and Indians in Cariboo. A History of Saint Joseph Mission, Williams Lake, British Columbia," Master's Thesis, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C., 1979; and on McGuckin's biography Jacqueline Gresko, "James Maria McGuckin O.M.I.," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (University of Toronto Press, 1994), 641-642.
- 53 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph (1876 à 1883) [n.d., typescript], 1, describes "la fameuse école," a boarding school for boys and girls. See British Columbia Sessional Papers 1877, 489, R.M. Clemitson to Deputy Superintendent Education, March 20, 1877, calling for resignations from Mr. and Mrs. Irwin for "neglect of duty and want of proper supervision." They had left the girls' dormitory unlocked, 'immorality' had occurred and not been immediately reported. Several pregnancies resulted. Wayne Norton, "The Cache Creek Provincial Boarding School 1874-1890, British Columbia Historical News 29: 2 (Spring 1996): 30-33.
- 54 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph [n.d., typescript], 3, Sister Mary Octavie recalled that there were 14 pupils the first year, 25 to 30 in other years, and that most were "métisses." ASSAV RG II S 63 folder 1, Sister Mary of the Infant Jesus to Mother Mary Irene, July 12, 1930, recalling that in the Cariboo goldminers had taken "Native wives" and "consequently the children were mostly halfbreeds."
- 55 Lettre du R.P. MacGuckin au R.P. Martinet, Mission de Saint-Joseph, novembre 1880 in Missions 1881, 209-211.
- 56 Census of Canada 1881, British Columbia EA 188 Cariboo, C-2-SD, Williams Lake and Canoe Creek.
- 57 "St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake: A Christmas Visit by an Old Pupil [J.N.J. Browne]," The Month Vol. 2 No. 3 (March 1893), 57.
- 58 McGuckin's letters to Bishop d'Herbomez are in the microfilmed "Records of the Oblate Missions British Columbia from the Oblate Historical Archives, St. Peter's Province, Holy Rosary Scholasticate, Ottawa (Public Archives of Canada Microfilm, 1962). Microfilm Reels 707 (3) and 708 (4) are held at the Oblate Archives Vancouver and at the University of British Columbia. McGuckin discusses Patrick Ryan's assignments in letters to Bishop d'Herbomez 25 April 1874, 23 November 1874, and 5 April 1875, all on Microfilm Reel 708 (4).
- 59 Census of Canada 1881, British Columbia EA 188 Cariboo, C-2-SD, Williams Lake and Canoe Creek, on staff list; and Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique on Oblate life histories. George Kelly's obituary appears in The Month Vol. I No. 11, November 1892, 238. Compare E.M. Hogan, The Irish Missionary

Movement. A Historical Survey (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 49-51 and 70.

60 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Clément a Révérende Mère, 16 octobre 1880. Also see Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph [n.d., typescript].

61 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Clément a Révérende Mère, 16 octobre 1880. For the daily schedule for both schools see: Lettre du R.P. MacGuckin au R.P. Martinet, Mission de Saint-Joseph, novembre 1880 in Missions 1881, 209-211.

62 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph [n.d., typescript].

63 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Clément a Révérende Mère, 16 octobre 1880. Also see Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph [n.d., typescript].

Margaret Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1981) and the Master's thesis on which it was based were of great assistance in preliminary research on the staff of St. Joseph's Mission.

64 Oblate Archives Vancouver. Council Meetings St. Joseph's Williams Lake 1878-1897. By August 6, 1881 the Sisters owed the Oblates \$500 and the Oblates decided not to charge them for work putting in their garden in the spring. The meeting was attended by Fathers McGuckin, Baudre and Marchal.

65 Oblate Archives Vancouver, Council Meetings St. Joseph's Williams Lake 1878-1897. At a meeting attended by Fathers Guertin, Chiappini and Morice July 3, 1885, the council agreed to pay Sister Mary Praxedes' travel expenses from New Westminster, and to grant the nuns \$3 a month for every school boy taught from July 1884 to June 1885.

66 ASSAV RG II S 63 folder 1, Sister Mary of the Infant Jesus to Mother Mary Irene, July 12, 1930, "there were only 12 girls and 9 or 10 boys."

67 See UBC Special Collections MG 240, Father George Forbes papers, Unsorted notes, 1-7, Father Thomas reported Bishop Durieu's description of the Sisters of St. Ann as "trop dames." He and other Oblates preferred the French Sisters of the Child Jesus to the 'ladies' of the Canadian congregation. A.G. Morice's brief comments on nuns in The History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1910), 321, 329, 362, 393-394, reflect this viewpoint.

68 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Octavie, Notes historiques de la Mission St. Joseph [n.d., typescript].

69 On Sisters teaching boys see Oblate Archives Vancouver, Council Meetings St. Joseph's Williams Lake 1878-1897, the Oblate mission council agreed to grant the nuns \$3 a month for every school boy taught from July 1884 to June 1885. Mulhall, Will to Power, 16-18, on Morice's pretensions.

70 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique and Necrology SSA, the Census of Canada 1881 and Dictionary of Canadian Biography volumes have been consulted. Since the Oblates often did very brief necrologies at time of death and then had a longer article published later, but not always in Missions, it is much more difficult to find detail on the brothers than it is on the Sisters of Saint Ann. For examples of brief necrologies of brothers see Missions 1889, 553, C. Verney; and 1899, 494, M. Mansfield. These give only name, number in congregation and birth and death dates. Sister Marie du-Saint-Rosaire, born in 1855,

came to B.C. in 1875, and left the congregation in 1897. There is no necrology available on her. The 1990 correction of the 1989 Matricule and the Arrivals at Victoria list in ASSAV provide these details on her life.

71 St. Louis College, New Westminster closed in 1917. The former pupil and parent letters to St. Ann's, New Westminster teachers are in ASSAV RG II S 54, Scrapbook New Westminster, Williams Lake in ASSAV RG II S63.

72 ASSAV RG II S 54, Scrapbook New Westminster, Undated Portland, Oregon, Catholic Sentinel article on Christmas celebrations in New Westminster in 1880s.

73 Compare James Doyle, Annie Howells and Achille Fréchette (University of Toronto Press, 1979), 13-14, and 72-73. Achille Fréchette was educated in the 1850s by the Frères des Écoles chrétiennes. This teaching order emphasized French and English rather than Latin and Greek of parallel European schools. In 1888, "while an official in the translation bureau in Ottawa," Fréchette argued "with the Frères des Écoles chrétiennes over their educational policies, and particularly the allegedly inferior quality of their English instruction." The controversy concerned complaints that some "francophone Christian Brothers" teaching in Ottawa's bilingual separate schools were excessive in discipline, coercive in spiritual instruction and neglected academic work.

J.W. Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 208, "... complaints of the inefficiency of teaching orders reached such a pitch that for several years the Brothers of the Christian Schools abandoned the province."

74 Some of the few available include: Durieu à Martinet, 1 mai 1874, Missions 1874, 34 includes Durieu's praise of Brothers Allen and MacStay as school teachers; Rapport lu au Chapitre Général de 1904 par Augustin Dontenwill, OMI, Evêque de New Westminster, Vicaire des Missions, Missions 1905, 272 and 276; and "Noces de diamant oblation perpétuelle du cher Frère Phillippe Surel," Missions 1908, 411. Whitehead, They Call Me Father on Coccola's positive memories of Brother John Burns at St. Eugene's Mission, Cranbrook.

75 F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present: Biographical Vol. III, (Vancouver, 1914), 730-733. Captain Lincoln Rogers, born in 1864, a resident of New Westminster district then city, attended St. Louis College in the city prior to entering the steamship company business in 1881. The Month Vol. 1 No. 8 (August 1892), 162-165, "St. Louis College: A Reminiscence," says St. Louis College drew pupils from the Interior and the United States. Then as the city grew the high school was built and provided competition. The College lost its non-Catholic pupils and had "to depend upon the small Catholic population alone." On the development of the Methodist Collegiate and the public high school see: Barry Mather and Margaret McDonald, New Westminster The Royal City (Vancouver: JM Dent & Sons and the City of New Westminster, 1958) 56.

76 "Recalls Early Days," New Westminster British Columbian, January 18, 1926, interview with Patrick Hough. Bishop Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez OMI ordered brothers George Blanchet and Edmund Peytavin to study for the priesthood and ordained them in 1872. Blanchet had hesitated to be ordained owing to an injured hand.

77 Herring, The Pathless West, 147-148.

78 Valerie Francis, education co-ordinator, Irving House Historic Centre, New Westminster, B.C., tour commentary November 19 and 20, 1997. ASSAV RG I S24-1-1 Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne à Victoria, 1858-1868. Narrées par Soeur Marie de Sept Douleurs, 104-111 on the founding of St.

Ann's New Westminster and the attendance of the daughters of Captain and Mrs. Irving: Mary [later Mrs. Briggs], Elizabeth and Nellie.

79 ASSAV RG II S 54, Scrapbook New Westminster. The Sisters' scrapbook on Saint Ann's, New Westminster, was a gift from the daughters of Jeremiah Rogers: Margaret, Alberni, Annie and Louise. Paul Monahan OMI, Roses in December. An Oblate's Melody of Memories (Vancouver: Oblates of Mary Immaculate, St. Paul's Province, 1990), 64-65, on the four daughters of the Rogers family to attend St. Ann's Academy New Westminster. The two oldest had attended Angela College, Victoria but Mrs. Rogers [née Sarah Strang] was not satisfied with the Anglican school. After the death of her husband in 1878 she moved to New Westminster and sent her four daughters to St. Ann's Academy there. Father James McGuckin OMI was instrumental in the conversion of the daughters and their mother and grandmother. The oldest and the youngest daughters both became members of the Grey Nuns of the Holy Cross in Ottawa.

80 Kathryn Bridge, Henry and Self (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1996), 168 and 177.

81 Cantwell, North to Share, 1-11.

82 Of the francophone Oblate priests, eight came from France, one from Belgium and one from Québec. There were two Irish priests, one at New Westminster as pastor and bursar, and one at Williams Lake. In terms of family background the priests were somewhat wealthier and better educated than the brothers. In 1881, the priests' average age was 49 years. Six of the 12 priests came to the Pacific Coast missions while still preparing themselves for ordination. The other half of the group had been ordained in Europe. Only one of those ordained had served as a diocesan priest in France before joining the Oblates.

83 See "Nouvelles Diverses: Départs pour les missions," Missions 1887, pp. 476-477. James McGuckin left Ireland with missionaries he had recruited for British Columbia. As indicated above in discussion of the St. Joseph Mission, Williams Lake, B.C., McGuckin recruited Irishmen who had ventured out to the province on their own. McGuckin was also noted for converting prominent Protestants, among them John Foster McCreight, the first premier of the province. McCreight was an Anglican and a Mason before his conversion. See Gresko, "McGuckin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIII, 641-642.

See Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome I, 213-314 on Patrick Collins. According to Carrière, Collins came to British Columbia with bishop d'Herbomez in 1887.

84 Down, Century of Service, 91-98.

85 See L. J. d'Herbomez, Rapport au Chapitre Général 1879 in Missions 1879, 415; and Lettre du Père E.C. Chirouse, 24 janvier 1881, in Missions 1881, 381. The Oblates appreciated the Sisters of Saint Ann's teaching particularly at Williams Lake but they were envious of the nuns' New Westminster convent building. ASSAV RG II S 54, Scrapbook New Westminster, contains an undated clipping "Christmas Celebration in the Royal City, New Westminster, B.C.," an anonymous letter to the editor of the Portland, Oregon, Catholic Sentinel, December 26, 1879, describing St. Louis College as "of the same material as the Convent, and ... also three stories high," but cost half of what the latter building did, \$20,000.

86 ASSAL B 51/84, 8 [No. 60 in Letterbook] D'Herbomez à Révérende Mère Jeanne, 13 octobre 1865.

87 ASSAV RG II S 63, Williams Lake, B.C., St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888, Soeur Marie-Clément a Révérende Mère, 16 octobre 1880.

88 ASSAL Des Actes de délibération du Conseil majeur de la communauté, 21 aout 1886. Gaetane Chevrier, s.g.m., Archivist for the Grey Nuns of Montreal in Montréal, kindly provided me with a

document remarking on the modification of the Grey Nuns' constitutions. The original, written by Cardinal Clarelli in Latin, dated 4 janvier 1867 is marked 'CONSTITUTIONS Historique Doc. 46,' Srs Grises de Montréal, Maison-Mère Archives. M. Gérard Asselin p.s.s. translated it into French. Although Vatican officials understood this was an institute embracing all the works of charity, "On ne peut pas approuver cependant que les Soeurs aient soin des orphelins et des abandonnés du sexe masculin." The records of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Sisters of Providence suggest that the members of these congregations, both founded in the Diocese of Montreal, used letters, voyages west, and visits to consult on the the situations of the western missions. ASSAV RG 1 S 24 Box 2 of 3 [original in Box 1 of 3], "Dix Premières Années des Soeurs de Sainte Anne, Victoria, B.C. 1858-1868. Narrées par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs [Mainville], translated by Jeanne Jodouin, SSA 1990, 136, visits on the Pacific Coast began in the 1860s; McGovern, "Perspective on the Oblates," 91-108.

⁸⁹ Helen Rose Ebaugh, "Patriarchal Bargains and Latent Avenues of Social Mobility: Nuns in the Roman Catholic Church," Gender and Society 7: 3 (September 1993), 400-414.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONTINUITY INTO THE NEXT GENERATION

Gender patterns in the lives and careers of first generation Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates in British Columbia had consequences for the continuity of each order in the region. Although both first generations had hoped to replace themselves with local vocations as well as immigrants, the Oblates had less success in this regard. The Sisters of Saint Ann became indigenous along with the white settlers of the Pacific province; the Oblates did not. The connections of the Sisters of Saint Ann with settler families were significant here. Twenty-two of their daughters joined the sisterhood by 1914, whereas only four sons joined the Oblates. The religious women formed a missionary 'dynasty.' This concept comes from Diane Langmore's fine study of English-speaking Protestant and French-speaking Catholic missionaries in Papua, 1874-1914. Langmore concludes that the difference between missionaries there

and those elsewhere in the Pacific was not related so much to differences of origin, attainment or orientation, as to the nature of the country they served in. One notable feature of missionary service throughout the Pacific was the establishment of missionary dynasties. Missionaries came to regard the land they served in as their home. They settled there, sometimes buying land and engaging in commercial activity, raised their children, and often retired and died there while a second generation took up the work. In Papua, a country then still regarded as inhospitable to white settlement, few missionaries made a permanent home. They were sojourners in a strange land and home was somewhere else, across the sea. Even for many of the dedicated, long-serving Sacred Heart missionaries, home was the provincial town of Issoudun on the misty Berry plains, or the small villages of rural France or the Low Countries, and they died in exile.¹

Many of the first generation of Oblates who came to British Columbia died in the province, but, like the Sacred Heart Fathers on Papua they did not create a local

dynasty.² Yet the Sisters of Saint Ann did. The Oblates' career path emphasizing French missionaries crusading for an ultramontane Roman Catholic Church appears to have held little appeal for Anglo-Canadian settlers or Aboriginal peoples of the province.³ The Sisters' career path, emphasizing Canadian teachers and nurses serving God via feminine institutions, attracted local young women interested in religion and careers.⁴

In the early twentieth century, white settler families of British Columbia memorialized themselves as founders of local dynasties in popular history books, such as The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island. This book featured a chapter on the Sisters, praising "the solidity of the St. Ann's schools, hospitals and orphanages."⁵ The more formal work of F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present, discussed bishops like d'Herbomez and priests like Pandosy as builders of the Roman Catholic church, not specifically as members of the Oblate congregation. Perhaps due to the subscription nature of the publication, Howay and Scholefield's two biographic volumes detailed the career of the archbishop at the 1914 date of publication (Timothy Casey), not that of any Oblate predecessor. However these volumes did include accounts of Saint Ann's Academy Victoria and the Anglo-Protestant St. Margaret's school, Victoria, educational institutions patronized by founding white settler families.⁶

LINKAGES WITH REGIONAL FAMILIES

Over time race affected both female and male Roman Catholic missionaries in British Columbia in their associations with families and vocation prospects. The Oblates differentiated ceremonies for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples on linguistic grounds, as the main liturgy of the mass was said in Latin, but the sermons

and hymns were in the vernacular. The Oblates adapted their missionary reunions to the cultures of the Aboriginal peoples, for example the welcoming ceremonies. However, only ordained European men celebrated liturgies. The Aboriginal men were assigned supporting roles as captains or catechists, but never as priests, whereas Methodist converts like Haida Peter Kelly became ordained ministers.⁷

Both the Oblates and the Sisters of Saint Ann founded separate schools for Aboriginal children. For example, in the 1860s Aboriginal children were moved from New Westminster's St. Louis College and St. Ann's convent to St. Mary's Mission. In the early years such mission schools also enrolled both white and halfbreed children, but subsequently these were racially segregated.⁸

More Aboriginal girls than boys were enrolled in Roman Catholic mission schools, and the girls also tended to spend a longer period of time there. Aboriginal families chose mission residential schools for their daughters and their younger sons, their less employable offspring and for their orphans. In the 1860s and 1870s smallpox epidemics and the departure of white goldminer fathers caused the families to consign numerous boy and girl orphans and children needing care to the Sisters of Saint Ann or the Oblates. By the 1880s and 1890s the Aboriginal parents kept boys out of school and available for job opportunities in the growing fish and timber industries.⁹

The overall higher number of Aboriginal girls than boys at mission schools also reflected missionary attitudes toward young women and sexual purity. The Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates wanted to protect girl pupils at the school until they married. The priests delayed letting them receive Communion until marriage and school leaving. This practice meant girls had more opportunity to get the basic education for the noviciate, and should therefore have led to female Aboriginal vocations. However, it

did not necessarily mean aspiring young women could overcome the negative attitude of Oblate priests toward Aboriginal women or “le sexe.”¹⁰

The missionaries’ views on the capabilities of young Aboriginal women and men paralleled those of many settlers. Some white fathers of halfbreed children arranged for their children’s care and education, particularly that of their daughters, with the Sisters of Saint Ann, and some insisted that the schooling take place in the institutions for white rather than Aboriginal children. Some white fathers further arranged that their mixed-race daughters be kept at the convent until they married and not returned to their maternal relatives.¹¹ The origin of these practices lay not only in nineteenth century Anglo-Canadian racism, but also in the way Oregon fur trade society regarded halfbreed daughters educated in Christian schools as whites with Indian blood, but their uneducated brothers as Indian with white blood.¹² I.W. Powell, the British Columbia Indian superintendent, complained in 1884 that Indian women deserted by white men became a burden to their tribes, and that “the children of such parentage [grew] up to become the most disreputable characters.”¹³

Such racial attitudes played a part in British Columbia Catholic missionaries’ generational continuity. The Sisters of Saint Ann served more Aboriginal school students and for longer time periods than did the Oblates, and, in theory, had more opportunities to attract entrants. But, as we shall see, few if any Aboriginal youths even attempted the noviciate of either order.

