

ABSTRACT

A Gifting of Sweetgrass: The Reclamation of Culture Movement and NAIITS: *An Indigenous Learning Community*

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In the mid-twentieth century the reclamation of Indigenous cultures, outlawed and otherwise suppressed through colonization, spread throughout New Zealand, United States, Canada, and elsewhere. Various labels such as retraditionalization, revitalization, reclamation, and renaissance, it found expression in political demonstrations, public inquiries, litigation, art, music, and resistance literature. This dissertation traces the marginalization of First Peoples in their homelands triggered by the Great European Migration. Discouraged by the state of Indigenous churches and lack of discipleship, Indigenous Followers of Jesus [IFJ] joined in the reclamation of Indigenous self-identity through contextualizing the gospel and Christian culture as a means of healing social and spiritual realities. What began as local conversations grew to regional and global dialogues, resulting in a unique form of revitalization—the Reclamation of Culture Movement [ROCM]. The birth of the global ROCM is traced primarily to the Māori-led World Christian Gathering on Indigenous Peoples (1996). Employing Social Networking Theory, this work reveals the development of this movement through the global, regional, and local diffusion of the educational innovation first called the North American Institute for Theological Studies — now simply NAIITS: *An Indigenous Learning Community*. Providing a unique educational innovation for Aboriginal, Native American, Māori, First Nations, Métis, and Inuit students who self-identify as followers of Jesus, NAIITS is the

foremost international expression of the ROCM. The movement exposes fractures and fissures in the Western church and its institutions while modeling a healthier way forward.

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The Reclamation of Culture Movement and NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community

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Edward William Peterson
Who once asked
“What can I do to help you to be all God wants you to be?”
Thank you

Abbreviations

AFN	Assembly of First Nations
AIM	American Indian Movement
AMC	Aboriginal Ministry Council
ATF	Aboriginal Task Force
ATS	Asbury Theological Seminary
B.BS	Bachelor of Biblical Studies
B.C.	British Columbia
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
C.H.I.E.F or CHIEF	Christian Hope Indian Eskimo Fellowship
CRC	Christian Renewal Center
CMS	Church Mission Society
DOI	Diffusion of Innovations
EFC	Evangelical Fellowship of Canada
ESJ	E. Stanley Jones School of Mission and Evangelism [at ATS]
FNCC	First Nations Community Church
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
ICYA	Inner City Youth Alive
IFJ	Indigenous follower(s) of Jesus
IP	Indigenous Pathways
JGW	<i>Ma'wa'chi'hi'to'tan</i> : Journeying in a Good Way

MCC	Mennonite Church of Canada
MMIWG	Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls
MN1V	Many Nations One Voice
MPI	My People International
N.A.	North America
NAIITS	Originally, North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies; now known as NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community / <i>Une Communauté Autochtone D'apprentissage</i> , or simply NAIITS
NEFC	North End Family Center
NWC	Northwest Company
NZC	New Zealand Company
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PCC	Presbyterian Church in Canada
P.E.I.	Prince Edward Island
PK	Promise Keepers
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
ROCM	Reclamation of Culture Movement
SCT	Social Cognitive Theory
SNT	Social Network Theory
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
WCGIP	World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People
WI	Wiconi International
WJEF	“Would Jesus Eat Frybread”
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society

Glossary

Aboriginal / Indigenous. These are inclusive terms used in Canada for “Indian”/First Nations, “Eskimo”/Inuit, and “Half-Breed”/Métis in Canada. Aboriginal/Aborigine is also used for Australian First Peoples. Indigenous is used internationally and is the new preferred term in Canada. It may apply to one group, an individual, or a community. Unless citing a written quotation, I will capitalize both terms out of respect and to correspond with Caucasian. Many Canadian Indigenous people (not all) reject the word “Indian” as an arbitrary mislabeling of their people as well as a racist-invested term. Difficulty in coming-to-terms with an acceptable inclusive term can be traced through the naming and renaming of the federal department that provides “oversight” of the First Peoples. While “Indian” is still used in official documents, such as the over-riding Indian Act (and is accepted as by some individuals), the Canadian government has transitioned to “Indigenous.” American Indian will be used when in a citation or historical reference, but preference given to Native American in U.S. references.¹ It should be noted that North American Indigenous scholars increasingly prefer Indigenous, capitalized,² while others are adopting the Canadian term *First Nations*. The latter term both recognizes a priori rights in the land (in the sense that “Creator placed us in the land”), and restores respect due a self-governed people. First Nations is used here referencing Canada.

assimilation. Assimilation was a colonial goal at the global, regional, and local levels. The Canadian government strategized to eliminate all problems related to Indians and status—a priori rights—through policies of assimilation. Augie Fleras and Jean Elliott state that Anglo-conformity or “assimilation consists of a complex and dynamic process in which minorities begin to lose their distinctiveness through absorption into the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant culture.”³ The ideal of assimilation included adoption of a Western worldview—its epistemology and theology—plus cultural norms expressed in language, clothing, and lifestyle. That Indigenous peoples have *not* assimilated is a source of pride for many.⁴

contextualization. The discerning of symbols, rituals, customs, terminology, and values which are an integral part of a pre-contact culture, or a preferred Indigenous culture, may be used or adapted by Christians to better convey scriptural teachings without causing distortion, heresy, or syncretism. “The theology we construct must

¹ See Richard Twiss, *One Church, Many Tribes: Following Jesus the Way God Made You* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 21f.

