‘COME OVER AND HELP US’

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY AND ITS MISSION 1649-2001

NEIL HITCHIN. PHD

THE NEW ENGLAND MISSIONS

1649-1783

‘The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent’ was founded in 1649 to convert the Native Indians of the New England colonies to Christianity. This short history explains how the New England Company, the oldest missionary society still active in Britain, has worked to advance the charitable aims of Christian missionaries and ministers in North America and the Caribbean, in a great variety of circumstances, as colonies have become nations and cultures have collided over the past 350 years.

The Company Seal, bearing the motto ‘Come over and help us’, is that of the New England colony, itself founded, in part, to christianize the new world. After the American War of Independence the New England Company moved its work to the remaining British colonies in Canada and the Caribbean, where it continues to support missions and ministry today. The Company Charter limits the mission to North America and the Caribbean, but this concentration of resources and attention has been one of the Company’s great assets, enabling it to build up a pool of experience of the evolving needs of ministries to Indian and Caribbean peoples.

The Company was founded initially by Oliver Cromwell’s parliament in 1649 after lobbying on behalf of missionaries to the Indians of New England, several of whom had been there since 1641 with little support. The disruptions of the Civil War in England prevented any earlier moves to support the missionary work, but as soon as the parliamentary forces had clearly settled the new political regime, by executing King Charles I in 1649, they passed a motion to incorporate the Company. The effects of early Massachusetts missionary John Eliot’s writing, and the preaching of the Bohemian pastor Comenius, probably spurred Cromwell’s efforts to set up the Company. Comenius taught that Christians had a duty to take the Gospel throughout the world to all races, and his emphasis on education as the best means was at the heart of the missions which the Company undertook in New England. Parliament raised a collection for this work – the first known missionary collection to be taken in English parishes – which raised about £12,000, of which £11,000 was invested in land. At the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the Hon. Robert Boyle, the famous scientist, lobbied the King to grant a new Charter to the New England Company, which was given on 7 February 1662. Boyle was the first Governor of the Company (1661-89), and gave his great energies to it until he retired through ill health, shortly before his death in 1691.

The responsibilities of the New England Company are to administer its investments in land and money and to disburse the income from these investments in support of missionary work. It is a convention that the whole of the income is disbursed each year, whenever possible. The Company is constituted today much as it was at its foundation – with a Governor and Treasurer acting as primary trustees and other members elected from time to time. Decisions about the business, whether to do with property, investments, annual accounts or missions, take place at meetings of the Court. The frequency with which the Court has met has varied over time. In the eighteenth century, it seems to have been at a monthly dinner. Today there are four meetings each year, organised around the sub-committees responsible for the various aspects of the Company. The number of members has varied over time, as has the division of labour within the Company. Presently there are nineteen members, including the Governor and Treasurer.

Historically, many members have been on the boards of other societies, charities and major institutions as well, most notably that of the Bank of England. A number of members of the Court were also trustees of Dr Williams' bequest – a dissenting foundation famed for its library in London for almost 300 years – partly because the New England Company has administered an important part of this bequest, relating particularly to the Caribbean, since the 1750s. Another very strong connection was with the board of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies after its establishment in 1732. Some of the most politically active dissenters of the time were members. Perhaps one reason so many were drawn from so few institutions or families was the difficulty of finding appropriate new members who could be relied on to conduct the business properly. The death of Robert Boyle had removed a moderating hand from the Company and, in place of the high court judges and peers who had been elected until 1690, a tradition grew of relying on dissenting London merchants for the members, which restricted the pool. The founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), a notably High Church mission, in 1702 cast the dissenting character of the Company in a stronger light. It is noticeable that, after the end of the mission in New England in 1780, there was less concern over maintaining this particular profile of new members and the Anglican nobility began to make a return.

Membership of the Company has tended to run in families, a son taking the place of the father, or cousins. Some members' elections to the Company have been through in-laws – but equally often there have been marriages between members' families. A family like the Ashursts, for instance, were strongly represented throughout the eighteenth century. Dissenters, they were aldermen in the City of London, MPs and Directors of the Bank of England. The Ashursts were also helpfully well connected in New England itself. Typical of the time, the Company members met in coffee houses around the City, and in one another's homes, to conduct the business of the Company, which changed little until the 1770s. They made especial use of the Jamaica Coffee House in Ball Alley, Cornhill, near the Bank of England.

Throughout the early period, and well into the nineteenth century, the administration of missions, including the distribution of funds, was assigned to a group of Commissioners, who were prominent men living in New England, normally with the Governor of Massachusetts as the chairman. The Company's Commissioners were appointed by the United Colonies in the early years, from 1649-84, but in 1684 this Commission was wound up and the Company chose its own agents from then on. The Court re-appointed them as the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, since there was nothing to complain of in the work they had undertaken previously for the Company or the mission.

The difficulty of travel and transport and the immaturity of trade systems was a problem for many decades. Transmitting funds was not a simple matter of sending cash by ship. Instead, the Company often bought stocks of clothing, tools and weapons, which they shipped to New England where they were sold to the tribes. The cash raised by these sales was used to pay for missionaries and other local needs. The method was complicated but benefited both the Indians and missionaries in practical ways. Another of the difficulties of overseeing the trust at such a distance is illustrated by one of the few real 'events' in the history of the Company in this period: the bankruptcy of the Commission's Treasurer in New England, Adam Winthrop, in the 1740s. He had been making use of the Company's money to support his efforts to recoup trading and investment losses when his financial situation crumbled. His unreserved apology and sincere efforts to pay back the money were not enough, since he died too early to make it right, and the debt was not finally written off until 1801, by which time the Company had removed itself from New England.

Most of the Company's investments have been in real estate, but there have always been financial investments too, in shares, annuities and other forms. Real estate has required the lion's share of attention over time – a fact well attested from the Company minutes – and there is an interesting story to be told about the Company's role as landlord and agricultural improver. The more important part of that story is in the purchase and use of lands in North America, where the Company has tried in different ways to employ the land holdings to protect and enhance the Indian communities. Despite such good intentions, this was not always a successful strategy.

An early grant of land was made with land taken from the Bedingfield family, Catholic royalists who were dispossessed by the Cromwell regime. On the return of Charles II to the throne, they presumed their estates would be restored to them. But Boyle used his influence at Court to defend the Company's ownership of the Eriswell estate. The King gave the family a baronetcy in compensation. Boyle himself left a substantial bequest for the work of the Company, most importantly the Brafferton estate in Yorkshire. Income from Brafferton was to be used to support two ministers who would instruct the Indians, and to pay for another two ministers to teach Indians in or near Harvard. It was also used to help set up William and Mary College, originally intended to be an institution for the care and education of Indian children. Smaller properties were acquired at Plumstead, Kent, with the initial collection, as well as several houses in London. The 1670 will of William Penoyer provided a land charge of £10 a year. The bequest of Dr Daniel Williams, the eminent dissenting minister, whose will provided the foundation for the famous London library named after him, also provided a substantial legacy to the Company in the form of Beckingham Hall Farm, Essex. His will stated that £60 of the money should be used to employ two itinerant preachers in the West Indies, and for 'the good of what pagans and blacks lie neglected there'. The rest of the income was to be paid to Harvard College and to missionaries 'to convert the poor Indians' in New England.

Many early colonists saw the New World as a vast, empty land in which they could create a new political and religious world without reference to the complicated and corrupt old world of Europe. Knowledge of the Indians was greatly improved in Europe by the publication of the *Jesuit Relations* between 1632 and 1672, which was a series of reports from early Jesuit missionaries to Canada. Europeans had known about the native inhabitants for a century, but because the Indians were not a settled population in a European sense, the land appeared to be free to whoever wished to claim ownership. The new inhabitants of these precarious settler communities had as little to do with the Indians as possible, partly for fear of the unknown and unpredictable people who seemed to them to be little more than animals. Despite the fact that the original charter establishing the colony of Massachusetts made evangelisation of the Indians an objective of the settlement, the Puritan belief in predestination – that no soul could be converted by human effort – made it almost impossible to conceive of missionary work to the Indians in early New England.

Colonial opinion was always apathetic, and sometimes hostile to the effort to convert Indians. One consequence was that the Commissioners were not very successful at finding teachers or missionaries for the work – which was after all one of their main responsibilities. Limited though their effectiveness was, without the Commissioners the Company could not have done anything at all in the New World.

Nevertheless, a few intrepid souls braved the dangers of crossing the Atlantic, the uncertainties of making contact with the natives, the difficulties of learning their language, and the disapproval of the white settlers to spread the Christian gospel to the Indians. The best known, and for good reason, was John Eliot (1604-90), who devoted his life to spreading the gospel to the original inhabitants of the New World. Eliot came to Boston as a young man in 1631, and after his appointment as pastor of Roxbury he began to learn the native tongue of the people living around him. He had learned enough by 1646 to preach a sermon to them. He was writing tracts to publicise the work by 1643, and he translated the bible into Algonquian – the first Indian language to be given such treatment, and the first bible to be printed in New England.

While it was probably the first, the Company was not alone in sending missionaries out, or supporting them in New England. The SPG and Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) were also active. The SSPCK had received a legacy from Dr Williams too, but on the condition that they sent out missionaries themselves for a year, initially. The problem for the SSPCK was that they had been set up to combat popery in the Highlands, not to convert the heathen in the New World. They set up a board of correspondents in 1730 to oversee the work. In 1756 the Company and SSPCK began to co-operate in Virginia – technically outside of New England – preaching to the Cherokee. The tribe were not interested in the new religion, not least because Virginians had killed some of them. Then the work had to be abandoned for a time in 1763 when the Cherokee tribe was drawn into the war between Britain and France.

The Company supported Eleazer Wheelock, a leading figure in the revival of the 1750s, for a time after 1756, despite the hostility of the Boston clergy. Wheelock started a school for Indian children – Moor's Indian Charity – which aimed to remove Indian children from the influence of their parents and their tribe and to bring them up with English children. But when he started undertaking fund-raising in England, the Company withdrew support and severed connections with him. He had annoyed them by his participation in the charismatic religious revival of the 1740s and 1750s, and by sending out missionaries on his own authority without consulting them. He raised the impressive sum of £12,000 on a trip to England, which he used to found Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, despite the wish of the Company and Dr Williams' Trust that he should not found another college for whites.

There was never any love lost between the Anglican SPG and the Company; often there was open hostility. The SPG did not recognise the New England Company missionaries because they were not episcopally ordained or directed. They used their close relationship to the Anglican establishment in 1714 to harass Company missionaries by persuading the Governor of Massachusetts, a High Churchman, to investigate the Company affairs. By the 1760s it was generally believed in New England that the SPG was busier converting other Protestants to Anglicanism than converting Indians to Christianity. The mission field was competitive and prejudiced. Yet the fact that the New England Company attempted to co-operate with other societies on at least two important occasions shows that the Company had an ecumenical spirit – at least in relation to other Protestant societies.

EDUCATION AND THE MISSION

Puritanism was a form of faith which depended on the written word of God, since intellectual consent to the truths of the Gospel was the basis of the necessary conversion experience. It followed that teaching people to read was a near-essential preliminary to their conversion. But the education process was itself a European one, heavily dependent on the printed word and literacy. Unlike the Catholic church which, because it was liturgical rather than literate, could travel more easily with a migrating people, literate Puritan Christianity, required books and therefore libraries, and a settled people who were capable of reading.