ESTABLISHING NOVICIATES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Both the Oblates and the Sisters of Saint Ann sought to encourage vocations among settlers’ children by establishing noviciates within British Columbia. The Oblate noviciate for mature entrants to the brotherhood operated in an informal way from the

early years.¹⁴ Although the official history of the Sisters of Saint Anne credits the bishops, d'Herbomez of New Westminster and Lemmens of Victoria, with encouraging the congregation to begin a Victoria noviciate in 1889, it was the Lachine administration which took the initiative. The general council of the congregation sought approvals through their Montreal ecclesiastical superiors and Rome. The Lachine superiors knew that other Montreal-based congregations in the west had begun local noviciates. They worried that vocation-minded students would enter these rather than separate themselves from their families by going to the Lachine noviciate.¹⁵

After its formal opening in 1890, the noviciate of the Sisters of Saint Ann provided for their reproduction as a religious family in the region. By 1914 when one of the first Victoria convent graduates to become a nun, Sister Mary Charles McQuade, returned as provincial superior of the Sisters of Saint Ann, nearly two dozen fellow alumnae had entered the western noviciate. Young women from eastern Canada, Europe and Ireland came to the British Columbia noviciate too.¹⁶

The process of the nineteenth century noviciate deserves some review here. Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann had one year of postulancy, took temporary vows, a novice's habit and name and did one year of noviciate, as required by canon law. During these two years the aspirants studied religion, the congregation's rules and constitutions, pedagogy and household management. The superiors or an aspirant might initiate discussion of unsuitability and the aspirant might leave the noviciate at this time. At the end of the two year period the novices who satisfied their superiors of their abilities and intentions made a retreat, then pronounced vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Noviciate terms were sometimes lengthened by assignment to teaching duties.¹⁷

The Oblates opened their Nazareth Seminary in New Westminster in 1896. They managed to operate this minor seminary, offering the first stages of studies for the priesthood, until 1909.¹⁸ The courses in Latin, religion and classics prepared men for the major seminary Latin curriculum in eastern Canada or the eastern United States. Only two sons of British Columbia families began studies for the priesthood at the New Westminster institution.¹⁹ The one son of a British Columbia family who entered the noviciate for the brotherhood during the turn of the century years served his canonical terms along with mature aspirants to the brotherhood at the Oblate provincial house in the same physical complex as St. Louis College, New Westminster, rather than at the seminary. For the aspirants to the priesthood the official noviciate terms occurred at the major seminary stage.

Between 1896 and 1909 the seminary did not supply enough local priests or train enough foreign students to replace the pioneer Oblates who died or retired. Few scholastics from Europe or the East came to New Westminster to complete studies and intern prior to ordination.²⁰ Furthermore ordained Oblate priests sent to British Columbia from Europe faced demanding pastoral work. For example, in the Kootenays Roman Catholics wanted services in a range of Aboriginal and Eastern European languages in addition to English.²¹ Development of military service requirements in France and demands for priests in other territories cut the numbers available for British Columbia. The Oblates' Ottawa seminary remained predominantly French despite James McGuckin's efforts to orient it toward training English-speaking priests for Ontario and Western Canada.²² Few new Oblate priests arrived in British Columbia to serve as replacements for the pioneers.

Oblate superiors at New Westminster often had to draw scholastics and novice brothers away from studies to fill in for seminary professors or missionary pastors. The seminary professors held double appointments at St. Louis College boys' school. The school and its boarding students required constant attention.²³ By 1912 the principal and most of the staff were laymen, like John R. MacDonald B.A., a graduate of St. Francis Xavier University, in Nova Scotia. The nephew of the new Vancouver archbishop, MacDonald had few links to local families. When he decided to become a priest he went east for seminary studies and did not return west after ordination.²⁴

FORMING THE NEXT GENERATION OF MISSIONARIES

Tracing representative British Columbia entrants to membership in the two congregations shows how the first generation of missionaries formed the next. The biographies of Sister Mary Charles and Oblate Father William Murphy, and Sister Mary Barbara and her sibling, Oblate Father Herbert Bessette, show how the Sisters of Saint Ann developed associations with regional families and the Oblates did not. Sister Mary Charles was the daughter of Irish Peter McQuade who came to Victoria with his family during the booming goldrush years. His ship chandlery business provided the wealth needed for a fine home for his wife and family and a convent education for their daughters. Two of them, Cecilia, born in 1849, and Anna, born in 1850, drew on his support when they went east to Lachine to enter the noviciate, and when they took vows as Sisters Mary Charles and Mary Agnes. Mrs. McQuade became a major benefactor of the Sisters of St. Ann, travelling to Lachine to visit her daughters. Their musical and teaching abilities meant they would spend most of their careers in eastern convent academies. Sister Mary Charles' appointment as provincial superior in the west came just after the Religious of the Sacred Heart established their Vancouver

convent academy and the Sisters of Saint Ann were having to compete for wealthy pupils. The economic depression begun in 1913 also made her 1914 to 1917 term as mother provincial a difficult one. She retired to the infirmary at Lachine and died in 1927.²⁵

William Murphy, born on his parents' homestead at Lac la Hache, B.C. in 1865, attended St. Joseph's Mission School at Williams Lake and St. Louis College in New Westminster. He went to the Oblate noviciate at Lachine in 1885 and then to Ottawa to study for the priesthood and teach at the University of Ottawa, become its rector from 1905 to 1911. Before William died in 1915 his brother Denis had become a supreme court judge in B.C. But from his Ottawa post William Murphy had been able to do little to encourage schools of the Oblates or vocations to the Oblates in British Columbia by word or by example.²⁶

Herbert Bessette, born near Vernon, B.C., was of French-Canadian ancestry. He studied at St. Louis College in New Westminster, but did his seminary studies in Buffalo, N.Y. and Tewksbury, Mass., and was ordained by Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston in 1912. After his ordination Bessette served British Columbia and prairie parishes and Indian schools. In the 1920s the anglophone parishes and schools of those areas became part of a new anglophone Oblate province headquartered in Ottawa. The congregation never posted him back to rural Lumby near Vernon, where his parents had farmed. Thus Bessette spent time in British Columbia as a role model for all its Catholic youth, but not for those in his home community which was, it is interesting to note, a French-Canadian settlement.²⁷

Sisters of Saint Ann like Herbert Bessette's siblings Mary and Malvina made a different public impression. Both of them attended St. Ann's Academy in New

Westminster before entering the noviciate. Mary became Sister Mary Sabina, a nurse at St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria, where she died of tuberculosis in 1904 at age twenty-five.²⁸ Her sibling, Malvina, lived for sixty-four years after her 1902 religious profession as Sister Mary Barbara. She began her religious life as a teacher, but soon transferred into nursing. Thereafter she nursed and administered hospitals in Alaska, Campbell River and Smithers, B.C. When her health declined in the 1950s her sisterhood assigned her to Okanagan Valley posts near her relatives. After her death in 1967 she would be remembered fondly by historians of her congregation, her family and her local community. Her nursing career, like that of her fellow nuns, inspired other British Columbia women to take up the option of becoming a nurse and a Sister of Saint Ann. The careers of Alaskan nursing Sisters also helped to attract vocations from the eastern provinces and states.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA GENERATION OF SISTERS OF SAINT ANN

Analysis of the biographies of the locally born or raised entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates in British Columbia, particularly the Sisters, shows they were similar to the first or pioneer generation in background and religious life.²⁹ Both this finding and the fact that a larger number of daughters of local families became nuns [22] than sons who became priests and brothers [4] support the argument that the Sisters of Saint Ann formed a dynasty and the Oblates did not.

By background, the 22 women entering the sisterhood were mainly from Roman Catholic urban families, whereas the earlier generation came from rural communities. Two of the second generation were born Protestant and converted to Catholicism after attending St. Ann's Victoria. One was an orphan left with the Sisters at age ten. Six others were motherless.³⁰ There were five sets of biological sisters.³¹ By ethnicity 11

of the entrants were Irish or Irish-Canadian, 4 French Canadian, 2 English, 2 German, and one was a Scot. Twenty of twenty-two had attended a school run by the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia. Six of those had taken piano lessons – for which an extra fee was charged and which therefore can be used as some indicator of parental affluence.

Four of the British Columbia aspirants had post secondary education and work experience as single women prior to entry. This characteristic was rare among late-nineteenth century women. Sister Mary Augustine [Mary Parsons] came to the noviciate as a school teacher in her late twenties. Sister Mary Matthew [Ann McBride] arrived after completing normal school and business courses in the United States. Her initiation of commercial classes at urban St. Ann's schools in Victoria and Vancouver meant that Sister Mary Donalda [Marie-Raisa Lascelle] had the training to work in an office for a few years before applying for entrance. Sister Mary Thomas of the Rosary [Annie Grey] trained as a nurse with the Sisters of Providence in Portland, Oregon.³²

Most of the twenty-two British Columbia entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann began their introduction to religious life at age eighteen in Victoria, although six took their vows at Lachine. Three of the British Columbia aspirants chose religious names which marked them as 'spiritual sisters' of deceased members of the congregation who had served in the province.³³

Nineteen of twenty-two British Columbia origin sisters spent most of their careers in the province. One of the others, Sister Mary Charles [Cecilia McQuade], returned west from Lachine for a three year term as provincial superior in 1914. Nine worked only in urban institutions. Twelve had mixed experience of town and mission schools or hospitals. Six took nurses training at St. Joseph's Hospital in Victoria where

the Sisters of Saint Ann opened a nursing school in 1900. Seven served in Alaska or Yukon missions. None of the Sisters left the congregation. The average number of years in religion was forty-five. The range of age at death was 25 to 93 years, with the average age at death being 66 years. Most of the nuns survived their sixtieth birthday and half died after their seventieth. For eight of these sisters there were large local funerals.

With so many biographic similarities - age, Catholicism, schooling, careers - between the second generation of nuns originating in British Columbia and the first generation from Quebec, it is not surprising that they got on well with the Lachine-based administration.³⁴ By contrast other Canadian congregations comprising French and Irish-Canadian Sisters split on linguistic lines.³⁵ The Sisters of Saint Ann continued on good relations with the church hierarchy, despite the arrival of Maritime archbishops and other congregations as competitors. The Sisters of Saint Ann cooperated with the latter groups in the lead up to formation of the Canadian Federation of Convent Alumnae in 1931.³⁶

Two significant aspects of both groups' second generation emerge from discussion of these biographies: the absence of Native entrants, and the gap in non-Native entrants 1878-1890. None of the nuns or priests came from Aboriginal families. This situation contrasts with nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries in British Columbia. They prepared male Natives for the ministry and allowed Native women preachers.³⁷ Unlike the Grey Nuns who served the Red River and N.W.T. mission schools after 1844, and unlike the Sisters of the Child Jesus who served in British Columbia Indian mission schools after 1896, the Sisters of Saint Ann did not enroll Native women as coadjutrix members of the congregation.³⁸ Yet they did hire former

halfbreed students as helpers and helped them get teaching jobs.³⁹ They also inspired at least one former St. Mary's Mission School student, Agnes, daughter of chief Alexis of Cheam, to start teaching a day school in her home village.⁴⁰

A brief review of the criteria for entrance to the Sisters of Saint Ann sheds light on how and why women entered the sisterhood and why some women, particularly Native women, did not enter it. The term Native is used to encompass both Aboriginal women and women of Aboriginal descent. To become a member of the Sisters of Saint Ann an aspirant had to be a baptized, practising Catholic single woman of legitimate birth and good character. She should also express the desire to live a religious life and to accept appointment as a teacher, nurse or missionary. Daughters of fur trade country marriages or settlement era liaisons often had difficulty proving their legitimacy.

Mary Englund's story provides a case in point. Mary was born in 1904 to a French-Canadian father and a Lillooet mother. She went to St. Mary's Mission Indian Boarding School from age eight. At sixteen she wanted to become a nun but her family could not provide funds for noviciate education and she could not provide proof of her parents' legitimate marriage. The nuns tried to help her with musical training to meet the educational requirements but, learning of her concern regarding her parents' marriage, discouraged her from entering the order. Mary Englund's story helps explain why none of the halfbreed helpers applied for entrance, even though there was provision for accepting poor but promising applicants without fees for the probationary term, or a dowry of clothes and supplies.⁴¹

Given the formal requirements for Roman Catholic beliefs, Euro-Canadian-style legitimacy and the possibility of waiving the dowry, entrance to the Sisters of Saint Ann was determined by race more than by class. Although the Sisters' noviciate was only

two years' long and made some provision for lay assistant status, it was no more accessible in terms of race than the Oblate noviciate.⁴²

The story of Amanda, a Saanich woman, who became a lay assistant but did not proceed to the noviciate helps explain why no Aboriginal women followed Marie Mainville into the coadjutrix noviciate. Amanda converted to Catholicism at St. Ann's Victoria by 1862, came to live with the nuns and became a cook at the View Street convent. Her assignment was given out each year with the annual appointments. The nuns believed she had the qualifications to become a member of the religious community, but the priests only permitted her to take an annual vow of virginity. They doubted she could persist in vows of chastity and obedience. After ten years Amanda gave in to the coaxing of her relatives and returned to live with them, and to marry according to their culture.⁴³

The opening of the Victoria noviciate in 1890 and formalization of coadjutrix status meant later aspirants to membership in the sisterhood faced greater scrutiny, as Mary Englund's story showed. Meanwhile white women like Elizabeth and Anna Grimm who entered at Victoria as coadjutrix in the 1890s and 1900s went through a noviciate very similar to that of the choir nuns. As Sisters Mary Amelia and Wilhelmina, they had little difficulty in transferring to the choir nun category either early in their careers, or in 1926 when the congregation merged the two categories.⁴⁴

From 1878 to 1890 no women from British Columbia families entered the Sisters of Saint Ann. Before and after those dates they did enter for reasons such as a spiritual call, the boarding school experience, the work or career opportunities, the presence of a sibling in the sisterhood, the mentorship or role modelling of a particular sister. Reasons for the gap in entrants 1878 to 1890 are also varied.

The spiritual call to religious life needed material support. Between 1878 and 1890, the provincial economy suffered the decline of the gold mines, the ups and downs of the cattle ranches, and the wait for the railway. Paying pupils at Cowichan and Williams Lake convents declined, while the numbers of orphans supported by the Sisters of Saint Ann rose.⁴⁵ Parents who could afford to send their daughters to convent boarding schools had several options on the Pacific Coast, other than St. Ann's Victoria or its branches in New Westminster, Nanaimo and Kamloops.⁴⁶ Over the late nineteenth century the number of Roman Catholic families in the total provincial population declined.⁴⁷ These families were the most likely to send daughters to nuns for education. The health problems of St. Ann's and other boarding schools, specifically epidemics of disease and the endemic tuberculosis, cut pupil numbers and parental interest.⁴⁸ Young women who felt spiritual calls but needed to first earn money for novicate fees may have been diverted.⁴⁹ Women who wanted to teach were, from 1871, able to obtain certification via examination without normal school attendance; many did so for a short time and then married. However, Catholics were not normally hired as public school teachers in British Columbia before 1900, a factor which may have diverted other candidates.⁵⁰

Conditions of life and work for the nuns, particularly caring for orphans at Cowichan, St. Mary's Mission and St. Joseph's Williams Lake, may well have dampened the religious enthusiasm of young women. The opening of the 1886 Alaskan missions brought reports of suffering as well as tales of the nuns' adventures. The opening of St. Joseph's Hospital Victoria in 1876 predated the opening of its nursing school by twenty-four years. Until 1900, for staffing purposes, the hospital took nuns away from vocation-promoting positions in convent boarding schools. The nuns' preferences for

teaching positions over hospital appointments involving heavy work may also have been communicated to students at St. Ann's Academy, Victoria.⁵¹

The presence of a sibling in the sisterhood and the mentorship of a role model took time to develop as reasons for entrance. All of the British Columbia aspirants to the Sisters of Saint Ann before 1878 had attended the Victoria convent. Its long term superior Mother Mary Providence moved from her post to the hospital superiorship from 1883 to 1892. Her replacement, the young Sister Mary Anne of Jesus, was dynamic, but new to the province.⁵² The New Westminster, Nanaimo, Kamloops and Vancouver schools were just getting going in the 1870s and 1880s. It might take up to ten years for the Sisters of Saint Ann to encourage young women to enter the noviciate.

Young British Columbia women might have been influenced negatively regarding entrance to the sisterhood by the presence of an eccentric member, Sister Mary Theodore. The niece of one of the founding members of the congregation, she was educated in upstate New York, entered the Lachine noviciate, and came to British Columbia in 1878. Appointed to teach or supervise in Cowichan, Nanaimo, New Westminster and Victoria, and then to instruct novices, she preferred to set her own direction, choose her own assignments, and especially to work with the chronicles and archives in Victoria. Her necrology diplomatically says she preferred her own literary interests to set teaching assignments and managed to excuse herself from her share of domestic chores.⁵³ In many ways her character, career path, and influence on vocations parallel those of Adrien-Gabriel Morice.⁵⁴

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA GENERATION OF OBLATES

If persistence of her own people's religion and family ties and Euro-Canadian missionary attitudes were the reasons a Saanich woman like Amanda gave up on the

possibility of joining the sisterhood, consider what it would have been like for a Saanich man to join the brotherhood, let alone the priesthood. In nineteenth-century British Columbia, the Oblates were a French-based congregation of priests ordained for sacerdotal duties and brothers who assisted them in catechetical and technical work. Aspirants to the priesthood had to meet similar qualifications as to the sisterhood but with the addition of the necessity of education to the secondary level and Latin. Furthermore, French was the language of most of the Oblate rectories.

As regards non-Aboriginal entrants, one major reason for the small number of aspirants to the British Columbia Oblates was that they ran only one secondary school for boys, St. Louis College in New Westminster. Few Catholic youths had a chance to study Latin or learn conversational French. Many settler families in the province were subsistence farmers or loggers who did not have the cash to pay for student fees and for a labourer to replace an adolescent son as a worker. The mission Indian schools, and later government funded Indian residential schools, did not offer secondary classes for boys.⁵⁵ Thus race even more than class limited the possibility of British Columbians' entrance to the Oblate congregation.⁵⁶

Between 1896 and 1909, preparation for the priesthood could begin at the minor seminary, Nazareth Seminary, in New Westminster. Formal noviciate and full theological studies required a six year stay in eastern Canada or the eastern United States. The Ottawa seminary was, at the turn of the century, increasingly dominated by francophone Oblates.⁵⁷ Therefore, two of the three pre-1914 British Columbia Oblate vocations to the priesthood, Bessette and Swencisky, were sent to the Oblates' American seminaries. Perpetual vows were made at or near the end of such studies around the time of ordination to the priesthood.

By contrast, aspirants to the brotherhood were not required to be proficient in Latin beyond the common prayers. Entrance to the brothers' noviciate should have been easy for Aboriginal or settler youth. Brothers took temporary vows after one or two years of probation but waited six to eight years for perpetual vows. There was no formal training program for the brothers, no classes in pedagogy, and no requirement that their noviciate be completed at the provincehouse. Brothers, like sisters, might be released from the noviciate by mutual agreement with their superiors.⁵⁸ Several brothers left the congregation after temporary vows, and some after perpetual vows. It is important to note that most of the brothers who entered and professed in British Columbia were mature men who would be called 'late vocations' today.

