

A CHAPTER IN THE AMATEUR PERIOD OF CANADIAN ANTHROPOLOGY: A MISSIONARY CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

The avocational scientist has played a major role in the development of Canadian anthropology. This paper is a study of the anthropological interests of one such amateur anthropologist of the Nineteenth century, E.F. Wilson. As a missionary, Wilson represents an important sub-type of the amateur anthropologist. The author maintains, contrary to some views, that the decline of amateur anthropology and the rise of professionalization have not been all beneficial.

Le savant amateur a joué un rôle majeur dans l'essor de l'anthropologie canadienne. La présente communication est l'étude de l'apport à la science anthropologique d'un amateur du XIXe siècle, E.F. Wilson. En sa qualité de missionnaire, ce dernier représente un important "sous-type" de l'amateur anthropologue. L'auteur de la présente étude soutient que, contrairement à certaines opinions, le déclin de l'anthropologie d'amateur et la montée du professionnalisme n'ont pas été entièrement avantageux.

INTRODUCTION

The period before Edward Sapir's appointment as director of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1910 (Preston, 1980) has been designated by Douglas Cole as "the amateur period of Canadian Anthropology" (1973:43). Its practitioners he characterizes, a trifle harshly perhaps, as "part-time hobbyists and interested dilettantes".

For Cole the transition to a university or museum based "professional" anthropology came scarcely a moment too soon. The amateur anthropologists of the Canadian Victorian era pursued their study "as a sideline, as an avocation, or, sometimes merely as a crochet" (1973:35). Even Sir Daniel Wilson, "the man of most anthropological stature within the Canadian Institute" (*ibid*; see also Campell, 1980; Trigger, 1966; Langton, 1929) an internationally respected scholar and President of the University of Toronto is characterized as "something of an anthropological hobbyist." For Cole, "this end" to the amateur period before professionalization "was not premature" (1973:43).

This concern with the supposed benefits of professionalization is not original to Cole. This debate goes back to the turn of the century and Franz Boas. In an article entitled "The History of Anthropology" (1904), Boas "claimed that until ten years previously, no one had had appropriate training in anthropology" (Darnell, 1975). According to Darnell's summary of this article, Boas believed that "achievements had been limited" due to an excessive amount of theorizing based on too little data. Darnell concludes: "The effect of Boas' paper was to encourage the existing trend toward an academic framework for anthropology in the institutional sense and an empirical, particularistic approach to theory" (Darnell, 1975:402; Boas in Darnell, 1974).

Despite this concern for professionalization, anthropology is one field, like history and astronomy, which has generated considerable interest from amateurs. Even to this day (see Stebbins, 1980) it has not been possible to oust the amateur. Stebbins in fact has developed a typology of "avocational scientists" which include the "observers" who "directly experience their objects of scientific inquiry" as opposed to "armchair participants" who "pursue their avocation largely, if not wholly, through reading" (1980:35).

The "observers" can be differentiated further. There is the "scientific apprentice", a learner who "is still incapable of contributing anything original to his field" (Stebbins, 1980:36). There is the "journeyman" who is "a knowledgeable, reliable practitioner" and who "has learned enough to be able to make an original contribution to his science". Finally there is the "master" who collects "original data on his own which advance the field". Perhaps one could develop this typology and add to this list the "popularizer" who is concerned to speak to laypeople in their language, but with the specialized knowledge of the "observer".

Some full-time professionals do make an effort to reach a wider audience (wider than is than the textbooks intended for students). S.G.F. Brandon, the late distinguished historian of religion has suggested that a scholar's "obligation" does not end with dissemination of knowledge to his/her professional colleagues

but it is necessary to engage in "*haute vulgarisation*". According to Brandon:

Beyond his academic colleagues and students, there is a larger public of intelligent layfolk whom he should feel privileged and happy to serve, and the more so since they provide the economic foundations upon which academic life is built. They have their own specialist knowledge and skills in industry and commerce; but they are also alert to academic subjects, if clearly presented to them with sympathetic insight. The task of presenting his subject in an interesting and non-technical manner to this wider public is, therefore, the duty of the scholar; but it is also one that he should eagerly undertake, for it is often a healthy exercise for the academic to strive to write lucidly and interestingly for those who do not share his specialist idiom" (Brandon, 1973:vii).