² See Shawn Wilson, *Research as Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing, 2008).

³ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1992, 1996), 427f.

⁴ Ray Aldred, Cree theologian, says that Aboriginal people never bought into modernity and thus are positioned to function within a postmodern milieu. For example, they place a high value on relationships and a low value on productivity. (Personal conversation.)

be truly scriptural, completely Christian and totally relevant. It must embody the message of the Bible ... in a manner that interfaces with life in our world.”⁵

dominant culture/ dominant society: These terms are used to refer to colonizers, their descendants, and later immigrants who adopt and protect the values of the power brokers in society and who replicate or support negative attitudes and actions towards Indigenous peoples. It is not intended to suggest all are cognizant of the history or willing participants in the resultant Indigenous marginalization.

haka. A traditional Māori war dance used both on the battlefield and when groups came together in peace; now used in gatherings, haka competitions, and sports events.

hīkoi. A Māori protest march.

Indigenous. See Aboriginal/Indigenous. Both are capitalized when referring to people.⁶

marae. A traditional Māori meeting place

Métis/Metis. Originally the children of “Indian” mothers and French, Scottish, or English fathers were called “half breeds” as an official term in British/Canadian documents, as demonstrated in the 1870-1875 government land scrips. Gradually the French term Métis, its origin unknown but perhaps meaning “mixed blood,” and long used as a self-designation by French mixed-race people, came to be accepted by the Canadian government. Red River Métis are now a recognized nation and are legally “Indian” under Canadian Law.⁷ A person who has one land scrip (I have five) is entitled to legal Métis status, qualifying for certain inherent rights. The scrips read “I am a Half breed head of my family ...” and are signed by our ancestors. (See Appendix 3 for facsimile.) Increasingly, Metis is used without the accent *aigu* to designate those from non-French ancestry as a “more inclusive” term⁸ since even Inuit people of mixed heritage may self-identify as Metis, but are not recognized as having legal status.

⁵ Stanley Grenz and Roger Olson, *Who Needs Theology: An Invitation to the Study of God* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 108. See also Darrell Whiteman: “Contextualization: The Theory, The Gap, and the Challenge,” in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21, no.1 (January 1997), 2-7; and Dean Flemming, *Contextualization in the New Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005). Rather than “truly scriptural,” more accurately, the intent is not to contradict scriptural principles.

⁶ Gregory Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples* (Edmonton, AB: Brush Education, 2018), 102.

⁷ On April 14, 2016, as a result of the Supreme Court of Canada decision in the case of Daniels v. Canada, those who meet the legal definition of Métis were granted the Indigenous designation of “Indian” and their rights acknowledged. However, Métis rights are not covered under The Indian Act. See Metis Rights, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Canada, accessed December 12, 2017, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014413/1100100014414>.

⁸ See Kristina Fagan *et al.*, “Reading the Reception of Marie Campbell’s *Halfbreed*” in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 29, no. 1 and 2 (2009), 274, fn.3.

Mni Wiconi Wacipi. “Living Waters Powwow,” an initiative of Wiconi International founded by Richard and Katherine Twiss along with a family camp.

Pakeha. A White New Zealander; the word used by Māori, now in common use.

pan-Indianism. The transference by adoption or adaptation of songs, stories, rituals, regalia, language, and other cultural practices between Indigenous nations, clans, or tribes. Some scholars use the term pan-tribalism.⁹ There are also examples at the global level as “Indigenous peoples have borrowed freely from each other and it is not uncommon to find the sayings of an Indian chief stuck to the kitchen wall in a Maori home.”¹⁰ I give preference to pan-indigeneity, during an era of *Pax Glocal*.

Papatuanuku [or Papa]. The Maori name for land. It is a female name, and thus, it means that land is “a female created being.”

Pax Glocal.¹¹ I am using this term as a play on *Pax Romana*. Globalization increasingly spins people, resources, and goods in and out of the lives of Indigenous peoples in an era of relative peace, yet Indigenous people continue to remain under the control of “others” to a greater or lesser degree.

reclamation. The attempt to restore traditions and cultures which pre-date colonization as a means of re-gaining self-identity and dignity. Other terms commonly used are reindigenization and retraditionalization. All terms have limitations. People who have been stripped of cultural norms such as rituals and music remain Indigenous in their persons. Canadians acknowledge this by including First Nations in the phrase “visible minority,” which, however, limits indigeneity to physical appearance. I use the term reclamation (in spite of the reality that no culture is stagnant, some elements of traditional culture cannot be re-claimed, and many Indigenous traditions have vanished permanently) when speaking of the attempt to restore culture. I use Reclamation of Culture Movement exclusively for the efforts by Indigenous followers of Jesus to *reindigenize their culture and to contextualize or indigenize the gospel*.

retraditionalization. While the term overlaps the meaning carried by reindigenization and reclamation, I will use retraditionalization to distinguish sociopolitical activism from the goals of Jesus-followers. This is not intended to claim that participants in the Reclamation of Culture Movement have no interest in sociopolitical activism as political realities are an ever-present tension in Indigenous existence.

