

Rescue the “Parishing”: Henry Budd – Constructive Transformer or Colonial Tool?

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We would like to begin by acknowledging that the land on which we gather is the traditional territory of the Haudenosaunee, and most recently, the territory of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation. The territory was the subject of the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and the Ojibwe and allied nations peaceably to share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes. This territory is also covered by the Upper Canada Treaties.¹

I bring greetings from the Elders of the University College of the North in Northern Manitoba, whose two campuses and twelve regional centres are built on “the traditional territory of the Mushkegowuk Inninnowuk or Swampy Cree, Dene, Saulteaux, Oji-Cree, Anishinabe and Metis.”² I would also like briefly to alert you to the use of certain terms that are no longer used to describe First Nations and Indigenous peoples, but which were commonly used in the nineteenth century. When dealing with historical persons from the past, largely through oral narratives or written documents that have been left behind, it is sometimes necessary to remind ourselves that these people were complex, dynamic, and fallible humans responding to a plethora of competing desires, cultural guidelines, and challenging contexts. Henry Budd was no different.

Devon Mission is located at the present town of The Pas/Opaskwiyak Cree Nation (OCN), Manitoba – approximately 615 kilometers north

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west of Winnipeg. For thousands of years, the high ground at The Pas/OCN was a traditional campsite where Aboriginal people “gathered at the conclusion of the fishing and hunting season, while waiting for the trapping season to open with the advent of winter.”³ One-hundred-and-forty-five years ago, the mission sat atop Mission Island near the southern bank of the Saskatchewan River, part of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s aquatic ‘401 Highway’ between Cumberland House, the HBC’s first inland trading post, and its Hudson Bay base at York Factory.

On 20 May 1872, Rev. Henry Budd, Sr., one of North America’s first ordained Indigenous priests, asked “William Harris & his old Woman, to overhaul my travelling canoe & pitch it well for my spring travelling.”⁴ In the days that followed, Budd arranged the pivotal spring potato planting (approximately twenty kegs)⁵ – essential for fending off winter starvation – before journeying downriver on a four-day visit to the Moose Lake post where he held morning and evening prayer services, conducted afternoon services, administered communion, and managed to return to Devon Mission in a mere day-and-a-half, battling the spring run-off swollen currents.⁶ Three days later, Budd and his hearty team of paddlers again braved flood conditions in his freshly pitched “birch rind” canoe, powering their way 100 km west to Cumberland House. They returned five days later after conducting numerous services and twelve baptisms among a recent group of converts.

In his daily journal for the Anglican Church Missionary Society, Budd wrote concerning these converts, “we had a regular harvest of enquirers, and all through the instrumentality of the Cumberland House Indians; there is no thanks to me, or any man else, for this fresh source of joy, of seeing so many of these notted conjurers held so long in Satan’s chains, wishing now to leave his Service, and give themselves up to the Lord.”⁷ Budd returned to the Devon Mission just in time to deliver Sunday services on 2 June, organize the annual peeling and placing of the picquets to keep livestock from lurching on this year’s crops,⁸ provide final services and counsel for the “some 60 men” who were about to join the Hudson’s Bay Company York boat brigades and “travel nearly three months without perhaps hearing a Sermon,”⁹ and prepare for an anticipated hay famine in the coming winter due to flooded fields.¹⁰ Budd had to ensure the survival of “more than 30 head of Cattle and horses.”¹¹

This one-month glimpse clearly illustrates the ups and downs of Henry Budd’s legacy. From a European perspective, Henry Budd was a master orator, fluent in both Cree and English, a keen prodigy of Rev.

John West, the first HBC chaplain, who took him and several other Indigenous boys to the Red River Settlement to start a school in 1820.¹² At Norway House, West met a young boy named Sakachuwescam, Cree for “Going up the Hill.” The boy was born around 1812.¹³ His father had died when he was a small child and his mother, “a half-caste woman,” raised him.¹⁴ On 21 July 1822, West baptized and re-named the boy “Henry Budd” after a vicar West had worked with in England.¹⁵ After stints as a HBC clerk, farmer, and school master,¹⁶ Budd developed into a smooth translator,¹⁷ passionate pastor, and extraordinary administrator of the Church Missionary Society’s first inland Mission beyond the Red River Settlement.¹⁸