The Indians were neither settled nor had a written language, and the early decades of the Company's missions were devoted to finding ways to settle and educate them. One of the first tasks the early missionary John Eliot set himself was to translate the bible into Algonquian, the local Massachusetts dialect, a project the Company supported and paid for. Arrangements were made to print the translation in New England. The end of the Cromwell regime and the restoration of Charles II disrupted the work for a year, but the printing of the Old and New Testaments was completed in 1663 – apparently the first book to be printed in North America. The Company paid for a second edition of this bible in 1685. Eliot's understanding of the Natick dialect of Algonquian was inevitably limited, so that, for all of its significance, the translation has been said to be the most unreadable bible in history. The Company also helped finance and arrange the production and dissemination of promotional material – notably, John Eliot's famous Indian Tracts – to persuade the English of the importance of the Indian mission. Numerous other religious manuals and tracts were printed in New England for the Indians, among which were numerous editions of the Indian Primer up to 1720.

However, the missions were not having much success in making converts, and it gradually became clear that one of the problems was the large number of dialects and distinct languages; those beyond New England were very different indeed. The Indian languages also lacked adequate words for abstract ideas, making Christian teaching difficult to convey. The later tale of a missionary telling the Inuit about the fires of hell, only to find they wanted to know how to get to this warm place, conveys some sense of the issue. Questions began to be asked about whether the Indians ought to be taught English, or whether the evangelical effort should continue to be devoted to learning the native languages. The Court decided that they would require Company missionaries to know native languages, or be able to use interpreters, from 1701. But most tribes did not have a written language in the first place, which meant that they would have to be taught to read their own language, after the missionaries had learnt it themselves and translated the bible and other literature. Although the publication of Christian literature was central to the Company's efforts in the early decades, printing religious material in Algonquian faltered after the deaths of Eliot and another early missionary to the Indians named Sewall. The Indians were learning English anyway, and no successful champion emerged to stir up support for further translation work. According to William Kellaway, who has studied the New England Company during the American colonial era, Eliot's 'Indian Library' was probably the Company's most remarkable achievement in the colonial period. Considering the limited success they had in making converts, this is probably a fair assessment.

Another approach the Company tried was to set up schools to train Indian converts to teach and preach, and give them the means to pass on the message in their own language. Daniel Gookin, superintendent of the Praying Indians in Massachusetts, defended the principle of educating the Indians in his *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*, which he sent to the Company in London, intending to dedicate it to them as one of a series of Indian tracts. (It was not published until 1792.) In discussions with Eliot, Gookin proposed a plan for setting aside an Indian village at Marlborough for a school. Puritan opponents in England and New England were unwilling to give money for the project, and rejected Indian missions for theological reasons anyway, in the belief that God would convert them in his own time. The missionaries countered with an argument that the Indians of America were actually a lost tribe of Israel who, far from being peripheral to missionary aims, should be an absolute priority. This was an especially powerful case to make in the political and religious climate of the time, since Cromwell had recently re-admitted the Jews to England, partly in the conviction that it was a pre-condition of the coming of Christ that they should be converted. The New England Company set up another school devoted to training Indians in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but with limited success. In 1675 the school had only one Indian student residing, and it was the same in 1685. But the Company persisted, asking the Commissioners to bring the number of students up to ten. Finally, after another frustrating decade, in 1698 the school was pulled down altogether. Perhaps the fact that the curriculum was Latin rhetoric and the writings of the Roman poet Virgil contributed to its failure, but a wider problem had undermined the work. Should Indians live separately, with their own meeting houses, and Christian literature in Indian languages, or ought the missions strive to create a unified English language environment, and try to sort out the problems of having natives and whites in the same religious meeting houses?

The offer of technical and English language skills was believed to provide essential tools for Indian survival by both Indian and English administrators alike. As growing white settlement created new economic and social systems, there were occasions when it was in the interests of both sides to find the common ground between educational plans and wants. Sometimes the results of negotiation were unexpected. The government of Virginia offered to educate the sons of the Six Nations chiefs at Williamsburg, as part of the treaty of Lancaster (Pennsylvania, 1744). They expressed themselves grateful that the white men should offer the best of their own education to their sons, but experience had shown the Mohawks that their young men who studied the languages, sciences and literature of the whites returned as 'bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, [who] knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly …' and were good for nothing. Nevertheless, to express their gratitude they offered, in return, to receive a dozen sons of the Virginians, and 'we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make MEN of them'. But was it better for the Indians to integrate with the growing white settlements, or to maintain separate Indian communities? This serious issue has dogged all plans and efforts to assist the original inhabitants of North America, even into the present.

The Indians of New York had been almost entirely neglected by the Company during the seventeenth century. The Lords of Trade and Plantations supported wider Protestant missions, seeing a strong bond of union in the conversion of the Indians to Protestantism, which could do much to foster British interests in the American colonies and ease the path of the trader and the merchant. They forced the Commissioners to review their policy in the early eighteenth century. The Company resisted, since New York was not in New England. But between 1698-1701 the Governor of New England, Lord Bellamont, who was a member of the Company and also Governor of New York, advocated that they support sending men to the Six Nations tribes – a confederation of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, and later the Delawares. Bellamont wanted full-time, well-paid men on the field for long periods, but he died before making the change, and the short-term, part-time model continued. Nevertheless, his plan for work among the Six Nations in New York bore fruit and a church was provided, and a set of Communion plate was presented by Queen Anne in 1712 (now kept in the Mohawk Chapel at Brantford, Ontario). The mission to the Six Nations followed their move to Canada in the 1780s and continues to this day.

It was expensive to provide for full-time missionaries, and it was hard to find English ministers who were willing to learn Indian languages. No doubt this was because – being human – they were concerned that their prospects of advancement would be limited by doing so. It was decided to raise salaries in 1769, from £30 to £45, since it was becoming so desperately hard to find missionaries. The interest from the South Sea Company stock was used, which turned out better than expected, and enabled salaries to be raised to £51. This was still only a part-time salary. The men at Harvard could see it was not possible to be effective part-time, so they redirected the money which had been set aside to educate the Indians at

Harvard, a project which had clearly failed by the 1770s, to make up a full salary for the missionaries. Dr Williams Trustees were pleased with this use of their funds.

But already in the 1730s, the difficulties of getting anyone to undertake the work prompted the Commissioners and the Company to conclude that the best chance was to undertake the work in English. The result of this was that they had to persuade the Indians to settle in one place, so they could attend school and learn English. The hope was that once they had learned English they would then consider becoming Christians. The plan, with its origin in frustration at the unwillingness of white ministers to make any effort to engage with native culture, evolved into the familiar ideological system in which residential schools were used to try and strip away the Indian culture from the Indian people.

That white settlers would eventually overwhelm the native populations became clear very early in the colonial period. Not all people cared about this, but it seems to have been a concern of most missionaries, and much missionary effort was aimed at mitigating the bad effects of the new colonial environment. John Eliot organised the first of the settlements for Indian converts – the Praying Indians – in Natick, Massachusetts in 1651, which became a model for future efforts to assist Indians. The problem, which would persist, was whether to protect the Indians by separating them geographically from white settlers, or to educate and civilise the Indians into white Christian culture. Again in the early eighteenth century the Company initiated an effort to get a land settlement for the Indians and to make it unlawful for whites to settle on Indian land, to show the Indians that they were not going to 'extirpate' them like the Spaniards did. They asked the Commissioners to raise the issue with the New England government so they could approach the King for his approval of the plan. Questions were raised about whether Company funds should be used to defend Indian land rights, but it was allowed to go through. One ambitious plan was the purchase of land at Gray Head Neck in Martha's Vineyard in 1711. The flaw was that the temptation to derive revenue by leasing the land to white farmers was too great to resist. The Company decided to lease 600 acres to be improved in 1716, thus beginning a gradual process of alienating the land which they held on behalf of the Indians. The Indians objected violently to these leases and the Company decided to sign a treaty in 1727 giving Gray Head Neck to them outright, if they gave up 800 acres which the Company wanted to improve. During the next 200 years the Company tried repeatedly to set up separate settlements for the native Indians. It could be said with justification that this was one of the problems – that the white government and charities were trying to get the Indians to settle down to a white economic and social system – settled agrarianism, trade and commerce. This early attempt to protect Indians by means of a charity or the state owning land in trust for them foreshadowed the problems to come in successive generations. The tension between segregation and integration persists throughout the history of Indian missions and casts a dark shadow over the present.

'King Philip's War' of the later 1670s devastated missionary work and poisoned race relations. Peaceable co-existence had been the norm, apart from the Pequot War of 1630. But the colonies were growing rapidly, and competition for land was sharper, when a complex series of tensions erupted in violence in the 1670s. Metacom, known as King Philiip to the Plymouth settlers, was a chief of the Wampanoags, a tribe loyal to the English. Despite this, he was accused of plotting with the French and Dutch several times between 1667 and 1671, treacheries which he resolutely denied. Although the nervous Plymouth leaders believed him, to make a point they demanded the Wampanoags give up their guns and sign a new treaty. This high-handedness affronted Metacom's honour as leader of his people. Persistent white land grabbing, Indian resentment and the settlers' fears of Indian conspiracies created a volatile situation by 1675. When a Praying Indian was murdered by an associate of Metacom, and he was again falsely accused of conspiracy, he was provoked into open conflict.

King Philip's War severely damaged the colonies as well as the missions. Indian tribes attacked more than half of the ninety towns in New England, destroying seventeen and seriously damaging another twenty-five. About 9,000 of the 80,000 (11%) total Indian and white population died and thousands more fled the region. The economy did not recover for generations. The conflict broke the Indian tribes. Even the Praying Indians, who were allies of the Plymouth settlers, suffered badly. They were always a suspect group to both the settlers and their fellow Indians, and in such a context it was of little interest to others whether they were peaceable or loyal. They were allowed to return to their towns but only four out of their fourteen towns survived, and their population, like that of other native tribes, declined during the following century.

CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN

1783 – 1822

The problem of warfare again destabilised the Company's missionary endeavours in the 1770s. This time however it was not a racial conflict but a civil war within the British Empire, at the end of which the Company could no longer continue the work in New England. Initially the difficulties imposed by the war prevented the Commissioners in the colonies from meeting regularly to oversee the disbursement of funds for mission projects. The Court decided in April 1779 that they would send no more 'until the state of affairs in America shall admit of the meeting of the Company's commissioners'. The problem was compounded by the emergence of doubts about whether the New England Company were 'warranted by their Charter from the Crown in remitting money to New England so long as that Country continues in Arms against his Majesty and their fellow subjects'. They decided to withhold it until the 'restoration of order and good government', and stopped payments to the Treasurer by the end of 1780. In 1786, after the war had ended and the United States of America had come into being, the Company was advised by Counsel that it was unable, safely and legally, to 'exercise the Trusts of its Charter in any part of America which is out of the King's Dominions'. At the suggestion of Company Governor, Jasper Maudit, they decided to 'transfer the exercise of its Trusts to HM province of New Brunswick', and began seeking new commissioners the next month. They decided to stop payment to Harvard and William and Mary colleges in 1787. In 1789 they began considering a plan to found a new college in Frederickton, New Brunswick (though it remained only an idea).

