

THE CANADIAN INDIAN RESEARCH AND AID SOCIETY:
A VICTORIAN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

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Introduction

During the spring months of 1891, from March to June, a series of four articles appeared in The Canadian Indian under the pseudonym of "Fair Play" (reprinted following this paper). The interest of these articles is great since they rejected much of the paternalism typical of missionary and governmental treatment of the Indians in Canada.

It is true that the articles do retain Victorian notions of civilization and progress: Fair Play does not deny that most Indians are in a "despised and degraded condition" (May 1891:224), and he views the Indians as thirsting for Christian knowledge. For example, he asserts that the Indians "are ready to throw over their heathenism, with all its dark superstition, and to accept in its stead the light of Christian teaching" (Fair Play 1891c: 224).

However, Fair Play seeks to explain the Indian situation by discussing the adverse effects of Europeans in North America on Indians, referring in one instance to the "white oppressors" of the Delawares (1891b:192). He points both to the nature of Indian civilization in the past and to the example of the Cherokee at that time as clear exceptions to the belief that the degraded Indian situation was due to the faults of the Indians.

These ideas lead him to insist that Indians should not be forcibly propelled into the general Canadian community, and he condemns policies designed "to un-Indianize the Indian, and make him in every sense a white man" (Fair Play 1891d:254). He asks, "Why should we expect that Indians alone, of all people, should be ready quietly to give up all old customs and traditions and language, and adopt those of the aggressor upon their soil" (Fair Play 1891c: 221). Instead, he suggests that white North Americans should be prepared for "an independent Indian community" (1891b:194) that should have its own government with its own Lieutenant-Governor and Parliament (1891d:254). Further,

Indians should be allowed to keep their language, and Indian patriotism, that is, pride in their own history, should be encouraged (1891c:222).

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate that these articles contain a number of refreshing insights that are still controversial today. This paper will deal not with these issues themselves, but with questions relating to the nature of the organization that published the articles. As well, it will try to determine who was the author bearing the nom de plume of "Fair Play" and what circumstances influenced his thinking.

The Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society

The Canadian Indian was a journal published by the Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society (C.I.R.A.S.). The journal and Society both appear to have been shortlived. The first issue was published in October of 1890, and the last, in September of 1891. Because of lack of funds, it was proposed by the officers of the journal to suspend publication of The Canadian Indian until January 1892 and to postpone the annual meeting of the Society as well from September 1891 to January 1892 (Wilson and Small 1891:340). However, it does not seem that the journal or Society were revived.

The ill success of the journal and Society seems to be due in part to the conflicting aims of the Society. At one and the same time it intended the journal to be (1) a specialized publication for missionaries dealing with Indians in educational settings, (2) a general publication to arouse the public's sympathy for the plight of the Indian, and (3) a scientific and anthropological journal. In one prospectus the purpose of The Canadian Indian was given as follows: "It will give general information of mission and educational work among the Indians (irrespective of denomination), besides having papers of an ethnological, philological and archaeological character" (Our Forest Children 1890a:200). In another blurb the journal was described "as the medium of intercommunication with other learned societies" (Our Forest Children 1890b:253). On the other hand, the support of the broad middle class was appealed to. The journal was to be "palatable both to the student and general reader, to the learned ethnologist¹ as well as to the school boy, and, for that matter, to the Indian himself..." (Our Forest Children 1890b:253).

The social problem orientation of the new society was made very clear also. The Society was to be activist and reformist and to act as a catalyst on public opinion to bring about beneficent change in dealing with the Indians. The journal was intended "to reach...the eye and heart of the Canadian public, to call forth their sympathies for our poor red men, and lead them to take an active interest both in the proposed research into their past history, and also in what can be told of their present condition and future prospect" (Our Forest Children 1890b:253).

By September, 1891, the leading members of the Society were convinced that the differing aims of the association were bringing about financial failure. They wrote, "Our impression is that a good many members of the Christian

cussion at an Indian Conference organized by C.I.R.A.S. Thus it would seem likely that "Fair Play" was connected with C.I.R.A.S.