⁹ The term “pan-tribal” in relation to identity is found in Fagan *et al.*, “Reading the Reception,” 259.

¹⁰ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 1999), 153.

¹¹ I used this expression in a paper I wrote for Dr. Steve Ybarrola in Cultural Anthropology at Asbury Theological Seminary, 2007 as a play on the term *Pax Romana* (which refers to the Peace of Rome, “a state of comparative tranquility” (27 BC – 180 AD) but still under the control of Rome.) I have not found it used elsewhere.

revitalization. A term used in speaking of mass conversion to Christianity. Revitalization will be used less frequently than Reclamation, but will be used either in the sense of cultural revival or in recognition of one of the goals of reclamation—an inner spiritual renewal, which is admittedly difficult to measure.

Settler. A recent term used in Canada for the descendants of European immigrants; alternatively, ally (when acting as an advocate), or White. The disadvantage of the term is the potential false impression that all Europeans intended to settle permanently. In reality, many had no intention of settling. Their intent was to exploit the flora, fauna, minerals, and peoples for the wealth of European nations of origin. Settler is therefore a misnomer for the earliest newcomers and awkward for their descendants who do not accept this as a self-identifier.

Sixties Scoop. Alternatively, 60s Scoop, references the Canadian government policies and agencies who arbitrarily removed children from birth families and adopted them into non-Indigenous families, often internationally. The time period is from the 1960s into the 1980s. It parallels The Lost Generation in Australia.

sociopolitical. Since the Indigenous worldview does not acknowledge a secular-sacred dichotomy, and since communities are invariably deeply affected by their various governments, this term is given preference over “secular.” Unless otherwise stated, sociopolitical is being used for retraditionalization, but not contextualization.

syncretism. Syncretism is the retention or adoption of an Indigenous belief, object, rite or practice that dilutes or distorts the intent of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

tangata. A Maori word for humans.

Traditionalist. An Indigenous person who maintains, as fully as possible, a pre-colonial religious and cultural belief system including rituals, medicinal practices, and cultural ways while rejecting Christianity (often labeling it “White-man’s religion”—although he or she may bear no ill-will towards Christians).

wairua. A Maori term for spirit.

whakapapa. A Maori word meaning genealogy.

whenua. A Maori word for land which also means placenta.

White / White man. Since (1) colonization was a European endeavor, (2) Europeans were primarily Caucasian or “white,” (3) most descendants of early colonizers do not self-identify using the Euro prefix, and (4) the Indigenous communities tend to speak of the dominant cultures as “White,” I use these terms without prejudicial intent.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

To imagine self-determination [including self-theologizing] ... is also to imagine a world in which Indigenous peoples become active participants, and to prepare for the possibilities and challenges that lie ahead.

—Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*

Reclamation of culture, both by Indigenous Traditionalists and Indigenous followers of Jesus, was birthed out of destitution and despair. The macro¹ or dominant society has viewed Indigenous peoples primarily as recipients of government “largesse.”² Thomas King has aptly, and with wit, characterized the colonizer’s attitude to the colonized as “the inconvenient Indian.”³ In the Church, the sole role has been that of obedient follower, seldom a leader, and even rarer as primary leader.⁴ The Reclamation of Culture Movement [ROCM] has risen from the conviction that the distortion of identity shaped by colonization can be confronted and reversed through reclaiming and/or

¹ A sociological term for a dichotomous stratification. See Bruno Latour, “Gabriel Tarde and the end of the social” in *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences*, ed. Patrick Joyce (New York: Routledge, 2002), 117ff, accessed Oct. 19, 2011, http://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=fj1zL69bFGQC&o=fnd&pg=PA117&dq=%22macro+society%22&ots=oNHxy0Wlg1&sig=_hR6WWHhFb68CvSPif7Ax1py6FU#v=onepage&q&f=false. Latour is defending Tarde’s theories against Durkheimians. He references Tarde’s concept “that the micro/macro distinction stifles any attempt at understanding how society is generated,” *ibid*.

² See Hugh Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive: Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873-1965* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, 2004); and, Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008).

³ Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Toronto, ON: Doubleday Canada, 2012).