Nor did the Company look to New Brunswick alone. Under the terms of the Dr Williams' bequest they were permitted to make grants to missions in the English Plantations in the West Indies too, though it seems that the Company had not made any attempt to start or support missions there before the move from New England. It is possible that they were supporting work in the West Indies as early as the late 1780s, though not until 1790 do the Company minutes record grants to the region. Between 1790 and 1792 over £1,000 was applied 'to the fund for the two missionaries in the West Indies'; another £1,300 also went to Harvard. They continued to apply similar amounts through the rest of the decade though, again, it is difficult to be sure whether this meant that the Company was already active in the Caribbean or that a fund was being built up for later work. The fact that Methodist and Moravian missions, which the Company later provided with support, were active in the West Indies from the 1790s suggests that the Company might indeed have been sending money at this time. But even these initial payments to the Caribbean were disrupted in 1793 by the creation of The Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, and it seems that the Crown petitioned the Lord Chancellor for the Boyle bequest to be applied through this charity instead of the New England Company.

Educational foundations in New England did not give up the Company's support without a fight. William and Mary College successfully sued for a final payment from the Company in 1796. Another suit was filed in Boston by Harvard College in the same year as the William and Mary decision, to try and get the money from the Boyle and Dr Williams trusts. The grounds were that the Company had not fulfilled the terms of the bequests. The repercussions of the War, and the Company's response to it, continued. The dispute with Harvard was not settled until 1808 when, after the suit bounced from one legal jurisdiction to another, a high court justice in London decided that the Company was correct not to have continued payment and that the accumulated funds – which they had been setting aside since 1785 – should now be applied to the conversion and assistance of Native Indians in the Canadian colonies and to work in the West Indies. There was only a limited amount of work carried out in the Maritime colonies or among the Mohawks during the 1790s due to these legal disputes, and to the difficulties of not having regular and settled systems in place.

British settlement of the Caribbean began during the seventeenth century, in competition with the French and Spanish colonists and their respective Crowns. Trade in sugar, rum, and slaves dominated the region, as did war, between 1660 and 1815. By the late eighteenth century the British possession of certain colonies like British Honduras had become an established fact, though challenges continued from rival European countries and, later, from revolutionary black slaves, Maroons and Caribs. The 'Amerindian' Caribs on the islands were already almost completely supplanted by black slaves by the time a diaspora of four to five thousand slaves (many of them Baptists) and their owners left America to settle in Jamaica in 1783.

The break with America was not a clean one however. They omitted to inform the Commission's Treasurer, Isaac Smith, of the decision at first, in a perhaps unintended error. They paid his outstanding debts and dealt with the missionaries on a case-by-case basis, compensating them – typically between £90 and £200 – and helping to tide them over while they tried to build new support.

The decision to break with the United States of America was also a break with the traditions of the Company. The resignation of the strongly pro-American member, Thomas Brand Hollis, in May 1788, apparently over the withdrawal of Company support from Harvard, was more than a tremor. The reconstruction of the Company's work in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was part of the general regrouping of the Loyalists in the remaining colonies where Charles Inglis – the first Anglican bishop in Nova Scotia – was implementing his 'Anglican design'. The Company could have done nothing else, given the opinion of Counsel, but it does seem that the dissenting tradition was gradually eroded during the next century. By the twentieth century the Company's support was almost wholly directed through Anglican bishops. The historic obligation to support evangelism has nevertheless remained steady.

NEW BRUNSWICK AND NOVA SCOTIA

The post-war climate remained tense and the Loyalist colonies were ruled largely by military officials throughout the period. When destitute Indians became a visible problem in the 1790s, the government investigators recommended against direct charity, preferring instead to offer inducements to those who ceased their seasonal migrations and started farming. Private charity continued however. By 1791 the Company was running three small schools in the Maritimes which were soon consolidated into one larger effort at Sussex Vale, New Brunswick.

As it had done in New England, the Company used senior colonial administrators for its agents. At their suggestion, a new school at Sussex Vale was set up in 1801. It was not long before significant controversy arose about how to educate the Indian children. In 1803 the commissioners fell out with each other over the issue of whether to let it be a day school rather than residential. The close-knit Indian families of the region were strongly opposed to their children being educated away from them and, in the opinions of the Commissioners, this reluctance made the school inefficient. The Company agreed to discontinue the work on the grounds that it was simply wasting money to keep a school open which was used so irregularly.

Late in 1805 one of the commissioners, Major-General John Coffin, wrote to inform the Court that the Indians had consented to let their children be bound out as apprentices, and that he had already managed to arrange for a boy and a girl to be placed in white families. Coffin wondered if the Indians would reconsider residential schooling if the school at Sussex Vale was repaired. By 1807 new arrangements were made and the work of 'instructing and civilising the children of the native Indians in those districts' was once again underway. This time the aim was to place the children in white families where they would be treated 'as fully members of such families' and to go to schools nearby to learn reading, writing and arithmetic, and some trade. The Company concluded that the key was to get children aged seven or eight into a new environment to break down the influence of the old ways. A report from New Brunswick suggested that, by closing the old school, the Company had made the Indians see the value of what they had lost so that they were now more co-operative. 'It is reported', noted a minute of 1807, 'that more has been thus effected in one year than in the whole period since the Charter was obtained'. This was a serious claim to make so early in the day and nemesis was not long coming.

The Sussex Vale school was re-established later that year with a husband and wife to act as 'schoolmaster and mistress, to reside and board with the children in the house', and a local clergyman to teach religious knowledge. The Company provided for 20 boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 12 to be boarded, clothed and lodged, and up to 20 to be apprenticed at the same time. The typical problem of unreliability emerged immediately when the Company learned that children were being apprenticed too young. They demanded a list of all students each year, with reports on their progress, to maintain some accountability. But in an age when communication and transport continued to be slow and dangerous, it was inevitable that accountability was limited. Grants for new work in New Brunswick were suspended in 1816 and the Company undertook support only for those things which it was committed to.

Perhaps one of these commitments was to James Paul, an Indian youth who was sent to England in 1818, aged 14, to be trained as a teacher, with the idea to return him to New Brunswick. He lived with Ward Chapman, the Company Treasurer, and attended day school before being sent on to the Company's village at Eriswell, Suffolk, as a boarder, to be apprenticed to a carpenter and builder. It appears to have been an experimental plan to revive the work using Native teachers. The timing of sending Paul to Britain suggests that the plan was aborted. But did sending him to England also suggest that the apprenticeship scheme extended beyond the Maritimes? Sadly the apprenticeship was cut short when he died after only two years and was buried in Eriswell.

In 1817 the Company began to look for a new set of commissioners. By the 1820s it was clear that the Sussex Vale academy was not merely a failure, but a disaster. The English settlers in the area were openly hostile to the Indians and this, doubtless, was one of the main reasons that the apprenticeship plan failed. Then disturbing rumours and reports began to filter back to London. The Company sent out investigators in 1822 and again in 1825 and was shocked by its findings. One local clergyman was sexually exploiting the schoolchildren and apprentices who were in his charge, more 'like a mad dog – after his prey – than a Clergyman in the habit of praying for things requisite and necessary'. He was the worst, but not alone. The Company cut off funding and closed it all down by the mid-1820s, withdrawing its support for the commissioners and all work in the region. No wonder there was hostility to Christianity among the Indians.

It was at about this same time, c1815-25, that the desire to transform Indians into fellow citizens, based on Enlightenment ideas of universal humanity, began to lose appeal, and the new thinking about cultural and racial distinctiveness began to take hold. Notions of radical difference, and the hierarchy of races, became common with the result that blacks and Indians were seen as theoretically inferior, due to the primitive state of their culture.

MISSIONS REFORMED

1822 - 1870

The stability of Canada had been in some doubt throughout the period 1787-1820, with border wars and skirmishes continually taking place. The military government in Canada differed little from British civil administration in its determination to act as peace-keeper between Indians and settlers. There was little interest in direct government of Indians, who were left to govern themselves. The only British claims of sovereignty which were made tended to be against claims made by the French or Spanish, rather than claims by the Indians. The uncertain post-war period in Canada came to an end around 1822-23 when colonial administration and institutions underwent a general reconstruction, which extended to private charities as well as government offices. The Company began a series of retrenchments which lasted until about 1870, and encompassed the reorganisation of the Company's administration and estates and the expansion of its support for the growing range of missions in the western British empire.

The transition from military to civil government was an important step, as was the establishment of new colonial bishoprics in Canada and the Caribbean. The annual meetings of the Court were often used as an opportunity to meet with one or more colonial bishops at a dinner, which provided the Company with important news of what works could be undertaken and how those already in hand were progressing. Perhaps in response to these meetings with the bishops an important shift in authority was made in 1828 when it was agreed that a missionary should take direction from his bishop 'in matters purely spiritual', and in all other matters take 'the direction of the Company'.

NEW MISSIONS TO THE SIX NATIONS

The closure of the Sussex Vale school coincided with this general reconstruction. The Company was already beginning to transfer support from New Brunswick toward the Six Nations in Upper Canada, to a mission in the Hudson's Bay region, and to further work in the West Indies.

The Missassauga Indians were a fishing and hunting people who had moved into the region at the western end of Lake Ontario at the end of the seventeenth century. Colonial government officials negotiated land from the Missassaugas which they hoped to give to the new Indian migrants, thus making them into a buffer between the English Loyalists who were coming north and the United States settlers and soldiers. The 200 followers of Chief John Desoronto, and a Six Nations group of 1,800 people following Tyendinaga, or Joseph Brant as he was known in English, were Iroquois who migrated from the United States to Canada in 1781. The Desoronto band accepted lands at the Bay of Quinte. However the Six Nations tribes, who had remained loyal to the British during the War, moved north to Canada for protection as much as anything. Led by Joseph Brant they settled in the Lake Erie region of southern Ontario where the British government made a grant of several hundred thousand acres along the Grand River, from Lake Erie to Brantford (named after Brant). Ominously, the Indians were deemed by the paternalist colonial government to have given up their lands to be let on their behalf; other land in Brantford was to be sold, on behalf of the Indians, to white people. The Company was against this as future sales and leases would obviously lead to a displacement of the Indians. And, indeed, the construction of the Welland Canal dam caused flooding in the region and the Delaware Indians migrated as a result.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 had been the foundation of policies toward Indians in both the US and Canada. It called for a separation of Crown lands open for white settlement from those reserved for Indians. Beyond the 'proclamation line' no whites were allowed to settle, nor land speculators to buy land from Indians. Only Crown representatives could purchase land from natives, and only when there were public meetings attended by the recognised leaders of the Indian tribes. Under this system the Indians had the right to use the land but not to sell or lease to anyone other than the Crown. Brant, however, thought that his acceptance of British land grants conferred sovereignty and recognition of autonomy of the Mohawks. He rejected the limitations imposed on the sale and lease of land and invited white farmers, millers and those practicing other trades to live with them, since he thought they would provide a good example for the tribe. Brant even granted land titles to them to induce them to come. Both the Mohawk conviction that they held sovereignty over the land and the fact that, within the English system, Brant had no legal right to grant lands, has formed the basis of contests over land title ever since.

In 1823 a court decision over a land dispute included a ruling that Indians were subjects of the Crown, like the French in Quebec, rather than, as the Mohawks claimed, a sovereign nation with the colony. Despite this, the Mohawks have persisted in the claim that they are allies of the Crown, and not subjects. But the decision weakened their legal position as a self-determining group. By the 1830s the Indians no longer served an economic or military purpose. They had been military allies and were treated with greater respect while the borders with America were uncertain, but once the need to develop Canada economically became paramount, the Indian refusal to sell land became an inhibitor of growth. One response was the stepping up of efforts to get them settled and trained in modern agriculture. It was the only way to protect them from being plundered or left behind economically.