The Society became interested in sounding out the Indians about their attitudes on the issues raised by the Fair Play series. It is in this context that we begin to detect links between "Fair Play" and Wilson. Starting in the winter of 1891 there was an effort to stage a congress of Indian leaders in Ontario from among "the most intelligent and best educated Indians" (Wilson 1891:213). The intention of the conference would have been to discuss several of the central questions of the Fair Play articles. On March 10th, 1891, a circular was sent to various chiefs and headmen which was signed by the Society's Secretary, E. F. Wilson. The questions on the circular included the following substantive issues: (1) whether the Indians preferred their system of holding land in common or instead preferred "for each Indian to have his own land in the same manner as the white people" (Wilson 1891:213); (2) whether the Indians wished to live in separate communities or wished their "children to become one with the white people and adopt their language" (*ibid.*); (3) if the Indians wanted greater control over the management of their own affairs; and (4) if they Indians would support a "Native Indian Missionary Society to which the Christianized Indians would send funds instead of contributing to the white men's mission funds" (Wilson 1891:213). Essentially, then, these proposals had as their aim finding out whether the Indian people support amalgamation and integration or communal independence. Given the highly political nature of the questions, though, one is surprised at the proviso that "The object too will not be to listen to grievances, or to deal with any matter that may seem to encroach upon the affairs of the Indian Department..." (Wilson 1891:214).

The Indians, presumably the most intelligent and best educated Indians in Ontario, were quite wary about the conference. The various chiefs and headmen suspected some sort of trick or ruse and that nothing would come of the conference:

The Indian chiefs have sent us various answers in regard to the proposed Indian Conference....On the whole it seems probably that it will have to be deferred for the present. A suspicion seems to prevail among them that it is a mere ruse on the part of the Government to draw out from them what they have to say, and that nothing will come of it [The Canadian Indian 1891b:271].

Some support was registered for the conference, but not enough. One Indian chief supported the idea since he realized that the word of the Indian was not listened to very closely by the Government. He suggested that the distinguished nature of the membership of C.I.R.A.S. would aid in the transmission of the wishes of the Indians. He wrote, "A large number of very influential men belong to the Society, and through their influence great good can be done in approaching the government, whereas at present many of the Indians wishes never reach the government..." (Brant 1891:295).

Despite the claims of C.I.R.A.S. and of J. B. Brant that the Society could be an effective pressure group for the cause of Indian advancement, the Indians themselves do not appear to have trusted the organization; and the conference had to be cancelled.

However, to emphasize the central point, the aims of the proposed conference clearly were formulated to air the controversial opinions raised by Fair Play in his articles. Thus we are led to the supposition that Fair Play and the proposers of the Indian Conference were connected. The first Fair Play article appeared in The Canadian Indian in March, 1891. The full plan for the Indian Conference, complete with its aims, and signed by E. F. Wilson, was printed in The Canadian Indian's April issue along with Fair Play paper No. 2.

B. Indian Self-Government and Henry Venn

Given these indications regarding the Fair Play papers and the proposed Indian Conference, we must next consider the evidence that E. F. Wilson had at several times in his life been influenced by such ideas. For example, one key theme of both Fair Play and of the proposed Indian Conference was that of independence and self-government for the Indians. Wilson reported his identification with such ideas in his last Annual Report for the Singwauk and Wawanosh Homes (1892). He commented that, "In my own brain I have had plans of Indian self-government and the Native Indian church supported by themselves...." (Wilson 1892:4-5), although by this time his earlier optimistic hopes had been dashed: "...I fear that there is little chance of these schemes ever being realized at any rate in my own day" (Wilson 1892:5).

Wilson's short-lived plans for Indian self-government and church autonomy were not totally a result of his later research and travel after 1885. In a way his later ideas were a return to the programme set forth by Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) leader Henry Venn (1842-1873).

Wilson had been in the employ of the C.M.S. during Venn's latter years as C.M.S. leader, during 1868 to 1872. One of Wilson's difficulties in his mission in the Huron diocese of southwestern Ontario was that the Bishop of Huron, the local clergy, and Wilson himself denied the effectiveness of Henry Venn's ideas in that area.

While Venn shared many Victorian ideas about "civilization" and "progress," he clearly does not fit the stereotype of the ethnocentric Victorian missionary. Venn stressed that "coloured" and aboriginal peoples were nations and that missionaries ought to recognize and respect this fact. Furthermore, "missionaries were further directed to study the national character of the people among whom they laboured, and to learn to understand their ways of thinking" (Usher 1971:43). Venn "realised that it was difficult for Englishmen to show respect for national peculiarities," but that missionaries "were to study and respect the national habits 'till it becomes a habit with you to do so and a second nature'" (Usher 1971:43).