⁴ Tinker captures the historical reality when he writes, “While many denominations have successfully developed something of indigenous leadership, the actual power, which ultimately determines how Indian people will interpret Christianity and how they will function as a church, is almost always a white authority structure. Hence, the importance of native traditional faith ways, ceremonies, and teachings is always minimalized” See George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 117f.

adapting pre-colonial traditions through contextualization of the gospel and worship. This study assumes and seeks to demonstrate that the ROCM emerged from the conviction that the distortion of identity created by colonization can be confronted and potentially reversed by Indigenous people reclaiming, adapting, and/or contextualizing pre-colonial traditions and cultures. This is variously referred to as reclamation, reindigenization, or retraditionalization⁵—and functions in concurrence with decolonization.⁶ Expressions of the reclamation movement are not limited to Canada, but can be observed internationally at the global, regional, and local levels of peoples impacted by colonization. Within Christianity, the ROCM frequently meets with opposition from those who fear syncretism or who believe all-things-Indigenous are inherently demonic. This reality informs my primary question: *Has the contemporary reclamation of culture movement by Indigenous followers of Jesus positioned Indigenous peoples to do self-theologizing at the local level in Canada?* How that question is addressed is expanded on in “Methodology” below.

Background to Current Sociopolitical Realities

Indigenous leaders, church leaders, and parliamentarians from across Canada gathered in Hull, Quebec, at the Sacred Assembly in 1995 (see Chapter Four, Event 4). At one point, followers of Jesus had drawn apart for a separate meeting. An elder from the remote community of Pikangikum First Nation suddenly left due to a family emergency. Hushed whispers passed from person to person filling the room with a sense of helplessness. The elder had left to deal with the suicide of his grandchild. This would

⁵ Richard Twiss gave preference to this term. See Richard L. Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization Efforts in North America 1989-2009” (doctoral diss., Asbury Theological Seminary, 2011).

⁶ It is legitimate to question whether or not decolonization or post-colonialism is possible or probable, but will not be a factor in this study.

be his seventh grandchild to be buried—the seventh who had chosen death over life.

Suicides are rampant in spite of the saturation of his community with the gospel.⁷

A 2004 Internet posting described the reserve as Ontario’s “shameful, ugly secret.”⁸ Five years later, headlines stated “Ontario Native Suicide Rate One of Highest in World, Expert Says.”⁹ The article continues, “Pikangikum First Nation's suicide numbers are through the roof ... eight females—five of them 13 years old—have killed themselves this year.”¹⁰ Statistically, the rate is thirty-six times the national average.¹¹ Yet again in April 2012, *MacLean’s* magazine announced “Canada, Home to the Suicide Capital of the World” and revealed how Pikangikum’s people had grieved six suicide deaths “in as many weeks.”¹² In January 2018, the 17,000 member community of Maskwacis, Alberta, revealed they had lost 14 people to suicide in less than two months. “We are dying... it is a cultural crisis,” overwhelmed community members lamented.¹³

⁷ Pikangikum is an Ojibwa First Nation situated 300 km (186 miles) northeast of Winnipeg. It is accessed by air, except for 6 weeks or so when a winter road is built on frozen lakes. My Roman Catholic Métis aunt, Berthe Beauchemin, taught there during the 1970s. Her principal was an Old Order Mennonite from the community where I live. The Mennonite women are required to wear long dresses and head coverings in contrast to Ojibwa clothing. Both my aunt and the principal were keen on evangelism, and considered the other was not a true Christian. I visited Pikangikum (Jan. 2012) noting two Jesus Only congregations (which had split) and one “prosperity gospel” church. Older women wore black dresses in -50° weather.

⁸ Ontario Coalition against Poverty, accessed March 10, 2008, <http://ocap.ca/taxonomy/term/28>.

⁹ Louise Elliott, “Ontario Native Suicide Rate one of Highest in World, Expert Says,” Canadian Press, Tuesday 27 November 2000, accessed March 10, 2008, <http://www.hartfordhwp.com/archives/41/353.html>.

¹⁰ Elliott, “Ontario Native Suicide Rate.”

¹¹ Winnipeg Free Press, “First Nation in Crisis after More Suicides: Northwestern Ontario Community Ponders How to End cycle of Tragedy” (September 2, 2011), A-15.”

¹² Martin Patriquin, “Canada, Home to the Suicide Capital of the World,” *MacLean’s* (April 16, 2012), 30-36. In 2018, suicide is still a major concern.

¹³ “‘We are dying’: Maskwacis Community Members Overwhelmed by Suicides,” CBCNews/Indigenous, accessed Jan. 15, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/we-are-dying-maskwacis-community-members-overwhelmed-by-suicides-1.4486933>.

The suicides of two non-Indigenous National Hockey League players in 2011¹⁴ and the suicide of a (non-Indigenous) girl who was cyber-bullied¹⁵ garnered not only national media coverage, but also government action. In contrast, the article entitled “First Nation in Crisis after More Suicides” appears on page 15 of the same issue.¹⁶ Canadian society seems numbed, resigned, or apathetic towards Indigenous suicides.