From the 1820s onward, increasing efforts were made to induce the relatively nomadic Indian communities of Upper Canada to adopt sedentary agricultural practices and, at the same time, to try and instil economic improvement and a modern way of life through Christian educational institutions. Tribal leaders at this time had an important veto over whether to accept the work of missionaries or teachers in their midst, and whether to accept the progressive methods of English agricultural improvers. The churches and the government wished the Indians to settle for educational and economic reasons. Throughout the empire ideas of progress and improvement had become an article of faith.

Even before the colonial reconstruction of 1822-23 the Bishop of Quebec had written to the Company, in 1820, to ask for a grant to build up missions around Brantford in Canada West. The Company rapidly established work there during the next decade, buying lands and building churches, notably the Mohawk Chapel – the only chapel in North America to be a Royal Foundation. For many years to come the principal part of the yearly net income from the Company's estates and funds went to this mission to the Indians in Canada West. The Rev Robert Lugger arrived in 1827, commissioned by the Bishop of Quebec to superintend the composing and printing of a Mohawk grammar for the use of Indians and white missionaries alike. A new edition of the Mohawk prayer book followed. He visited all the tribes along the river. The Mohawk parsonage was built in 1828. Two schools had already been set up by the colonial government, one for whites, one for Indians. The Company had set up two others for Indians and began to establish other mechanics' institutes in 1830. A boarding and day school was opened in

1834 by the Rev Abraham Nelles to provide Six Nations children with instruction in farming, gardening and handicraft trades.

The Mohawk Institute was founded in 1829, and built in 1835 to educate and civilise children and, in particular, to provide them with vocational training which could help them compete in the new white man's world which was taking shape around them. Between 1834 and 1891 it was maintained at the sole expense of the Company. The Mohawk Institute received considerable notice in its time, probably because it was near the centres of white population and government in Canada. The school repays attention even now, though it was closed in 1965, as an early example of the techniques used in educating Indians, which later came to be used throughout the USA and Canada. But, like other schools of its kind, the Mohawk Institute was subject to the shifting conflicts and tensions which marked Native-white relations. Many schools like it were built in both Canada and America throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, with varying levels of success and failure. The fundamental problem for the schools was whether to integrate or separate the Indian community from the wider one. Integration tended to be the preferred option by this time, which took the form of a belief in the civilising mission of government, and of educational and missionary agencies.

The Indian Department, Methodists, Church of England and the New England Company all worked with the Six Nations along the Grand River to build and run schools and churches. In 1836 the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, thought that contact between the whites and Indians 'would always prove fatal to the Red Man'. He preferred a policy of removal and segregation to protect the tribes of Upper Canada, and tried to persuade the Six Nations to give up their present land and take over new land in Manitoulin Islands on the north shore of Lake Huron. Many tribal leaders readily co-operated with missions and government to build schools and churches and to build up farming in their community. But the most which could be said in favour of this gradual negotiation of lands away from the reserves was that it was undertaken to pre-empt pressure from white settlers, which helped to reduce violent conflict on the Canadian frontiers. Serious problems emerged with the policy anyway. The soil was bad on the new land and those who moved had already become farmers so that, no longer being nomadic hunters, they could not support themselves from the new land and between 1840 and 1856 the settlement dwindled to ninety-six people.

By the time of the Act of Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 there were twenty-one day and two manual labour schools serving Indians in Canada. The Bagot Report (1844) aimed to increase the consolidation of Indian village settlements, which would make it easier to restrict white squatters from taking over Indian land. It also reiterated support for plans to acculturate the Indians through the schools. The language issue, a persistent problem in New England as we know, was debated at length amount the whites, while Indian parents asked for instructors who could speak Native languages. The Indians at the Bay of Quinte offered to pay for the printing of textbooks in Mohawk to help their children learn. The limited success of the schools can be put down to conflict between white aims of assimilation and the Indian preference for their own languages. There is no question that Indian students learned much more quickly when instructed in their native languages as opposed to in English. But even if they had received the education they wanted, in the end the white settler community had little interest in hiring or doing business with them.

THE CARIBBEAN MISSION

When the Company was asked for its accounts by the Treasury Solicitor in 1823, the Company told them that Dr Williams' bequest had been used to evangelise 'the many Indians, Blacks and Pagans in Canada West, Jamaica, Demerara, St Christophers and Nevis'. Between 1787 and 1823 Bermuda and the West Indies had been part of the diocese of Nova Scotia. In 1824 new bishoprics were established at Jamaica and Barbados. (In 1883 the West Indies was constituted as its own ecclesiastical province.) The Church Missionary Society (CMS) began sending missionaries in 1823 and managed to take over the Methodist and Moravian schools, dismissing teachers who refused to conform to the established church – despite the opposition of the bishops to their tactics. The result of this was that school enrolments dropped from 2,000 to 39 students between 1824 and 1828.

1823 was also the year that the House of Commons passed its resolution that it was desirable to end slavery, which led directly to further pressure from Britain on the colonial governments to undertake ameliorative measures on behalf of the slaves, in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Jamaica, St Christophers and Nevis had been British throughout the period. Britain occupied Demerara in 1804. The 1808 court decision confirmed that the Company could use the revenues from Dr Williams' bequest – the Beckingham Hall estate – 'towards the advancement of the Christian religion among Indians, Blacks and Pagans in some or one of the HM Plantations and Colonies'. The end of legal wrangling over this bequest liberated these resources and was doubtless a spur to spending the accumulated income in the West Indies at the time.

Such a ministry was not as straightforward as it seems. The Jamaican House of Assembly had passed a law in 1806 prohibiting Christian teaching on the plantations, to placate the planters who opposed Christian work among the slaves, fearing a slave rebellion. Major rebellions in Barbados (1816) and Demerara (1823) contributed to making a less favourable mission climate after the antislavery motion of 1823. Colonial Office attempts to ameliorate conditions among the slaves by encouraging Christian instruction for them made a connection between missionary activity and the abolitionist cause, in the minds of the slave-owning planters. A decade of dogged resistance by slave-owning legislators finally hardened public opinion in Britain so that, in 1830-31, slavery came to be seen as a crime against God. The public demanded immediate abolition and the Emancipation Act was passed in August 1833 and took effect on 1 August 1834. To sugar the pill, the Act decreed that some former slaves were to work for their former masters as apprentices until 1840. But there were gross abuses of the apprentices and a campaign to end the system succeeded on 1 August 1838, a date regarded by many as the true end of slavery in Jamaica. But now, as free labourers negotiating in a market economy, wages dropped dramatically and prices and rents rose. The plantation economy was being replaced by mere poverty, a problem which persists, despite the gradual spread of liberty and equality in the islands.

Did the members of the Company and the West Indian missionaries they financed help to support slavery, oppose it or view it indifferently? The Puritan and Dissenting traditions of the New England Company aligned it with Abolitionist, on one hand; but since the move to New Brunswick, the Loyalist, Anglican profile of the Company had become stronger and the mercantile and financial connections of Company members might have given them reason to support the West Indian Planters and oppose Abolition. However, it is not at all clear that this was so and, because the Company supported non-Anglican mission societies as well, there is reason to think that they did not take sides politically.

The Company sent money to the islands throughout the period of the rebellions and, around the time of the abolition of slavery, the grants seem to have increased. Personal connections within the Company appear to have boosted support for work in the Caribbean. In July 1823 the Court considered a proposal which the Governor, William Vaughan, had made in March 1822 for applying funds to religious and moral instruction of Negros in Jamaica. They decided to give £500 for the work in Jamaica which was being undertaken by the Hon. Samuel Vaughan and John Apthorp Vaughan. Significantly, the Jamaican work began to decline, if slowly, after William Vaughan's resignation in 1832. Between 1823 and 1829, £8,300 was sent to the West Indies. But the grants then tailed off until, in 1840, there was a payment of £500, only £50 in 1841 and then nothing, apparently, until a small £20 grant was made in 1868. The 1871 Company history records however that grants were made totalling £3,500 between 1823 and 1829 and that, from 1829-39, Jamaica received £3,600. St Christophers, Nevis and the Virgin Islands received £1,300 each and the Society for the conversion of Negroes £1,800. Ecumenically the Company gave £200 to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Demerara and £200 to help establish the Baptist Station at Westmoreland, Jamaica in 1829-30. The Wesleyans were notably supportive of the established order in both England and the West Indian colonies, while the Baptist Missionary Society was suspected of stirring up rebellion, despite their open rejection of violence as a means. The Company's support of a Baptist mission at the height of the conflict over Abolition in 1830 can only suggest that the Dissenting alignment of the Court was still strong at that point.

RECONSTRUCTING THE ESTATES

The Company assets came under attack again in 1838 when a final attempt was made to recover the Bedingfield estates for the family by Joseph Hume, MP, who presented a petition to the House of Commons on their behalf. The House rejected the petition in light of a separate failed lawsuit of 1836, which had charged the Company with not applying the property and funds to the uses specified in its charter. In the wake of such lawsuits, petitions and inquiries, the Company decided to employ new accounting methods in 1839. New books were opened and a valuation of the Company's property in the UK and Canada were undertaken. Between 1839 and 1855 considerable alterations were made in the property by permanent improvements, planting, building and land purchases. They sold off a number of investments to purchase new land. This successful retrenchment of resources paid off quickly. In 1842, for instance, they were able to provide £1,897 for the Grand River mission station, £689 for the Rice and Chemong Lakes and £129 for the school at the Bay of Quinte. Payments to the West Indies were reduced considerably after 1830 but, even so, occasional grants of £50 were sent between 1840 and 1868.

The most radical change made in the Company estates was the decision to sell Eriswell in 1867. It has been described as one of the biggest mistakes made by the Company and, with hindsight, perhaps this is true since the land which was previously of little real value has been leased to the American airforce since the 1940s. But, at the time Prince Duleep Singh made his offer, which was well above market value, there were good reasons to off-load Eriswell and Mildenhall. There had been a long series of squabbles arising from the possession and administration of the lands. It was a 'complicated estate which requires much skill and attention in its management'. It had poor soil and there were constant disputes over poachers. The Charity Commissioners gave their permission after some negotiation with the Company and it was sold in 1869 for £120,000. The Company immediately converted this cash into real estate in Southwark in London and bought property in Canada to go with grants of land from the Canadian governor.

In Canada, in 1834, a grant of 1,120 acres was made to the Company in the township of Otonabee, at Rice and Chemong Lakes, for the benefit of Indian tribes in Upper Canada, 'with a view to their conversion and civilisation'. In 1836 another 1,600 acres was added in nearby Smith township, with other land grants for 360 acres in the Brantford region which were made up of 60 acres for the Mohawk mission school, 96 acres for the Oneida mission school, 100 acres each for the Onondaga and Delaware mission schools, and 4 acres of other small allotments. 70 acres were added in nearby Cramhe in 1837. Another 50 acres were added at Tuscarora in 1843 upon trust for promoting work among the Six Nations residing in the Gore and Niagara district. And in 1845 a grant of 220 acres was made in the township of Brantford 'for the use of the resident missionary of the Church of England doing duty among the Indians settled upon the Grand River', so long as the Company kept up a manual labour school for the use of the Six Nations Indians.