Despite these urgings, one may suppose that Brandon's position is a minority one. In fact popularization has become a negative buzz word among academics. A recent symposium sponsored by the Social Science Federation of Canada and the Canadian Federation for the Humanities suggested that those who wish "to communicate with the public" risk "resentment and losing tenure and promotion possibilities". One delegate stated, "I have nightmare visions of seeing books on the newstand like 'Kant in the Kitchen', 'Complete Home Hume', or 'The Joy of Hegel' " (Tausig, 1980:35).

Given such an attitude as the one above, then one particular task for the avocational scientist has been that of popularization. In a field such as anthropology an amateur of recurring interest and importance has been the missionary. Since the missionary was often at his (sic) post for very lengthy periods of time (much longer than the average doctoral candidate in anthropology), and since detailed information of his native flock and their language would be of great use to him, then the missionary's role as an "observer" (whether journeyman or even master) is not surprising. As far as the function of "*haute vulgarisation*" is concerned, missionary books or articles which contained such information were often useful in interesting hearts and pocketbooks in supporting the task.

The missionary in fact has always played an important role as an amateur anthropologist in Canada, at least since the times of the *Jesuit Relations* in the seventeenth century. By the time of the "amateur period" of Canadian anthropology discussed by Cole, the missionary was one of several distinct types of avocational scientist involved in developing Canadian anthropology. The other types included the academic who took an interest in anthropology as a second specialty (Sir Daniel Wilson, or Principal Dawson of McGill), and the proto-professionals such as David Boyle (unschooled¹ owner of a bookstore who became anthropological curator of the Royal Ontario Museum), A.F. Chamberlain who did an M.A. on the Mississauga Indians under Sir Daniel Wilson, or Dr. George Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada.² Even to the present day, interaction between missionaries and anthropology has been strong, as evidenced in the creation in 1955 of the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology,

and its *journal Anthropologica*.³

The following paper, then, is a case study of one particular missionary-avocational anthropologist from the amateur period of Canadian anthropology, E.F. Wilson (no relation of Sir Daniel Wilson, his famous namesake). Wilson was born in 1844, entered missionary work in 1868 and retired from mission work in 1893. His period of most intense anthropological work was in the period from 1885 to 1893, and by 1887 he was writing letters to the young Dr. Franz Boas, requesting sources from him inviting him to stay in Sault Ste. Marie (Wilson, 14 April, 5 May 1887 and 21 April 1888). Wilson is a good example of the avocational scientist as popularizer and as a journeyman observer. Some scholars have lauded the decline of avocational science. Yet, perhaps there is much to be learned from these "part-time hobbyists and interested dilettantes". One fears that an excessive scholastic professionalization with rigid barrier mechanisms may not provide the best paradigm for the genuine pursuit of knowledge.

E.F. WILSON: MISSIONARY AS ANTHROPOLOGIST:

E.F. Wilson had been born in Islington in London, England in 1844, a member of an English clerical family. His grandfather on one side had been the Bishop of Calcutta, India, from 1832 to 1857. His father, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, was a prominent bulwark of the Evangelical party of the Church of England. It would have been easy for E.F. Wilson to have attended Oxford (his father had been Principal of St. Edmund College), and to have received a parish in England (his father held the right of appointment to many livings, see Nock, 1973). Instead Wilson had an adventurous spirit, did not take to formal education, and wished to become a farmer. His early life was spent learning how to farm on a gentleman's estate. He was urged to come to Canada by the Evangelical Bishop of Huron, Benjamin Cronyn, when the latter was in England collecting funds for his newly created diocese (1857). Shortly after arriving in Canada, Wilson felt a call to minister to the Indians. He took a theology course at the incipient Huron College (founded by Cronyn to provide an alternate to the High Church views of Trinity College, Toronto), and from 1868 to 1873 was a missionary under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), centred at Sarnia. This mission was a failure (Nock, 1980), and by 1873, Wilson had become a freelance educator and missionary whose main concern was with establishing and running the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Residential Schools for Indian children (Nock, 1978).