While I have focused only on suicide as an exemplar of the current sociopolitical situation, other social realities are noted throughout. I believe that distortion of identity is foundational to understanding suicides and current destructive social realities.¹⁷

Statement of the Problem

Retraditionalization is used in this study for the particular sociopolitical arena of activism wherein Indigenous peoples intentionally seek to recover aspects of their cultures outlawed, demonized, and lost through colonization.¹⁸ I am using the term *reclamation of culture movement* [ROCM] to apply specifically to the efforts of Indigenous followers of Jesus [IFJ] in what will be shown to be a parallel movement, notwithstanding aspects that overlap as people embrace the goals of both. Indigenous

¹⁴ Winnipeg Free Press, “Far Too Many NHL Funerals” (Sept. 2, 2011), A-1 and C-1.

¹⁵ “Bullied to Death: Cyberbullying” and “Shunned in Life, Remembered in Death: Bullying,” *Maclean’s* (October 29, 2012), 68-72. See also “Amanda Todd: Learning the Lessons,” *Toronto Star*, Oct. 20, 2012, accessed Oct. 20, 2012, <http://www.thestar.com/opinion/letters/article/1273859--amanda-todd-learning-the-lessons>.

¹⁶ Winnipeg Free Press, “Far Too Many NHL Funerals” (Sept. 2, 2011), A-1 and C-1, cf. A-15.

¹⁷ Research on identity was originally presented in the Interdisciplinary Colloquium (Asbury Theological Seminary: October 26, 2009); and published as: Wendy Peterson, “An Aboriginal Missiology of Identity Reclamation: Towards Revitalization for Canada’s Indigenous Peoples through Healing of Identity: Towards Revitalization for Canada’s Indigenous Peoples through Healing of Identities,” *The Asbury Journal*, vol. 65, no. 1 (Spring 2010), 48-64.

¹⁸ As illustrated by her title: Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012).

retraditionalization and reclamation of culture, on the surface, seem to galvanize vibrant and emerging movements. The questions which drive this study are: Is this the whole story? To what extent has it diffused from the innovators at the global and regional levels to be adopted and owned by the grass-roots local leadership for followers of Jesus?

As stated, the primary question is: *Has the contemporary reclamation of culture movement by Indigenous followers of Jesus positioned Indigenous peoples to do self-theologizing at the local level in Canada?* To answer that question, other inquiries which influence observations and conclusions are:

- (1) Given the distortion of identity¹⁹ and negative social realities prevalent among many Indigenous peoples in Canada, is there evidence that these issues have similarly affected other Indigenous groups who are emerging from colonial dominance at the global and regional levels?
- (2) What are the networks, links, and loops in the ongoing conversation between Global, Regional, and Local levels? Are there channels for the flow of information, goods, and persons between the reindigenization movement and the reclamation of culture movement that involves IFJ?
- (3) Is there evidence of self-theologizing at the global and at the regional levels of reclamation of culture movement, and if so, is there evidence that self-theologizing is being diffused to the local level? What other signs of change are evident of local adoption or rejection?

¹⁹ Alternatively, Episkenew uses “oppressive identity.” See Jo-Ann Episkenew, *Taking Back Our Spirits: Indigenous Literature, Public Policy, and Healing* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 2009), 2. She cites Hilde Lindemann Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 6.

Methodology

In order to answer the primary question, I compare the effects of colonization on Indigenous identity and social realities at each of the three levels. I investigate the impetus for reclamation of cultural traditions for three specific Indigenous peoples: (1) Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand,²⁰ (2) First Nations and Métis in Canada and Native Americans in United States [First Peoples of North America], and, (3) Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg. Early contact history is explored for evidence of change agents, change points, resistance, and patterns of resultant social realities; in particular, colonial pressures to reshape social structures and identities are studied. I investigate the Retraditionalization Movement [RM] as a significant influence, yet separate from the Reclamation of Culture Movement [ROCM]. I do this through the selection of five key historical events, five influential organizations, and five individuals. The fifth individual serves as a case study for ROCM's influence at the grassroots church leadership level. As the objective is to study the innovation and diffusion of cultural reclamation through contextualization, the events, organizations, and individuals highlighted serve to locate external and internal factors that have affected the diffusion process. The analysis of these factors should lead to developing a theory whereby the likelihood of the movement's longevity may be explored.

Employing Historiographical Method and Analysis, I investigate my assumption that IFJ who respond to negative social realities, what Fleras and Elliott call "unequal relations,"²¹ share similar motivation with Indigenous sociopolitical activists.

²⁰ *Aotearoa* ["long white cloud"] is the preferred name Māoris use for their land.

²¹ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1996).