The lives and career paths of the twenty-two British Columbia origin Sisters of Saint Ann contrast sharply with the comparable group of Oblates, but the racial pattern does not. Only four men from British Columbia families joined the Oblates before 1914, three as priests and one as a brother. All were settlers from Roman Catholic families. Three of the four men grew up on farms. The Sisters included two converts, and a majority of them grew up in towns. By ethnicity, in comparison with the Sisters' Irish majority, only one Oblate [William Murphy] was Irish by heritage. Significantly the only brother, Joseph Betancourt, was of mixed Native and Portuguese ancestry. As in the Sisters of Saint Ann, there were no Native pupils from Indian industrial/residential schools who entered the Oblates prior to 1914. Brother Joseph Betancourt's Aboriginal ancestry - on his mother's side of the family - was recorded only after his death in 1968.⁵⁹

There were no siblings of congregation members among the Oblates, in comparison with five sets among the women who joined the sisterhood. The three men

who entered the priesthood all did their secondary education at St. Louis College, New Westminster. William Murphy had begun his schooling at St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake, with Irish-born Father James McGuckin. None of these three men had notable work experience prior to entrance. Joseph Betancourt, however, aged twenty-seven at entrance, left his father's farm on Saltspring Island to work as an orderly for the nuns in St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria.

Whereas the majority [15 of 22] of Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia made their noviciate in Victoria, the Oblate candidates for priestly ordination from British Columbia had to go east to complete their studies. William Murphy went to central Canada and Herbert Bessette and Antoni Swenceski to the eastern United States. Only Brother Joseph Betancourt did his noviciate at New Westminster.

All four of these men would live out their religious lives as Oblates, dying after an average of 44 years of religious profession, and at an average age of 67 years. The time span of religious life and age at death were not that dissimilar from the Sisters [45 years and 66 years]. Neither were their fields of work as congregation members, except for the religious women having Alaskan frontier mission experience. Murphy taught at the University of Ottawa. Bessette and Swenceski ministered to non-Aboriginal parishes or supervised Indian missions or government-funded Indian schools in Western Canada. None of the three, however, worked as wilderness missionaries. Betancourt served as long term aide to the Roman Catholic parish and schools of New Westminster. He lived to be 93, gaining fame as "Brother Joe," the grand old man of his congregation in the Catholic community of British Columbia.⁶⁰

With the exception of Betancourt's wide recognition, the British Columbia Oblates' identity in the region was subsumed in that of their congregation. The Oblates

of British Columbia, with the exception of A-G. Morice, had no major conflicts with their congregation's superior general. Augustin Dontenwill, the British Columbia local superior and bishop, was elected superior general in 1908, the same year that the diocese of Vancouver became an archdiocese. British Columbia Oblates came into conflict with the Maritimers who replaced Dontenwill as metropolitan archbishop in Vancouver, owing to structural tensions between an Anglo-Canadian archbishop and a French-based international congregation.⁶¹

Overall, the early twentieth century Oblates became identified with the international church and congregation, rather than local people. The colleagues of the four pre-1914 British Columbia-origin Oblates came mainly from francophone Europe, Ireland and French Canada. Since the majority of Oblate priests were francophones, they reinforced the public image of the Oblates as 'outsiders' to anglophone North American families.⁶² This image was softened by those priests who showed empathy for the Irish and French-Canadian diasporas, and by those Oblates, like Nicolas Coccola, who provided humanitarian service and healthcare to residents of outlying regions without regard to religious affiliation. Such men elicited praise, as for example, in the personal diaries of public school inspector Alex Lord.⁶³

Historians have cited the growth and decline of the Durieu system as the explanation for long term developments in Oblate history in British Columbia.⁶⁴ They overlook the significance of the fact that the Oblates ran few schools for settlers. There was no "generation of Oblates born in the West" to take up "the burden that the pioneers [had] borne so far."⁶⁵ The one such British Columbia Oblate institution, New Westminster's St. Louis College, produced only a handful of vocations. In contrast to

the order's colleges in the western interior, and to the Methodists' Columbian College in New Westminster, it educated few halfbreed and no Aboriginal students.⁶⁶

Recent essays on Western Oblate history provide interesting background on the Oblates' 'foreign' image and lack of indigenous vocations. Martha McCarthy's research on Oblate missions to the Dene of the Athabaska Mackenzie showed that a few students sent "to Quebec for training [for the priesthood] died there, and the rest found seminary life too difficult and confining. Training in the North was unavailable." By contrast the Anglican Church Missionary Society ordained "Native ministers in the field." Since Roman Catholic Aboriginal boys "spent less time at residential schools than did the girls," they did not get "the groundwork" for seminary studies.⁶⁷ However, McCarthy concludes that, for the Dene, a "more important drawback to indigenous vocations was the rule of celibacy." This drawback no doubt applied in British Columbia, as well.

Raymond Huel's study of the Oblate missionaries to the Western Interior finds they used European Christianity as a model. In their sense of European superiority, Oblate priests felt they had to raise Natives peoples up to it. They promoted "a spiritual whiteman's burden, a mission civilisatrice." Their missions and schools were "colonial institutions... administered by outsiders," and "dominated by a white majority at all levels." Natives were "marginalized," as a "passive if not captive audience." Oblate efforts to encourage indigenous vocations failed here too. Bishop Vital Grandin's minor seminary at St. Albert produced only one ordained priest. Meanwhile the Oblates in Ceylon encouraged enough vocations to have fifty per cent indigenous clergy by the 1920s.⁶⁸

CONCLUSION

The history of the succession from first to second generation groups shows that the Sisters of Saint Ann formed a local dynasty parallel to the established settler families. The British Columbia origin nuns stand out in comparison with the pioneer groups of both male and female religious in being more Anglo-Canadian, more urban in background, and more likely to have worked in commerce or teaching or nursing before entrance. In these characteristics they were similar to many women teachers of British Columbia from non-Native families in the years before 1914.⁶⁹ At the same time the British Columbia origin Sisters of Saint Ann were, in contrast to their predecessors, more likely to come from a motherless family, to have attended a St. Ann's school, and to have a relation in the congregation, or to develop a spiritual relationship with a deceased member by choosing to bear her name. The motherless daughters entering a new family and the younger women adopting 'family' names were significant. The British Columbia origin Sisters of Saint Ann in comparison with both generations of Oblates are distinguished as members of a unified sisterhood, a unified religious family. Even though the French Oblates formed a tight knit group, they were declining in numbers in the 1900s, and then withdrew to their homeland. The French Oblate province ceased sending priests to British Columbia in 1908.⁷⁰

The British Columbia entrants to the Oblates, like the nuns, were English-speaking, but came from rural rather than urban families. The three priests, as graduates of the one Oblate college in the province, were part of a distinct minority. The Oblate entrants, three priests and one brother, were very different from non-Roman Catholic contemporaries in lives and work. Within their own congregation these four

men, or even the three priests, did not form an identifiable group. Rather they were subsumed in its larger French and Irish divisions.

In comparison with their male contemporaries in British Columbia, and with the Pacific island Catholic missionaries in Langmore's study, the Sisters of Saint Ann stand out for their dynasty. They helped raise children of the region in schools and orphanages. The Sisters' second generation included several young women from settler families as well as new immigrants. The Sisters thus became indigenous with local settler society. The Oblates did not, much as they shared religious, class and racial beliefs with the nuns. In this way, gender shaped generational continuity for the pioneer generations of Roman Catholic missionaries in British Columbia.

Notes

¹ Diane Langmore, Missionary Lives, Papua, 1874-1914 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 265. Compare Patricia Grimshaw, Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 179-181, 193-196. Louise Dechêne, Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal, trans. Liana Vardi (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 275-276, contains interesting comments on the two female orders' ability to attract recruits and the lack of male vocations.

² Of the thirty first generation Oblates in British Columbia, 25 died in the province. J.X. Villemard, however, died as an Anglican minister. As to those who died outside British Columbia: Fathers C. Grandidier and H.T. Lempfrit left the congregation before they died in France. E. Horris died in Ireland. P. Hough was dispensed with his vows as a brother and is presumed to have died in Oregon after 1926. Brother P. Ryan transferred to Alberta and died there.

Of the twenty-four first generation Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, 6 died outside the province, but at the motherhouse at Lachine, Quebec. They were Sisters Mary Beatrice, Bonsecours, Marie Mainville—Sept Douleurs, Patrick, Praxedes, and Sophie.

³ Oblate Archives Vancouver, Durieu--Prince George Correspondence file, Lettres de Monseigneur Louis d'Herbomez, Circulaire 7 février 1888, regarding the penury of the vicariate, its increasing settler population and the need for priests. The bishop asked for a collection at Easter to pay for the education of candidates for the priesthood whom he had brought from Europe.

⁴ See Appendices Entrants to the Oblates and Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families for a detailed explanation of how I traced British Columbia born and raised Oblates and Sisters. Sister Margaret Cantwell, Archivist of the Sisters of Saint Ann, Victoria, B.C., wrote me May 5, 1996 to confirm that 54 women attended the Victoria noviciate between its founding in 1890 and 1914. Establishing accurate statistics is difficult. Noviciate registers do not always detail where novices were born or raised. Some novices came west from Lachine to do part or all of their noviciate in Victoria. Some novices came from abroad, e.g. Sister Mary Gertrude of Jesus Weimer from Germany, professed in 1896.

For the Oblates the numbers were established by construction of tables from Gaston Carrière, o.m.i. Dictionnaire biographique es Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, Tome I 1976, Tome II 1977, and Tome III 1979), and archival research. No register of the seminary was available in the Oblate Archives Vancouver. Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique I, introduction, explains that there is no Oblate equivalent for the Sisters of Saint Ann annual Nominations, i.e. list of assignments, given at Victoria for the province of B.C. Oblate obediences, i.e. assignments, were often given verbally. The official list, the 'Personnel' was not published regularly. The list of annual assignments might be the only way to establish for certain which men had entered the noviciate of the Oblates as brothers as terms and dates for stages of noviciate and vows varied. The Sisters of Saint Ann's Nominations do indicate the presence of lay assistants under temporary vows, e.g. Marie Mainville.

⁵ N. de Bertrand Lugin, and John Hosie ed., The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island 1843-1866 (Victoria: The Women's Canadian Club of Victoria, 1928), 136-45.

⁶ F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present (Vancouver: S.J. Clarke, 1914), Vol. II, 605-652 on the history of the Roman Catholic church in British Columbia; Vol. III, 1126-1130 on Timothy Casey; Vol. IV, 796-797 on St. Ann's Academy, Victoria, founded in 1858 and Vol. IV, 807 on St. Margaret's, Victoria, founded in 1908.

7 Missions 1888, 72 ff, J.M. Le Jacq's report on the 1887 reunion at St. Mary's Mission on the Fraser. Alan Morley, Roar of the Breakers (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967), 26 details the life of Haida Peter Kelly as a Methodist Minister and mentions the first ordained Native on the coast was Rev. W.H. Pierce, a man of Aboriginal and Scots descent.

8 Rural settler families might send their daughters to mission schools like that at Cowichan which served boarders as well as orphans. Annie Grey, who made vows as Sister Mary Thomas of the Rosary SSA at Lachine in 1904, had attended St. Ann's Cowichan. Necrology of Sister Mary Thomas of the Rosary #876 Annie Grey, b. 1878, professed 1904, died 1913. ASSAV RG I S 24-1-8 Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur) SSA, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission, B.C. 1868-1892 [label on cover of French manuscript version, probably supplied by Sister Mary Theodore SSA who translated the diary in 1927. References here are to French manuscript version], 45 on "Métisses" enrolled 1874-75 year, and 50 for 1883-84 account of two white Protestant orphan girls sent to St. Mary's from New Westminster owing to the city's lack of an orphanage. Missions 1898, 255, Bishop P. Durieu reported to the general chapter that pupils at Industrial schools such as Williams Lake included 'Indians' and children of European Catholic farmers.

9 Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions." Statistics on St. Mary's Mission Indian Boarding School can be compiled from Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports. Missions 1865, 292, Father F. Gendre writing in 1863 says the boys' school had 42 pupils in its first year. Missions 1881, 387-395, A-G. Morice, writing in 1881 gives the total school enrollment of boys and girls as 50. ASSAV RG I S 24-1-8 Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur) SSA, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission, B.C. 1868-1892, gives examples of Aboriginal parents consigning children to the nuns' care. Sister Mary Lumena also refers to the Oblate-run boys' school as the "orphelinat des garçons," and the pupils of both schools as orphans. ASSAV RG I S 19 Box 19-1 Provincial Prefect of Studies Education Records and Data, book titled "Statistiques," and dated inside cover 1888-1942. The Provincial Prefect of Studies of the Sisters of Saint Ann sent annual statistical reports to the general administration. The tables on pupils instructed include headings such as "orph.," "orph. metisse," and "orph. indienne" well into the twentieth century. Laura Peers, "Subsistence, Secondary Literature, and Gender Bias: The Sauleteaux," in Women of the First Nations, ed. C. Miller and P. Chuchryk (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 48 describes Sauleteaux women not as "passive victims of history" but people who were "skilled" at "surviving" and "coping." Compare: Michael C. Coleman, "The Response of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis through Missionary Sources," History of Education Quarterly 27: 4 (Winter 1987), 496 and note 41.

10 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-8 Sister Mary Lumena (Brasseur) SSA, Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission, B.C. 1868-1892 on 'protecting' girl pupils by keeping them at school; Diane Payment, "'La vie en rose?' Métis Women at Batoche, 1870 to 1920," in Women of the First Nations ed. C. Miller and P. Chuchryk (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 19-38, on the Oblates' use of the term "le sexe," a "derogatory term that implied women's weakness, inferiority and sexual role. Its use reflected the inferior status of women and male attitudes of the time."

11 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1 "Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, Victoria, 1858-1868," Narrées par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs. Gigi Huxley, "The Role of St. Mary's Mission School in Settlement," BC Historical News 17: 2 (1984), 16-17. Compare Anita Bonson, "A Tale of Two Susans...." Ph.D 1997, on Susan Suckley.

12 Juliet Pollard, "Growing Up Metis: Fur Trade Children in the Pacific Northwest," in An Imperfect Past. Education and Society in Canadian History, ed. J.D. Wilson (Vancouver, B.C.: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1984), 124-125.

- 13 Indian Affairs RG 10 Vol. 3658 File 9404 Victoria, B.C., Correspondence Regarding the Concubinage of Indian Women by White Men 1878-1884. [UBC Microfilm AW1 R6402: 18 MCR C#10115] I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1884.
- 14 Brother John Burns and Brother Henry De Vries, for example, made profession of vows as Oblate brothers in their late forties. See appendix List of Oblates of Mary Immaculate ... by Date of Arrival in British Columbia.
- 15 Soeur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos, s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne un siècle d'histoire Tome I: 1850-1950 (Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 1950), 297-298. At the Lachine motherhouse two novices and two postulants were designated to go west to help found the Victoria noviciate. See Necrology SSA I, 71, for the biography of Sister Mary Thomas of the Rosary, Annie Grey. She was a student of St. Ann's Cowichan and then Victoria. She studied nursing with the Sisters of Providence in Portland, Oregon. The Sisters of Saint Ann were glad she chose to enter their noviciate at Lachine and not that of the Sisters of Providence. The Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary also had a noviciate in Portland, Oregon.
- 16 See appendix Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families. Novices from Germany have already been noted. The Irish entrants are exemplified by Mary McCullough. According to the obituary in the Monthly Bulletin April 1920, 22-24, Mary McCullough came from Belfast, Ireland, in 1912 "to enter the teaching sisterhood of St. Ann's." As Sister Mary Malachy she taught for several years in Vancouver before going to Alaska. Her biological sister, Anne had also joined the congregation under the name Sister Mary Lucinda.
- 17 Cantwell, North to Share, 5-11.
- 18 Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., 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), 238. The Vancouver Diocese directory of 1905 locates the seminary at 7th St. and 4th Ave in New Westminster, not at St. Louis College.
- 19 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome I-III. [I, 89-90] Herbert Bessette and Antoni Swenceski began their seminary studies in New Westminster. Carrière says John O'Neill and Bernard McKenna studied at St. Louis College in New Westminster. O'Neill, however, came to Canada as a young adult. His family remained in Ireland. Similarly McKenna had studied at St. Patrick's College, Armagh and then at St. Louis. The dates of their studies lead me to believe they were men recruited by McGuckin's plan to gain vocations for British Columbia by financing the immigration of young men interested in serving its missions.
- 20 It is difficult to establish how many men came to complete their studies at New Westminster since names and numbers of dropouts were not recorded. I could trace only two definitively, Heinrich Boening and Pierre Plamondon. Number established by construction of tables from Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome I-III and archival research. No register of the seminary was available in the Oblate Archives Vancouver.
- 21 Whitehead, ed., They Call Me Father , 133. Nicolas Coccola spoke of the demands for Slavic language services for immigrant workers in Fernie and Kootenay mines. Some European Oblate priests chose to transfer out of the region or leave the congregation, perhaps because of the heavy workload. See Appendix Entrants to the Oblates. In the early-twentieth century, Rémi Pécoul and Jean Wagner left the Oblates and British Columbia and became secular priests serving the diocese of Boise, Idaho.