From 1840 most of the income resources from Britain were concentrated on Canada, though ad hoc grants were made for some unusual things. In 1869-70 £20 was given to Miss AM Braney for her Ladies West Indian Education Society at Swanswick, Jamaica, and £150 over three years was arranged for a young black man to train in medicine at Edinburgh. A grant made in the same year to the wife of the controversial Bishop of Natal, John Colenso, for her school for Zulu children in 1869-70, where a translation of the New Testament into Zulu by the bishop was the principal reading book, was stretching the terms of the Charter well beyond its limits. We can only assume that there was some unknown justification; perhaps it was related to work with former black slaves in Natal?

CANADIAN INDIAN POLICY AND MISSIONS

1870 – 1920

POLICY CHANGES IN CANADA

As a preliminary to the end of British government involvement in the colonial administration of Indian affairs, pressure to integrate Indians into the emerging Canadian state and society increased with the 1857 Act for the Gradual Civilisation of the Indian Tribes in the Canadas. This Act called for tribal assimilation into a different culture, to incorporate each individual into the larger society, and to do away with self-sustaining tribal communities that previous policies had tried to protect. The end of British government payments to Canada for gifts to keep Indian tribes loyal came in 1858, and in 1860 all control of Indian affairs passed to Canada.

From this time, the aim of education had to be preparation of individuals to survive in a market economy rather than to act in support of their tribal community, as in the past. The religious conversion of the individual, likewise, was seen as an end in itself and given priority over the shaping of the community. Thus, both for cultural assimilation and evangelistic purposes, schools began to focus on the technical and religious education and social discipline of each student.

Canadian planners decided that education was the best chance for merging Indians into general society, and industrial training schools became standard from the 1870s. The government made the education of all Indian children between seven and fifteen years compulsory, because the tribes were successfully resisting attempts to educate them. The disruption to family life, the un-Indian practice of corporal punishment, and the frequency with which job skills were taught by forced labour, were all off-putting. The Indian Department contracted with church groups to run schools for the Indians, which saved the state money. Prior to 1875 education had been a matter for private charity and missions; now, for the first time, the government gave a grant of $2,000 for Indian education. Up to 1875 the Grand River Six Nations' school received little or no money and suffered poor attendance. Although the two Wesleyan schools, the Mohawk Institute at Brantford and the various day schools which the Company ran, all offered classes that year, only 608 of the 1,583 children and young people attended any of them, even though the Mississaugas paid for two, and the Iroquois for one small school, and eleven of the sixteen teachers were Indians. The expansion of such schools between the 1870s and 1890s was not matched by a growth in competent staff and it was not entirely out of enlightened policies that Indian teachers were employed. Often the most experienced white teachers avoided the tribal schools because they paid only about half as much as the public schools and those white teachers who took up such posts often lacked qualifications to serve in ordinary county public schools, according to one inspector. The poor quality of schooling was not the only problem. In 1892, twenty years after it was made compulsory, less than 25% of Indian children attended school regularly. And yet, surprisingly, Indian chiefs and families often supported the schools and wanted their children to be educated, even at the cost of their family life. Many groups in western Canada preferred the church-run schools, but many Indian band councils objected to then and wanted the state to take them over. Even so, by 1910, 80% retained their connection to a denomination. Church-run, residential schools were preferred by both state and churches, partly because they were more cost-effective, but more because the influence of parents and other Indians could be minimised.

By the late 1890s some bureaucrats believed that the industrial schools were failing to root out the tribal customs which seemed to be holding the Indians back. Nevertheless, they amended the Indian Act to allow the use of force to get children off the reserves and into the residential schools, where they imposed English-only teaching, hair-cuts and European clothing and recreation. In the end, no legislation could cope with the fact that Canadian settlers usually wanted little to do with the natives, even if they were trained in trades, so there was little option but to return to the reserves where the young adults were unable to participate in either their Indian or acquired white culture.

It was possible that it was because the Company was flush with cash from the reinvestment of the sale of Eriswell that they decided to invest in new mission enterprises. Education continued in Ontario without much change, though the Indian Department began an annual grant in 1891 to support the Mohawk Institute. Otherwise the Company explored a miscellany of new efforts in the 1870s relating to agriculture and education. From 1870 to 1881 the missionary at Sarnia, Ontario, gave prizes to encourage agriculture among the Indians. Efforts were made in Saskatchewan in 1874 to set up a training school which, after brief initial success, failed due to lack of funds. From 1878 to 1881 annual £100 grants were made to the Bishop of Huron to set up a university for white and native students for the ministry of the Church of England in Canada, to be called the Western University of London, with a further grant of £21 in 1882 (the school is now Huron College at the University of Western Ontario). But the significant success story early in the twentieth century was on the Pacific Coast.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

By the 1870s the only significant population of Indians left in North America was in British Columbia. The land in western Canada had been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) who administered it for the Crown in a charter like the one granted to the East India Company up to 1858. And like the East India Company, the HBC policy had been to allow missions to white settlers, but not to Indians, since they felt that a cultural disruption of this kind could damage economic activity. However, it was not missions but the discovery of gold that overwhelmed the Indian tribes of the coast and interior of British Columbia. The surge of population from California, Australia, China, Boston, Texas, Spain, Mexico, the German states, France and Africa had overwhelmed the colony, previously made up of English, French Canadian and Indian fur traders and trappers. As the first Bishop of Columbia, George Hills, rightly saw, it was a colony unique in the world for its racial diversity in which very few were drawn from the mother country. Consequently there was almost no feeling for the Church of England there. It had 'been Americanized … and had lost its British habits and feelings', he wrote.

The story of missions to Indians in BC has been dominated by the pugnacious William Duncan of Metlakatla. Duncan had dealt with the malign influence of white men on Indian life by setting up a self-supporting community of Tsimshian converts near Fort Simpson on the north coast in the 1860s. It had one of the earliest salmon canneries on the coast, settled agriculture, a large church and Duncan, a layman, as magistrate.

The first school for Indians at Lytton was established by the Rev John Good in 1867. Lytton is a mining town which, like so much in BC, had come into being overnight, with the gold rush on the upper Fraser River. It was 'a cold, windy, unsheltered flat and the people are more alien than any place I have been in', claimed Bishop Hills. There was little local interest for building a church when he visited, either in 1860 or 1862. Good had moved from Victoria to Yale with his family in 1866 and was approached by the Indians from Lytton to come to live and work among them. A huge meeting of 500 met them when they came to Lytton and insisted they stay. Good began services in an unused barn in the town in June 1867 and started an Indian Boy's School in August. They had four hours of lessons in religious and secular study and an hour of industrial work each day, with plenty of time for play. The work was so successful that he began to think of opening a residential school for both sexes. But the mission was under-resourced and school lessons took place in the Mission House and the church building. Moreover, Good did not feel he had enough time to give to the school. Archdeacon Woods reported in 1869 that the mission needed a suitable site for the industrial training school and an assistant, with whom Good could share the work of travelling to other districts to extend the mission. Good remained until 1884 when he was replaced by Richard Small. In 1897 Small, who was devoted to the Lytton Indians, was made archdeacon of Yale and Superintendent of Indian Missions in the diocese. He also presided over the realisation of Good's idea for a school, with the help of the New England Company.

The New England Company provided earlier grants of £50 each for teachers in the Indian schools in Lytton and Cowichan (on Vancouver Island) in the 1870s, so there was already a connection when the Governor of the Company wrote to the Bishop of New Westminster in the late 1890s to see how it could help to extend the work. St Bartholomew's Indian Hospital had been built in Lytton in 1893 to provide more effective medicine for the Natives. The Bishop now advised that there was a need for an industrial school and, in June 1901, St George's, Lytton was opened.

Shortly before this, one Indian Affairs official observed that the western tribes were the most difficult to persuade to settle, or to educate, and raised doubts about the benefits to the Indian children of a formal education. But, notwithstanding such doubts in high places, in June 1899 the Assistant Secretary to the SPG and the Bishop of New Westminster urged setting up an industrial school for boys. The Company agreed to build the school for $8,000, plus $1,500 per year for maintenance of 50 pupils so long as the Canadian government paid the capitation grant. The foundation of the school cost $12,000 for building and another $12,000 for land for the school and a farm. Another $6,000 was spent on the chapel in 1906. The new school was organised along the same lines as the Mohawk Institute, and the many other Industrial schools.

A school at Yale had been built by the Church in 1884, at the request of Indian parents who offered to help with their own money. Then followed the building of All Hallows Indian Girls' School in 1888, which was provided by the Anglican religious sisters of Ditchingham, Norfolk, who sent out several of their number to oversee it. The school was divided into white and Indian branches and continued this way until 1915 when finances forced the white school to close. The New England Company immediately offered to take All Hallows over to Lytton, but this was only done some years later.

The initial moves for a coastal mission were made in 1878 when Rev Robert James Roberts came to Vancouver Island from the Mohawk Station at Cayuga, and settled in 1880. The Company bought a farm on Kuper Island in the next year, which was the only land not owned by the Salish tribes, where he built a school house for education and worship. In 1882 the Company bought Roberts a small sail boat to enable him to visit the islands of the Straights of Georgia.

Colonial bishops had by now replaced the old system of delegating to Commissioners in the expansion of mission work to new places. But there were exceptions to the rule and one of lasting importance was the grant of £300 provided by the Company to help found the New Westminster Theological College in 1905. This established a relationship which has continued with the successor institutions, the Anglican Theological College and, since 1973, the Vancouver School of Theology – a centre with a strong, ecumenical program of Native Ministry Training.

RECONSTRUCTION AND CRISIS

1920 – 1945

In the wake of the Great War in 1919-20 the New England Company was faced with a crisis in its income from property and investments. The fall in land values was reducing its income dramatically and the purchasing power of the pound had been reduced 50% by rapid inflation, exchange rate problems and the de-coupling of the pound from the gold standard. The present costs of commodities in Canada was high. The Company had to 'effect considerable economies in administering the income'. They could not sell off capital to spend on running costs and there was no money held in reserve, since the policy had always been to spend all annual income. The Company felt it had no choice but to close down the schools in Lytton and Brantford, unless the Ministry of the Interior could help. They could not.

At the same moment two different crises struck the schools in Brantford and Lytton, which led to each being prised from the control and subsequently from the ownership of the Company. Negotiations and debates followed about the possibility of the Canadian Church taking over all the missions in Canada supported from England. It was suggested that the Company give over the churches and missions which they ran in the Six Nations reserves to the Diocese of Huron. The Diocese of Huron, for its part, wanted the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada to take it on instead, on the principle that all Indian work ought to be centralised in the MSCC. They agreed to do so in October 1920 and the bishop returned to Huron, only to find that the running of the Mohawk school was already taken over by the government. He reasonably concluded that the Company had agreed to it without informing him. In fact, the Court was amazed to learn of this *coup d'école*.

The 1899 Charter was a major revision of the terms under which the charity operated. Previously, the Company was restricted in the uses to which its monies could be put; now it was free to apply the income from investments to any work it thought fit, which enabled the Company to expand its work in British Columbia. Many resources were now directed to work at Lytton, and on the Pacific Coast. But even with the new flexibility, not every request for assistance was permitted under the terms of the Company Charter. In 1932 a letter from a missionary at Whitefish Fall received a favourable response, while a request by the diocese of Algoma for a grant to the Manitoulin Islands mission was turned down because it would not benefit Natives. The Garden River mission in Algoma, where the Company was interested in reviving their old mission station, was considered, but had to be shelved on account of the lawsuit over lands in Brantford. In 1935 the Diocese of Edmonton began receiving grants for its mission at Frog Lake to help pay for a teacher and the expenses of visiting priests.