Research Methodologies are selected on the basis of their suitability to Indigenous peoples: Anthropological and Missiological Theories include Standard Anthropological Theory of Culture with Michael Rynkiewich's complementary theory; Diffusion of Innovation Theory; Social Networking Theory; and Case Study Research. Native Studies scholars provide up-to-date ideas and data. In applying social networking analysis to the reclamation movement, I have sought to determine (1) if the ideals, goals and practices at the global and regional levels are being diffused to the local level; (2) if this movement reshapes identity of innovators and adopters in a positive manner; and, (3) if it provides an on-going platform for self-determination and self-theologizing. Everett Rogers's innovation/diffusion theory²² is utilized as an analytical tool to seek patterns of diffusion and to project whether this is a "flash-in-the-plan" or a viable ongoing movement.

Research as Protocol: The Gifting of Braided Sweetgrass

Indigenous peoples in the past few decades have owned, rejected, renamed, and reframed research as they have sought higher education. Students and scholars have chafed at Western methodologies while valuing their potentialities. Rejecting their historic role as mice-in-a-lab, a number of Indigenous authors have proposed solutions for undertaking research in a more Indigenous-friendly and Indigenous-controlled manner such as utilizing cultural values of storytelling, community involvement, spirituality, and even humour. One Cree author, Shawn Wilson, argues that research should be viewed as ceremony.²³ Margaret Kovach (Cree and Saulteaux), suggests that Indigenous

²² Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 5th ed. (New York, NY: Free Press, 2003).

²³ Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Pub., 2008).

methodology “asks that we move beyond intellectual rationales to spirit and heart.”²⁴

Bagele Chilisa demonstrates the application of new methodologies in his pan-Indigenous textbook.²⁵ I intend to apply Indigenous concepts that emphasize a communal-centric approach by periodically seeking feedback on my research in order to gain insight from other perspectives within the communities. These conversations and consults will not necessarily be noted in this work, unless direct quotations or directives need to be acknowledged. Moreover, my intention is to extend Wilson’s premise from “research as ceremony” to “research as protocol” which requires both ceremony *and* gift.

Gift-giving is an essential part of First Nations, Native American, and Māori protocol. For example, when one seeks teaching or wisdom from a Cree elder, it is proper to bring a token gift of tobacco. “To be able to share, to have something worth sharing gives dignity to the giver. To accept a gift and to reciprocate gives dignity to the receiver.”²⁶

Braiding is a common Indigenous custom, which is obvious at powwows in the braiding of hair and in regalia ornamentation. A different type of braiding is found amongst (but not limited to) the Cree, Anishinaabe/Ojibwa, and Sioux. Women will ceremonially harvest sweetgrass by hand (the name reflects its pleasant aroma) and braid the grass blades together for home decor, for ceremonial or medicinal use, and sometimes as a form of protection not unlike a St. Christopher medal.²⁷ My intent is to craft a

²⁴ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009 [reprint 2010]), 179.

²⁵ Bagele Chilisa, *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (London: Sage Publications, 2012).

²⁶ Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 105.

²⁷ The harvesting of sweetgrass is ceremonial, “the work that goes into collecting sweetgrass and creating a braid is substantial. Once sweetgrass are discovered, volunteers work among scratchy thorns and dry brush to seek out the long green blades. ... The sweetgrass picked and braided during this outing will be used all year in the Winnipeg Health Region. The braids, along with other traditional medicine plants picked by

metaphoric braid of sweetgrass as a gift to Indigenous peoples. My hope is that some will find it a worthy gift suited to and compatible with their spiritual needs as followers of Jesus and, in this manner, extend the reclamation of culture movement.

This braid is to consist of three ropes or triads labelled Global, Regional, and Local. As in the illustration below, each triad is composed of strands identified as events, organizations, and individuals. These triads are interwoven to form the thicker²⁸ braid.