- 22 Gaston Carrière, Histoire documentaire de la congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada tome XII (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1975), 90-92 on James McGuckin OMI as rector of the University of Ottawa in 1890 attempting to establish an English language juniorate so as to attract "English-speaking boys" to the seminary. McGuckin contended the Oblates could "get all the French Canadians [they wanted] without a Juniorate. They are not fitted for the great wants of the [western Canadian] missions or [the Ottawa] college." The Oblates should promote vocations in Ontario and in Ireland. McGuckin also noted that the Oblates' French Canadian seminarians at Lachine and Archeville made little effort to learn English. The French-Irish controversy in the Roman Catholic community in Ottawa has been discussed by Robert Choquette.
- 23 Information on St. Louis College staffing compiled from Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique tome I-III.
- 24 On lay staff see Canada Ecclesiastique, 1908. Peter Nearing, He Loved the Church: The Biography of John R. MacDonald Fifth Bishop of Antigonish (Antigonish: Casket Printing and Publishing, 1975), says little on MacDonald's days in the west. University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections MG 240, Father G. Forbes OMI Papers, Box 2 file 2-32 on St. Peter's parish, New Westminster, B.C. Father George Forbes, O.M.I. notes that John MacDonald was a 1910 graduate of St. Francis Xavier, became director of St. Louis College, New Westminster, B.C. 1911-1912, and then went on to attend the Grand Seminary of Laval 1912 to 1914.
- 25 Necrology SSA I, 98-100, Sister Mary Charles.
- 26 Oblate writers like A-G. Morice did little to celebrate Irish Oblate achievements. Compare Gaston Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique II, 418-419, biography of Murphy, with the silence of A-G. Morice, The History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada (1910). Whitehead, ed., They Call Me Father, 145. Coccola in his memoirs notes a visit to Murphy, rector of Ottawa University in Ottawa but does not explain his background.
- 27 Carrière, Dictionnaire biographique I, 89-90, on Herbert Bessette. From 1912 Bessette served successively in New Westminster, Vancouver, Kamloops, Cranbrook, as a preacher based out of Vancouver, and then in Fernie, B.C. From 1930-32 he served in Ottawa, and from 1932 to 1933 in Saskatoon. From 1934 on he was an administrator and chaplain at Indian residential schools. On Lumby history see Lumby Historians, Grassroots of Lumby 1877-1927 (Lumby, B.C.: Lumby Historians, 1979).
- 28 Necrology SSA II on Sister Mary Sabina and June 6, 1967, 529-534 on Sister Mary Barbara. Sister Mary Barbara's necrology in mimeographed form is also filed along with Herbert Bessette's in UBC Special Collections MG 240, Father George Forbes OMI Papers.
- 29 See Appendix Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families. Amanda, a Saanich woman who took annual vows as a lay assistant in Victoria in the late 1860s is excluded. She left the convent to marry. She did not, like Marie Mainville, the lay assistant of 1858 to 1883, become a coadjutrix Sister.
- 30 The orphan was Sister Mary Catherine of Siena, Mary McEntee. The nuns who were motherless were: Sisters Mary Adolphus, Barbara, Donald, Romuald, Sabina and Thecla. For biographic details see Appendix Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families.
- 31 Sisters Mary Agnes and Charles [Anna and Cecilia McQuade], Sisters Mary Amelia and Wilhelmina [Elizabeth and Anna Grimm], Sisters Mary Barbara and Sabina [Malvina and Mary Bessette], Sisters

Mary Lucretia and Thecla [Suzanna and Margaret Hagan], and the twins Sisters Mary Ethelreda and Priscilla [Josephine and Pauline Lyons] and their half-sister, Sister Mary Romuald [Mary Lyons]. Also, one of the pre-1914 British Columbia entrants, Sister Mary Veronica [Marie Lagacé] had a younger sister who became a Sister of Saint Ann, Sister Mary Marcellus.

32 For biographic details on these women see Appendix Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families. Sister Mary Augustine's [Mary Parson's] necrology does not state her place of origin or the locations of her teacher training and teaching experience. I presume she had taught in British Columbia as, based on the examples of her colleagues, American education or experience would have been indicated.

33 Sister Mary Catherine of Siena [Mary McEntee] and Sister Mary Romuald [Mary Lyons] took names of pioneer nuns of the first generation, and Sister Mary Loretto [Katherine Lyter] took that of a distinguished Victoria teacher.

34 Louise Roy s.s.a. Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne. Un siècle d'histoire. Tome II 1900 - 1950 (Montréal: Editions Paulines, 1992).

35 Elizabeth McGahan, "The Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception: A Canadian Case Study," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions 61 (1995), 99-133; and Neil Boucher, "Un exemple du nationalisme de l'église de l'Acadie: les French Sisters chez les Soeurs de la Charité de Saint-Jean 1914-24," Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, Études d'histoire religieuse 60 (1994), 25-34.

36 Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver. GR4 S100/17 Box 2 Folder 16 Canadian Federation of Convent Alumnae [founded 1931] correspondence and clippings. The sixth [and last] biennial convention of the organization was held at the Sisters of Saint Ann's Little Flower Academy, Vancouver, B.C. in August 1948.

37 Clarence Bolt, Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 35-36, on the preaching of Native convert David Sallosaltan at a Chilliwack Methodist revival in 1868. Alan Morley, Roar of the Breakers (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967), 26, details the life of Haida Peter Kelly as a Methodist Minister and mentions the first ordained Native on the coast was Rev. W.H. Pierce, a man of Aboriginal and Scots descent. Margaret Whitehead, "'Let the Women Keep Silence': Women Missionary Preachers in British Columbia, 1860s-1940s," in Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. E.G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 117-135.

38 Estelle Mitchell s.g.m., The Grey Nuns of Montreal and the Red River Settlement 1844-1984, transl. by J.F. O'Sullivan and C. Rioux s.g.m. (Montreal, n.p., 1991); Archives of the Sisters of the Child Jesus, North Vancouver, B.C., Personnel [Register marked 'Records,' 2K 1/2]. This register lists the Sisters of the Child Jesus who came to British Columbia from France beginning in 1896 and also the women who joined the congregation in British Columbia.

39 ASSAV RG IS 24 Box 24-3 of 3 Victoria Convent Historical Eye-View and Nominations 1858-1940, 74-75, Susan Suckley was employed as a helper when the Nanaimo convent opened in the 1870s, and Tatania Romanoff as a teacher at the Songhees Indian Reserve Day School in the 1890s. Missions 1880, 372-73, mentions Agnes, former St. Mary's Mission pupil, teaching a day school in the village of Cheam. Her father, Alexis, was its chief.

40 Missions 1880, 372-73, E.C. Chirouse (the younger) in a letter of 4 October, 1880, says she was a skillful musician. Missions 1884, 405 mentions Agnes' music instruction and her public speaking ability.

- 41 See "An Indian Remembers," in Margaret Whitehead, Now You Are My Brother. Missionaries in British Columbia (Victoria, B.C. Provincial Archives of British Columbia 1981, Sound Heritage Series Number 34), 57-67. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Sound and Moving Image Division, Accession No. 3868, "Life at an Indian Boarding School," Transcript of an interview by Margaret Whitehead with Mary Englund, July 31, 1980, gives the full version. Information on the provisions for accepting poor but promising applicants from Sister Margaret Cantwell SSA, archivist for the Sisters of Saint Ann, Victoria, B.C. personal communication to the author 1996.
- 42 On the subject of lay assistants see Annals of the Community Vol. LIII, No. 415, Jan.-July 1982, "From the 'Filles de Bonsecours' of 1880 to the Associates of 1982," pp. 87-90. On coadjutrix status in Canadian congregations of women see Marguerite Jean, s.c.i.m., Evolution des communautés religieuses de femmes au Canada de 1639 à nos jours (Montréal: Fides, 1977).
- 43 ASSAV RG I S 24-1-1 "Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, Victoria, 1858-1868," Narrées par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs, 114-118. ASSAV RG I S 24-2 Chronicles Book One, translated by Jeanne Jodouin, SSA, 1991. See also Sister M. Theodore SSA, manuscript "The Sisters of Saint Ann in the Pacific Northwest Part 1, 109. The original chronicle says Amanda entered into concubinage.
- 44 See Necrology SSA on Sister Mary Amelia (Elizabeth Grimm) and Sister Mary Wilhelmina (Anna Grimm).
- 45 ASSAV RG II Series 36 Box 36 Duncan, British Columbia, St. Ann's School 1864-1869, contains Duncan, B.C. St. Ann's School for Boys Monograph 1864-1950, a typescript history of the Sisters' schools in the Cowichan or Duncan area on Vancouver Island. There is no equivalent volume on Williams Lake, but see Historical Notes and Correspondence in RG II S63 Williams Lake, British Columbia St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888. It contains a letter of Sister Mary of the Infant Jesus to Rev. Mother Irene, July 12, 1930, reminiscing about Williams Lake.
- 46 For Victoria denominational and private schools see advertisements in the Victoria Colonist July 23, 1879: Angela College, Madame Petibeu's School, Instruction for Young Ladies by Mrs. Richard Covington, and the grammar school at the Reformed Episcopal Church conducted by Rev. E. Cridge and Mrs. Cridge. See Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," in Indian Education in Canada Vol. I The Legacy, ed. J. Barman et al (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 110-131, on a Yale, B.C. institution run by an Anglican sisterhood.
- 47 See Barman, West Beyond the West, 383 statistical tables.
- 48 ASSAV RG II S 54 St. Ann's Academy, New Westminster, Scrapbook, clipping of letter to editor from Mr. Jeremiah Rogers defending St. Ann's Academy New Westminster against rumors of scarlet fever at the school in 1879. Florence (Agassiz) Goodfellow, Memories of Pioneer life in British Columbia (Reprint by Kent Centennial Committee, 1971), re tuberculosis deaths of students at Angela College, Victoria in the 1860s and 1870s.
- 49 Kathryn Bridge, Henry and Self (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1996), discusses the financial problems of the Crease family and their daughters. See also B. Powell, "The Diaries of the Crease Family Women," BC Studies 105-106 (Spring-Summer 1995), 46-58..
- 50 Jean Barman, "Pioneer Teachers," in Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, ed. J. Barman, N. Sutherland and J.D. Wilson (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), 189-208.

- 51 ASSAV RG IS 3-1-9 Recommendations de notre très Rev[eren]de Mère Générale, 1-29 avril 1886 [signed Sr. Marie Anastasie Supre Genle] This report of Mother General's 1886 visitation notes Sisters' have been hesitant to take up the heavy workload of nursing assignments.
- 52 Sister Mary Theodore, Pioneer Nuns of British Columbia. Sisters of St. Ann [sic] (Victoria, 1931), on the biography of Sister Mary Anne of Jesus.
- 53 Necrology SSA, December 3, 1951, 449-459, Sister Mary Theodore.
- 54 David Mulhall, Will to Power. The Missionary Career of Father Morice (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).
- 55 The Sisters of Saint Ann began teaching high school classes in Indian Residential Schools in the late 1940s, however, with Oblate assistance.
- 56 It could be argued that the Protestant clergy were more generous in their attitude towards Native students and aspirants to the pulpit, see for example the story of Haida Peter Kelly becoming a Methodist minister in Morley, Roar of the Breakers.
- 57 Carrière. Histoire documentaire Tome XII, 90-92. The Oblates established the Sacré-Coeur juniorate in 1891. According to the Monthly Bulletin, October 1917, 38-43, "Religious Vocations in the West," the western Oblates took until 1917 to open their Edmonton scholasticate. It served both English-speaking and French-speaking candidates.
- 58 William Woestman, The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate: A Clerical Religious Congregation with Brothers (Ottawa: Faculty of Canon Law, St. Paul University, 1995).
- 59 Brother Joseph Betancourt 1875-1968. University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections MG 240, Father G. Forbes OMI Papers, file 2-3, "Clippings and Notes on Brother Joe," explains his mother, known as Catherine Madden, was actually Catherine Paul. She spoke Chinook and Indian languages. His father, Extalno Joseph Bittancourt, came from the Azores. He jumped ship and settled on Saltspring Island. According to his obituary he was 77 at the time of his death, in 1917.
- 60 Kay Cronin's article on Brother Joseph Betancourt, O.M.I. in the BC Catholic, January 23, 1958, 3 and 5.
- 61 See for example, the biography of archbishop Timothy Casey in F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present (Vancouver: S.J. Clarke, 1914), Vol. III, 1126-1130, which details the New Brunswick's cleric's career but omits the Oblates entirely.
- 62 Donat Levasseur, A History of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate Vol. II (Rome General House, 1985), 154, In British Columbia by 1899, five of 27 Oblates were English-speaking priests, and by 1926, 19 of 45.
- 63 Oblates in New Westminster organized celebrations of St. Patrick's Day and named the church hall for the Irish Saint. French-speaking Oblates ministering to the French-Canadian community of Lumbly helped encourage Herbert, Malvina and Mary Bessette in vocations to the religious life. For Alex Lord's comment on Oblate Nicolas Coccoia see John Calam, editor, Alex Lord's British Columbia: Recollections of a Rural School Inspector, 1915-36 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 53 and note 146.

- 64 Whitehead, *They Call Me Father*, "Introduction," 1-73; and Mulhall, *Will to Power*.
- 65 F. Lardon OMI, "Religious Vocations in the West. Native Priesthood Needed," *Monthly Bulletin*, October 1917, 38-43.
- 66 The Manitoba Oblates sent a few Métis like Louis Riel to eastern seminaries, and a few Qu'Appelle Industrial School pupils, like Assiniboine Daniel Kennedy, to Saint Boniface College. See Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions," on Kennedy and Raymond Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel* on Riel.
- 67 Martha McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene 1847-1921* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1995), 93-94.
- 68 Raymond Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996), 237-39 and 272-79. Donat Levasseur, *A History of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate* Vol. I (Rome General House, 1985), 268-269, The Oblates and the Sisters of the Holy Family of Bordeaux established schools and local orders of brothers and sisters in Ceylon. The Oblate seminary in Ceylon produced 9 Ceylonese priests by 1898.
- 69 Barman, "Pioneer Teachers."
- 70 Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., *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), 238.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

This dissertation has compared the founding generations of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia as to their origins, their life histories, their experiences teaching school and their formation of the next generation of religious communities. The findings regarding the dominance of gender in the lives of the two groups of missionaries link it into the broader history of gender, mission and education during the nineteenth century in British Columbia and, indeed, Canada.

Comparing the life histories of the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia indicates that the women's congregation as well as the men's had great autonomy. The twenty-four women had careers as long and wide-ranging as those of the thirty men. The Sisters' relationships with Oblates, the church and the larger society were marked by asymmetry, however. For even though they formed a separate women's organization, they stood politically and socially 'in subordination.'¹

As women the nuns could not become priests in the church, and in society they were not legal persons. The Sisters of Saint Ann saw themselves more as a religious community, as a sisterhood, than as individuals jockeying for power. As Catholics the Sisters believed that their teaching and charitable service would ultimately give them equal spiritual status to men in heaven. They modeled themselves on male missionary saints like Francis Xavier but also on the female relatives of Christ (Anne, Mary and Elizabeth).

The Sisters of Saint Ann built a two-tiered set of schools and institutions. They used elite academy student fees to subsidize schools, orphanages and hospitals for Aboriginals and settlers. Although the Sisters included both French and Irish Canadians under an Irish-Canadian directress, they did not divide along ethnic or national lines.

The French Oblate superiors focussed on Aboriginal missions and subordinated services to settlers. The Oblate mission system comprised central mission posts in each region from which priests travelled to serve and superintend villages of Aboriginal converts. The Oblates regarded Frenchmen adventuring in the wilderness as the most manly missionaries. They went to the ends of the earth, to the heights of missionary effort in official, male Roman Catholic terms. The two Irish Oblate priests and five brothers accommodated English-speaking settlers and students in establishing parishes and schools. But, not surprisingly, such efforts were sidelined by French Oblate administrators.

The organizational history of the two religious congregations in British Columbia is a gendered story. Two missionary systems evolved: The Sisters' system of educative and caring institutions for the peoples of the province and the Oblates modified reduction system for Aboriginal peoples. The Oblates' system became known in academic literature as the Durieu system. School teaching, particularly work in residential schools for Aboriginal children, linked the two systems. These institutions, especially in the early years, served as orphanages as well as schools. The French Oblate leaders aimed to masculinize the missions and feminize school teaching. The Oblates were influenced by their own ideology, shortage of manpower, and the nuns' presence. Some Oblate priests and brothers continued to teach school. The Canadian

Sisters of Saint Ann, however, set most educational policies within both their own institutions and those they ran at Oblate Aboriginal missions. The nuns patterned their Native residential schools on the Sisters of Charity schools and refuges in Montreal. Such institutions were partly educational, partly custodial, and heavily religious.

The Sisters did not just become a teaching proletariat for the Oblates. Their British Columbia headquarters was in Victoria, in a diocese outside Oblate administration. In the 1880s and 1890s the nuns turned down Oblate requests for residential school staff on the mainland, but opened new schools and missions on Vancouver Island and in Alaska and the Yukon. In those areas they taught boys' classes and superintended male orphans. The Sisters only agreed to staff boys' schools which followed their rules that childcare be done by lay helpers. The Sisters pulled out of Kamloops Indian Industrial School in 1891 until they got a priest principal amenable to their religious rules to replace the layman who was not. Oblates (as Catholic officials) and Indian Department bureaucrats were thus not the only contestants in the politics of residential school history. Gender was not just a sideline of those politics.

Case studies of Oblate brothers and Sisters of Saint Ann work as teachers in 1881 in urban and residential schools show that the nuns, as members of a religious congregation, were fully capable of negotiating with the patriarchs of the Roman Catholic church. The Oblate brothers, as male individuals, had greater civil rights than Sisters of Saint Ann, but as a lower rank of the Oblate congregation the brothers had, ironically, less social and political power than the Sisters.

Gender patterns in the lives and work of Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates affected generational continuity. The Canadian sisterhood reproduced itself in the region as a local family 'dynasty.' The French Oblate order did not, though it shared

the religious, class and racial attitudes of the sisterhood. By 1914 the Oblates gained four vocations from local settler families while the Sisters gained twenty-two vocations. Their boarding schools and social network influenced local entrants. The nuns' missionary careers attracted additional novices from North America and Europe. The Oblates, Frenchmen in a British colony and an Anglo-Canadian province, focussed on imposing their mission system on Aboriginal peoples, rather than on ministering to settlers or teaching school. The few Irish Oblates worked in those latter areas, and also helped to encourage some mature men to become brothers. No Aboriginals entered the noviciate of the Oblates or the Sisters, even at the lay brother or lay assistant/coadjutrix level, although structurally there was scope for them, particularly women, to do so. The male clerics, the officials ultimately responsible for novices' profession of vows, discouraged one Aboriginal woman lay assistant from formal entrance to the sisterhood. As Raymond Huel has so aptly put it, Oblate missions were "colonial institutions," dominated by whites, in which Natives were a "passive if not captive audience."² The nuns' acceptance of the clerics' dictates in this matter indicates the limits of the women's organization as well as how the Catholic missionaries shared the racial attitudes of white society in late nineteenth-century British Columbia.

Gender assumptions shaped both the activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries in nineteenth-century British Columbia and the historiography concerning them. The Oblates aimed to build a theocracy for Aboriginal communities. They also established schools. These men, from a European organization, saw themselves as the historical heroes of Catholicism in British Columbia, as can be seen in their accounts, for example The History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada.³ Books written by the

Sisters of Saint Ann, such as A Century of Service, indicate that the Canadian nuns founded and ran many of the Catholic schools and institutions.⁴

Most scholars have worked on missionary topics in British Columbia without taking gender into account.⁵ Academics writing on Roman Catholic missions in the province celebrate the male Oblates' mission system, attributing it to one dignitary, Bishop Paul Durieu, while overlooking the Sisters' system.⁶ The academics credit Oblates with setting up both an Aboriginal theocracy and Catholic educational institutions.⁷ With a few exceptions, studies on missionaries and education still foreground men and background women, overlooking most women's activities and archives.⁸ One aim of this dissertation has been to establish more balance here.

The particular arguments this dissertation makes and the materials it brings forward add to history regarding gender, missionaries, teaching and society in British Columbia. They contribute to the on going conversation in the larger history of western North America on how to treat this "messy place," as Sarah Deutsch calls it, with its multiple, multifaceted identities of class, race, gender, ethnicity, religion.⁹ They also help fulfill the promise of women's and gender history to transform standard history, and to shear it of its stereotypes and myths.¹⁰ The lives and identities of the pioneer Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates were those of outsiders, marginalized or manipulated in the standard history of the province. Yet in the missionary records we can see the origins of the Sisters' system and the Durieu system and the background of present day developments.