The Company was not only more active in seeking out projects to support in the 1930s, but began to take more care of the records. Part of the reason for doing so was the protracted property disputes at Brantford and Lytton, which demanded recourse to the records to identify title to lands and buildings. The title deeds to land in Lytton could not be found, which made the unsatisfactory state of the records even clearer. The new Clerk was told to see to the ordering of the records, an urgent matter by 1937. The Company records were deposited in the Guildhall Library, London, in 1953 after abortive negotiations to place them with the SPG and the Essex Record Office.

The idea of setting up a separate Mission committee was proposed in late 1937 by Professor SRK Glanville. He expressed concern that the Company had got into a habit of postponing decisions over grants, and that the Court were inclined to consider the means before the end in dealing with Canadian missions. Would it help to set up a system to deal with applications for money? There was a Farms Committee; why not a Mission Committee, who could advise the Court on the requests from the Bishops? There was general agreement that the idea of a Mission Committee was a good one, and that they should be empowered to inquire of the bishops as to the details of new projects, and to draw up lists of pros and cons of each request to be presented to the Court. However, war intervened before this committee was able to make much progress.

INDIAN MILITANCY

Though the Canadian population remained stable, there had been a dramatic relative decline in the proportion of Indians to the whole population, from ten per cent to one per cent, between 1812 and 1851. But between 1880 and 1914 there was a catastrophic collapse in the real numbers of Native Indians in North America, and it became standard opinion that as a race they were simply going to fade away. The ideas of Social Darwinism, that the indigenous peoples of the earth represented a childhood stage of humanity which was passing, created a sense of passive inevitability about the crisis. The Canadian government began to reduce programs for Indians drastically so as to put more into the war effort. And yet, without any obvious cause, there was a turn in the fortunes of the tribal populations by the early 1920s.

The Great War was an important moment for the tribes. Possibly as many as 35% of Indian men joined the army before the 1917 Draft legislation, and the Mohawks, asserting their long-maintained tribal sovereignty, and the values of a warrior society, had their own battalion of 350 men. Upon returning from the war the Indian nations began to organise politically. There had been sporadic and localised attempts to do so since the 1870s, but this was a new, national level of action, mostly originating from BC and Ontario tribes.

The war was a moral watershed for the civil service, for it instilled a habit of ignoring tribal rights and treaties. In early 1918 government agents used ‘force, bribery, intimidation and outright fraud' to force the Blood Indians in Alberta to sell 90,000 acres of land. This new, more high-handed approach showed in the manner with which the New England Company schools in Brantford and Lytton were manoeuvred away from Company control and into the hands of Indian Affairs. The threat of communist agitation in the 1920s made governments nervous, and Indian Affairs sent spies and encouraged local agents, teachers, missionaries and even local law enforcement officials to make reports on Indian associations, and inform them of any sun-dances or potlatches.

By the 1920s the Industrial schools were clearly failing to meet the goal of socialising Indian leaders into white culture. Controversy continued over the enforced use of English over Indian language teaching. Teachers again complained that the large number of different languages spoken by the Indians made the task too difficult and expensive. Others condemned this as 'an argument of laziness at the expense of the best interests of the child', calling instead on schools to 'help the tribal people retain their cultural symbols, religious ideals, and group crafts', because it was 'monstrous and unchristian to teach children to despise their parents and culture'. There was no solution. They could not be brought into white society, however assimilated they were, and educating them merely alienated them from their tribal life. In the terms they had set themselves, there was no solution. The government started closing schools.

SIX NATIONS LAWSUIT

Post-war financial problems meant that the Company was open to the idea that the Diocese of Huron, the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) or Indian Affairs should take over running the Mohawk Institute. After some confusion and misunderstandings, the government took on the building in 1921 with a 21-year lease, with $1,000 a year to be paid to the Principal by the Company. The site and fabric of the chapel were to be handed over to Indian Affairs, with the Company paying the chaplain as a condition of keeping the right to appoint him. Controversy emerged quickly, as the legal conveyance was prepared.

The Six Nations Mohawks had employed AG Chisholm, KC in 1919 in their bid to claim tribal sovereignty within Canada. Chisholm failed to convince the government, but he continued working on sovereignty and land claims matters for the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs, and brought a suit against the New England Company in October 1928. He was determined to get all lands and buildings owned by the Company for the Indians and to recover investment income from the Company. The case was based on a serious flaw in the 1836 title to the 360 acre land grant known as the Mission School lots. There was no record of a formal surrender of the land by the tribe. Indian Affairs superintendent, Duncan Scott, suggested that the Company settle out of court by abandoning their own claim to the land, and hand over to İndian Affairs the capital sum they had invested, which was the balance of proceeds from the sales of these lands, and that loss of income to the Company be offset by reducing their grants to the Mohawk Institute. In return the Indians were to be asked to abandon their claims. Misunderstandings were an important part of the trouble. Chisholm was scathing in his submissions, accusing the Company of deliberately withholding information, an affront which did not incline them to accommodate his views. In a subtly worded letter, Scott defended him as someone who 'appears to have gone into the situation with some care'. It is difficult to conclude other than that Duncan Scott was conducting a campaign to acquire the properties and money for his Department, which raises questions about the true reasons for his demanding the resignation of the Principal of the Mohawk Institute in 1929 on the grounds that he was not giving proper attention to the school.

Reporting from Montreal on their trip to Ontario in 1928, Company members JB Chubb and Major FR Bush noted that 'had the Company been able to send out more frequent deputations from England', say every two or three years, 'much of the present friction with the Indians might have been avoided'. One of the clergy was hostile to the Mohawk Institute, and probably caused a lot of hostility to the Company among the Indians. Chubb and Bush discovered that the Mohawks thought they were a trading company in which anyone could buy shares, and also that they were making money out of holding Indian lands. In short, it seemed to the Natives that the Indians were helping the New England Company and not the Company the Indians.' It began to seem sensible for the Company to consider selling the Mohawk Institute to the government on the same terms as St George's, Lytton, had been sold the previous year.

Judgement in the case was finally entered in 1934, and the Company agreed to pay the $31,441 claim to Indian Affairs, together with thirty months interest of $3,537. (The costs of the suit not included.) But the conveyance of lands was not made and the plan to hand them over to the Diocese of Huron was postponed until all other matters in dispute with the Indian Affairs had been resolved.

CRISIS AND GROWTH ON THE WEST COAST

The appointment of the Rev. Louis Laronde as Principal at Lytton in 1918 turned out to be a short-lived and disastrous example of the typical problem of finding reliable, stable people for such under-valued work as education in an isolated missionary school. He had already stained his career with a failure at La Pas, as the Department of Indian Affairs later informed the Company. Coming into Lytton he had the added strain of a crisis in funding from London, which persisted past the time he left in 1921.

The first warning that something was wrong came not long before the denouement. Word reached the Court that there had been a serious breach of trust in Laronde's handling of the school accounts. Then the archdeacon of Lytton dropped a bombshell in a letter of April 1921, in which he informed the Court that Laronde had been accused of 'gross familiarity' by a number of Indian girls, that the family of one girl had named him as the father of her child, and that others had accused him of persistent drunkenness. Surprisingly, Laronde admitted to it all, though he denied paternity. The archdeacon dismissed him on the spot, but because he thought it did not concern them, did not inform the Department of Indian Affairs of the reason. He covered up the scandal, as was the usual way of dealing with abuses at the time, and for the usual reason that it would damage the name of the school. But did his concealment reveal something important about his knowledge of the Department of Indian Affairs?

Indian Affairs moved in almost immediately and took over the running of the school. In 1922 a twenty-one year lease was signed, similar to the one arranged the previous year at Brantford, with the Principal – who had to be an Anglican priest, or be prepared to take orders - to be appointed by the Department, and approved by the New England Company. The Company left it to Indian Affairs to collect the $1,800 in debts which Laronde owed to them, through his misappropriations from the school. (Laronde, in an astonishing letter to the Company later that week, told the Company he had had a 'nervous breakdown', had moved to the coast and bought a cottage with an orchard, and wondered if they could help him pay off his debts.)

The archdeacon of Lytton viewed the government servants with considerable mistrust, and thought that by having their agent undertake the audit of the school they would manipulate the situation in favour of the government and at the expense of the Company. The fact that the New England Company was involved in a series of misunderstandings, suits and conflicts with Indian Affairs over Mohawk land claims in Brantford at the time cannot have helped. And it does seem that Duncan Scott was quietly trying to wrest control away from the charity while continuing to have them pay for the school, as part of a devious cost-cutting exercise in the 1920s.

The Indian Affairs auditors told the Company that the school buildings were unsafe, did not conform to rules for fire safety and were run down. They offered to take over the freehold, which the department had already leased in 1922. The Bishop of Cariboo and the Company's legal advisor in Kamloops approved. The covenant condition was that Indian Affairs was to keep it in use to educate Indian children in the doctrine of the Church of England. The turmoil continued into 1924-25, three years after AR Lett had been appointed Principal. The Company estimated that it had cost S12,500 but would accept a lower figure in view of the repairs made by the government. Duncan Scott wanted very much to buy St George's but found he lacked sufficient money in his department in 1926. The Company continued to search for ways to sell. When Duncan Scott came up with the money the following year, they struck an agreement that the school would be sold on the condition that it continued to be used for the education of Indian children, with the Anglican catechism as part of their education, and that the

Company would have a veto over the appointment of the Principal. After all the costs were tallied and transfers were completed, one consequence of the Grand River and Brantford settlement with Indian Affairs was that the grant to St Georges, Lytton, had to be reduced from $1,200 to $1,000, owing to loss of income.

Away from the machinations at Lytton, the Archbishop of New Westminster responded to a query from the Company in 1926 by suggesting they might help to found a school in Kingcome Inlet. There were fifty families of Tsimshian Indians in the Inlet, 800 miles across the straights from Alert Bay where there was already a Church of England hostel, a radio station and an Indian village. There were thirty to forty children of school age, but no school. They wanted to apply to the government to help pay for a teacher there. There was already a successful hospital set up in Kingcome, and the tribal chief was now less hostile to Christianity than he had been. The Archbishop estimated that the cost of sending a missionary couple would be $1,600 for a year. The Company sent $1,213.

The reports of Miss Eleanor Westbury, a deaconess, and Marion Birch, describe the teaching mission at Kingcome Inlet. Birch wrote with suggestions for assistance. 'We have often thought how wonderful a magic lantern would be for our evening services. The pictures would tell so much that they cannot understand from us.' She then told the story of her first week in the settlement. 'We went a good many miles winding in and out among the mountains. The scenery was simply glorious, and so interesting to go with an Indian who understands nature so wonderfully, and one could see loves it all so much. He caught a beautiful salmon which we cooked over the fire for dinner.' Miss Westbury went to Kingcome in March 1927 and, having set up a school there, moved with the tribe to its summer fishing ground at Charles Creek in June to set up another one. Reference in the 1932 report of the 'Lady Missioner' to Kingcome Inlet to the Indian custom of 'potlash' prompted a question about what the custom was. The fact that potlatches had been illegal for years may be the reason the members of the Company did not know - but equally, it suggests that a general increase in attention to the missions in the 1930s was rekindling interest in the coastal mission as well.