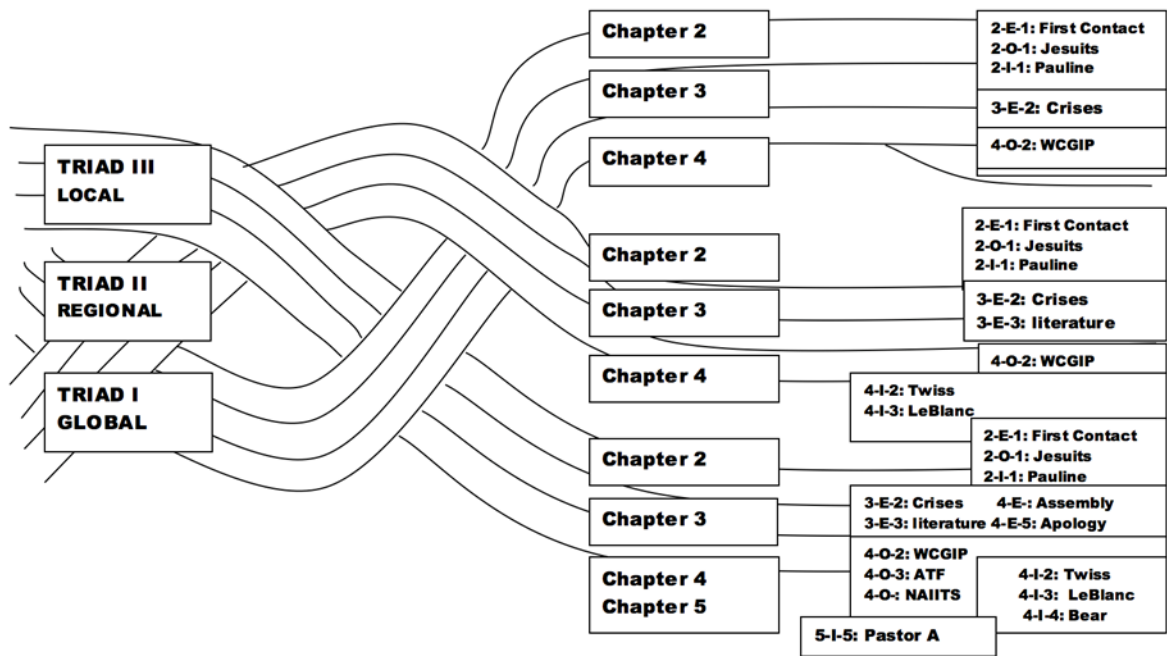


Figure 1.1. Braided Sweetgrass Schematic: An Overview.

Key: E = Event O = Organization I = Individual

volunteers, is [*sic.*] used for traditional ceremonies when requested by patients to help them on their healing journey.” See “Sacred Medicine,” WinnipegHealthRegion.ca, accessed Nov. 13, 2012, <http://www.wrha.mb.ca/healthinfo/news/2011/111006-sacred-medicine.php>.

²⁸ As in Geertz’s *thick description*: If “ethnography is thick description and ethnographers [are] those who are doing the describing” then I would argue I need room to describe as thickly as possible. See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973), 16.

The braid, then, is composed of five events that have created crises or spurred Indigenous innovations, five organizations intended to influence change, and five individuals who have served as innovators and/or change agents. Other persons, events, and organizations will be incorporated as needed to fill out the narrative. The fiber, weight, colour, and texture provided by each strand and triad is unique, but essential to ensure the braid's strength, beauty, and value as a gift. The elements are plotted below with **Global**, **Regional**, and/or **Local** level(s):

FIVE EVENTS

Event 1: First Contact and Consequences: (G/R)

Event 2: Crises and Resistance (G/R/L)

Event 3: Resistance Literature (R/L)

Event 4: Sacred Assembly (L)

Event 5: The Apology (L)

FIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Organization 1: The Society of Jesus: Jesuits (G/R/L)

Organization 2: World Christian Gathering of Indigenous Peoples (G/R/L)

Organization 3: Wiconi International (R)

Organization 4: Aboriginal Task Force - Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (L)

Organization 5: NAIITS: *An Indigenous Learning Community* (R/L)

FIVE INDIVIDUALS

Individual 1: Pauline (G/R/L)

Individual 2: Richard and Katherine Twiss (R)

Individual 3: Terry and Beverly LeBlanc (R/L)

Individual 4: Cheryl Bear (L)

Individual 5: Pastor A (L)²⁹

I am not attempting to force a balance in the textual weight between each element within the structure of the research as the result would be artificial. Rather, elements are intertwined in the narrative, which is a more Indigenous method of storytelling. The Māori story is limited to show the (assumed) progression towards reclamation of culture and Māori (global) influence on the North American (regional), and Canadian (local) reclamation movements in the sociopolitical arena as well as on IJF. It needs to be said that the imposition of the U.S. and Canadian border on First Nations creates an artificial

²⁹ I am using Pastor A for a Winnipeg pastor until I have permission to use his name.

environment to this study; thus, the term *regional* is used to moderate this reality. The selection and inclusion of the events, organizations, and individuals serve diverse purposes such as exemplars, innovators/change agents, pivots (crises, triggers, or change points), or diffusers. The intent is to illustrate concrete realities. Positive change agents are characterized by vision and perseverance that motivate others to change their way of thinking, doing, and being. Lupton explains: “A compelling vision ... has a magnetic quality about it. It draws people and their resources around it. Coincidences converge. People are inspired. Magic happens The visionary stays the course.”³⁰

Reclamation of Spiritual Cultural Traditions through the ROCM

Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, then to appropriate, and then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for Indigenous peoples. The values, attitudes, concepts, and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent, in many cases, the clearest contrast and mark of difference between Indigenous peoples and the West. It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control ... yet.

—Linda Tuhiwai Smith

This quotation alludes to various governmental policies aimed at assimilating Indigenous peoples. While Smith is not speaking to the specific issues being addressed in this research—I see no evidence she self-identifies as a Jesus-follower—she does make a valid point. There is something about Indigenous worship which was, and is, wholly “other” to Western worldview and experience. The “otherness” prompted the majority of newcomers to label it heathen, polytheistic, savage, and/or demonic. The latter label has “stuck” in Canada, as will be illustrated and developed further in this research.