This dissertation brings forward French-Canadian women who came west as a Catholic sisterhood and indigenized in British Columbia, and the Irish as well as the French Oblates who came to the province but did not do so. The research is based in

French as well as English records. A glossary has been developed and is appended to assist readers in translating French, Latin or religious terms. The glossary also helps situate historical relations as conceived in language.

The discussion of the Sisters' system of educative institutions and the Oblate mission system for Aboriginal peoples alters the received version of education and mission history in British Columbia. Analysis of the life histories of both female and male Roman Catholic missionaries casts light on the women and children in the shadows of British Columbia history, as well as the Métis or half-breeds of the fur trade and settlement eras.¹¹ It also raises the issue of why they sought out the services of the Sisters of Saint Ann and the Oblates.

Ruth Roach Pierson's 1991 article, "Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice," reminds us it has "never been the job of the historian only to reclaim voices. . . . No, the task has been equally, and just as importantly, to contextualise the individual voices, to reconstitute the 'discursive' world which the 'subjects' inhabited and were shaped by." And in "efforts to redefine what we know about society in the past, we must be prepared to listen with humility to the 'voices of experience' of those different from ourselves."¹²

This collective biography of the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia explores new aspects of the fabric of history. It links the Catholic, French-Canadian and Irish-Canadian aspects of gender studies to the British Columbia studies long dominated by secular Anglo-patriarchy and themes of race and class. It provides insight into the gendered, religious and educational history of the province within the context of race, ethnic, and class identity in the region.

GENDER AND MISSION AND THE FABRIC OF HISTORY

Had this collective biography of the Sisters of Saint Ann and Oblates of Mary Immaculate in British Columbia not explored the fabric of history from the records of those Catholic women as well as men, their history, characterized as a swatch of fabric in Chapter Two, would have remained a darkened bit of plaid cloth to be subsumed in the malestream history cloth. Furthermore, the gender relations of the Catholic women and men and the insight these give on the larger society would have remained in the silent shadows of secular Anglo-patriarchy and the dominating themes of race and class in British Columbia history.

This collective biography of female and male missionaries raises questions about the standard history of British Columbia, particularly as found in two fine studies of its society and peoples, Robin Fisher's Contact and Conflict and Jean Barman's The West Beyond the West.¹³ In the case of Fisher's analysis of Aboriginal peoples and their contacts with white missionaries, this essay shifts the focus from the individual man and his contributions, from Bishop Durieu and his system for Roman Catholic missions, to the wider history of gender shaping the male and female missionaries' lives and their systems. As regards Barman's social history of the province with its attention to gender and education in the province during the nineteenth century, this dissertation enlarges the discussion of cultural diversity. For the women and men who came as missionaries to British Columbia were Catholic as well as Protestant and francophone as well as anglophone. Their beliefs and their languages were significant in cultural encounters with the Aboriginals and the settlers of the region, and in the formation of Aboriginal and settler identities.

As has been argued in this dissertation, the gender history of the two pioneer missionary organizations in British Columbia does not simply reverse the standard history where the Oblates, as men, appear central, and the Sisters of Saint Ann, as women, appear on the margins. Instead, taking gender and mission into account both widens the range of discussion and raises awareness of their “complex interaction” with other aspects of its history.¹⁴

Notes

- 1 Mary Kinnear, In Subordination: Professional Women 1870-1970 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
- 2 Raymond Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996), 237-239, and 272-279.
- 3 Adrien-Gabriel Morice, OMI, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific (1659-1895) (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1910).
- 4 [Edith Down] Sister Mary Margaret Down, SSA, A Century of Service: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska 1858-1958 (Victoria: Morriss Printing for the Sisters of Saint Ann, 1966); and Margaret Cantwell, SSA, North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann, 1992). For a history parallel to Morice's see Sister Mary Theodore, SSA, Heralds of Christ the King: Missionary Record of the North Pacific 1837-1878 (New York: PJ Kenedy & Sons, 1939).
- 5 Claude Langlois, Le catholicisme au féminin. Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984); and Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Taking Gender into Account in British Columbia: More Than Just Women's Studies," BC Studies 105-106 (Spring-Summer 1995), 9-26.
- 6 The two most frequently cited scholars are Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum, 1988); and Edwin M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization 13, 3 (Fall 1954): 23-27. For citation examples see Elizabeth Furniss, "Resistance, Coercion and Revitalization: The Shuswap Encounter with Roman Catholic Missionaries 1860-1900," Ethnohistory 42,2 (Spring 1995): 231-263; and Paul Tennant, Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990, 77, 80).
- 7 Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum, 1988); and Edwin M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," Human Organization 13, 3 (Fall 1954): 23-27.
- 8 Notable exceptions include: Jo-Anne Fiske, "Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society," in Women of the First Nations, ed. C. Miller and P. Chuchryk (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 167-182; Raymond Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 1996); and J.R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). See also discussion in Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995); Anne-Hélène Kerbirou, Les Indiens de l'ouest canadien vus par les Oblats, (Sillery: Les Editions du Septentrion, 1996).
- 9 "BC Studies Forum," including Mark Leier, "W[h]ither Labour History: Regionalism, Class, and the Writing of BC History," BC Studies 111, (Autumn 1996): 61-75 and concluding remarks 93-98; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Moving Beyond Tired Truths," 84-88; and Robert A.J. McDonald, "The West is a Messy Place," 88-93 quoting American historian Sarah Deutsch.
- 10 Susan Armitage, "Through Women's Eyes: A New View of the West," in The Women's West, ed. S. Armitage and E. Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 9-18.

- 11 Marjorie Mitchell and Anna Franklin, "When You Don't Know the Language, Listen to the Silence: An Historical Overview of Native Indian Women in B.C.," in Not Just Pin Money, eds. B. Latham and R. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), 17-34. See also Lyn Anne Riddet, "'Finish, I Can't Talk Now': Australian Aboriginal and Settler Women Construct Each Other," Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, Occasional Papers No. 3 (January 1996).
- 12 Ruth Roach Pierson, "Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice in the Writing of Canadian Women's History," in Writing Women's History International Perspectives, ed. K. Offen, R. Pierson and J. Rendal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 94. Pierson pays minimal attention to women's history west of Toronto and little attention to religion or ethnicity.
- 13 Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977); and Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).
- 14 Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction: Taking Gender into Account in British Columbia," in British Columbia Reconsidered, ed. G. Creese and V. Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang, 1992), 5. A similar argument is made by Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage in their "Editors' Introduction," in Writing the Range: Race, Class and Culture in the Women's West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 3-16.

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[2] Corr. des autorités SSA (cons. général) et les responsables de diocèses [évêques] de la Colombie Britannique [Correspondence of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne and the bishops of British Columbia dioceses].

[3] Actes du Conseil majeur ou général, 1883 - 1906.

[4] Actes du Conseil majeur ou général, 1854 - 1883.

[5] Notes biographiques sur Mère Marie-Angèle, missionnaire en C.B.

[6] Notes historiques, 1858 - 1877.

[7] Notes historiques au sujet de nos différentes missions (15) en C.B.

ARCHIVES OF THE SISTERS OF SAINT ANN, ST. JOSEPH'S PROVINCE, VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA [ASSAV]

RECORD GROUP 1 Provincial Administration [RG 1]: Records on total congregation with mother house at Lachine, Quebec. Series available for research include 1-10 on total congregation including Mother General's circular letters, reports from general chapters, Annual appointment lists, Necrologies; and 11-28 St. Joseph's Province [British Columbia, Alaska, Yukon and Washington].

Note: Records not available for research include private personnel files, such as medical records, and those concerning ongoing work as teachers.

Documents of particular use from Record Group I include:

Chronicles:

Vol. 1 of the Chronicles 1858-1868, "Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte Anne à Victoria narée par Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs," was written up after the events by one of the participants, Soeur Marie des Sept Douleurs #92 [décédée à Victoria le 5 octobre 1876] [Mainville]. It is filed in RG 1 S24 as 24-1-1 Chronicles Book One. 24-2 has Sister M. Jodouin S.S.A. 1991 translation.

Sister Mary Lumena Brasseur. "Diary Account of St. Mary's Mission, B.C. 1868-1892." [Original handwritten French version 130 pp. with marginal dates is in RG 1 S 24 Box 1 file 8].

Visitation reports:

"Recommandations de notre très Revde Mère Générale, 1-29 avril, 1886, Victoria [M.M. Anastasie]. [Report of regular visitation, Victoria, B.C. by Rev. Mother M. Anastasia, Superior General, and recorded here in her personal penmanship and over her signature, in keeping with our Constitutions, April 1886.] RG I S 3 - 9.

Circular letters:

Sr. Marie Jeanne Sup. Gen. "Aux Soeurs Missionnaires de Vancouver" 15 septembre, 1862. RG I Series 4-1.

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RECORD GROUP II Foundation records [RG II] contains a series on each school or mission founded in British Columbia before 1914. Examples of records include:

Cowichan, Pupils' Register. Number 1. St. Ann's Convent, Cowichan, Vancouver Island 1864-April 1921. RG II S 36 Box 1.

Duncan, B.C. St. Ann's Notes and Maps on Early History by Sister Mary Annunciata in the 1960s, compiled and copied from the Sisters' archives and the British Columbia provincial archives. RG II S 36 Box 36 45-1-8.

Kuper Island, B.C. *Chronicles Indian Residential School 1914-1930*. RG II S 39 Box 1
Kuper Island, British Columbia Indian Residential School 1891-1974.

Williams Lake, British Columbia. *St. Joseph's Mission 1876-1888: Notes Historiques de la Mission: Reminiscences of Soeur Marie Octavie* [typescript in French]. RG II S63.

Monographs: Historical narratives on schools in B.C. compiled in 1949:

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RECORD GROUP III Non Institutional records [RG III]. For example, Songhees Indian Day School near Victoria, B.C., staffed by Sisters of Saint Ann in 1890s and 1900s.

RECORD GROUP IV Local council, Financial, Annual visitation [RG IV].

RECORD GROUP V School Records [RG V]. Closed on schools still in operation.

RECORD GROUP VI Photographs [RG VI]. [There are binders in process on Sisters by date of profession, including all of the pioneer Sisters].

RECORD GROUP VII Rare Books, Church records Western Canada and Alaska [RG VII].

RECORD GROUP VIII Secondary [For example, student research papers] [RGVIII].

THE MISSIONARY OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE ST. PAUL'S PROVINCE ARCHIVES, VANCOUVER, B.C. [OBLATE ARCHIVES, VANCOUVER]:

Records on the main missionary group on the Mainland of British Columbia in addition to those on microfilm as "Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia from the Oblate Historical Archives, St. Peter's Province, Holy Rosary Scholasticate, Ottawa," [Public Archives of Canada microfilm, 1962. The original records are housed in the Oblates' Deschâtelets Archives, Ottawa]. These microfilmed records are cited as:

Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia from the Oblate Historical Archives St. Peter's Province, Holy Rosary Scholasticate, Ottawa. Microfilmed by the Public Archives of Canada in 1962. Originals now held in Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa. Microfilm Reels 705-713 (1-9) are held at Oblate Archives, Vancouver. [The University of British Columbia library holds Reels 705-714 under Ref. AW R.4664.]

Examples of correspondence on these microfilms: McGuckin, James M., letters to D'Herbomez and others, 1866-1880, Reel 708 (4) and LeJacq, Jean-Marie, lettres au Mgr. D'Herbomez et R.P. Durieu, 1870-1871, Reel 707 (3).

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Council Meeting St. Joseph's Mission Williams Lake [bound original] 1878 - 1897. [Entries in English]. [Includes discussion of accounts of Notre Dame de Bonne Esperance (Stuarts Lake); Kamloops; Okanagan Mission.]

Oblate Provincial Council Deliberations (Oregon and B. C.) 1851-1892 & 1916 [Vicarial Minutes] and General Council Canons [169 pp. and 13 pp.]. Photocopy, bound. Original at Deschatelets Archives, Ottawa Ref. No. PB 517. P47R1. [These vicarial council minutes are equivalent to those of an administrative board.]

Photocopies of letters from Prince George Diocese Archives, particularly letters of Paul Durieu to Émile Bunoz 1892-1895. Father Thomas Lascelles, the archivist at the Oblate Archives Vancouver, allowed me access to these for research on Paul Durieu's life for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography before the records had been organized. The originals were sent from Fort St. James to Prince George May 29, 1942.

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ARCHIVES OF THE SISTERS OF THE CHILD JESUS [SISTERS OF THE INSTRUCTION OF THE CHILD JESUS], NORTH VANCOUVER, B.C. [ASEJNV] .

The Sisters of the Child Jesus were founded in Le Puy, France, in 1667 and reorganized after the French Revolution and again since the 1960s Vatican Council. They are now

part of an international federated congregation with a central administration at Versailles, France. These nuns first came to Canada in 1896, to Williams Lake, B.C. By the 1950s they spread east to Quebec. In 1992, the archivist, Sister Rita Tellier s.e.j., and the provincial, Anne-Marie Fransoo s.e.j., were beginning to formally organize the archives. I consulted the following:

Notes Historiques Soeur M. Felicien. 1 B 2 Typescript in French [Recollections of one of first four Sisters of the Child Jesus to come to B.C. in 1896, recorded c. 1940]; also Early History of the Congregation in Canada (1896-1943) Notes taken from Sister Felicien's Journal. [Another copy of the English version is at Oblate Archives, Vancouver].

Personnel [Register marked "Records" 2K 1/2]. Register of each Sister of the Child Jesus who came to Canada since 1896, and those who joined in Canada. The Sisters listed included women from Aboriginal and French Canadian communities in Western Canada, and women from Ireland, Scotland, England and the United States.

Fraser Mills 1910. Sr. Gilberte Morin [Soeur Jeanne d'Arc]. 2 page typescript memoirs of one of the first French Canadian pupils in the Sisters of the Child Jesus school for Notre Dame de Lourdes parish, Maillardville, Coquitlam, B.C. 1910-1919. I spoke with Sister Morin, 16 October 1992. She was nearly 91 years old but could remember her first impressions of the peoples of British Columbia, particularly the Chinese and the East Indians. [The Sisters of the Child Jesus taught at Notre Dame de Lourdes school from 1910 to 1952 and again from 1968 to 1983].

ARCHIVES DES SOEURS GRISES DE MONTREAL, MONTREAL [ASGM]

Gaëtane Chevrier s.g.m., archiviste, Maison de Mère Youville, sent me documents concerning the modification of the Grey Nuns constitutions in 1867, in answer to my inquiry re their work in child care for boys in western missions.

Constitution Historique Doc. 46 18138/5 a typescript of N. Card. Clarelli, Rome, January 1867, in Latin. The handwritten French translation by M. Gérard Asselin, p.s.s. indicates Cardinal Clarelli gave advice to an unidentified priest regarding modification of the constitutions of the Sisters of Charity of the General Hospital.

ARCHIVES DES SOEURS GRISES DE MONTREAL, SAINT-BONIFACE, MANITOBA

Carole Boily, archivist, provided records concerning "filles données" or "Maries" or "tertiares," the auxiliaries or lay assistants of the Grey Nuns of Montreal. This congregation began missions in the west in 1844.

Sister Elizabeth de Moissac, unpublished book, "Les Soeurs Grises à Rivière Rouge," based on chronicles of the congregation.

Chroniques des Soeurs Grises [à Saint-Boniface] vol. 3 (1869-1883): 330-331. 1882 death notice of a fille donnée, Marie-Anne (Emérance) Payé.

"Les Maries," a register of lay assistants, begins in 1850. The register implies as do the chronicles that these women accompanied the Grey Nuns to distant missions, e.g. Lac la Biche.

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----- Letters to Governor F. Seymour January 6, 1869, and February 22, 1869 with Memorials of Hope Indian Village and Maskwe [Matsqui] Indian Village F 503/2.

----- Letter to Governor Anthony Musgrave May 20, 1869. F 503/2a.

----- Letter to Superintendent Indian Affairs, Victoria January 5, 1874 [This is actually a letter signed Louis (D'Herbomez) conveying P. Durieu's report on St. Mary's Mission School]. F 503/4.

Note: Vertical Files contained primary source materials; e.g., Kamloops Indian School: Memo. by unknown archivist citing Archibald McKinlay of Lac La Hache, (retired H.B.C.) to his friend W.F. Tolmie, April 1885 and including typescripts of letters regarding the selection of the site of the school in 1888 - 90; e.g., I.W. Powell - L. Vankoughnet (D.S.G.I.A.), July 30, 1888. No archival source given.

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ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF VANCOUVER, ARCHIVES [RCAV]

In 1992 Archbishop Adam Exner OMI and Sister Diana Harsch SCIC, archivist, arranged for me to research the education files and printed works which were open to researchers. The education files open to researchers mainly concerned the 1940 to 1977 campaign to gain public funding for independent schools in British Columbia.