Wilson's first entrance into anthropological work was his dictionary and grammar on the Ojibway language published in 1874. This work, *A Manual of the Ojebway Language* (sic), was written for a religious society, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) shortly after his departure from the C.M.S. The C.M.S. encouraged its missionaries to engage in such linguistic exercises. Usher states that "C.M.S. missionaries were obliged to teach the native language in the primary school and as soon as possible to translate the scripture for converts" (1971:49). It is quite possible that Wilson

wrote this work in response to the C.M.S. tradition. Certainly its aim was to train the future missionary worker to learn the language, and it was not written out of any dispassionate concern for knowledge. Much of the *Manual* is taken up with appropriate dialogue for the missionary dealing with a wavering flock, translated back and forth between English and Ojibway. Thus the following English is translated into Ojibway:

M: I did not see you at church last Sunday.

I: No, I did not go, I went to visit a friend in the Bay.

M: But Sunday is not a day for visiting, it is God's day. You do not come to church as regularly as you used to do. Do not let the devil tempt you to give up religion. In a little time we must all die. All worldly pleasures will pass away. (Wilson, 1874:144).

This work has been satirized by the Toronto poet Paulette Jiles in *This Magazine* (1976), and if one can ignore the fact that the author is obviously engaging in an exercise in whig history (that is judging the past in terms of the present), then it is quite clever and witty. The *Manual* itself has shown a surprising longevity and in 1975 was reprinted by the Department of Northern Development and Indian Affairs. It is now being used as a primer in the language by Canadian civil servants, and even more ironically, by Indians themselves.⁴

Since most of his other publications rest in obscure magazines and periodicals, this republication may represent Wilson's strongest continuing influence. Perhaps it would be a pity if this were so as it represents the work of a young man (age 30), whose main interest to date had been his strong Evangelical form of Anglicanism (as indicated by the dialogue above). This interest is also shown in his introduction where he points out a possible "relationship between this language and Hebrew" (Wilson, 1874 :iv). He goes on:

"Thus, it is undoubtedly a language of verbs, of roots, and stems, to which particles are affixed or prefixed to modify the meaning of the word. As in the Hebrew, there is a causative (hiphil) form of the verb. As in the Hebrew, the termination of the third person singular of the present, indicative, determines the paradigm of a verb. And a rather singular coincidence also is, that the verb to be is uhyah, pronounced very much as the Hebrew " (ibid).

This sort of concern is almost certainly one of which Boas would have disapproved with its misplaced diffusionism. The belief that the Indians might be the lost tribes of Israel, was of course widespread in the nineteenth century. As late as 1890 Wilson was quoting Bishop Ridley of Caledonia Diocese on the Zimshian Indians, "The Bishop thinks also that he can trace points of resemblance between the Indian dialects spoken in his neighborhood and the Hebrew and Arabic." (1890:78).⁵

This single but substantial work remains Wilson's only piece of "anthro-

pological research" up to 1885. So far as can be told from his extensive letters and articles, Wilson was not particularly interested in scholarship for its own sake. His interest in the language was purely instrumental. In 1881, he was sent a letter from J.W. Powell of the Smithsonian Institution (one of the leading 19th century anthropologists) asking for co-operation in a scholarly venture. Wilson declined (January 5, 1881)⁶ but answered this letter some five years later after his serious interest had been engaged.

What then was responsible for changing Wilson from a practical-minded young missionary into a serious scholar? In this instance it is easy to document an interweaving of personal and public factors. By 1885 his schools had been operating for twelve years. The pioneer excitement of running them had evaporated. The tedium and struggles remained. He wrote to his father in October 1884:

I think it well to write to you fully and ask your advice as to whether I ought now after my 16 years of missionary life here in Canada - and now that my children are growing up and requiring to be educated and my income altogether too small to meet our necessities - to think of making some change... It is a question also whether if I were to give up this work, I am particularly well fitted for any other. Whether I could get employment elsewhere suited to my nature, tastes, and capabilities and at any better remuneration than I at present receive. I think if I did this, the oversight of some school or schools somewhere would perhaps suit me best but I would like to have less responsibility as I think it is this perhaps more than anything else that is wearing me out. I don't think anyone knows what a constant strain it is upon me. I have really no time to myself, no time for reading, hardly any time for reading the newspaper. Everything from the least to the greatest connected with these Homes falls on myself . . . The question is: Is it not my duty in the face of all these difficulties - with our funds falling off, my own income so small, my children growing up and requiring to be educated, the Indians generally so apathetic about sending their children, the results of our work so far so comparatively little, is it my duty still to remain here or might I not after these 10 years of service be relieved and find work elsewhere? (Wilson, October 8, 1884).