In addition, the European missionary was to attempt the creation of a native church organization and structure. The missionary was to rely as much as possible on "native agency" (Venn's term) and was not to regard himself as a permanent pastor. He was to look forward eagerly to the "euthanasia" (Venn's term) of his own activities so that he could move elsewhere and leave control of the newly founded church in the hands of the natives. "At all times the missionary was to hold clearly in mind the distinction between himself as a European evangelist to the heathen, and the pastor of a flock, who should ideally be a native. Venn warned of the dangers involved in delaying the advent of a native ministry" (Usher 1971:43). After the Europeans left, the natives themselves were to organize their own church structure and raise their own finances. No longer were they to be patronized by whites.

In E. F. Wilson's earlier experience as a C.M.S. missionary, he had come to reject Venn's principles. In so doing he aligned himself with Bishop Cronyn of Huron and most of the European settlers in that region. Cronyn, his fellow clergy, and the local citizenry had clearly adopted a colonial assimilationist mentality. They felt the natives no longer constituted a separate nation and that the future of the Indian, both in secular and religious terms, was "the union of the Indians with their fellow subjects" (Cronyn 1870).

For many years Wilson agreed with Cronyn's analysis rather than with Venn's, but it is clear that Venn's influence was not totally lost on Wilson. Influenced by other circumstances after 1885, Wilson came to reconsider the validity of Venn's approach with its emphasis on Indian nationality and autonomy. There was obviously a conflict of long duration which went on in Wilson's mind. Rival plans for the welfare of the Indians jostled and competed for attention in his head.

C. The Cherokee: A Tribe of Admirable Indians

If Wilson did come back under the influence of Henry Venn's ideas, the transformation was not a simple one. It required the impact of Wilson's years of research into ethnography and anthropology after 1885. More specifically, Wilson's study of the Cherokee proved to him that plans such as those set forth by Henry Venn which emphasized the capability of the Indians for independence and self-government could be achieved.

The Cherokee were an example of Indians who had adopted many white customs, yet in other ways had remained true to their Indian heritage. They had invented a manner of printing their own language, had given up their traditional lifestyle for a thoroughly settled form of agriculture, had established their own legal and political institutions. Yet they had retained communal land tenure, their own language, and their autonomy. Although largely mixed with European bloodlines, the Cherokee lived as a distinct geo-political entity, borrowing from European culture on an adaptive rather than enforced or directed basis.

Wilson had written on his travels among the Cherokee of Oklahoma in his series of travel articles entitled "My Wife and I, A Little Journey Among the

Indians." These articles were printed in both Our Forest Children (No. 1 in the June 1889 issue), and were continued in The Canadian Indian. In one episode of this series he was told by the Cherokee Governor "that the Cherokee people were quite satisfied with their present condition, and desired no change; they did not desire to hold their land in severalty; they had adopted white man's methods up to a certain point, but beyond that point they did not wish to go" (Wilson 1889f:91).

That Wilson's response to the Cherokee was extremely positive is evident in his "Indian Tribes-Paper No. 2." He had started this series in the pages of Our Forest Children and carried it on in The Canadian Indian. He planned to survey "a brief history of one hundred of the best known or most noted North American tribes" (Wilson 1889a:1) along with brief summaries of each native language. Wilson, who had planned to unite the articles into book form, sought to counter the popular belief that "the Indians are all one; it will be our work to shew that they belong to a number of distinct nations" (Wilson 1889a:1).

In this series of articles on the Indian tribes, Wilson was quite free with judgments and evaluations on the progress and level of civilization that each tribe had achieved, and he pointed out also the numerous villainies of the European intruders. Wilson was most positive about the Cherokee, commenting that they were "this great and remarkably intelligent people" (Wilson 1889c:17). Furthermore, "A visitor to the Cherokee country in Indian Territory at the present day would be vastly surprised to note the wonderful progress that these people have made; indeed, he would scarcely believe that he was in Indian country at all" (Wilson 1889c:18).

Wilson noted that the Cherokee had "comfortable houses and cottages," that their "system of government is now very complete," that the tribe spent large sums of their own money to support their own school system, and that "out of 20,000 people five persons only...made their living by hunting and fishing, the others being farmers, mechanics, teachers, etc--but no saloon keepers" (Wilson 1889c:18).