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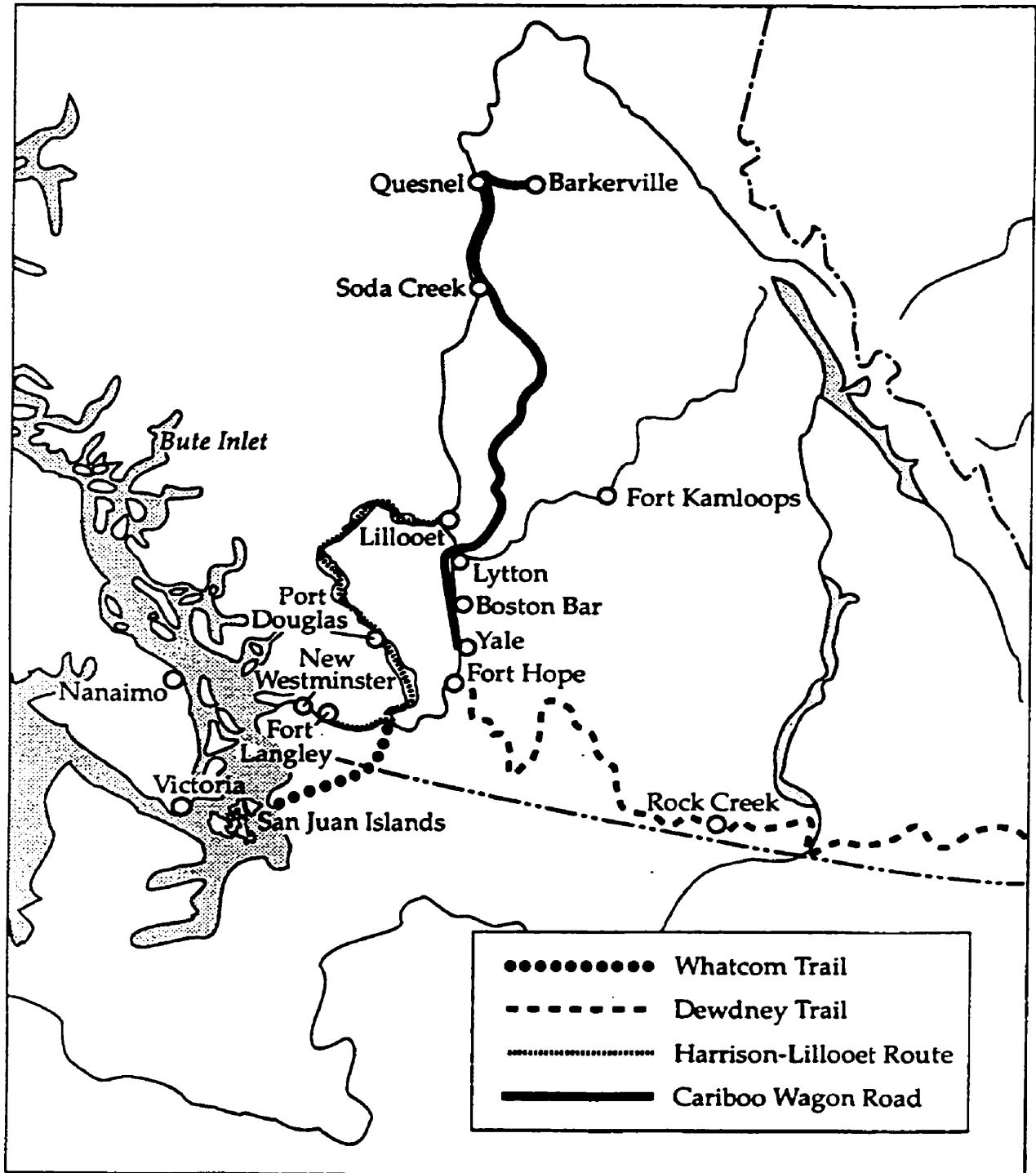
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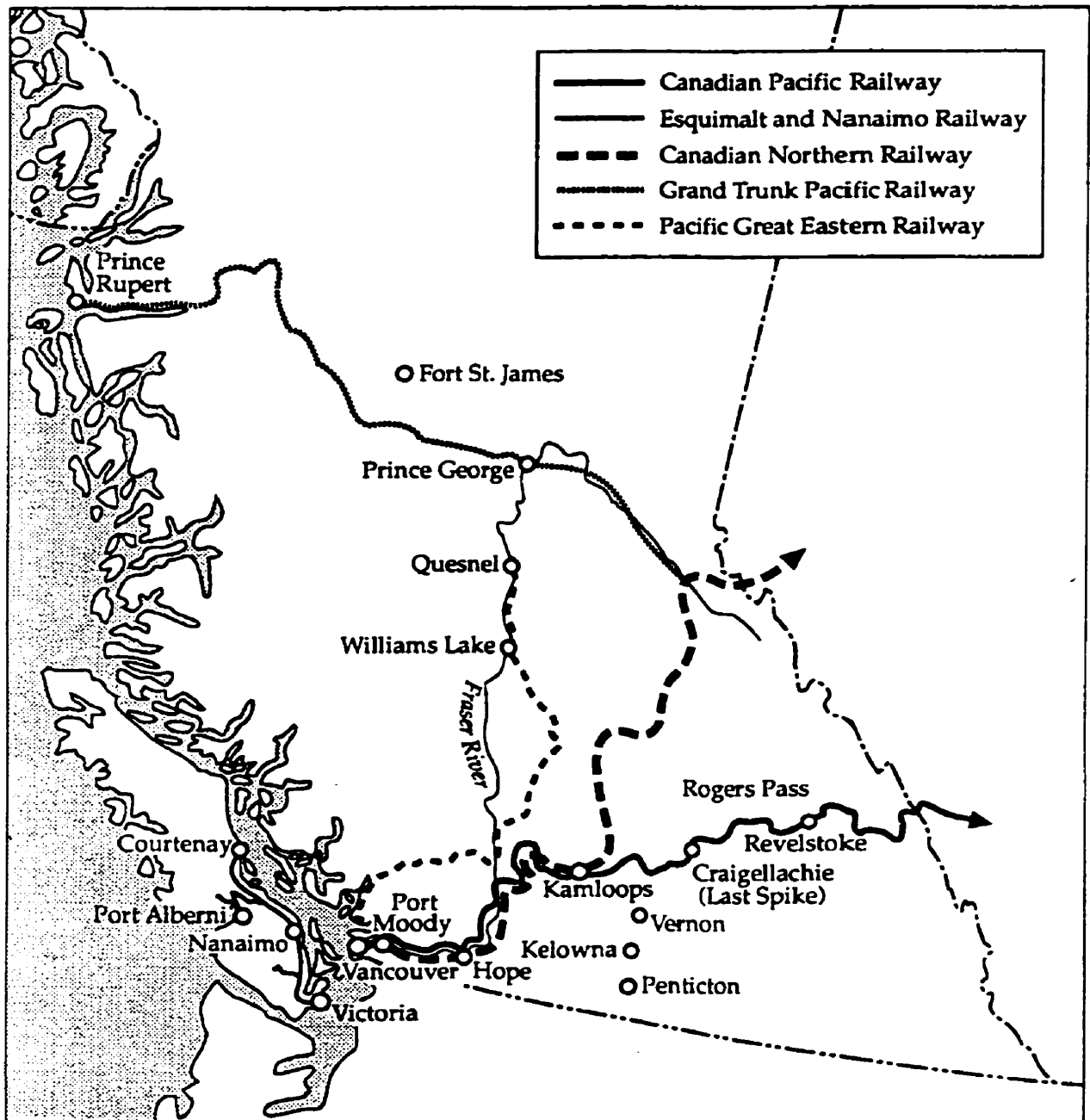
Maps

Map 1. Colonial British Columbia



Source: HIST 225 OLA

Map 2. Major railway routes across British Columbia at the time of the First World War



Source: HIST 225 OLA

Appendix 1: Glossary

Chronicles: "Recordings of historical events in order of their occurrence. Distinguished from annals as being more detailed and representative of an official history that is intended to preserve knowledge of important persons and notable occurrences at monasteries or other religious houses." (Evangeline Thomas CSJ, ed., Women Religious History Sources: A Guide to Repositories in the United States [New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1983], xxv).

Coadjutrix sisters: Historically the term coadjutrix sister or lay sister has meant women religious who are principally committed to performing the domestic duties of a monastery. (Susan Carol Peterson and Courtney Ann Vaughan-Roberson, Women With Vision: The Presentation Sisters of South Dakota 1880-1985 [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988]). 1990s Sisters of Saint Ann translate the French soeur coadjutrice or coadjutrice as coadjutrix sister. The term lay sister confuses Catholic historians of the post-Vatican II, i.e. post-1960s era. Since the Vatican Council of the 1960s lay people not affiliated with religious congregations have had much greater status and role in the Catholic church. Coadjutrix sisters began in the Sisters of Saint Ann as lay auxiliaries who assisted the teaching sisters. Prior to 1887 the lay auxiliaries, known as "Filles de Bonsecours," took a vow of virginity each year and wore a special costume (black dress, cross and white headdress). They did not train as teachers or nurses but did domestic duties in schools and hospitals. In 1887 the congregation organized these women as a 'Third Order.' To encourage more 'domestic aides' the Chapter of 1890, the meeting of congregational administrators and regional superiors, moved to further formalize them via creation of a special noviciate. Coadjutrix sisters existed as a formal unit in the Sisters of Saint Ann from 1891 until 1926, when the coadjutrix sisters requested a merger with the main congregational structure. One of the twenty-four first generation Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia, Marie Mainville had worked as a lay auxiliary at St. Jacques. She served in the west 1858 to 1883. On her return to Quebec she became a member of the Third Order, then the first novice in the coadjutrix group. At her profession she took her deceased biological sister's religious name, Sister Mary Sept Douleurs.

(Based on Soeur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne un siècle d'histoire. Tome I 1850-1900 [Lachine, 1950], p. 298, and Sister Marie Anne Eva, SSA, A History of the Sisters of Saint Anne Volume One 1850-1900, Translation from the French [New York: Vantage Press, 1961], p. 238. The Annals of the Community Vol. LIII No. 415 [January-July 1982], pp. 87-92, gave further information in an article researched by Sister Marguerite Boucher, "From the 'Filles de Bonsecours' of 1880 to the Associates of 1980." Lay persons now can join the congregation as "associates, a modernized Third Order, or group of volunteers.")

Congregation and Order: are terms regarding groupings of female religious: Sisters doing active work in congregations taking simple vows; and Nuns in contemplative

orders, living cloistered lives, taking solemn vows. Evangeline Thomas CSJ, in Women Religious History Sources: A Guide to Repositories in the United States (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1983, p. xxvi), says order is “used popularly to denote any religious community, but strictly is a community professing the religious life with a certain austerity in accordance with a rule approved by the Church and recognized as having the obligation of solemn vows.”

Devotional Catholicism: “A type of Roman Catholicism, associated with the Ultramontane revival, in which popular piety was characterized by the performance of devotions and paraliturgical rituals, often involving the use of sacred objects such as rosaries and scapulars. Such devotions were frequently promoted by lay voluntary associations.” (T. Murphy and G. Stortz, eds., Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society 1750-1930 [Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993], xi).

Enclosure/unenclosure: The practice of retaining a place (cloister) which no person but a religious may enter and (in totally enclosed orders) from which no member of a given order may depart. (Peterson and Vaughan-Roberson 1988) Pope Boniface VIII in 1298 imposed enclosure on all women religious to protect them. The Ursulines founded in 1544 as an ‘active’ congregation were forced back into the cloister. The Daughters of Charity founded in 1633 took simple vows in order to get around the enclosure rules. Until the twentieth century popes gave only “grudging acceptance” to active or apostolic women’s congregations which worked outside the cloister in teaching and nursing. (Mary Jo Weaver, New Catholic Women: A Contemporary Challenge to Traditional Religious Authority [San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985], 101-102). The Sisters of St. Ann like the Religious of the Sacred Heart were a semi-cloistered sisterhood. They taught school but their rules, approved by male clerics, limited their activities. For example, the sisters had strict regulations regarding living quarters, clothing, working hours, and religious observances. The sisters had to observe silence outside of actual teaching time or official recreation. “Tensions in the lives of active women religious often came about because their rules and regulations, . . . derived from older, monastic, cloistered contemplative traditions in the Church. Until the late 1960s, active women religious struggled to yoke the active and monastic traditions together. . . .” (Sister Margaret Cantwell, North to Share [Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann 1992, 9]).

Lay sisters: See Coadjatrix sisters above.

Novice: A person who has been received into the noviciate (by being clothed with the habit) as a candidate for full membership in a religious community. (Peterson and Vaughan-Roberson 1988). For the Sisters of St. Ann the noviciate was two years long.

Order: see Congregation and Order above.

Profession: “The formal taking of religious vows, usually accompanied for nuns by the taking of the black veil. Before this ceremony, the novice was free to withdraw or be sent away. After it, she was given altogether to the religious life.” Elizabeth Rapley, The Dévotes. Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990, 205-206).

Pontifical congregation: A congregation of religious whose constitution has been approved by the pope and whose ultimate governance derives from the pope. (Peterson and Vaughan-Roberson 1988). This type of congregation is the opposite of a **diocesan** one under the bishop’s control. Women religious sought pontifical approval in order to do independent and missionary work, and also for status. This point has a complex history as nineteenth century bishops often wanted women religious to help with schools etc. but preferred to control a local branch of a respected congregation, rather than having the congregation - or the bishop in its home diocese - direct the assignment of sisters.

Secular clergy: “Term used to describe clergy who live ‘in the world’ as opposed to regular clergy who, as members of monastic or other religious orders, are subject to a rule that requires some measure of withdrawal from the world. The secular clergy make up the bulk of parish ministers in the Roman Catholic church and are normally organized under the direct authority of a diocesan bishop.” (Murphy and Stortz 1993). In British Columbia prior to 1914 secular clergy were the majority of the priests who served the diocese of Victoria and members of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate [Oblate fathers] were the majority of the priests who served the Vancouver or mainland diocese.

Sister and Nun: are terms used interchangeably in academic and Catholic church literature today according to Mary Jo Weaver, New Catholic Women: A Contemporary Challenge to Traditional Religious Authority (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985, xiv). “Technically speaking,” sisters are those working actively outside cloister or enclosure; and nuns are members of “contemplative communities, perpetually enclosed.” Elizabeth Smyth, who did a doctoral dissertation on the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Toronto, contends that in historical discussion regarding the nineteenth century the term women religious or sister should be used. However, Raymond Huel, director of the Western Oblate History Project, points out that for anglophone historians the term woman religious is not as easily understood as ‘sister’ or ‘nun’. So the latter terms will be employed in this thesis.

Sisterhood: A title used to designate the members of a community of religious women. Sisters usually dwell in communities, are bound by vows, and are devoted to spiritual and charitable work. (Peterson and Vaughan-Roberson 1988).

Superior: Sister in charge of a convent, school, hospital etc. Appointed for a term of three to six years in the Sisters of St. Ann. She made her decision with the assistance of local **councillors**. The Superior reported to the **Provincial Superior** and her provincial

councillors [in Victoria, B.C.]. In turn they reported to the **General Superior** [Mother General] and her councillors [in Lachine, Que.]; and beyond that to periodic general chapters of the order and ultimately to the Vatican. The hierarchical structure of the Sisters of St. Ann is explained by Cantwell (1992).

Third Order: Evangeline Thomas CSJ, in Women Religious History Sources (1983, p. xxviii), uses the term Third Order Regular. "Noncloistered religious community or congregation made up of either men or women who live a common life under vows and are affiliated with a religious order to which a third order is officially attached. Communities called 'third' orders distinguish themselves from first and second orders having the same family name; the first being the order for men and the second the associated order of cloistered women."

Ultramontanism: "The tendency in Roman Catholicism to exalt the authority of the pope and to centralize power in his hands, especially at the expense of national hierarchies or governments. This conception of the church enjoyed an international resurgence in the early decades of the nineteenth century and gained predominance by the middle of that century. Ultramontanes held that the state should be subordinate to the church, especially in matters of education and social welfare. They also promoted the spread of papally approved devotional practices." (Murphy and Stortz 1993).

Vatican II or 'The Council' and 'Conciliar Catholicism': a meeting of male Roman Catholic church leaders called by Pope John XXIII in 1959 which brought major changes to the church [use of vernacular in liturgies] and to religious congregations [revision of rules and habits].

Note on Glossary: Additional terms will be defined in the thesis using the sources given above and

(1) Michel Theriault, Les instituts de vie consacrée au Canada depuis les début de la Nouvelle-France jusqu'à aujourd'hui. The institutes of the consecrated life in Canada from the beginning of New France up to the present. Ottawa: National Library, 1980. [Parallel texts in French and English explaining terminology. Includes a brief history, names and initials of each institute.]

(2) Elizabeth Rapley, The Dévotes. Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990, 203-206). [The historical focus of this book is pre-nineteenth century but Rapley did a good range of Canadian and French research in writing it.]

**Appendix 2:
Sisters of Saint Ann Who Arrived in British Columbia by 1871**

Alphabetical list of Sisters of Saint Ann who came to British Columbia by December 31, 1871

Abbreviations:

B: birth, P: Profession of vows, D: Death

Sr. Mary Alphonse #17 Béfourt, Catherine. S. M.-Alphonse.

B: 1828-01-29. P: 1852-02-12. D: 1869-04-23.

Sr. M. Angèle #15 Gauthier, Angèle. S. M.-Angèle.

B: 1828-02-09. P: 1851-11-17. D: 1898-05-25.

Sr. M. Anne of Jesus #128 Duperreault, Eliza. S. M.-Anne-de-Jésus.

B: 1845-01-25. P: 1866-10-25. D: 1871-03-29.

[1871 death date in Matricule is supported by Victoria, British Colonist April 1, 1871, p. 3 col. 1, and this date is used rather than the 1870 of her Necrology.]

Sr. M. Beatrice #149 Daly, Theresa. S. M.-Béatrice.

B: 1847-08-27. P: 1869-09-08. D: 1923-05-19.

Sr. M. Bonsecours #14 Greff, Catherine. S. M.-Bonsecours.

B: 1834-08-07. P: 1851-09-18. D: 1915-02-12.

Sr. M. Bridget #112 Tremble [sic], Mary. S. M.-Brigitte.

B: 1845-12-25. P: 1864-08-03. D: 1933-01-11. [Mary Trimble on 1892 petition.]

Sr. M. Catherine of Sienna #115 Tucker, Sarah. S. M.-Catherine-de-Sienne.

B: 1847-12-25. P: 1867-08-15. D: 1870-05-01.

[She was the biological sister of Sister M. Providence.]

Sr. M. Clement #127 Chevrier, Julie. S. M.-Clément.

B: 1842-07-06. P: 1866-10-25. D: 1915-03-18.

Sr. M. Conception #45 Lane, Mary. S. M.-de-la-Conception.

B: 1826-08-28. P: 1858-02-12. D: 1915-11-18.

Sr. M. of the Cross #82 Perreault, Céline. S. M.-de-la-Croix.

B: 1844-11-18. P: 1862-08-10. D: 1882-05-29.

[Death date 1882 in Necrology, 1892 Matricule, and the former date can be corroborated from the archives].

Sr. M. Emerentienne #57 Farmer, Mary. S. M.-Emérentienne.
B: 1838-09-09. P: 1860-08-04. D: 1864-02-02.

Sr. M. Lucy #108 Fortin, Céline. S. M.-Lucie.
B: 1846-12-18. P: 1864-08-03. D: 1926-12-02.

Sr. M. Lumena. #42 Brasseur, Virginie. S. M.-Luména.
B: 1833-02-15. P: 1857-08-12. D: 1912-08-24.

Marie Mainville coadjutrix # 1 S. M.-des-Sept-Douleurs.

B: 1833-11-04. P: 1894-02-23. D: 1917-02-27

[She was the third Sister of St. Ann to take the same name in religion. She was the biological sister of #92, Angèle Mainville.]

Sr. M. Patrick #114 Farmer, Annie. S. M.-Patrice.
B: 1847-06-19. P: 1867-08-15. D: 1908-01-01.

Sr. M. Praxedes #84 Marceau, Agnès. S. M.-Praxède.
B: 1845-04-30. P: 1862-08-10. D: 1926-08-21.

Sr. M. Providence #23 Tucker, Eleonor [sic]. S. M.-de-la-Providence.
B: 1836-10-02. P: 1853-09-21. D: 1904-05-29.

[Several details were checked on this biography. The name Ellen McTucker appears on a petition in the British Columbia Journals of the Legislative Assembly 1892, Appendix p. lv, and in Down, Century of Service, p. 46. Also Sister Mary Providence, it should be noted, was the biological Sister of Sr. M. Catherine of Sienna.]

Sr. M. Romuald #67 Fontaine, Elodie. S. M.-Romuald.
B: 1840-05-31. P: 1861-01-15. D: 1875-03-13.

Sr. M. of the Sacred Heart #22 Valois, Salomé. S. M.-du-Sacré-Coeur.
B: 1830-04-30. P: 1853-06-09. D: 1906-11-12.

Sr. M. des Sept Douleurs #92 Mainville, Angèle. S. M.-des-Sept-Douleurs.
B: 1843-03-05. P: 1863-03-30. D: 1876-10-05.

Sr. M. Sophie #135 Labelle, Antoinette. S. M.-Sophie
B: 1849-01-03. P: 1867-08-14. D: 1922-01-18.

Sr. M. Victor #136 Dooly, Annie. S. M.-Victor.
B: 1839-04-07. P: 1867-08-14. D: 1908-04-28.