Shortly after this dramatic letter the Riel Rebellion took place, and this gave Wilson the opportunity he needed to recharge his energy. As editor of the *Algoma Missionary News* he devoted considerable space to the uprising and its implications. Wilson felt that the only solution to such violence was an extension of his educational work among the Indians. He did not "blame" the Indians but looked upon the uprising as inevitable if settlement and civilization encroached upon the Indians. As he wrote, "... we believe that this crisis in the North West is a fit opportunity for pressing home the necessity of doing more than has

yet been done for the Christian education of Indian children" (1885:89).

The Riel Rebellion also stimulated Wilson's interest in Indian ethnography. He wrote back belatedly to J.W. Powell of the Smithsonian Institution:

You were in communication with me in 1880 and 1881 in regard to the Ojibway language and kindly furnished me with copies of some of the books issued by your Institution. At that time I was so overpressed with routine work connected with my Institution for Indian children that I could not offer to pay much attention to their history, language, etc., or afford to give you the information which I think you desired. I am thinking now to make some change if the way so opens and to engage a superintendent to relieve me of my routine work so that I may pay more attention than I have hitherto been able to do to the history, tribal relations, language, etc. of these interesting people (Wilson, April 28, 1885).

Wilson, as yet an apprentice admitted as much: "Of course I do not profess to be either a philologist or ethnologist, whatever I did would be so to speak in the rough" Still, his apprenticeship status did not preclude great plans as he suggested a comparative grammar "of the leading dialects of the N. West Indians". No doubt this emphasis on linguistics (which he never entirely dropped) was intended to make his acceptance by serious anthropologists easier given his small but established name as an expert in the Ojibway language. As Wilson became more involved in the field, his plans became broader and more grandiose and by 1887 he was writing to Franz Boas: "My immediate aim is to find out how the 130,000 Indians in Canada are divided as regards tribe and language. My ultimate object after collecting the material is to assist in the publication of a treatise giving particulars about each existing tribe in Canada and a little insight into the language of each, all if possible based on one common orthography". (Wilson to Boas, April 14, 1887). In the letter to Powell, Wilson had promised to use Powell's orthography.

These letters indicated one of Wilson's regular sources of information besides that of his own observations, travel, and reading. He became a regular correspondent with quite a few experts of the day. Unfortunately, his letters survive only until 1889. Enough correspondence survives to indicate this trend. Letters to many of the prominent anthropologists of the day abound: Hale (to whom in a space of 14 months, he sent 14 letters), D. Wilson, Boas, J.W. Powell, D.G. Brinton and Silas Rand.

Wilson's main publications regarding Indian research reside in two periodicals which he edited, *Our Forest Children* and *The Canadian Indian*. The former was edited entirely by himself, the latter was the organ of the Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society (Nock, 1976). Both these publications were intended for the general public, although especially the latter also sought the support of scholars. Wilson's penchant to act as a popularizer as well as a journeyman are in evidence. In launching *Our Forest Children* Wilson sought the support of his famous namesake: "Will you lend your support to this little project of mine?"

There is at present I think nothing of the kind in Canada and I feel we need such a special medium through which to bring the Indian Question before the Canadian public" (Wilson to Wilson, July 13, 1887). This same desire to act as a popularizer was seen in the motive for his series on the Indian Tribes, published in both *Our Forest Children and The Canadian Indian*. He suggested that, "Most white people seem to think that the Indians are all one; it will be our work to show that they belong to a number of distinct nations, and to endeavor to trace up their origins and early history" (1889a:1).

Nor did the early professionals and proto-professionals seem to despise this avocational scientist and popularizer. Boas wrote that Wilson's principles "which you apply for the purpose of elevating the Indians as a race, morally and socially, are certainly the only ones that promise success" and that "the terse descriptions of Indian tribes and of Indian life make it as well of value to scientists" (Boas, 1890:127). A.F. Chamberlain, who was later to complete the first anthropological Ph.D. in North America (under Boas) wrote: "The contributions of Rev. Mr. Wilson himself are of great value ethnologically and add not a little to the general interest of the magazine (1890:127). The professional anthropologists helped in other ways as well. Chamberlain, for example, contributed a paper "The Aryan Element in Indian Dialects" (1891: 148-153).⁷ The proto-professionals were also active in the management of the Society. Sir William Dawson was President, Dr. George Dawson and David Boyle on the governing Council. No insurpassable boundary fell between the anthropologists and the general public. Anthropologists still seemed to see as desirable a more general interest in their subject.