While on his trip to the Cherokee territory Wilson had talked with a Cherokee lawyer on their retention of communal land tenure. The lawyer stated that such tenure avoided class differentiation: "their present social system has never yet developed a mendicant or a tramp," and "although poor, yet they have no paupers, none suffering from the oppression of the rich. With the whites every one is scrambling to live, the strong trampling down the weak." In addition, the lawyer defended common land tenure on the significant grounds that it was a method "to resist the aggression of the whites" (Wilson 1889c:19).

Wilson's consideration of this problem was of importance to his readers since Victorians generally assumed that agriculture based on the allotment of land in severalty was a prerequisite of "civilization." The Cherokee were agriculturists, but Wilson was able to note their satisfactory progress in "civilization" despite their retention of common ownership of land.

Both The Canadian Indian and "The Fair Play" articles praised the Cherokee system highly as a possible solution to the problems of Canadian Indians. This circumstance would fit our hypothesis that E. F. Wilson authored the Fair Play articles since he had praised the Cherokee under signed articles. An unsigned article -- perhaps more accurately described as an editorial -- printed just after Fair Play article No. 1 in March, 1891, briefly discussed the Cherokee system and then concluded, "Education, religion, a good system of law and government, self help, and self responsibility, have made the Cherokees and their sister nations what they are. We see in their history and achievement the key to the Indian problem" (The Canadian Indian 1891a:161).

Fair Play's final paper, No. 4, concluded with a mention of the Cherokee system and commented, "What the United States has done for one tribe of 22,000 Indians, I propose our Dominion Government should do for her 17,000 Ontario Indians..." (Fair Play 1891d:255). He had discussed the Cherokee system in some depth in the Fair Play paper No. 2, again on wholly favourable lines, and had pointed out that the Cherokee's rapid rise in "civilization" seemed to be correlated to their autonomy: the Cherokee, "who for many years past have been permitted to manage their own affairs, hold their own public purse, and make their own laws, are, as a people, very far advanced in education..." (Fair Play 1891b:189).

In conclusion, we note that Wilson had praised the Cherokee in print under his own name in his 1889 series "My Wife and I" and in The Indian Tribes Papers. Both series were carried on in The Canadian Indian. Wilson was co-editor of The Canadian Indian in which appeared unsigned articles praising the Cherokee system. Fair Play too was enthusiastic over the Cherokee. These facts indicate that Fair Play was of the same general mind on this important matter as E. F. Wilson.

D. Indian "Degeneracy" and Subordination

Another parallel which shows further the similarity of thought between Wilson and Fair Play is the emphasis both authors put on the negative consequences of European settler brutality in producing the present "degeneracy" of the Indian people. For both authors, the present ills of the Indians could be traced not so much to their "traditional" social organization but to regress cause by European duplicity, cunning, and force.

Earlier in his career, before 1885, Wilson had accepted without reflection the matter of Indian degeneracy. For his purposes it did not matter what the causes of this degeneracy were. His aim was not to determine causes but to correct the problems as he interpreted them in the field.³ At one time he explicitly compared the lower sections of the English proletariat to the Indians, and he compared his work among them to Dr. Barnardo's efforts at aiding the young street arabs of London (Wilson 1885:90).⁴ At this point, Wilson felt that an emphasis on correcting the deficiencies of the child was sufficient, combined with a programme of "amalgamation" with the white Canadian society and social structure.

Later on, after 1885, Wilson began to reflect on the past causes for the present degeneracy of most Indians. The present condition of the Cherokee indicated to him that the conditions of other "degraded" Indians was not inevitable. His studies in Indian history provided many examples of "advanced" Indian civilization and culture. Although some Indian tribes in his series caught his castigating words, many others were awarded praise. As we shall see later, he made positive comments on the Iroquois, Delaware, Ottawas, and Zuni in addition to the Cherokee.

What then had caused the Indians to go into their cultural decline? Increasingly Wilson came to point his finger at the havoc caused by white contact and consequent intrusion on the Indian and his lifestyle.