Sr. M. Virginia #69 Guay, Philomène. S. M.-Virginie.
B: 1837-11-19. P: 1861-07-28. D: 1907-03-12.

Sr. M. Winifred #183 O'Regan, Bridget. S. M.-Winifred [sic].

B: 1845-02-02. P: 1871-08-6. D: 1885-04-21.

List of Sisters of Saint Ann by Date of Arrival in British Columbia

Sisters of Saint Ann who arrived in Victoria June 5, 1858 - via Panama

Sr. M. Sacred Heart

Sr. M. Angele

Sr. M. Lumena

Sr. M. Conception

Marie Mainville [coadjutrix # 1 S. M.-des-Sept-Douleurs.]

Sisters of Saint Ann who Arrived in Victoria October 1859 - via Panama

Sr. M. Providence

Sr. M. Bonsecours

Sisters of Saint Ann who Arrived in Victoria 1863 via Nicaragua

Sr. M. Virginia

Sr. M. Romuald

Sr. M. of the Cross

Sr. M. Praxedes

Sr. M. Emerentienne

Sr. M. des Sept Douleurs

Sr. M. Patrick

Sr. M. Catherine of Sienna

Sisters of Saint Ann who Arrived in Victoria 1866 via Panama

Sr. M. Bridget

Sr. M. Alphonse

Sr. M. Lucy

Sr. M. Clement

Sr. M. Anne of Jesus

Sisters of Saint Ann who Arrived in Victoria 1869

Sr. M. Beatrice

Sr. M. Victor

Sr. M. Winifred

Sister of Saint Ann who Arrived in Victoria 1871

Sr. M. Sophie

Note on sources:

The list on which this appendix is based appears as "Dates of Arrival of Sisters at Victoria, B.C." at the end of "Dix premières années des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne à Victoria 1858-1868. Narrées par Soeur Marie de Sept Douleurs [Mainville] #92 [décédée à

Victoria le 5 oct. 1876],” in ASSAV RG 1 S 24-1-1 Chronicles Book One [transl. by Sr. M. Jeanne Jodouin {Sr. M. Francella} 1991 in ASSAV RG 1 S 24-2, p. 225 ff.].

The civil names, religious names and vital statistics for the women came from the Matricule [Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne par ordre de profession. The Sisters of Saint Anne by order of profession (Lachine, 1989)]. I followed the practice of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography regarding francophone nuns’ names. For example: Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur became known in British Columbia as Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart. In a French-language publication Soeur Marie-du-Sacré-Coeur would be the form, but the English translation of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. XIII uses Soeur Marie du Sacré-Coeur.

To check the information in this appendix I consulted archival sources (necrologies, nominations and appointments, censuses, newspapers) and secondary sources including:

Margaret Cantwell, SSA, North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann, 1992).

[Edith Down] Sister Mary Margaret, SSA, A Century of Service: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska 1858-1958 (Victoria: Morriss Printing for the Sisters of Saint Ann, 1966).

Soeur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne un siècle d’histoire Tome I, 1850-1900 (Lachine: Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne, 1950).

One further note of explanation should be given as to why I have included Marie Mainville in the first generation of Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia. From 1858 to 1883 Miss Mainville worked in British Columbia as an auxiliary member of the sisterhood. In theory she could run errands for the semi-cloistered religious women and join in devotions. In practice she had a major responsibility as supervisor of junior boarders in the congregation’s main fee-paying school in the West. In 1883 she went to the Lachine Motherhouse where she served as one of a group of lay helpers under annual vows. When the noviciate for coadjutrix Sisters opened in 1891, Marie Mainville entered it. becoming Coadjutrix Sister No. 1. At her profession in 1894 she took the name Sister Marie des Sept Douleurs, after her biological sister who had died in Victoria in 1876. Soeur Pathmos, the congregational historian credits her with being a missionary like this nun. [Soeur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos s.s.a., Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne (Lachine, 1950), p. 505 n. 24 to p. 169, “la première Soeur coadjutrice ... sous le nom de Soeur Marie-des-Sept-Douleurs, qu’avait porté avant elle sa propre soeur, missionnaire comme elle à Victoria.”]

Sister Marguerite Boucher’s research gives more background on the lay associates. It is cited in Annals of the Community Vol. LIII No. 415 (January-July, 1982), pp. 87-92 in an

unsigned article, "From the 'Filles de Bonsecours' of 1880 to the Associates of 1982."
The coadjutrix Sisters merged with the rest of the congregation in 1926.

**Appendix 3:
Oblates of Mary Immaculate Who Arrived in British Columbia by 1871**

Alphabetical list of Oblates of Mary Immaculate who came to British Columbia by December 31, 1871

Abbreviations:

B: birth, P: Profession of vows, O: Ordination to the priesthood, D: Death

Priests:

Julien Baudre

B: 1814-03-16 P: 1854-07-16 O: 1837-03-17 D: 1890-10-29

George Blanchet

B: 1818-11-03 P: 1842-10-03 O: 1872-11-01 D: 1906-11-17

[Note: Blanchet served as a brother from 1859 to 1872.]

Alphonse Carion

B: 1848-12-8 P: 1871-12-8 O: 1872-10-20 D: 1917-3-20

Eugène-Casimir Chirouse [Eugene-Casimir Chirouse in B.C. as he had a nephew with the same name who also served in B.C.]

B: 1821-09-20 P: 1844-09-14 O: 1848-01-02 D: 1892-05-28

Paul Durieu [baptized Pierre-Paul]

B: 1830-12-04 P: 1849-11-01 O: 1854-03-11 D: 1899-06-01

Leon Fouquet 1831-1912

B: 1831-04-30 P: 1852-12-08 O: 1854-06-29 D: 1912-03-08

Florimond Gendre

B: 1834-12-08 P: 1861-02-17 O: 1862-06-29 D: 1873-01-23

Charles Grandidier 1835-1884 [left B.C. 1868]

B: 1835-06-19 P: 1854-12-08 O: 1858-06-27 D: 1884-12-12

Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez

B: 1822-01-17 P: 1848-11-21. O: 1849-10-14. D: 1890-06-03

Edward Horris

B: 1830-08-30 P:1862-08-15 O: 1865-06-10 D: 1893-07-02

François Jayol

B: 1824-02-27 P: 1849-12-08 O: 1847-09-19 D:1907-01-31

Denis Lamure

B: 1838-12-12 P: 1866-09-30 O: 1868-06-06 D: 1870-12-12

Jean-Marie LeJacq

B: 1837-06-15 P: 1861-05-19 O: 1862-03-15 D: 1899-12-23

Honoré-Timothée Lempfrit

B: 1803-12-24 P: 1847-09-18 O: 1827-11-08 D: 1862-01-08

James McGuckin

B: 1835-07-30 P: 1859-05-31 O: 1863-11-01 D: 1903-04-07

Charles Marchal

B: 1841-04-17 P: 1865-12-08 O: 1868-06-06 D: 1906-10-03

Charles Pandosy [baptized Jean-Charles-Jean-Baptiste-Felix-Pandosy]

B: 1824-11-22 P: 1845-08-15 O: 1848-04-21 D: 1891-02-06

Edmond Peytavin

B: 1848-10-10 P: 1870-05-31 O: 1872-10-06 D: 1918-02-04

[Peytavin served as a brother in British Columbia for two years before he was ordained by L.J. d'Herbomez.]

Pierre Richard

B: 1826-10-09 P: 1850-11-01 O: 1854-03-11 D: 1907-03-27

Villemard, Jules-Xavier

B: 1842-01-09 P: 1862-04-20 O: 1865-06-10

[Apostate in 1867, thereafter Anglican minister using the name Willemar.]

D: 1935-07-30

Brothers:**Patrick Allen**

B: 1832-3-17 P: 1863-06-04 D: 1911-02-13

John Burns

B: 1830-5-15 P: 1876-2-17 D: 1908-03-29

[Burns entered the Oblates in 1865 and may have been in B.C. before that date.]

Felix Guillet

B: 1838-06-24 P: 1862-08-17 D: 1903 -02-21

Patrick Hough

B: ? 1846

P: 1879-01-07

D: ? [after 1926]

[Carrière Dictionnaire Biographique gives no vital statistics, but does say novice 1871, temporary vows 1872-79, dispensed with vows 1889; memoir in British Columbian January 18 1926, says he taught and retired at Vancouver, Washington. The Census of Canada 1881 gives his age as 35.]

Gaspard Janin

B. 1798-06-16

P. 1849-11-01

D. 1880-01-09

Edward MacStay

B: 1832-10-13

P: 1867-11-10

D: 1907-01-22

Patrick Ryan

B: 1844-03-17

P: 1872-02-17

D: 1919-03-21

Philippe Surel

B: 1819-01-01

P: 1848-02-25

D: 1908-09-06

Célestin Verney

B: 1814-01-20

P: 1851-08-10

D: 1889-10-03

Henry De Vries

B: 1828-?

P: 1876-02-17

D: 1881-12-30

List of Oblates of Mary Immaculate by Date of Arrival in British Columbia

Oblates sent from France to the Oregon Missions who then moved north to British Columbia, and one Frenchman who joined in Oregon

Priests:

1849-1852 H.T. Lempfrit to Vancouver Island and visits to Fort Langley on mainland [1848 to Oregon Missions]

1858 L.J. d'Herbomez [1850 to Oregon Missions]

1858 C. Pandosy [1847 to Oregon Missions]

1858 P. Richard, P. [1854 to Oregon Missions]

1858 E.C. Chirouse stationed at Tulalip to 1876, but back and forth to Esquimalt & New Westminster [1847 to Oregon Missions]

1859 G. Blanchet [1847 to Oregon Missions]

1859 P. Durieu [1854 to Oregon Missions]

1860 F. Jayol [Jayol arrived in Oregon in 1847, was ordained as a diocesan priest, then joined Oblates' Oregon Missions in 1848.]

Brothers:

1858 G. Janin [1850 to Oregon Missions]

1859 P. Surel [1848 to Oregon Missions]

1859 C. Verney [1847 to Oregon Missions]

Oblates sent from France and Ireland to British Columbia and men who joined in British Columbia before 1871

Priests:

1859 L. Fouquet

1860 C. Grandidier

1862 J-M. Le Jacq

1862 F. Gendre

1863 J. Baudre

1863 J.M. McGuckin

1865 E. Horris

1865 J-X. Villemard

1868 D. Lamure

1868 C. Marchal

1870 E. Peytavin

1871 A. Carion

Brothers:

1862 F. Guillet

1863 P. Allen

1863 E. MacStay

1865 J. Burns [Burns joined in British Columbia and may have arrived there earlier.]

1868 H. de Vries [De Vries joined in 1868 but had met Fouquet in 1860 when he was a steamboat captain going from San Francisco to Fraser River mines.]

1869 P. Ryan

1871 P. Hough

Note on sources:

The Oblate Archives Vancouver does not have a personnel list equivalent to the Matricule of the Sisters of Saint Ann. Lists which were kept at administrative centres in Ottawa or France are of limited value owing to the geographic spread of the Oblate missions in western Canada and the poor communications with them. The lists in this appendix are based on the Oblates' biographical dictionaries and congregational histories with corrections from archival research. It should also be noted that where there are only two entries on the British Columbia Sisters of Saint Ann in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, there are four for the parallel group of Oblates.

Levasseur, Les Oblats. . . dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada, 1845-1967 (1995), p. 32, lists a Brother Léo Weymaere who arrived in Oregon Territory with Paul Durieu in 1854. This man may have left the congregation. He is not listed in Carrière Dictionnaire Biographique or regional works on Oblates by David Nicandri and Kay Cronin. I do not include him in my study group.

The archival sources consulted for this appendix include:

Census of Canada 1881

Codex historicus. St. Peter's New Westminster, B.C. 1889-1914.

Missions de la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée (Paris, 1862-1914).

Father George Forbes O.M.I. Papers in the University of British Columbia Special Collections Library.

The main secondary sources for this appendix were:

Gaston Carrière Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculée au Canada (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1976-1979).

Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995).

Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960).

Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada, 1845-1967 (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1995).

David Nicandri, Olympia's Forgotten Pioneers: The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Olympia, Washington: State Capitol Historical Association, 1976).

Appendix 4:
**Schools and Institutions Founded by the Sisters of Saint Ann in British Columbia,
Yukon and Alaska, and the Founders**

1858 Victoria Convent: Sisters Mary of the Sacred Heart, Mary Angele, Mary Lumena, Mary Conception, and Miss Marie Mainville.

1864 Cowichan, now Duncan: Sisters Mary of the Sacred Heart, Mary Conception.

1865 New Westminster: Sisters Mary Conception, Mary of the Seven Dolors (sic).

1868 St. Mary's Mission [Mission, B.C.]: Sister Mary Lumena, Mary Bonsecours.

1876 St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria [Victoria General Hospital]: Sisters Mary Bridget, Mary of the Sacred Heart, Mary of the Rosary, M. Winifred- pharmacist, Mary Albert.

1876 Williams Lake, B.C.: Sisters Mary Clement, Mary Joachim, Mary Octavia. [closed 1888].

1877 Nanaimo, B.C. Convent: Sisters Mary of the Cross, Mary Eleanore and Susan Suckley, orphan help (sic).

1880 Kamloops Convent, B.C.: Sisters Mary of the Infant Jesus, Mary Catherine of Sienna [this was a different Sister from one who died 1870], Mary Celestine.

1886 Juneau, Alaska [hospital] : Sisters Mary Zenon, Mary Bonsecours, Mary Victor.

1888: Holy Cross, Alaska: Sisters Mary Stephen, Mary Joseph Calasanctius, Mary Pauline.

1888 Dunsmuir Street Convent, Vancouver: Sisters Mary Alexander, Mary of the Infant Jesus, Mary Teresa of the Sacred Heart.

1890 Kamloops Indian Industrial School: Sisters Mary Joachim, Mary Celestine.

1892 Kuper Indian Industrial School: Sisters M. Joachim, Mary Celestine.

1894 Douglas Island Alaska supplied from the Juneau staff. [closed 1920].

1894 Songhees Day School, Victoria, B.C., closed 1910. Sister Mary Berchmans was the long time day school teacher here.

1894-1898 Indian Mission School, Akulurak, Alaska.

- 1898 Dawson, YT supplied from the transfer of the Sisters in Akulurak.
- 1899 Our Lady of the Snows Mission, Nulato, Alaska.
- 1900 School of Nursing, St. Joseph's Hospital, Victoria, B.C.
- 1903-04 day school Whitehorse YT.
- 1909-13 parochial school Ladysmith, B.C.
- 1913 Kitsilano: Sisters Mary Martha, Mary Florence, Mary Geraldine, Marly Adolphus, Mary Ovide. [1912 St. Augustine's Parochial School Vancouver]
- 1925 St. Louis College, New Westminster, B.C., renamed St. Peter's School, 1950.
- 1926 Campbell River Hospital: Sister Mary Mark, organizer; Sisters Mary Gerard Majella, Mary Leo, Mary Rose Yvonne, Mary John Leonard.
- 1927 [Queen of Angels School] Port Angeles, [Washington] U.S.A.: Sisters Mary Good Counsel, Mary Ethelind, Mary Philippa, Mary Irene, Theresa, Mary Muriel. [closed 1946].
- 1927: Little Flower, Vancouver: Sisters Mary Geraldine, Mary Emmanuella, Eleanore-Marie, Mary Columbia, Mary Ethel, Mary Cecilia, Mary Thaddeus.
- 1932 [St. Pius X School] Skagway, Alaska: Sisters Mary Martin of Tours, Mary Prudentienne, Mary Adolphus, Mary Julian.
- 1934: Smithers, B.C.: Sisters Mary Henrietta, Mary Itha, Mary Angelica, Mary Freda
- 1934: Japan: Victoria supplied two Sisters, out of four - Mother Mary Leopoldine, Provincial Superior, and Sister Mary Ignatia.

Remainder of timeline based on Down, Century of Service, 165:

- 1940: St. Catherine's Day School for Indians, Duncan, B.C.
- 1947-55: Holy Ghost School, Lulu Island, New Westminster, B.C.
- 1949: Sacred Heart School, Prince George, B.C.
- 1951: Indian Residential School, Lower Post, B.C.
- 1951: Smith Memorial School, Port Alberni, B.C.
- 1952: St. Joseph's School, Penticton, B.C.
- 1954: Immaculate Conception School, Vancouver, B.C.
- 1956: Copper Valley School, Glenallen, Alaska
- 1956: St. James School, Vernon, B.C.
- 1957: St. Patrick's School, Victoria, B.C.

Note on sources: The list on which this appendix is based appears as “Expansion in the West,” Victoria Convent Historical Eye-View and Nominations, 74-75, ASSAV 24-3-17. The list includes foundations and founding Sisters of Saint Ann 1864 to 1934. To check the information I consulted archival sources and secondary sources cited in Appendix 2, in particular:

Margaret Cantwell, SSA, North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann, 1992).

[Edith Down] Sister Mary Margaret, SSA, A Century of Service: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and their contribution to education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska 1858-1958 (Victoria: Morriss Printing for the Sisters of Saint Ann, 1966).

Appendix 5:
Schools and Institutions Founded by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Oregon Territory and British Columbia, and the Founders

For the Oblates the dates of foundation of main mission stations and urban parishes will be listed in addition to those of schools. For clarity the listing will be by mission district and date rather than strictly by date.

Oregon Mission

1847 Walla Walla: Father Pascal Ricard and three scholastic brothers [seminarians], C. Pandosy, G. Blanchet and E.C. Chirouse and lay Brother C. Verney established missions in the Walla Walla diocese including the Yakima Valley. The Yakima missions were abandoned in 1859.

1848 Olympia: Pascal Ricard moved his headquarters to St. Joseph of Olympia in the diocese of Oregon City. The Oblates closed their Olympia house in 1860.

1849 Fort Victoria, Vancouver Island: mission, and day school, Father H.T. Lempfrit working in the see of Bishop M. Demers. Lempfrit also began a mission in 1850-52 at Cowichan. These missions closed when Lempfrit left in 1852.

1858 Tulalip Mission on Puget Sound, and a school for boys 1859, established by E.C. Chirouse. In 1861 he got an American federal contract to run a boarding school for boys at Tulalip. The Sisters of Providence [Montreal] came to run a parallel girls' school in 1868. The Oblates withdrew from the mission and school in 1876.

Dates of foundations in British Columbia:

1858 Esquimalt, Vancouver Island, St. Joseph's mission.: Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez. He withdrew the Oblates from service in the Vancouver Island diocese by 1866.

1858 Okanagan Mission, Mission of the Immaculate Conception[Kelowna]: Charles Pandosy. From 1863 to 1866 Pierre Richard taught a small co-educational class of children in French.

1860 Saint Charles Mission, New Westminster: Fathers Leon Fouquet and Charles Grandidier and Brothers George Blanchet and Gaspard Janin. The Oblate noviciate 1860-1909 and Nazareth seminary of the years 1890-1907 were located in New Westminster.