If Wilson's work was "of value to scientists" and "of great value ethnologically" as indicated by Boas and Chamberlain, it was largely because of his own travels reported in two series in both *Our Forest Children and The Canadian Indian*. "My wife and I" was an account of a lengthy trip to the U.S.A. which extended from Washington to Oklahoma and New Mexico to Denver.⁸ His series on "The Indian Tribes" incorporated much of this information from this and other extensive trips, as well as his reading. Thus Wilson was in a position to give eyewitness accounts of the Cherokee Indians and the Pueblo and Zuni.

As an observer Wilson obviously made many of his judgements from the values of his own culture. Positive comments usually followed if a tribe under discussion was settled rather than nomadic, if it practised agriculture or horticulture rather than hunting and gathering, if the Indians under discussion were accepting of "helping whites" such as missionaries, Indian agents and farm instructors rather than hostile, resident in permanent homes ("the comfortable frame houses" of the Delaware as opposed to the "hovels" of the Navaho; 1889g, 1890b), whether the Indians were skilled in some form of manufacture or artisanship, (of the Navaho he wrote, "Many of the men are silversmiths and have their own forge, anvil, bellows, crucibles and tools - all of their own construction; 1890b:115), and if the mores adhered to were compatible with Evangelical and Victorian morality (of the Pueblo he wrote, "These Indians are remarkably temperate both in eating and smoking: drunkenness is very seldom seen among them; the women are notably chaste and well behaved..."; 1889f:

51).

Yet Wilson went beyond the stereotyped ethnocentric observer by a considerable distance. This was particularly true of his comments on the Cherokee. The Cherokee were a tribe of almost completely admirable Indians to Wilson, and although they had borrowed much from whites, yet had retained many Indians ways. He pointed to the Cherokee as "fair and prosperous" and suggested "few people on the face of the earth have made so great progress in so short a time, and in the face of so great difficulties and discouragement as have these Cherokees" (1889c:18).

Wilson's comments of praise included their houses "comfortable houses and cottages", their system of government which "is now very complete", the absence of hunters, fishers, and saloon keepers in the population, their commitment to education, even the functioning of the Cherokee prison system. All of this is described in some detail.

Wilson saw much in his travels and reading that caught his favourable attention. He reported that, "You see no rage at Zuni, all the people are well and cleanly dressed, and are adorned with really valuable jewellery..." (1890e:73) and of the Pueblo father, "He brings up his children in the paths of honesty and industry (1889f:51). He even seemed impressed by "the reverent way" the Zunis approached their shrine, and that they "certainly seemed to be in earnest about their religion" (1890d:48).

As a frequent correspondent of Horatio Hale, it was natural for Wilson to have words of praise for the Iroquois despite their warlike orientations. Thus he quoted Hale, "Their internal polity was marked by equal wisdom, and had been developed and consolidated into a system of government, embodying many of what are deemed the best principles and methods of political science - representation, federation, self-government through local and general legislatures - all resulting in personal liberty, combined with strict subordination to public law" (1889d:33).⁹ Of the Ottawas, Wilson praised them for their lack of profanity and that they were in general "a moral, well-behaved people, and lived under strict laws" especially their twenty-one precepts, compared by Wilson to the Ten Commandments (1889b:2).

These travels and his reflections on them began to affect his own ideas about social change among the Indians. Until this time he had shared the conventional view that the only future for the Indians was to assimilate them as quickly as possible, and to destroy their way of life as well. Wilson now saw that Indians were not necessarily a degenerate people. Almost all segments of Indian culture came in for praise in at least some tribes. The Cherokees were at the pinnacle of this assessment. He came to the conclusion, "We see in their history and achievement the key to the Indian problem" (1891:161).¹⁰

In addition to a new and sharp awareness of the past and present achievements of the Indians came a new understanding of the negative effects of white settlement in causing the retrogression and demoralization of many tribes. Helen Hunt Jackson's famous denunciation of white dealings with the Indian became for Wilson a regular source and he cited it in six of his papers on the Indian tribes (on the Ottawa, Cherokee, Delaware, Seneca, Comanche and

Cheyenne Indians). While on his trip recorded as "My Wife and I" he visited at Santa Fe "The Ramona School, founded in memory of Helen Hunt Jackson, who... did so much during her lifetime to champion the Indian cause" (1890c: 172).