THE WEST INDIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Similar expansions of mission work were undertaken through the dioceses in the West Indies during the interwar years. In 1924 the Bishop of Jamaica was using money to support a west African clergyman working in Frankfield, where the terminus of a new rail line was to be built. The Company was very keen on the project, as more information came to them, and the church of St Bartholomew at Frankfield was consecrated in 1931. The same year, the mission church in Belize, British Honduras, was ruined in a hurricane. The Company wanted to discuss the needs of the Honduran mission with the bishop who happened to be in London at the time.

In 1933 the Bishops of Jamaica and Honduras agreed with the Court that there would be merit in supporting outlying districts rather than settled areas, to begin building chapels, schools and stations with support spread over a number of years. Ideally, money should be raised locally. Standard grants were now being made for £100 a year, and another of £50 for each of three years to help rebuild the Moore Town mission.

The Bishop of Jamaica gave an account of two missions which the Company was supporting in 1935, and during the meeting consideration was given to creating a New England Company scholarship to be tenable at Kingston College in place of a grant requested by the College. This was approved at £12 per year, and with the condition that it should have a specific religious content attached. The Company was anxious that the religious knowledge required should ‘be rather one of practical Christianity than as leading to any particular sectional view of religion.' The nomination was to be in the hands of the bishop, and one scholar to be elected each year, so that there should be up to four scholars concurrently. A new idea in the diocese of Antigua was sending an ordinand for training in England at Durham University. The Company wanted to assert the importance of working within and through the church, and sent the money as a grant to the diocese of Antigua, which then disbursed it.

Limited contact during wartime resulted in some perhaps understandable misuse of resources. The Archbishop of the West Indies was given a grant of £100 for each of four years from 1939 to 1942 to build St Michael's College for negro boys at Belize. It came to the Company's attention that the school chapel was being used as a science laboratory classroom in 1946 which, since it was meant to be an Anglican foundation, raised doubts about whether the religious character of the school was being supported. Converting the chapel back again, a condition of future grants, was quickly undertaken.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Inevitably the Second World War restricted mission work. Payments continued freely in the West Indies, but the Defence (Finance) Regulations made it more difficult to send money to Canada, and placed a moratorium on new projects. The Canadian government withdrew support from many programs on the reserves. Both British and Canadian governments wanted to make use of Company land. An oil company wanted to start drilling in Brantford, but the Company refused permission.

The Company persisted in its missionary work, and treated Indian Affairs as its agent in Canada, asking them to submit periodic reports about the progress of the Mohawk Institute and St George's, Lytton, which had been standard practice under the previous administration. In 1943 they wrote to the Company proposing arrangements for religious instruction at Brantford by the priest at the Mohawk Chapel, who the Company would pay for. The Principal wrote to say that he was disappointed that the Institute was 'to be taken over by the Department as he felt that this might interfere with the religious atmosphere' there. The issue was canvassed in a series of letters between the Company, the MSCC, Indian Affairs and the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources in 1944-45. And it does seem that there was some sharp practice on the part of Indian Affairs, sowing confusion over who was meant to have the lease from the Company. The Primate thought the government should carry on with running the school. But in 1946 Indian Affairs expressed itself unwilling to accept the terms of the lease, which was renegotiated in 1947. The end of the war was the end of any effective control or influence over either school by the New England Company.

In Britain, a good farm at Manston in Kent was compulsorily acquired in 1939 for an RAF airfield. The Southwark property in London was damaged, then destroyed in the Blitz. The Company nearly took a lease on a building near St Paul's, but decided to remain in Bloomsbury in December 1939, thus narrowly missing having the offices blown up in October 1940. The laconic entry of 1 October 1940 that 'It has been decided by the Governor and Treasurer that in present circumstances it will be advisable to postpone the next meeting of the Court for the time being' speaks volumes.

PARTNERS IN MISSION

1945 - 2001

Today, the support provided by the New England Company makes up only a small part of the total missionary effort of the Anglican Communion. The role and the mission of the Company continues to be to support evangelism among the Native Indians of North America and among the inhabitants of the Caribbean islands, but the ways of carrying it out have been reshaped by the emergence of the Communion and the devolution of ministry and authority during the post-war years.

The Lambeth Conference was important to the Company in the later nineteenth century, when travel and communication were still slow and sometimes dangerous, and greater ease of travel in the twentieth century has not lessened its value. It is an opportunity for the Governor and Court to hold a reception for the bishops, and to broaden their own understanding of the mission efforts and the needs of the Indian people of the Canadian, and of the multi-ethnic people of the Caribbean dioceses. Following the 1948 Lambeth meeting, the 300th Anniversary was commemorated, on 20 July 1949, with a special service in the private chapel of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the order of service was sent out as well to all diocesan beneficiaries, to help build awareness of the extent of the Company's work. To commemorate the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, the Company sent out prayer books and bibles. The observance of each anniversary was symbolic of the transition from the old system of church and state, mission and empire, to the modern systems of the Anglican Communion and the Commonwealth.

The Company did not always have much information on the local Context of ministry until the early 1980s. Much of the reason for this was the distance, time and expense involved in travelling. To help compensate, some people with experience of the missions in the West Indies and Canada were made members of the Company. The institution of annual returns from the bishops, which made it much clearer how money was being used, also provided an up-to-date picture of the mission fields. (The system has now been modified so that grants are given for proposals, in line with best practice in the charity sector today.)

The core of the New England Company has always been hard-headed men of the law, finance and business, people who are well entrenched in the City of London who understand the best and worst uses of power and money. But in addition to being acute and worldly-wise, they have also usually had a deep concern for the spread of the gospel, and soft hearts for the poor and alienated peoples of North America and the Caribbean. Dryly as the Court Minutes sometimes read, close attention to them shows the humanity of the members, occasionally in a tersely worded minute, a report about misuses of the funds by irresponsible overseas administration, or the abuse of both money and people. Equally often, there are expressions of regret and condolence, or gratitude for work well done. Recognition that misunderstandings will be inevitable at such distances is evident, and every allowance has normally been made for this. But incompetence, deceit and negligence were never tolerated, when once they came to light.

One of the most delicate problems in the missionary dynamic is the relationship between the missionaries on the field and those who provide the money for them from ‘home'. The missionaries in the field know the local needs, and sometimes find frustration dealing with far-off metropolitan committees. A committee, on the other hand, has to keep an eye on the long-term viability of the finance underlying the mission, and sometimes balance the funding needs of missions against each other, and wonder what on earth is being done overseas. Christian charitability is needed to keep even the most Christian of charities running well.

MISSIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN SINCE 1945

By 1945 the income from the investments in land and gilts was so low that most of what was not already committed to the Six Nations was spent in the West Indies. In the 1960s, when incomes improved, discussions were held at the instigation of Canadian bishops to consider increasing the share of the grants given to the West Indies, where the church was not so wealthy. Some adjustments were made, and the present balance of resources between Canadian and West Indian dioceses is roughly 55:45.

The Company continues its support for work in Jamaica, Barbados, Nassau and the Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, the Windward Islands, Belize, Guyana, and the North East Caribbean and Aruba (including Antigua, St Kitts and Nevis, Montserrat, Guadaloupe and Dominica). The climate has always been a problem for repair and upkeep of buildings, as hurricanes and humidity, dry-rot and termites destroy in their different ways. The prevalent use of wood has meant that the churches, rectories and other buildings have to be rebuilt or repaired regularly. The dispersed and under-resourced nature of the West Indian dioceses has produced innovative ways of meeting their great diversity of educational needs. Codrington College, now part of the University of the West Indies, receives Company support for the New Testament lecturer, and funding for students to train for the priesthood. Other local and regional education programmes train young people for future ministry as clergy and youth workers. Pastoral and retreat centres have figured in grants during recent years, as has the much-valued preaching institute at Trinidad. And perhaps not the least of all in usefulness has been a grant for a motorcycle for one priest to make his rounds.

CONFLICT AND CONSTRUCTION IN CANADA SINCE 1945

The Canadian government was clearly getting the best of the arrangements regarding the Mohawk Institute, paying nominal rent while the Company paid £200 to £300 in fire insurance each year by 1949. The Company soon put a stop to this. There was further conflict with Indian Affairs over ownership of Lot 47 in Lytton in 1954. The 1927 agreement was supposed to exclude Lot 47 from the conveyance. The suicide of Major Busk, the Charter Clerk, in 1936 left the affairs of the Company 'in a considerable mess', and portentiously, the Deeds to the farm Lot 47 in Lytton had been lost. In the BC Land Register Indian Affairs was listed as the owner. The Company's only rights lay in the covenants entered into by Indian Affairs to 1) use the property as a school for Indian children, and 2) request Company approval for the person appointed as its Principal, to ensure that the children were trained in the beliefs of the Anglican Church.

Still stranger moves were afoot in 1956. An earlier straw in the wind was a 1948 note from Canon Hives, Principal of St George's, Lytton, to the Company, informing them that it was getting difficult to find suitable helpers for the school. The Court took the practical view that it was a matter which could only be dealt with by the responsible authorities in Canada. A further letter from the Principal in 1956 informed the Company that the man being considered as his replacement for the Principalship was wholly unsuitable. He was a former principal of a residential school who had disappeared without notice, leaving his wife to carry on without him, and had been traced to South Africa only in 1954. The Company, without having been fully apprised of these facts, had already approved his appointment at this stage. An awkward confrontation was pre-empted when the man disappeared into the Yukon territory a few weeks later. Hives agreed to stay on another two years.

The Department of Indian Affairs caused yet more trouble by not forwarding a £1,100 grant which the Company sent to Lytton in the same year. They went on to appoint a new man in 1959 without consulting the Company, who made no protest at the time, but discontinued any grant or connection with the school thereafter. Indian Affairs wrote to the Company to tell them that they had no lawful right to be consulted about the appointment of the new Principal since the agreements of 1922 and 1927, in which the Company sold St George's school, on the condition that they be given the right to refuse the government choice of a principal. The Company had protested at not being consulted over the dismissal of Canon Hives. Company disapproval of Indian Affairs' failure to consult over appointments, and not abiding by the covenant to keep it as an Indian school, was expressed in a minute as late as October 1980, by which time Indian Affairs had proposed to transfer ownership of the land to the Lytton band, and had already closed the school in 1979 without the knowledge of the Company. The government refusal to allow the Company a say in the governing of the school suggests that dragging them into the lawsuit as correspondent over the Lytton case in the 1990s was not well informed, historically.

Although the 1958 reallocation of resources from Canada to the Caribbean was limited, the diocese of New Westminster had already committed itself to speed up the process of taking over the Columbia Coast mission. Company funds were therefore redirected to build a Mission House at Kingcome Inlet, where there had been a mission for some decades. But there were problems with the idea of a major revision in the apportionments. Despite the 1899 Charter which allowed the Company to disburse funds in whatever way it saw fit, the Brantford investments continued to be regarded by the Company as a trust to provide for the needs of the Six Nations, from the sale of whose lands the investments had come. Although neither diocese was a 'missionary diocese' any longer, it was felt there was a 'moral obligation' to continue grants to the Six Nations at Brantford, in the diocese of Huron, and at Desoronto, in the diocese of Ontario. There was a limit to the resources which could be given to the other Canadian Indian works. Then new government Indian policies in 1960 began to give the Church concern, for the question arose whether, if the state began to move groups of Natives to new lands, the church would need to build new churches and schools for them. Perhaps the money was needed after all.