In this emphasis Wilson was strongly influenced by the "muckraker" Helen Hunt Jackson and her well-known tract, A Century of Dishonor (1965, orig. 1881). As Andrew F. Rolle, editor of a modern edition, puts it:

A major thesis of A Century of Dishonor was that the United States had followed an outrageous Indian policy in defiance of the basic principles of justice and of the laws of all nations. The book described maltreatment of the Indians from the period of the American Revolution....She found it startlingly easy to unearth a succession of broken treaties and many examples of inhumane treatment of the nation 300,000 Indians [Rolle 1965:xii-xiii].

Wilson was well aware of Mrs. Jackson's book and quoted it as a source in his Indian Tribes Papers No. 1 (the Ottawas), No. 2 (the Cherokees), No. 16 (the Cheyenne) and his unnumbered paper on the Comanche Indians. Wilson also included quotes occasionally in his journals from her book.

This emphasis on the negative influence of the Europeans on the Indians influenced Wilson's Indian policy of 1890-91. It followed from Jackson's analysis that the current degenerate state of the Indians could not be blamed on them but rather on the exogenous influence of European conquest and cruelty. Thus, encouraging intermixture of whites and Indians might only lead to further degeneration of the latter. A policy based on autonomy of the Indians might be a better policy for the recovery of the Indians back to civilized status.

At any rate, from his study of Indian history Wilson certainly rejected the eugenicist argument that Indians were inferior because of natural selection. Wilson had asserted in numerous articles between 1887 and 1891 that the Indians had not been uncivilized barbarians in their native state and that white contact had caused regress rather than progress. Moreover, this regress in civilization had been caused not only by degenerate frontiersmen (a point conceded as far back as the 1830s by a British Parliamentary Committee), but even by the very acts and policies of the governments in North America.

Thus once again we are able to note the parallel in thought between E. F. Wilson and Fair Play. E. F. Wilson for example, quoted Mrs. Jackson in her account of the oppression of the Cherokee by the state of Georgia (Wilson

1889c:17). This line of thought was that of a Fair Play who, as quoted earlier, could refer to "white oppressors."

By means of textual analysis, therefore, we have been able to show that the thought patterns and themes of Fair Play were similar to those expressed by E. F. Wilson under his own name. This relationship has been shown not only in explanations of degeneracy, but also in a similarity of ideas on autonomy and self-government in general, and of approbation of the Cherokee in particular. Both Fair Play and Wilson shared a similar frame of mind.

E. The Indian Tribes Papers

Given the above similarities in thought between Fair Play and E. F. Wilson, our argument would doubtless be strengthened if we could show proof that Fair Play drew directly from the writings of E. F. Wilson. This it is possible to do. Perhaps the clinching argument for Wilson's authorship of the Fair Play papers is the latter's numerous uncredited citations and occasional exact quotations from Wilson's Indian Tribes Papers series. For example, in Fair Play's paper No. 2 the author quotes the same laudatory citation from Horatio Hale on the Iroquois as E. F. Wilson used in his Indian Tribes paper No. 3 on the Mohawk Indians (Fair Play 1891b:190; Wilson 1889d:33). Hale's quotation praised the Iroquois for their wisdom in government and for their powers of diplomacy. In another instance, Fair Play quotes directly or rephrases slightly a passage of Wilson's Indian Tribes Paper No. 1 on the Ottawa Indians (Wilson 1889b:4; Fair Play 1891:191). Wilson's original passage praised the Ottawas for adhering to a system of "moral commandments" which their young people were taught to obey, "just as we teach our children the Ten Commandments" (Wilson 1889b:4).⁵

In another passage from Fair Play's paper No.2, the same "well-educated Cherokee lawyer" mentioned above as an informant for Wilson on the Cherokee land tenure system is quoted word for word from the text in Wilson's Indian Paper No.2, except that one phrase is omitted from Fair Play's article (Wilson 1889c:19; Fair Play 1891b:192). In a final parallel text, Fair Play quotes directly or slightly paraphrases Wilson's comments on the Delaware Indians from his Indian Tribes Paper No.5 on the thoroughness and justice of the Delaware legal system, which they established after they settled down on a reserve in 1866 (Wilson 1889e:67; Fair Play 1891b:192).

Fair Play also borrowed material from Wilson's series, already mentioned, "My Wife and I, A Little Journey Among the Indians." This "little journey" had actually been a very extensive trip that took them from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, to Washington, D.C., to the Zuni and Pueblo Indians of the American southwest. Both Fair Play and Wilson commented favourably on the religious nature and capabilities of the Zuni Indians -- perhaps a remarkably fairminded comparison for an Evangelical Christian minister to make (Wilson 1890:48; Fair Play 1891b:193).