From 1860 to 1910 Saint Charles Church New Westminster served the Aboriginal population of the city and district. Services were provided in Aboriginal languages. The Oblates also operated an itinerant mission out of New Westminster. They visited Aboriginal villages such as Sechelt, and settler villages such as Port Haney. Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals are recorded for New Westminster for many of these communities through to the 1900s.

1860 Saint Peter's Parish, New Westminster: Leon Fouquet established it for the White population. As soon as anglophone Oblates were available, they were given charge of the parish.

1865 Oblate Father Edward Horris established a school for boys in St. Peter's Parish, New Westminster. It became St. Louis College as the Oblates closed their Victoria college the following year. Brother Patrick Allen served the New Westminster college 1865-1911. It closed in 1917, reopened briefly in the 1920s and 1930s. However, the Oblates, the parish, and the Christian Brothers could not manage the financial burdens. So the Sisters of Saint Ann taught boys in the old college building, renamed St. Peter's School, 1930s-1954. High school aged boys went to St. Ann's Academy for classes in the 1940s and early 1950s. In September 1954 the Sisters began classes at the new St. Peter's parish elementary school, a coeducational school.

1861 Saint Mary's Mission on the Fraser: Leon Fouquet. This mission would be a centre for itinerant mission activity in the surrounding region.

1863 Saint Mary's Mission Boys' School: Florimond Gendre. The Oblate school for Aboriginal youth closed in 1973 and the government-run residence in 1984.

1863 mission at Fort Rupert on Vancouver Island: Charles Pandosy and Brother George Blanchet established it as Our Lady of the Assumption. In 1866 it was moved to Harbledown Island and renamed St. Michael's mission. The Oblates closed this mission in 1874.

1863 Saint Louis College Victoria: Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez. The Oblates here took over the work the French Canadian Clerics of St. Viator had attempted in 1858-59. In January 1864 Father Julien Baudre as director and James McGuckin and Brothers Patrick Allen and Edward McStay began classes for boys. By 1866 the Oblates withdrew the staff to the mainland.

1863-1866 St. Louis [francophone] parish, Victoria: Julien Baudre.

1863-66 Squamish Mission, in what is now North Vancouver: Leon Fouquet. The Sacred Heart Mission Church was renamed St. Paul's in 1909.

1900 Squamish Boarding School, St. Paul's Residential School, North Vancouver: Emile Bunoz o.m.i., Principal, and Sisters of the Child Jesus as teaching staff. This school closed in 1959.

1867 Saint Joseph Mission, Williams Lake: James McGuckin. He had begun services in the Richfield and Barkerville mining region in 1866. He established a lending library and adult education classes there as well.

1872 Saint Joseph Mission boarding school, Williams Lake: James McGuckin.

[1876-1888 school for girls run by the Sisters of Saint Ann].

1891 Saint Joseph Mission Williams Lake Indian Industrial School: Jean-Marie LeJacq and lay staff. In 1896 Sisters of Child Jesus from Le Puy, France, arrived to staff the school for girls. The St. Joseph's Residential School, Williams Lake, closed in 1981.

1873 Mission of Our Lady of Good Hope, Fort St. James, Stuart Lake.: Jean-Marie LeJacq. This mission came under the Prefect Apostolic of the Yukon after 1908.

1916 Stuart Lake Boarding School at Stuart's Lake Mission: Joseph Allard. In

1922 this institution was rebuilt as Lejac Residential School at Fraser Lake. It closed in 1976.

Note: From the Stuart Lake Mission the Oblates visited Aboriginal and settler communities in the Yukon, for example, Joseph Allard's visit to the Tlingits at Atlin in 1907. The Oblates and the Jesuits had disagreements about northern mission territories and both congregations appealed to the Vatican. The Oblates did take control of Yukon missions the Jesuits had begun from their Alaskan bases.

1874 Saint Eugene's Mission in the Kootenays, near Cranbrook, B.C.: Father Leon Fouquet and Brother John Burns. Parishes: Cranbrook 1896, Greenwood 1900, Penticton 1914, Kimberley 1925.

1890 St. Eugene's, Cranbrook, Indian Industrial School: Nicolas Coccola, principal. The Sisters of Providence staffed it from 1890 to 1929. The Sisters of Charity of Halifax replaced them from 1936 until the school's closure in 1970.

1878 Saint Louis Mission Kamloops: Charles Grandidier as first pastor. The Oblates had served this district since 1858 by travelling up from the Okanagan Mission at what is now Kelowna. The Kamloops city parish of Sacred Heart built its first church in 1886. Note: Oblate histories say little or nothing on the congregation's attempt at a boys' school for the region in 1882.

1890 Kamloops Indian Industrial School: Mr. Hagan principal. Mr. Hagan resigned and the school closed in 1892. The school reopened in 1893 with A. Carion OMI as principal. The Sisters of Saint Ann provided classroom teachers. The school was turned into a residence in 1969 and that closed in 1974.

1860s Sechelt Mission: No resident Oblate priest until 1900.

1904 Sechelt Residential School staffed by Sisters of the Child Jesus and some Oblates. The 1900s Indian Affairs Reports list one of the Sisters as Principal. This school closed in 1975.

1885-86 Holy Rosary Vancouver, not founded by Oblates but Oblates served this parish from 1898 to the 1920s. The Oblates began parishes of Sacred Heart 1905-11, Saint Patricks 1911, St. Edmund's North Vancouver 1911-29, and Saint Augustine's 1911. In the 1920s Saint Augustine's, Vancouver became the main Oblate parish in that city.

Notes on Oblate administration in British Columbia:

After 1908 French Oblates were no longer sent out to British Columbia.

In 1908 southern British Columbia became the archdiocese of Vancouver. The northern part of the province and the Yukon became a prefecture apostolic. In 1909 the Oblates organized their vicariate of British Columbia and Mackenzie. Emile Bunoz OMI administrated these regions out of Prince Rupert.

In 1926 the Oblates reorganized their western missions. The Province of St. Peter of New Westminster was established with the right to found works throughout Canada [Levasseur 1959, 169]. It established an Ottawa noviciate in 1929. The province lasted until 1967. From 1930 on the administration of Saint Peter's Province was headquartered in Ottawa. The province took over the English language college of the University of Ottawa and St. Joseph's parish in Ottawa. The provincial noviciate and scholasticate were located in Ottawa. [Levasseur 1995, 242].

After 1944 St. Peter's Province included the Vicariate Apostolic of Prince Rupert, and, after 1957 Kuper Island Indian School and Duncan on Vancouver Island.

1938 Oblates replaced Benedictines at Kakawis or Christie Indian Residential School on Vancouver Island. This school was begun by Father Maurus Schneider OSB in 1900. The Benedictine Sisters who served at the school turned over their work to the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in 1959-60. The school closed in 1971.

1951 Indian Residential School Lower Post B.C. Father Fleury OMI principal and Sisters of Saint Ann as teachers. This school closed about 1975.

1957 the Oblates took over Kuper Island Residential School. This school had been staffed by Sisters of Saint Ann since 1890. The founding principal Father G. Donckele served from 1890 to 1907. The Montfort Fathers served from 1908 to 1957. The school closed in 1975.

Note on sources: There is no Oblate equivalent of the Sisters of Saint Ann's "Expansion in the West" timeline in their Victoria Covent Historical Eye-View and Nominations. Archival and secondary sources on the Oblates, cited in Appendix 3, were used to compile this appendix.

**Appendix 6:
Entrants to the Sisters of Saint Ann from British Columbia Families**

Note: Entrants are listed by date of profession as the Sisters of Saint Ann had a standard two year noviciate.

Abbreviations:

B: birth, P: Profession of vows, D: Death

1870 Sr. M. Charles. #165 McQuade, Cecilia
B: 1849-09-26
P: 1870-08-04 Lachine
D: 1927-02-07 Lachine
Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
[Biological sister of Sr. M. Agnes]
Provincial in west 1914-1917.

1871 Sr. M. Agnes. #180 McQuade, Anna. [Sr. M. Agnès]
B: 1850-10-14
P: 1871-08-06 Lachine
D: 1912-03-29 Lachine
Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
[Biological sister of Sr. M. Charles]

1871 Sr. M. Catherine of Siena [sic] #186 McEntee, Mary
B: ? in 1852-10-18
P: 1871-08-06 Lachine
D: 1928-07-21 Victoria
Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
[Took name of first generation in B.C. Sister.]

1877 Sr. M. Florence #276 Henderson, Emily
B: 1855 Philadelphia, Pa.
P: 1877 Lachine
D: 1926-10-01 Lachine
Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.

1878 Sr. M. Romuald #286

Lyons, Mary

B: Victoria 1859

P: 1878 Lachine

D: 1923-10-11 Victoria

Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.

[Took name of first generation in B.C. Sister]

[Half-sister of Sisters M. Ethelreda and M. Priscilla]

1892 Sr. M. Martha #570

Baldwin, Catherine

B: P.E.I. 1872-12-23

P: 1892-02-02 Victoria

D: 1949-07-20 Victoria

Baldwin was the first B.C. novice in the B.C. noviciate. Her home parish is listed as St. Mary's Mission as priests from there served her parent's home in Port Moody.

Attended St. Ann's, New Westminster.

1894 Sr. M. Adolphus. #622

McDonald, Eva.

B: Barkerville, B.C. 1873-03-16 (Matricule birthdate 1870-03-16)

P: 1894-05-02 Victoria

D: 1967-09-02 Victoria

Note she was a convert to Roman Catholicism like Sr. M. Loretto Lyter.

Attended St. Ann's, possibly New Westminster as well as boarder Victoria.

1894 Sr. M. Matthew #623

McBride, Anna

B: 1873-05-17 Kilbourne, Wisconsin

P: 1894-05-02 Victoria

D: 1940-09-13 Victoria

Attended St. Ann's, Victoria in 1891.

1895 Sr. M. Veronica #673

Lagacé, Marie.

B: 1877-10-31 St. Fabien, Bic, Rimouski, Quebec.

P: 1895 Victoria

D: 1961-09-12 Victoria

[Her youngest sister Antoinette became Sister M. Marcellus in 1917.]

Attended St. Ann's, New Westminster.

1897 Sr. M. Priscilla #719

Lyons, Pauline

B: 1874 in Victoria according to her Necrology

P: [entered 6 months ahead of twin Sr. M. Ethelreda] 1897 Victoria

D: 1949-07-30 Victoria

Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.

[Twin of Sr. M. Ethelreda, half-sister to Sr. M. Romuald, the second of that name]

- 1897 Sr. M. Ethelreda #720** Lyons, Josephine
 B: 1874
 P: 1897 Victoria
 D: 1950-06-03 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
 [Twin of Sr. M. Priscilla, half-sister to second Sister Romuald]
- 1898 Sr. M. Lucretia #747** Hagan, Suzanna
 B: 1877-04-27
 P: 1898-08-04 Victoria
 D: 1954-01-14 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, New Westminster.
 [Sister to another Sister of Saint Ann, Sister Mary Thecla]
- 1898 Sr. M. Amelia. Coadjutrix #20** Grimm, Elizabeth Rosina.
 B: Victoria, B.C. 1877
 P: 1898 Victoria
 D: 1944-02-17 Victoria
 [Coadjutrix status ended in 1926]
 Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
 [Biological sister to Sr. M. Wilhelmina, Anna Grimm]
- 1899 Sr. M. Wilhelmina Coadjutrix #38** Grimm, Anna.
 [Sister of Sr. M. Amelia]
 B: 1879 Victoria
 P: 1899 Victoria
 D: 1938-08-30 Victoria
 She became a "choir" sister in the second year of profession according to the Victoria Novitiate Register.
 Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
- 1900 Sr. M. Augustine. #823** Parsons, Mary
 B: ? 1870
 P: 1900 Victoria
 D: 1932-01-23 Victoria
 Mary Parsons was a teacher prior to entrance.
- 1900 Sr. M. Thecla #848** Hagan, Margaret
 B: 1881-04-12 Saanich, B.C.
 P: 1902-07-22 Victoria
 D: 1943-08-18 Victoria
 [Biological sister of Sister M. Lucretia]

- 1902 Sr. M. Barbara # 849** Bessette, Malvina.
 B: Lumby, B.C. 1882
 P: 1902-07-22 Victoria
 D: 1967-06-27 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, New Westminster.
 [Biological sister of Sr. M. Sabina].
- 1904 Sr. M. Thomas of the Rosary #876** Grey, Annie.
 B: Ireland 1878
 P: 1904 Lachine
 D: 1913-01-27 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, Quamichan [Cowichan] then Victoria, trained as a nurse with the Sisters of Providence in Portland, then to Lachine noviciate, then to B.C. and Alaska.
- 1904 Sr. M. Cornelius #905** O'Halloran, Cora.
 B: 1884-11-14 Pavilion, B.C.
 P: 1904-07-26 Victoria
 D: 1973-12-21 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, Kamloops and New Westminster.
- 1904 Sr. M. Sabina # 906** Bessette, Mary
 B: 1881-08-24 Lumby, B.C.
 P: 1904-07-26 Victoria
 D: 1906-09-26 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, New Westminster.
 [Biological Sister of Sr. M. Barbara]
- 1906 Sr. M. Donalda #925** Lascelle, Marie-Raisa.
 B: Quebec 1880
 P: 1906-01-14 Victoria
 D: 1935-05-31 Victoria
 Attended St. Ann's, Holy Rosary Academy, Vancouver.
- 1911 Sr. M. Loretto #1164** Lyter, Katherine
 B: 1899
 P: 1911-07-20 Victoria
 D: 1928-02-29 Victoria
 Note also: Convert to Roman Catholicism like Sr. M. Adolphus McDonald.
 Attended St. Ann's, Victoria.
 [She was the second Sister Loretto in B.C.; Sr. M. Loretto, Theresa Winifred Walsh B: 1862, P: 1882, D: 1907]

Note on sources: See Appendix 2. In addition to items listed there, Margaret Cantwell SSA, archivist for the Sisters of Saint Ann, Victoria, B.C. provided me with statistics on entrants and information on coadjutrix Sisters from the Victoria Novitiate Register.

**Appendix 7:
Entrants to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate from British Columbia Families**

Note: Entrants are listed by date of profession although the Oblates, unlike the Sisters of Saint Ann, did not have a standard two year noviciate.

Abbreviations:

B: birth, P: Profession of vows, O: Ordination, D: Death.

Priests:

Murphy, William.

B: 1865-02-10 Lac la Hache, B.C.

P: 1887-03-19 at St. Joseph Scholasticate Ottawa.

O: 1892-06-27 at Ottawa by bishop T. Duhamel

D: 1915-02-04 Ottawa

Attended St. Joseph Mission School Williams Lake, St. Louis College New Westminster, B.C.

Bessette, Herbert.

B: 1888-06-28 Lumby, B.C.

P: 1908-09-08 at Tewksbury, Mass.

O: 1912-06-15 Boston by Cardinal William O'Connell, archbishop of Boston.

D: Sechelt, B.C. 1952-05-07

Attended St. Louis College New Westminster, B.C.

Biological brother of Sisters Mary Barbara and Mary Sabina, SSA.

Swenceski Antoni.

B: 1883-02-07 Lithuania

P: 1908-01-20 at Tewksbury, Mass. scholasticate

O: 1912-01-15 in Boston by Cardinal William O'Connell

D: 1955-02-12 Cranbrook, B.C.

Attended St. Louis College New Westminster, B.C.

Brother:

Betancourt, Francis Joseph.

B: 1875-01-09 Vesuvius Bay, Saltspring Island, B.C.

P: 1909-07-02 New Westminster

D: 1968-09-29 Edmonton Alberta

Father G. Forbes O.M.I. Papers, UBC Special Collections MG 240, file 2-3, b. 1875-03-09, 1903 Codex St. Peter's New Westminster as novice and sacristan, 1907-07-07 for perpetual vows. See also G. Forbes "Clippings & Notes on Brother Joe." His mother's

name was given as Catherine Madden, but relatives said Catherine Paul. She spoke Chinook and Indian languages. A typescript copy of a May 8, 1917 obituary for his father, Estalno Joseph Bittancourt, indicates he was born in the Azores and settled on Saltspring Island.

Note on sources: See Appendix 3.

Note: List of Oblate brothers who joined in British Columbia as adult males but were single male immigrants rather than members of British Columbia settler families.
List includes age at entry and is arranged by date of entry or first profession of vows.

Mansfield, Moris

Entered 1874 at 38

B: Ireland 1836-11-22

P: 1882-02-02 Williams Lake at age 45

D: 1899-08-21 Mission, B.C.

McBride, John

Entered 1883 at 28, he had come directly from Ireland to the Williams Lake mission in 1877 as part of a vocation project developed by James McGuckin.

B: Ireland 1855

P: 1884?

D: 1890-05-30 Mission, B.C.

Cunningham, Michael

Entered 1881 at 49

B: 1832-05-29 Ireland

P: 1889-04-21

D: 1917-04-23 Mission, B.C.

Harkins, Patrick

Entered 1883 at 23. See note on McBride coming directly from Ireland.

B: 1860 Ireland

P: 1890-07-02 Williams Lake, B.C.

D: 1907-10-14 New Westminster, B.C.

Mulvaney, John

Entered 1885 at 34.

B: 1851 Ireland

P: 1886-06-24

D: 1929-10-10 Mission, B.C.

Flynn, James

Entered 1886 at 43

B: 1843 Ireland

P: 1893-03-17 New Westminster, B.C.

D: 1908-12-20 New Westminster, B.C.

Whelan, William

First entered the Oblates at 21, see note on McBride above.

B: 1868-10-04 Ireland

P: First preliminary vows as Brother 1887, redid noviciate as scholastic in New Westminster 1889, then studied in Ottawa and New Westminster. 1891-05-07 Ottawa scholasticate perpetual profession.

O: 1897-09-26 New Westminster, by Durieu

D: 1901-10-08

Collins, Patrick

Entered 1887 at 19, but, like McBride came directly from Ireland.

B: Ireland 1868-03-09

P: 1894-11-01

D: 1958-12-12 Victoria B.C.

Wolfs, Christian

Entered 1889 at 40

B: 1849 Germany

P: 1890

D: accidentally 1890-07-21 Mission, B.C.

Smith, James

Entered 1892 at 22

B: 1870 Newfoundland

P: See below

D: 1962-08-03 Victoria

He was a novice and brother in New Westminster 1892-1900, dispensed with vows, married, his wife died, he recommenced the noviciate in 1903 and professed in 1904. He was again dispensed with vows as an Oblate. He then studied theology in Toronto and was ordained a secular priest 1923-05-26 by Archbishop Neil McNeil. He worked in southeastern British Columbia and Vancouver as a secular priest.

Lajoie, Georges

Entered 1892 at 24

B: Detroit, Mich. 1868-03-19

P: 1900-04-16

D: 1936-07-01 Williams Lake

Fazzolari[e] Vincenzo

Entered 1908 at 39

B: 1868-08-19 Italy

P: 1915-06-22 Mission

D: 1940-03-09 Vancouver

Brockway, Thomas

Entered 1912 at 47

Not academic teacher

B: Ireland 1865-08-06

P: 1919-04-02

D: Mission, B.C. 1922-01-22

[A convert to Catholicism, he was assigned to St. Louis College New Westminster 1913-1922.]