Following thirty-five years of ministry in the region, Budd amazed his European supervisors.¹⁹ Archdeacon James Alexander Mackay offered the following assessment:

He possessed also some qualities that were remarkable in a native, and that were of great value in the management of the temporalities of a mission. He was methodical and thrifty. Under the system of the Church Missionary Society in those days, a native missionary had only half the stipend of a European missionary and yet, with this financial disadvantage, a mission station, under Mr. Budd’s charge, was a model of neatness, and no European missionary kept things in better order.²⁰

Though modern readers may cringe at this description, Mackay, writing in 1920, would have considered this high praise for the founder of what would become “the first permanent Anglican parish north of the Red River to be established under the supervision of a native pastor.”²¹ Throughout the nineteenth century and into the early-twentieth century, Budd’s reputation blossomed.

However, for people living in the shadows of the Residential School scandals and the Sixties Scoop, Budd’s legacy is nowhere near so praiseworthy. Writing about her great-great-great grandfather – and Budd’s fellow Cree catechist – Charles Pratt (1816-88), historian Winona Wheeler critiques much of the content of Pratt’s CMS journals, which reflect “aggressive evangelical proselytism and self-righteous arrogance.”²² Budd’s aforementioned description of recent Cumberland House converts as “notted conjurers held so long in Satan’s chains” reflects the exclusivism of European colonizers in general and Victorian evangelicals in particular. These zealous Christian missionaries thoroughly denounced

Indigenous spirituality and ceremony as foolish superstition at best and satanic witchcraft at worst. The participation of Indigenous converts in Christian institutions, in fact, problematizes their legacy as accessories to European colonialism.

Is Henry Budd, Sr., Indigenous catechist and later priest, in need of rescuing from the “parishing” colonial mechanisms in which he has been implicated? Or does he represent a brave, even heroic innovator who – in Wheeler’s words for Charles Pratt – “used his position in the CMS to help his people adjust to dramatically changing conditions in their world”²³ at tremendous personal cost? Examining some of the physical, cultural, and spiritual challenges facing Budd as reflected in his journals from 1870 to 1875,²⁴ there is evidence that his unwavering care for the people of his parish undergirded a life of incredible sacrifices and cultural bridge building.

Budd’s Ties to Colonialism

Intolerance of the “Heathen”

Budd’s rigorous education and his relatively early removal from his home community and traditional way of life in Norway House were likely strong contributors in his absorption of middle-class Victorian values at John West’s parochial school in the Red River Settlement,²⁵ particularly towards his ‘heathen and uncivilized’ brethren. Without knowledge of the saving redemption of Jesus Christ, the Indigenous people were, in Budd’s estimation, mired in “ignorance and destitute of the knowledge of the truth.”²⁶ Shortly after his 1852 ordination as priest, Budd spearheaded a significant symbolic gesture whereby he and ten other men levered a large sacred boulder with a painted face into the river.²⁷ That he personally identified more closely with his European supervisors is reflected by the troubling disconnect frequently recorded in his journals between himself and “the Indians.”

Settling the People

In addition to Budd’s intolerance towards indigenous traditional spiritualities and rituals, the Cree missionary may also be regarded as an accomplice to colonialism in his efforts to discourage the traditional nomadic lifestyle of hunting and gathering in favour of a more sedentary

agricultural way of life. A stationary population was obviously a benefit for missionaries and schoolmasters like Budd who operated from one primary base.²⁸ In particular, Budd vocally opposed the annual fall goose hunt, which was highly significant for both physical and spiritual sustenance. Budd made no mention of Metawin or Grand Medicine Society's associations with the goose hunt in his journals.²⁹ However, he justified this shift to a more agricultural way of life in terms of alleviating winter starvation that he often worried about, especially when the fishing nets were empty during prolonged periods of cold in January and February: "There will always be this want of something to live on among these people, so long as they don't farm more than they do, and don't fish at the proper time. It is too much, they think, to leave the geese-hunt of which they are so fond in the beginning of October, or, the latter part of Sept[embe]r and go out to the fish-hunt which is, after all, the most profitable hunt."³⁰

Establishing Church Hierarchy

It may also be argued that the establishment of a church mission at Rivière du Pas enforced a European hierarchy upon the Indigenous people living there. Henry Budd scholar Katherine Pettipas observed that much of the initial resistance to Budd's arrival in 1840 stemmed from fears that his leadership would supplant the traditional leaders:

This situation was not remedied until the summer of 1842 with the arrival of Reverend John Smithurst. Assured by the visiting priest that the missionaries did not intend to replace the "Chiefs" and that they ". . . have nothing to do with men in their civil capacity," [Leader Joseph] Constant's suspicions were allayed. Peace offerings of tobacco by Smithurst confirmed his good intentions to the leaders.³¹

Pettipas later noted that the traditional leadership was reflected through the appointment of church wardens and the sexton, who "were chosen for their position and esteem among the converts."³² At certain services, Budd would ask "one of the old men" to provide the concluding prayer before he gave the benediction.³³ Moreover, as Budd gained the people's confidence, he often facilitated gatherings to discuss community issues like agricultural plans. Therein lay Budd's particular genius – skillfully intertwining European elements with traditional Cree culture to navigate intercultural turbulence.

Budd's Cross-Cultural Bridge Building*Pastoral Compassion*

Henry Budd's evangelical passion for conversion and proselytization was definitely manifested in aggressive and arrogant intolerance towards Indigenous spiritualities. However, this same passion also fueled an unwavering commitment to serving his congregants – both Cree and European. In addition to conducting two hours of Sunday School followed by two daily Sunday services in Cree, Budd arranged to hold evening prayer meeting in English at the local HBC post, Fort Defiance. Budd commented, "I hope that this little Service may have its blessing; [f]or tho' they attend the Indian Service sometimes, I have often been sorry to see them go without understanding any thing."³⁴

During the week, Budd taught in the mission school from 9:00 to 12:30 daily,³⁵ except when the village children were gone with their families to the traplines. Although he lamented the students' lack of progress due to their lengthy absences, Budd never criticized their parents' decisions. Commenting on a significantly empty school house, Budd wrote, "at this season of the year it must needs be so as long as the Indians have no better way of providing for themselves the necessities of life, than the old way of hunting furs &c."³⁶ In the classroom, Budd taught the English language to his upper-level students. However, as a fluent and eloquent Cree speaker, Budd first taught them how to read and write in their own language. Although children were exposed to much religious material on Sunday mornings, Budd also taught elementary skills such as reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic.³⁷ Furthermore, by giving students clothing and daily rations of fish, he was able to alleviate some of the people's poverty.³⁸

Despite his busy daily schedule, Budd regularly made house calls to attend sick parishioners, comfort those who were grieving, and bring communion to the immobile. He also managed to attend to the spiritual needs of several mission outposts by semi-annual trips to Cumberland House, Nepowewin [Nipawin, Saskatchewan], and Moose Lake – routinely logging over 400 km of paddling or sledding every spring and fall.

Administrative Excellence

In addition to covering his vast “parish,” Budd’s branches were bowed with the burdens of administrative responsibilities that ensured the physical survival of the mission and its people. January began with Budd feverishly writing letters, sometimes “all night,”³⁹ to send with the winter mail or “packet” that conveyed letters upriver to Cumberland House and points west. He next focused on organizing the three winter haulages that were essential to survival: firewood⁴⁰ – and later picquets for livestock fences;⁴¹ whitefish from the Clearwater Lake fisheries located approximately 25 km north east of the mission;⁴² and hay.⁴³ The winter hauling season was particularly unpredictable. Special ramps had to be built up to allow the horses and oxen to climb the riverbanks.⁴⁴ Men sometimes had to “make the road . . . by tramping on the snow themselves,”⁴⁵ and hauling had to be completed before either deep snowfalls or spring melting would exhaust the teams.⁴⁶ By the third week of January, Budd began earnestly writing letters, reports, and his all-important mission journal for the return packet or “Express,” when the HBC mail returned eastward to collect letters bound for Norway House, the Red River Settlement, and York Factory/England.⁴⁷