The problem of urban poverty became a defining category for thinking about social order in academic and policy circles in the 1970s, and the now left-leaning establishment of the Canadian church was increasingly sensitive to it. The Liberal government formulation of official multiculturalism as a policy brought the issue of racism into the foreground too. In 1978 the Archbishop of New Westminster wrote to the Company about work which they were undertaking in Vancouver to ameliorate the condition of Indians who had moved into the city. In 1979 Brigadier Vaizey suggested that the Court should look into the drift of Indians into large cities where they might lose their identity and community. The Court sought further information from the mission societies, and the Anglican Church of Canada sent in its Report on the subject. The Company was beginning now to get up to speed with the rapidly changing mission environment in Canada. It showed that not only were Indians living under the poverty line, but that the unemployment rate was 65%. In response, innovative new missionary efforts were made in the Province of Rupertsland, especially in projects in Winnipeg. The Company decided to make an immediate special grant of £500 to the Archbishop of Athabasca to support this experiment.

The inclusion of the Inuit in the legal definition of *Indian* by the Canadian government posed a difficulty for the Company. From time to time bishops were presenting reports which indicated they were using grants to help Inuit people. When, with their hearts in the right place, the diocese of Rupertsland gave $5,000 to the diocese of the Arctic, a painful misunderstanding resulted. It helped to clarify the issue, that it was not permissible within the letter or even, arguably, within the spirit of the trust under which the Company operated to provide for missions to the Inuit. And without doubt, caution had to be exercised in relation to grant-making, since the Company had repeatedly and falsely been charged with misapplication of funds or failing to keep to the terms of its Charter, as grounds for trying to wrest the investments away from it. Despite the worthiness and desirability of helping the Inuit, who fully participate and are identified with the broader community of First Nations in Canada, it was impossible to countenance using the grants for work among the Inuit. Unless the legal position of the trusts was protected there was a chance that all work would be damaged, and providing for the Inuit, sadly, put this at risk. Nevertheless, after consulting with the Bishop of the Arctic, the Company felt able, with reservations, to continue the grant to the Arthur Turner Training school at Pengnirtung, on the basis that it was used to train Indians.

Changes in the leadership of the Canadian church in the 1970s resulted in a changed emphasis of the ministry to Native people. Whereas in the past, the bishops had requested funding for the needs of their physical plant (churches, schools and so on), this had been within a colonial context where building was an unavoidable expense. Now, with the infrastructures and property established, a combination of inflation, gradually reducing incomes, and a tailing off of church membership, made it more important to consider the efficient use of the remaining resources. Education was always at the heart of evangelism. Now the ways in which that education took place changed. The Canadian church began to focus resources on the training of Native clergy and lay people to carry on the work within their own communities. The educating of Indian teachers in the 1950s and 1960s was intended to create a primary level of support and leadership in the community, and by the 1970s lawyers and doctors were returning from university to their people too. The work done by the church to educate the Natives acted partly as a model for the state, and partly took its cue from the state in extending and devolving skill and authority to indigenous leaders. The New England Company began providing more support for work of this kind as the bishops set up new programs and installed officers to oversee Native ministry within their diocese. In 1988 the Company gave $50,000 to support the first National Convocation of all Native Ministries, held in Saskatchewan. This important meeting of 180 Native Anglican Canadians from across the country to 'celebrate their common faith and identity and to name common concerns' helped clarify and publicize a number of issues on which white and Indian Anglicans have worked together through the 1990s to resolve. Nevertheless, it has not been a wholly smooth passage.

The Mohawk revolt of summer 1991 in Quebec had been simmering for some time, and set off a chain reaction. Two events in 1992 stoked the fire. Stephen Lewis, the Canadian ambassador to the UN, published a report to the government of Ontario in which he called Canada a 'systematically racist nation'. That the charge was inaccurate hardly need be said, but that it had an effect on the tone of public debate - as it was surely intended to - cannot be doubted. The Charlottetown Accord, a desperate attempt to get some kind of agreement on a set of contradictory principles which were supposed to encompass the claims of Quebec, Native Indians, and accommodate various racial and gender-related issues, ended up by alienating everyone. Now all social, cultural and racial groups had grounds for believing that the ‘majority’ in the country rejected them.

The implementation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 was another ticking bomb, which shifted power from the legislative to the judicial branch of the constitution, and encouraged lawsuits instead of lobbying. Archbishop Michael Peers' 1993 apology to the First Nations for the Anglican Church's role in running the residential schools has been criticised for opening the church up to lawsuits. This is hardly a credible view, not least because the church's legal counsel had advised that an apology would not provide grounds for such suits. Nevertheless, the protracted conflicts in which the New England Company has been embroiled during the 1990s have been a consequence of the more general reawakening of native Indian communities - and lawyers - to the potential claims to be made.

The Company sold the Mohawk Institution to the Canadian government in 1965 and has had little to do with it since. However, in 1998, a suit was brought by twelve Indians, on behalf of themselves and others, against the Canadian government and the Diocese of Huron, claiming substantial damages for ‘breach of fiduciary duty, negligence, assault, and cultural abuse’. The Anglican Church of Canada and the New England Company were joined as co-defendants in October 2000, apparently at the request of lawyers acting for the Diocese of Huron. This case and the suit over St George's, Lytton, have been the focus of intense media attention, bringing to a head many serious issues of the treatment of the First Nations people within Canada, by both church and state, and challenging claims about Canada as a multicultural and tolerant society.

The result has been a siphoning off of very large amounts of money from charitable endeavours, which would have benefited the needy in the native community, into the costs of defending the estate of the Company against lawsuits. It is a repetition of an old theme, that the Company's resources come under attack in unstable times. There is no way of predicting how deep the damage will be in the longer term, and these expensive lawsuits have the potential to ruin the churches. But the Governor and Court persist in trying to find ways to assist Christian missions to Natives and work with the Anglican church of Canada.

Since the move to Canada, and the consecration of Bishop Inglis in the late eighteenth century, the practice has emerged of using the bishops in place of the old Commissioners. Although this has tended to restrict the scope of missions to the Anglican dioceses, the loss of diversity is compensated for by the assurance that simpler and consistent checks and balances can be implemented through a known institution. The exceptions to the rule of making grants to dioceses are the grants given to recognised colleges and institutes which provide training for lay and ordained native ministry: the training scheme for native ministry at the Vancouver School of Theology, the Henry Budd Institute, and the Jessie Saultaux Institute, and the venerable Codrington College in the West Indies. But now, rather than asking for a report on what the money was used for in the previous year, the Company has felt it wise to align itself with the best practice of other similar charities to ensure greater accountability, and to ask for a statement of what the grants will be used for in the year to come. It is a subtle change, but an important adjustment for the sake of ensuring not only integrity in practice, but the appearance of integrity in the public eye.

Like many other charities in the 1980s, the New England Company undertook a re-evaluation of its investment policies to take account of ethical concerns. A new Investment Policy was adopted unanimously (with one letter of dissent) in 1985: the Company would not invest directly in companies operating wholly or mainly in South Africa, in armaments, gambling, breweries and distilleries, and tobacco. The gist of it was that a Christian charity ought to reflect the broad concerns of the majority of Christians, so as not to offend the sensibilities of those they represent. The decision, in line with general conventions within Anglican bodies in the UK, was to follow the ethical policy of the Church Commissioners. The investments in land continue, and the Company regularly evaluates its holdings to see whether there are ways of increasing revenues, to sustain and improve support for ministry in a constantly changing mission environment. Today, it is more important than ever for the Company to pay as close attention to the technicalities of finance and law as to the care of souls and missionary work. This is especially true in light of the precarious situation of the Canadian church and the growing divide between the developing world and the post-industrial world of banking.

THE MISSION NOW

The post-war period has been characterised particularly by efforts to improve communication and knowledge about needs and ongoing work on the mission fields. In recent years the Company has made a general effort to encourage more regular communication between each diocese and the Court, to ensure annual grants are not held up by delays in sending applications, or by making requests which are not in line with the aims of the Company. Diocesan reports also help the Company to identify further areas in which they can offer support, or advise in making use of the assets available to the bishops. The biggest changes in the business of the Company in the post-1945 world have come about mainly through the greater ease of communication, whether by air travel, telephone, or most recently e-mail. There has been a dramatic growth in efficiency in the 1990s, with the need to respond to legal clashes involving the churches, the Canadian government and First Nations groups in BC and Ontario.

But is there any longer a place for an organisation whose aim is the evangelisation of a particular racial or cultural group? The Caribbean churches have retained a powerful role within their society. Since the emancipation, and even more since the end of the Second World War, the churches of the West Indies have become viable, multicultural institutions, and have not had to confront the complicated questions of power, race and culture in so direct a way as have the Canadian churches. In Canada, however, the persistent, almost intractable problem of how to offer the Gospel across the divide of race and culture has become a particularly acute question for the mainstream churches to answer.

The short answer is that the churches now no longer see themselves as living in a Christian civilisation, and that the mission of the Church is to bring the whole of creation under the authority of God. There are diverse views about what this might mean in social, economic political practice. But at the human level there is even greater scope than before for conversion and evangelism in a 'post-Christian' society. Missions to native Indians in the twenty-first century need no longer be regarded as expressions of cultural imperialism. Indeed, it is surely inappropriate to use such language any longer in Canada in the light of the forgiveness offered to the Anglican Church of Canada by the First Nations at the General Synod on 10 July 2001. ‘This is not a white church anymore. I feel it is our church', said the Bishop of Keewatin, Gordon Beardy. Missions to Native Indians are no longer a mode of cultural imperialism, but are a part of the larger mission to bring the light of the Gospel to all Canadians, whatever their race or culture. The supportive role of the New England Company in this mission, whether in Canada or the West Indies, is undiminished.

In a renewal of earlier activities the New England Company has provided support for translations and new editions of prayer books and bibles into Native languages in recent years. But potentially the most important new initiative in Canada is the setting-up of New England Company Scholarships which, in conjunction with assistance from the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, pay each year for two Native Indians to travel to the Centre for Anglican Communion Studies at the United College of the Ascension, Birmingham for one or two terms. The programme is offered in the belief that the Canadian First Nations have an important role to play in the wider Church, and that to do so requires Native Indian leaders who will expand their understanding of the Anglican Communion and bring this awareness and greater breadth of experience back into their communities. Since 1996 the scheme has sent two students to Birmingham each year, and despite some growing pains the participants have benefited from the experience, and have been able to give important new insights to other students and staff at the College. It looks as though the scheme will be a valuable resource both for Native Canadians and for the College as it continues to develop.

Three and a half centuries on, the words of the New England Company's Seal, ‘Come over and help us', are beginning to take on a new significance. The peoples who have been the object of mission are coming into their own, bringing to the wider Church their unique understanding of the faith, tentatively beginning to feel that they, too, have something with which they can come over and help.

THE PRAYER OF THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY

We give you thanks, O God, for the New England Company
which we are called to serve. We thank you for the wisdom
of the Founders and of those who followed them before our time;
for their zeal for the natives of their country's new found colony;
for their prudence and good husbandry of the resources granted them,
whose care they have bequeathed to us. Give us the grace that we,
in our generation, may prove ourselves worthy of our inheritance;
may we be good stewards of all we have received;
may we be wise in the disbursement of its fruits;
above all may we never forget that we exist to make possible
the building up of men and women to that wholeness of life
which you have promised us in your Son.

This we ask in the name of him who laid down his life
that the good news of your loving kindness might be made known
throughout the world.