This combination of conclusions from his research was leading Wilson to a repudiation, or at least a questioning of much of his own work and that of other missionaries and governments. While he did not change his Victorian evolutionist view that progress was equated with people living in settled, agricultural, class-divided and labour specialized, non-nomadic towns he did begin to feel that whites had done more harm than good, and that Indians should be left in autonomous communities in full administration of their own institutions. Social change in other words should be adaptive and voluntary rather than enforced. In addition, change would be best if it were introduced as cultural synthesis rather than as cultural replacement (Hobart and Brant, 1966).

It was his visit to the Cherokees in Oklahoma that convinced Wilson such ideas might be possible. His account gives a description of the Cherokee justice and legal system and its jails and commented: "The Cherokee authorities have full power over their own people." He approved of their lenient treatment of prisoners with its lack of "unnecessary severity". He talked to several Negro prisoners who suggested that "the Cherokee prison was much better than a U.S. prison" (1889h:90).

The schools, or "seminaries", one for males and one for females, naturally caught his attention. He commented that "It is all paid for with Cherokee money," and that "About one-third of the students, I was told, were full bloods, the rest half-breeds, and no whites." (1889h:9).

In his "Indian Paper" on the Cherokees, Wilson dealt extensively with the Cherokee political system with its Governor, Executive office, Upper and Lower Houses, and political parties of "Nationalists" and "Downings". Wilson commented not unfavourably, "The Cherokees are the most ardent politicians on the face of the earth" (1889c:19).

Despite these extensive borrowings, it was made quite clear to Wilson that the Cherokees wished to maintain both a separate identity, and a separate culture. He had an interview with the Governor who told him that "the Cherokee were quite satisfied with their present condition, and desired no change; they did not desire to hold their land in severaltty; they had adopted white man's methods up to a certain point, but beyond that point they did not wish to go" (1889h:91).

In his "Indian Paper" on the Cherokee these points are made at greater length. It is worth quoting these passages in full since they obviously provided the kernel ideas of political autonomy and cultural synthesis which Wilson later advocated, and since such ideas were so much against the grain of contemporary thinking:

It might be thought that a people so far advanced in civilization as the Cherokees would have adopted the white man's views in regard to the desirability of each individual having his own holding.

But not so. They still hold their lands in common, and they are utterly averse to any change being made in this respect. The land, they say, belongs to the Cherokee nation, and not to the individuals thereof; land is as air and water, the property of all, it cannot be given away to the few.

A well-educated Cherokee lawyer has given the following reasons wherefore the Cherokees are opposed to the allotment of land in severalty:

- (1) By holding it in common, they are better able to resist the aggression of the whites;
- (2) Their present social system has never developed a mendicant or a tramp;
- (3) Although poor, yet they have no paupers, none suffering from the oppression of the rich. With the whites, every one is scrabbling to live, but not so with them.
- (4) They do not believe that the whites have any better condition to offer them, therefore, they prefer to remain as they are. (1889c:19)¹¹

Wilbert Ahem has written extensively on self-styled 'friends of the Indians'. People like Wilson who were "largely White, anglosaxon and protestant (with) urban, middle-class professional and business backgrounds" (Adhern, 1978:251), they espoused an "assimilafionist racism" which included an "emphasis on schooling", "land in severalty" (252) as well as "ethnocentrism", "egalitarianism" and "assimilation" (253). Wilson had been a good example of this sort of 'friend of the Indian' (see Nock, 1978 for a detailed examination of Wilson's assimilafionist-oriented Shingwauk and Wawanosh schools).

Now Wilson began to grow away from these panaceas. If it had not been for his anthropological journeys, research, and reading, it is hardly likely that he would have changed or challenged his own ideas on social change. As it was, he tried to have some of these ideas considered by the Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society, hitherto a rather traditional type of 'Friends of the Indian' organization (Nock, 1976). A conference was called to discuss such ideas by both whites and Indians but it was never held, apparently because of distrust by the Indians that it would lead to anything. A series of anonymous articles on "The Future of Our Indians" written by "Fair Play" espoused the ideas of political autonomy and cultural synthesis. It has been my hypothesis that the author of these papers was E.F. Wilson himself. (For details to support this hypothesis and for a reprint of the "Fair Play" Papers as well see Nock, 1976: 51-02). In his "Principal's Report" of 1892 Wilson commented that "In my Own brain I have had schemes of Indian self-government, and Native Indian church supported by themselves..." (1892:4).