In February and March, thoughts began to turn towards preparations for the coming farming season. The remaining potatoes and cellar needed to be cleaned,⁴⁸ and ice had to be hauled for the cellar.⁴⁹ Once the spring thaw arrived in April, winter gear – such as sleighs and harnesses – was cleaned and stored.⁵⁰ Cattle were brought back from winter pasturage at the Whitefish River,⁵¹ the hay yard was cleaned,⁵² and new fencing was erected.⁵³ In May, stones were removed from the fields,⁵⁴ ploughing began,⁵⁵ and gardens were manured.⁵⁶ By mid-May, the mission gardens were planted with onions, carrots, cabbages,⁵⁷ peas,⁵⁸ and potatoes.⁵⁹ This was followed by the sowing of barley⁶⁰ and sometimes wheat.⁶¹ In early June, garden beds needed to be weeded and watered.⁶² At the end of July, hay was cut and then stacked for drying.⁶³ Barley was harvested in mid-August;⁶⁴ in September, fishermen were hired and nets were prepared for the fall fisheries,⁶⁵ along with harvesting the potato crop.⁶⁶ In October, the garden vegetables were picked,⁶⁷ the school and outbuildings were freshly plastered to “secure from the frost,”⁶⁸ and wood stoves were set up.⁶⁹ By mid-October, the cattle house and stable were “put right for the winter,”⁷⁰ manure was carted to the fields for use the following spring,⁷¹ and fall fishing continued. In November, cattle, oxen, and pigs were butchered for

the winter's meat supply,⁷² and firewood had to be cut.⁷³ Firewood hauling could take up to three weeks and stretch into mid-December.⁷⁴ This was soon followed by a week of hauling hay.⁷⁵ After the busy Advent and Christmas liturgical seasons, a meeting was conducted in which the men planned their annual woodcutting, construction, and seeding.⁷⁶ And then the whole administrative "Red River jig" began its intricate twirl for another year. Faced with this daily survival work, how Budd found time for his full-time job of minister/school master is indeed a marvel.

Community Preservation and Strengthening

Budd's generosity in supplying food to community members during times of winter scarcity has already been mentioned. He also supported and gave supplies to those headed out on the trapline, such as reading material, medicine,⁷⁷ and twine.⁷⁸ In the community, Budd shared his horses and oxen to help with people's winter hauling once the mission's needs were taken care of.⁷⁹ Ultimately, his greatest contribution to food came from his constant encouragement to supplement hunting with fishing and agricultural practices. As he watched the villagers preparing for seeding one spring, Budd reflected upon the would-be surprise of past European missionaries: "A pretty sight' I repeat; to see them working at the soil, when I had almost despaired of ever seeing them to do so. I am sure, my predecessors at this Mission, never expected that the Indian here could be induced to trouble the soil."⁸⁰ This statement testifies to Budd's persistence and personal influence among the people.

In addition to physical survival, Budd was also concerned for the moral health of the community. He strongly encouraged the people to repay their loans to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁸¹ As well, he fiercely opposed the use of "spiritous Liquor for traf[f]ic among our Indians," noting that it had "quite ruined the Moose Lake Indians [. . .]"⁸² Although he emphasized the importance of church meetings, Budd was also aware of the vitality of simply gathering people together. This desire for community building was expressed in a journal entry during the fall feast following the duck and goose hunt:

Oct. 20, [1871]: The Indians all joined to have a dinner together today. They have brought their hunt [to] each family and [are] cooking it in their own homes, and then bringing it all cooked to the Large spacious School room. All joined together men, women, and children, and the Gentlemen of Fort Defiance and their people. There

was a good deal of Brotherly feeling which I like to see exist among all our people.⁸³

It is significant to underline that all Anglicans, regardless of ethnicity, were equally “our people” in the eyes of their dedicated pastor.

Although he was not formally trained in medicine, Budd attempted to care for people’s physical ailments, setting broken bones and even organizing community vaccinations.⁸⁴ While Budd relied upon Western medicines, he did not disparage Indigenous medicines. When his old cook Mary experienced prolonged urinary discomfort even after he administered a “dose or two of nitre,” he allowed someone to give her “a dose of Indian medicine.” When she began to recover, Budd continued praying for her, and “asked the Lord to accept our thanks for his mercies towards us.”⁸⁵