From these parallel texts we may come to the conclusion that Fair Play and Wilson were one and the same person. In fact, the Fair Play papers are

clearly thoughts over which Wilson had been mulling at least since the beginning of his publication Our Forest Children in 1887. The early untutored Wilson had believed that the Indians simply suffered from immorality; as Wilson came to know more of the disciplines of history, ethnography, and anthropology, he came to see that something more than moral turpitude had caused the often woeful state of the Indians. Our finding that many of the Fair Play texts exactly parallel earlier writings by Wilson clinches the argument that the same pen produced both bodies of writing. All that would seem lacking is a letter or document by Wilson openly avowing his authorship of the Fair Play articles. The circumstantial evidence, however, seems solid.

A final minor indication of authorship is that Wilson and Fair Play both used the variant spellings of "Ojebway" and "shew" instead of "Ojibway" and "show."

Conclusion

Apart from our specific conclusion about the authorship of the Fair Play articles, it may be worthwhile to conclude with some general remarks. The Fair Play papers retain a remarkable interest today since the same problems remain unresolved. The recent request by the Dene people for provincial status does not seem far removed from the proposals voiced by Fair Play. The federal government, however, has continued to pursue a paternalistic assimilationist policy. At times this policy has been pursued with great vigour (as during the second Macdonald administration, 1878-1891). At other times the policy has been carried out with less optimism and with fewer resources put into it (as during the Laurier administration [see K. Kozak 1971:infra]).

Although the Fair Play articles contain definite elements of the Victorian missionary mentality (for example, the belief that Indians are thirsting for Christian teaching), they nevertheless are characterized by a radical tone. Their kernel ideal -- that the Indians would advance most quickly with self autonomy and would be impeded by government policy and the Indian Affairs department -- remains controversial and for the most part untried.

In the context of voluntary associations, one must fear that the ill success of C.I.R.A.S. reveals the weakness of a strategy of appealing to the respectable middle and upper classes with radical suggestions which attacked the established political, civil service, and religious treatment of the Indians current at that time. Perhaps one may say further that the backers of the radical line proposed in the Fair Play articles and the Indian Conference did not seem fully aware of the fact that to bring about the radical changes desired a radical political praxis might have to be used as a tactic. Appealing solely to the charitable inclinations of the genteel middle and upper classes seems a barren policy to bring about what might have been very major change.

On the other hand, given the context of the times, and that the Indians

were declining in numbers and were politically impotent, perhaps no different policy strategem could have effected the changes supported by Wilson, Fair Play, and C.I.R.A.S. The 1890s were a period of growing strength for the social Darwinist and eugenicist movements (See R. Hofstadter 1944:*infra*). It is always a soothing strategy for students of social disorganization and socioeconomic backwardness to place the blame for this situation on the values or institutions of the afflicted group, be it nation, class, or ethnic unit. Contemporary "modernization theory," for example, traces various types of backwardness of inferiority solely to wrong ideas or values (see the critique in Frank 1973:*infra*). Of course, such an approach denies or downplays possible exploitation of a subordinate group by a superordinate group. This situation of exploitation or suppression may be the cause of socioeconomic backwardness. There is little justification for modern social scientists to draw sharp distinctions between themselves and their forerunners. Then as now, "blaming the victim" was a popular strategy among scholars.

The ill success of C.I.R.A.S. and its journal was partly demonstrated by the small membership, the financial troubles of the Society (which went into debt) and by the failure of the organization to revive in 1892. No doubt the Society was also effected by the resignation of E. F. Wilson from his principalship of his Indian residential schools in Sault Ste. Marie and his removal to Salt Spring Island, British Columbia.

Nevertheless, history must not always concern itself with winners or even survivals. People and movements may fail at one time, but their ideas may be revived when social climates change. Wilson and the Fair Play articles clearly did not suit the Victorian racist, assimilationist, and paternalistic ideas of the day. Perhaps the validity of Fair Play's plans for the Indians can be debated better in our own day. Certainly social scientists will notice the incipient notions of a conflict perspective found among Fair Play's ideas that may prove fruitful in reconsidering the position of the Canadian native peoples. However, it must be acknowledged that "Victorian" ideas of social change did not die with Victoria. The debate caused by "Fair Play" is still unresolved.