Unfortunately, Wilson retired from his work among the Indians in 1892, and his activity in anthropology also seemed to wane. He had a nervous breakdown, and once again seemed to feel that only "slow gradual progress" empha-

sizing individuals rather than peoples was possible (1892:5). He retired to Salt Spring Island as a rector to the white settlers and as an orchard farmer. He made enough of a mark to be recorded with considerable detail in the island's history published by Bea Hamilton (1969).

CONCLUSION

Douglas Cole and others (Franz Boas among them) have stressed the advantages of the march toward professionalization in anthropology. One result has been that the social sciences have seen the decline although not the entire disappearance of the avocational scientist. Robert Stebbins has pointed out that in fields such as archaeology and astronomy amateurs are still making worthwhile contributions to their fields.

In the case of E.F. Wilson (an example of the missionary-anthropologist) certain benefits rather than drawbacks also seem obvious. Firstly, Wilson was an active popularizer, always trying to make anthropological research of use to the wider community. Such links with that community insured that the early professional and proto-professional anthropologists always maintained a profile in the wider public. Instead of becoming themselves a highly esoteric tribe of professionals talking mainly to themselves, anthropologists were seen as a visible and important sector of the general public. One result of excessive professionalization can be marginality.

One result of attitudes claiming the professionalization of anthropology as almost entirely praiseworthy has been the neglect of the amateur period of Canadian anthropology. This neglect has been crumbling since 1966. Much more remains to be done.¹² The anthropologist, cultural historian, or sociologist of knowledge should not fear that they are engaging in antiquarianism. The "amateur anthropologists" have been unduly maligned; their work deserves to be revived and reconsidered.

Although the work of the amateur anthropologists will have to be critically analyzed, it should be taken seriously as the professionalization of the discipline did not take place until 1910 and after. Thus the amateur tradition of Canadian anthropology covered a number of the pre-settlement periods of Canadian history and is able to present a more pristine picture of the Indian tribes and to describe at first hand some of the earlier cycles of native-white relations.¹³

NOTES

1. It is true that Boyle became a school principal but this was at a time when teachers and principals did not require advanced education. In Chamberlain's obituary of Boyle he writes, "Outside of his boyhood schooling he was decidedly a self-educated man" (1911:161).
2. By proto-professional is meant individuals who came to positions which

involved a full-time or almost full-time commitment to anthropology but who had not received a university or other recognized professional training in the field.

I would also include A.F. Chamberlain as a proto-professional until his switch to a Ph.D. programme under Boas at Clark. Chamberlain had done an M.A. under Sir Daniel Wilson, but anthropology was not an organized programme or discipline as yet.

Another related idea is Cole's concept of "incipient professionalization." See Cole 1975:40.

3. This relationship is of long-standing. In the *American Anthropologist* for 1911 one reads, "Rev. A.G. Morice, of Duck Creek, Saskatchewan, has been appointed lecturer in anthropology in the University of Saskatchewan and next winter will give a series of five lectures at the University." (1911:178).

"The Center came into being when Father J.E. Champagne, o.m.i., invited a few anthropologists and other individuals interested in that discipline to meet at the Missionary Institute of Ottawa University on December 8th, 1952; the aim of this meeting was to organize a body through which they could work in concert with men whose profession brings them into prolonged contact with the indigenous Canadian peoples. The anthropologists were particularly anxious to benefit from the missionaries' wide experience in Indian and Eskimo territory..." (Rioux, 1955:i).

4. This version was retitled simply *The Ojebway Language*, and was "reprinted at the request of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development." A copy, for example, has been deposited at the United Native Friendship Centre of Fort Frances.
5. An article "Indians and Israelites" in *Our Forest Children* reports on a paper delivered by Colonel Garrick Mallory of the Smithsonian Institution. Col. Mallory "overthrows a popular and almost universal theory that all the savage tribes of America before their contact with civilization had a formulated and established religious faith, believed in a supreme being, a future life, and a system of rewards and punishments after death. This theory, which has been accepted and disseminated by religious missionaries of all denominations among the Indians, has been the chief link to connect them with the prehistoric races of the Mosaic era..." Mallory suggested the missionaries had been "misled by their enthusiasm." Despite this seeming attack on the unity of mankind so favoured by the amateur anthropology of the nineteenth century, Mallory concludes, "But I freely admit, with even great emphasis, that an astonishing number of customs of the North American Indians are the same as those recorded of the ancient Israelites"

(1890:160).