Finally, it is important to note how Budd’s individual and community accomplishments largely occurred without the assistance of his most able-bodied men. Men were gone during the autumn goose and muskrat hunt,⁸⁶ the fishing seasons,⁸⁷ the winter trapping season,⁸⁸ the maple sugar season,⁸⁹ and the three-month “commute” of the York boat brigade season.⁹⁰ Although he typically relied on women and children to help with agricultural duties, there were times when they would leave the village for “berry hunting and fishing.”⁹¹ Regardless of available workforce, Budd always had to navigate a severe spectrum of weather – droughts, storms,⁹² or floods in spring/summer,⁹³ blizzards in winter,⁹⁴ and the notorious ‘in-between’ seasons which restricted transportation and net fishing on the waterways: “Always the worst time of the season to get any work done between summer & winter. There is no boating or sleighing.”⁹⁵

On 19 March 1875, Budd recorded his final journal entry: “The wind has been south all the day. I hope it may soon bring the warm weather.”⁹⁶ The entry shone with his trademark concern for the wellbeing of his people, suffering from “scarce” fishing while desperately awaiting the muskrat hunt. He met with a recently married couple who both sought to become communicants. And there the undulating rivers of Budd’s pen stopped. On Easter Sunday 1875, Budd conducted Holy Communion services before he had completely recovered from influenza.⁹⁷ On 2 April, the following Friday, after stretching out his arms one last time to his beloved daughter as he lay in bed, Rev. Henry Budd, Sr. “passed quietly away in the presence of his daughter, Mrs. Cochrane,”⁹⁸ around the age of sixty-one.⁹⁹ Although he was named after an English vicar, Sakachu

wescam more than embodied his traditional name, valiantly struggling against currents and embarking on “all up-hill work”¹⁰⁰ in his unrelenting dedication to his people, his church, and his God.

Conclusion

During his thirty-five-year ministry in what would become Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Rev. Henry Budd, Sr. exerted an immeasurable impact on the Indigenous people. On the one hand, he functioned as an agent of colonialism, particularly with regards to opposing traditional Indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices, and advocating a shift from nomadic hunting and gathering to settled agricultural livelihoods. He also ensured that the Anglican Church became a hub for spiritual and civil life in the region. On the other hand, Budd understood and appreciated other facets of Cree culture: lay leaders were chosen from recognized elders in the community; the school did not substitute English for Cree, but first taught all children how to read and write in their own language. Budd also taught educational skills that would assist the Cree people in navigating the complex socio-economic changes in the wake of European contact and life along a major fur trade artery. Though he questioned the viability of the autumn hunt, he supported the people’s continued participation while supplying food and supplies to ease suffering during the winter. Moreover, he provided spiritual, educational, medical, pharmaceutical, and civil planning services to people scattered over a broad area in an often harsh and unforgiving landscape hundreds of kilometers away from the support and resources of his supervisors in the Red River Settlement.

Although no longer a Eurocentric narrative of the triumphs of Anglican missions and European civilization, the story of Henry Budd Sr. illustrates the compassion, dedication, bridge building, and inter-cultural cooperation that can flow when organized religion overflows the entrenched banks of racism, privilege, and self-centeredness. Would that his example was heeded in the later eras of the Residential School and religious attempts at cultural genocide. As we consider religion’s future upon the 150th anniversary of Canada – incidentally, Devon Mission is celebrating its 177th anniversary this year – and as we seek retellings and new tellings of religious narratives in Canada’s diverse history, there are still lessons to discover from the budding bridge-building genius of Rev. Henry Budd, Sr.

Endnotes

1. "ACCUTE Panel Chairs' Best Practices Guide Congress 2017 Ryerson University," Congress2017, <http://www.accutecanada.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/panel-chairs-best-practices4.pdf>
2. "CAUT Guide to Acknowledging Traditional Territory," *Canadian Association of University Teachers*, <http://www.caut.ca/docs/default-source/professional-advice/list---territorial-acknowledgement-by-province.pdf?sfvrsn=12>.
3. W.F. Payton, "An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Saskatchewan of the Anglican Church of Canada," Chapter 3 (Prince Albert: The Diocese of Saskatchewan, 1974), *Project Canterbury*, 2006, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org>.
4. Entry recorded 20 May 1872, Katherine Pettipas, *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd 1870-1875* (Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Limited, 1974), 95.
5. Entry recorded 14 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 95
6. Entry recorded 24 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 96.
7. Entry recorded 30 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 98.
8. Entries recorded 6, 10 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99.
9. Entry recorded 16 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99.
10. Entry recorded 18 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99.
11. Entry recorded 26 July 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 103.
12. Budd is estimated to have been around eight years old at the time; he had been released with his mother's consent. She and his sister Sarah later moved to the Settlement in autumn 1822 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xvi, n 32).
13. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xvi.
14. Payton, "Historical Sketch," Chapter 2.
15. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xvi. She reports that the English rector donated money and books to his Indigenous counterpart.
16. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xix.
17. Rev. James Hunter, the first European missionary at Devon, described Budd as "a very good interpreter and Indian Speaker, perhaps the best in the country . . ." (quoted in Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxix).

18. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, viii.
19. Pettipas notes that an early proposal to replace Budd with a European missionary in 1842 was successfully opposed by his supervisors (*Henry Budd*, xxiv).
20. James Alexander Mackay, “Henry Budd,” in *Leaders of the Canadian Church*, Vol. 2, ed. Canon Bertal Heeney (Toronto: Musson, 1920), *Project Canterbury*, <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/bheeney/2/3.html>. Ironically, Pettipas stated that the salary divergence was justified to reflect lower financial pressures on Indigenous clergy who were not encouraged to adopt “habits of life too far removed from those of their countrymen” (quoting Rev. Henry Venn, chief leader of the CMS from 1841 to 1872, *Henry Budd*, xv). In 1851, Budd’s salary was raised from £55 to £100; CMS secretary Venn explained that “Mr. Budd has been so much identified with English habits that the salary was quite proper in his case” (quoted in Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxx).
21. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxxv. She noted, however, that “Budd’s control was of a restricted nature for not only would he remain under the surveillance of an European supervisor, but also was not allowed to assume any financial expenditures without the approval of the Local Committee.”
22. Winona Wheeler, “The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884,” in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, 2nd ed., eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 241.
23. Wheeler, “Journals and Voices,” 257. Pettipas explained that the CMS was organized in 1799 by evangelical members of the Church of England and focused its efforts on spreading Christianity in foreign lands (*Henry Budd*, vii).
24. Pettipas noted that the journals from June to August 1871 were not included in the documents discovered after his death (*Henry Budd*, 71, n 31).
25. Pettipas wrote, “within this paternalistic system of education, Henry acquired the values of the middle class Victorian as they were communicated by the individual missionaries. This dissemination of Christian morality was imparted not only to uplift the native, but also to promote the emergence of an efficient Christian native leadership in the Canadian Northwest” (*Henry Budd*, xviii).
26. Cited in Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xx.

27. A 1931 The Pas newspaper article commenting on the release of David L. Greene's book, *An Historical Sketch of Christ Church*, contains this description: "The Indians at that time had a stone statue they had worshipped. This was pitched into the Saskatchewan river here by Henry Budd and ten assistants" ("Rev. J.G. Stephens Speaks on Devon Mission History," *Northern Mail*, 29 June 1931, 1).
28. During a visit to his charges at Cumberland House, Budd related a discussion with the Indians on "secular Matters": "They are desirous of locating themselves some where near the Cumberland Fort, where I wo[ul]d always find them when I came to see them; and in the case of a Catechist being sent them, they might be found living in houses, cultivating the soil, and having cattle &c. I am always encouraging them in this plan, and this time I wanted them to be decided" (Entry recorded 12 September 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 41).
29. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxi. She notes, "The Mediwiwin or Metawin was a celebration of the Grand Medicine society in which both Ojibway and neighbouring Cree participated. The society was a stratified, religious organization and the ceremonies were generally held in late summer."
30. Entry recorded 13 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 3.
31. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxii-xxiii.
32. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 24, n 16.
33. Entry recorded 10 February 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 84. This happened particularly during Saturday evening "Lecture" to prepare Communicants for receiving the Sacrament of communion on the next day. He once observed, "Their prayers are generally so meek and the language so simple" (Entry recorded 5 October 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 110).
34. Entry recorded 2 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 2.
35. Entry recorded 1 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 45.
36. Entry recorded 25 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 90.
37. Entry recorded 4 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 88.
38. Entry recorded 13 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 3: "When the School is out the child[re]n come regularly over to the fish store and get their suppers." Budd's compassion shines starkly when contrasted with the comments of his HBC contemporaries. While a HBC clerk in nearby Fort à la Corne [Saskatchewan] wrote complaining of "[s]tarving Indians Still around & begging the whole day long" (Entry recorded 29 December 1872, Fort à la Corne post journal, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, HBC/1M2),

Budd's report on New Year's Day, 1872, emphasizes strength of community, hard work, and generosity: "We had given the people something to make dinner of, and they have been busy cooking all the last night, today they have brought it all to the School House. They invited the whole Village to dinner. We had a nice quiet time of it in the School, and all had a nice dinner and plenty of it" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 2). Such food gifts included "beef, Pork, Tea, and other things, to make a dinner for all hands in the School room" (Entry recorded 31 December 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 152).