Notes

¹Many early anthropologists in Canada did join the Society as members, including A. F. Chamberlain, Horatio Hale, Sir Daniel Wilson and David Boyle.

Chamberlain was born in 1865. He took his B.A. in modern languages and ethnology at the University of Toronto. In 1889 he received his M.A. from the same university for a thesis on the Mississagaus of Scugog. He wrote this thesis under the supervision of Sir Daniel Wilson. He went to Clark University in Massachusetts and, under the direction of Dr. Franz Boas, completed the first Ph.D. in Anthropology in North America. From 1892 to 1914 when he died, Chamberlain was on the faculty at Clark where he succeeded Boas. Earlier he had been a librarian for the Canadian Institute.

Hale was an American educated at Harvard who was a philologist and ethnologist to the Wilkes Pacific Expedition of 1837-1842. Hale married a Canadian woman and moved to Ontario in 1856. In the late 1870s he resumed his interest in anthropology after a career as a lawyer. He was especially interested in the Iroquois who had their Six Nations reserve near Clinton at Brantford. Douglas Cole calls Hale "the most significant figure in Canadian anthropology in the pre-Sapir period" (Cole 1973:37).

Sir Daniel Wilson, a Scot who became professor of history and English literature at University College in 1853, became keenly interested in anthropological topics and wrote many works both in Scotland and in Canada on these topics. He became a prominent official of the University of Toronto. Cole says Wilson "was the man of most anthropological stature within the Canadian Institute" (Cole 1973:35).

David Boyle, another native Scot, came to Canada in 1856 as a teenager. He became a school teacher and principal at Elora, Ontario. In 1874 or 1875 he went to Toronto and opened a bookstore. He became attached to the Canadian Institute as donor and curator of its anthropological collection. From 1885 to 1911 he was a provincial archaeologist and curator of the Provincial Museum of Ontario.

It should be noted that the president of C.I.R.A.S. elected at the inaugural meeting on 18 April 1890 was Sir William Dawson. A geologist and Principal of McGill, he was also prominent in anthropology at this time (see Cole 1973:37).

The Canadian Institute has been mentioned several times above. It was a Victorian-style club devoted to the sciences and social sciences, open to men with an interest in advanced learning. It was founded several years before Sir Daniel Wilson's arrival in 1853. The Institute maintained museum collections and issued its own journal, The Canadian Journal. In addition to the cross memberships noted above, Professor Vander Smissen of the University of Toronto, President of the Canadian Institute in 1886-87 was a member of C.I.R.A.S. as was the 1890 president, Professor Carpmael. In 1891 the second annual meeting of C.I.R.A.S. was arranged by David Boyle at the Canadian Institute in Toronto.

²For information on Wilson's career up to 1885, see Nock 1973. So far as is known, E. F. Wilson was not related to Sir Daniel Wilson.

³Wilson (1875) wrote a scathing letter about the manners and morals of the Ojibway Indians he met. The Indians, he said, are "low in principle, and are naturally of idle habits and low animal tastes...living as they do, whole families in one room, tends to make them filthy in their persons and immoral in their habits...both men and women are exceedingly loose in their morals."

⁴"Our desire is simply to do the same for the Indian children of Canada that Dr. Barnardo has been doing for the street children of London and other English cities" (Wilson 1885:90).

⁵Compare the two versions. The first is from Our Forest Children in the Indian Tribes series:

Before the white people came, the Ottawas were a moral well-behaved people, and lived under strict laws. They were governed by twenty-one precepts, or moral commandments, which they were taught to observe just as we teach our children the Ten Commandments. They embraced very much the same precepts as our own decalogue, except for the observance of the Sabbath day, which, of course, they knew nothing about. The children were taught that the great spirit could see them continually, both by night and day, and they must not do any wicked thing to anger him. They were taught also that they must not mimic or mock the thunder; that they must not mimic the mountains or the rivers....

Now compare Fair Play's version:

An educated Ottawa, now advanced in years, tells how in his young days, before the white men held sway, his people lived under strict laws; they were governed by twenty-one precepts or moral commandments, which they were taught to observe, just as we teach our children the Ten Commandments. The children were taught that the Great Spirit could see them continually both by night and by day, and that they must not do any wicked thing to anger him; they were taught, also, that they must not mimic or mock thunder; that they must not mimic or mock the mountains or rivers....

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