6. For reference to Powell see Darnell 1974: infra Wilson's letter in response is abrupt and curt. "Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of your "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages" [1877]. If you wish me to gather information to fill in the schedule - will you kindly state what are the terms. Yours faithfully, Edward F. Wilson."
7. Horatio Hale seems to have contributed an article to *Our Forest Children* although I have not had access to it. Wilson's letter to Hale of January 9, 1888 reads, "I ordered one dozen copies of the Christmas no of O.F.C. to be sent to you and I hope you have ere this received them... People seem to like the Christmas number so far as I have heard. Your article you will see appeared in full and I don't think there are any errors worth mentioning."
8. Wilson had written to D.G. Brinton asking for help on this trip. On Brinton see Darnell 1967, 1970, and 1974. He received the first university appointment in the subject although he never actually taught! "If it should be possible to take in Media when passing through Pennsylvania, I should esteem it a great privilege to make your acquaintance. I am already acquainted personally with Major Powell, Mr. Pilling and Dr. Boas and am anxious in this proposed trip so far as possible to fall in with those who may be willing to aid me in my search of this knowledge in regard to Indian history and language." (Wilson to Brinton, August 30, 1888).
9. Aside from his own travels, Wilson's reading and contact also affected his new positive evaluation of the Indians. As a regular correspondent of Horatio Hale and as one who was employed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science through Hale's intervention, it was natural for him to be affected by the 1883 publication of Hale's *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. The "bad image" of the Iroquois as "a sanguinary, treacherous and vindictive being... merciless to his enemies" was explained by Hale as due to the bias produced by the "Wars of extermination" occasioned by the white's desire for Indian land (1963:83). Far from being "a band of treacherous and ferocious ravagers", Hale believed them to be "the most faithful of allies, the most placable of enemies, and the most clement of conquerors" (1963:88).
10. For a contemporary account of Cherokee history and institutions published by the Cherokee nation itself see George F. Foster's *Se-quo-yah: The American Cadmus and Modern Moses: A Complete Biography of the Greatest of Redmen, Around Whose Wonderful Life has been Woven the Manners, Customs, and Beliefs of the Early Cherokees, together with a Recital of their Wrongs and Wonderful Progress toward Civilization*. Tahlequah, B.H. Stone, 1885. It is possible Wilson knew of this book, as it was

published jointly by the Indian Rights Association in Philadelphia.

Wilson's view of the Cherokee as exemplar was not shared by many prominent 'friends of the Indian'. Captain Richard Henry Pratt, for example, (the best known founder and principal of an Indian school in the U.S.A.) wrote of them: "The five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory- Cherokee, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles- have had tribal schools until it is asserted that they are civilized; yet they have no notion of joining us and becoming a part of the United States. Their whole disposition is to prey upon and hatch up claims against the government, and have the same lands purchased and repurchased and purchased again, to meet the recurring wants growing out of their neglect and inability to make use of their large and rich estate... What else but demoralization and destruction of principle and manhood could follow in the train of such a course of action towards any people?" (Pratt, 1892 in Prucha, 1978:265).

11. The belief that individual, rather than tribal, ownership of land was a prerequisite for Indian progress became an article of faith in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for many whites, especially those in government and religious circles, and among the "friends of the Indian" associations. For a discussion of severalty see Priest, 1969. Captain Pratt wrote to Dawes (responsible for passing the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887), "You have opened the way for us. I congratulate you on the passage of the Severalty Bill and the first enactment of any law looking to the divorcement of the Indian from the worse than slavery of his old Communistic systems" (1969: 249).
12. Besides the works listed above by Cole 1973, Trigger 1966a, McCardle 1980, and Nock, 1976, one should mention Trigger's article on Sir John William Dawson (1966b), John Van West's paper on George Mercer Dawson (1976), and Miller's article on the missionary- anthropologist Silas Rand (1980).
13. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the meetings of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association in Ottawa, June 1982. I would like to acknowledge a grant-in-aid from the Senate Research Committee of Lakehead University.

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