39. Entry dated 11 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 3.
40. Winter firewood hauling began on 13 January to 11 February 1870, upon which his teams "must now commence hauling all my next winter's hay" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 7).
41. Cutting and hauling "a good many hundred" picquets (Entry recorded 7 March 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 10) began on 3 March 1870 and ended by 30 March.
42. Entries recorded 18 January 1870 and 10 January 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 4, 54.
43. Hay hauling lasted from 11-23 February 1870 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 7-8).
44. Entry recorded 30 October 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 74.
45. Entries recorded 14 March 1873 and 9 April 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 124, 127.
46. When the other main groups were hauling – "the Indians" and the Hudson's Bay Company – the track was kept in good shape. "While the track is good we must keep [it] open, or, it will be covered again by the first snow that falls" (Entry recorded 9 January 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 81).
47. Entry recorded 21 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 4. Budd also sent mail via reliable travelers and HBC brigades and supply runs (Entry recorded 25 February 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 8).
48. Entry recorded 2 February 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 6.
49. Entry recorded 12 February 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 7.
50. Entry recorded 11 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 64.
51. Entry recorded 18 April 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 128.

52. Entry recorded 21 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 66. So as not to waste land, Budd ordered “two women to clear away all the loose hay from the hay yard, and make it ready for planting potatoes in” (Entry recorded 6 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 94).
53. The picquets were peeled and placed on 6-10 June 1872 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99).
54. Entry recorded 4 May 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 68.
55. Robert Lathlin began “ploughing for the wheat” on May 6 in 1872 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 94).
56. Entry recorded 9 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 94.
57. Indian corn was sowed on 20 May 20 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 131). Turnips were planted by Budd’s daughters on 12 July 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 137).
58. Entry recorded 8 October 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 145.
59. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 20-21. On 21 May 1870, he noted that “15 ½ bushels [of potatoes] were planted out in the field, and 2 more bushels at the front of the Mission house” (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 21).
60. Barley was sowed and covered on 23 May 1871 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 70).
61. Some wheat was sown on 29 April 1871 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 67). Although Budd himself was not performing heavy physical labour, he needed to ensure that food supplies were stocked to pay the workers.
62. Entry recorded 10 June 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 25.
63. Entry recorded 26 July 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 34.
64. Entry recorded 18 August 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 36.
65. Entry recorded 19 September 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 41.
66. Entry recorded 21 September 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 41. He reported a record harvest at “not less than 500 Kegs” on 30 September 1870 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 42).
67. Entry recorded 1 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 42.
68. Entry recorded 3 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 43.
69. Entry recorded 5 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 43.
70. Entry recorded 15 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 44.

71. Entries recorded 29 October-5 November 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 113-14.
72. Entries recorded 1, 17, 20 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 75-76.
73. Entry recorded 29 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 48.
74. Entry recorded 3 December 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 48.
75. Entry recorded 12-17 December 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 49. Although hauling was usually done by horse or oxen, Budd once described “having the dogs to haul the hay on a horse sleigh” on 20 November 1872 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 115).
76. Entry recorded 26 December 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 51. Budd noted that they “bound themselves to cut and haul the firewood for the Church & School house, to serve all the winter; to collect Timber for building purposes, cut and haul fence & Picquets for their farms, and [. . .] strive when the spring comes to put more seed in the ground than they had the last spring Poor people! I wish they had the means of doing all they propose of doing.”
77. Entry recorded 21 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 47.
78. Entry recorded 18 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 90.
79. Entry recorded 1 April 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 12.
80. Entry recorded 13 May 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 68-69. After being stationed at the outlying Nepowewin mission for ten years, the Devon Mission at The Pas nearly collapsed under European missionaries who did not know the Cree people or their language (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxxiv). Nevertheless, despite his own physical infirmities, heartsickness over the death of several close family members, and discouragement, Budd returned to Devon and spent his remaining years on an ambitious and ultimately successful mission – “the revival of The Pas” (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxxviii).
81. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xliii.
82. Entry recorded 13 April 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 14. Pettipas noted that this first became a problem introduced to the region by Free traders from the Red River Settlement and the United States, as reported by Rev. E. Watkins in 1863 (*Henry Budd*, 14, n 10). It is notable that any observations of ‘savage’ or inhuman behaviour among Indigenous people in his journals was attributed to alcohol: “I endeavoured to warn them against the sin by shewing them how hateful it must be in the sight of a holy God, who has denounced such dreadful judgments on those who are in the habitual commission of it, and how disgusting, and beastly, it is even in the sight of men” (Entry recorded 17 June 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 26).

83. Entry recorded 20 October 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 73-74.
84. Entries recorded 11 February, 21 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 66. During his tenure, Budd faced outbreaks of erysipelas (Entry recorded 27 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 5), consumption (Entry recorded 23 November 1874, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 178), and “a very severe cold with influenza” (Entry recorded 27 September 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 110).
85. Entry recorded 15 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 89.
86. Men left for the fall muskrat hunt on 13 November 1871 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 76); he noted that men were gone on the goose hunt on 14-25 October 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 146-47).
87. Budd noted that the men headed to the Clear Water Lake fisheries by 21 February and would “not be back till late in the month of April” (Entry recorded 21 February 1870, Pettipas, 8).
88. In 1870, families left for muskrat hunting on 14 March and returned by 23 April (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 15).
89. Maple sugar was harvested upstream at Birch River (Entries recorded 23-30 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 66-7).
90. The men left on 19 June and returned on 9 September 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 134, 142). The men were gone from 20 June and back by 19 September 1874 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 167-73). Budd noted, “In one short day we are left nearly all alone excepting the families of the men. Not many men left to do any work in the course of the summer” (Entry recorded 19 June 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 135). This did, however, mean that school attendance remained fairly high in the summer months.
91. Entry recorded 10 August 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 104.
92. On 22 July 1873, Budd reported, “It is really a great wonder that the church Tower and Steeple have survived such a storm. Many a Canoe no doubt is smashed, and all our nets are I am afraid lost” (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 138). Gale winds blew down Budd’s flagstaff and removed part of the graveyard picquets and school fencing on 4-5 July 1874; he also feared for the church steeple in the “hurricane” (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 169).
93. Budd noted that heavy spring rains in 1872 contributed to the flooding of hay fields (Entry recorded 18 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99), the rotting of potato crops (Entry recorded 26 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 100), and wheat (Entry recorded 4 July 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 101). He had trouble tending the school after the Saskatchewan River covered the footbridge leading to Mission Island on 30 June 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*,

135-36).

94. He reported the coldest camping of his 30-plus years of ministry on 16 December 1872, en route to Cumberland House: “Another such night and I am done for, I could not survive it” (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 118).
95. Entry recorded 24 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 45. On Easter weekend, 1871, Budd noted, “More arrivals of Indians for Easter. Many of them have come from a long way off, through all the cold snow and mud and water up to their knees; I wonder it does not prove their death!” (Entry recorded 8 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 63).
96. Entry recorded 19 March 1875, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 187.
97. Ray B. Horsefield, “The Story of Christ Church,” *Northern Mail*, 22 June 1940, 6.
98. “Stephens Speaks,” 1. His daughter, Elizabeth Cochrane, later described his final hours: “[I]n listening I caught the words ‘Abide with Me’ & and Rock of Ages. His mind (terrified?) on holy things for he mummered words in Indian from God’s word, but when he would be awake he was just himself, two hours after he went to bed, he breathed his last, so quietly without a groan, but just held out his arms, and when I asked what he wanted he opened his eyes with a smile and looked at me, closed them again and just ceased to breathe quietly” (Letter recorded 4 June 1875, Mrs. Henry Cochrane, CMS/A101, Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg).
99. Sid Wilton, *The Pas . . . A History* (The Pas, MB: The Pas Chamber of Commerce, 1970), 70.
100. Entry recorded 30 April 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 17.