³⁰ Robert Lupton, *Compassion, Justice and the Christian Life: Rethinking Ministry to the Poor* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 2007), 9ff.

Global Investigation of ROCM

In order to trace the diffusion of the reclamation and contextualization movement from the innovators to the local church leaders, the first unit of analysis is global, the Māori in New Zealand wherein I will investigate the Māori influence to determine their assumed role in the NAIITS initiative. Smith, addressing Indigenous research arising from the sociopolitical activism of the 1970s, articulates her concerns regarding

the survival of peoples, cultures, and languages; the struggle to become self-determining, the need to take back control of our destinies. These imperatives have demanded more than rhetoric and acts of defiance. The acts of reclaiming, reformulating, and reconstituting indigenous cultures and languages have required the mounting of an ambitious research programme, one that is very strategic in its purpose and activities, and relentless in its pursuit of social justice.³¹

Research supports the assumption that the struggle to self-theologize as an IFJ community and the struggle to lead in appropriate Indigenous ways—while being accountable to the Holy Spirit—is foreshadowed by resistance expressed as sociopolitical struggles globally in the latter half of the twentieth century. This aspect of the research explores answers to the question: Are there channels for the flow of information, goods, and persons between the reindigenization movement by sociopolitical activists and the ROCM, and if so, how are they globally connected?

A Māori-led organization emerged to counteract colonialism. Regional and local IJF found common ground with them through the World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People [WCGIP] that originated with Monté and Linda Ohia, Māori, in 1996. It will be demonstrated that WCGIP symbolizes the emergence of an ongoing movement and its leaders motivated NAIITS leaders.

³¹ Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 142.

Regional Investigation of ROCM

Past experiences with WCGIP participants have impressed me with the high regard in which the North American [N.A.] Indigenous community is held globally. First Peoples in N.A. seem to be regarded as innovators within the movement, especially in theological education. At the regional level, two organizations are significant for my purposes: Wiconi International [WI] and the initiative originally named the North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies: NAIITS.³² I will investigate common goals shared with WCGIP and the social networking between founders. It should be noted that the three organizations promote each other's gatherings. In fact, the three board of directors had members in common. This work will explore these relationships as well as other potential networks promoting reclamation from a Christian perspective. It will pay particular attention to the presence of contextualization.

Local Investigation of ROCM

In this research I am using the term *local* in two different senses: (1) as representative of Indigenous peoples in Canada, emphasizing First Nations, and (2) for Winnipeg, Manitoba, focusing on pastors and mission leaders. The latter sense will be referenced less frequently until Chapters Four and Five, and the term clarified each time it references Winnipeg. While WCGIP and NAIITS have both international and national followings, what has been less evident is whether or not the ideals, self-theologizing, and contextualization have filtered down to the local community level. This research therefore explores the church level leadership in Winnipeg, particularly the inner city (or, the North End) where the majority of Indigenous peoples reside. It has been selected as

³² In 2015, NAIITS began to self-identify simply as NAIITS: *An Indigenous Learning Community*.

an example of a local community with a sufficiently high target population and is readily accessible. The goal is to determine if the ROCM has been adopted by the local community and those who minister there. Participant observation and interviews serve as my primary research methodologies for this portion of the study. Some of the current and former NAIITS board members live or have been regularly active in the Winnipeg community. As well, others have been speakers or musicians at diverse events. A further advantage to targeting this community is access to a wide array of Indigenous-focused events—both spiritual and sociopolitical in nature.

Missiologial Significance of the Research

During the latter half of the twentieth century, an attraction to spiritualities which pre-date Christianity led many Western spiritual seekers to investigate, adopt, and adapt elements of N.A. “Indian” traditions as part of the eclectic blend we now call the New Religious Synthesis.³³ During the parallel time period, Indigenous peoples began to experience a renewed struggle for self-identity. Many turned to the traditions of the past, both cultural and religious, to deal with the pain of the present. However, rejection of reclamation has too often been the default position of many White mission leaders and their financial supporters. The resultant debate has created a rift between brothers and sisters in the Lord. (See Chapter Four, Opposition to ROCM).

³³ This term is used to encompass the New Age Movement, westernized Eastern mysticism, Neo-Paganism, and occult-based belief systems. See James A. Herrick, *The Making of the New Spirituality: The Eclipse of the Western Religious Tradition* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003). See also the concept of appropriating the image of “Indians” in Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2011), 183-204.

Relevant Literature

The task of generating a literature review by locating the best written resources is the first step in the research and writing process. Rather than a section set apart for reviewing materials used, primary background resources are noted here and other resources are introduced within the pertinent sections of this study. There is an intentional utilization of research by Indigenous authors and scholars throughout. This first section of the study will concentrate on historiographical methodology and models. Early missionary resources, both biographical and autobiographical, are also significant.

Chapters 2 and 3 are historical studies juxtaposing global, regional, and local research. (Differences, by and large, are not germane to this study.) I had assumed that the 1960s through 1970s witnessed the beginning of a new wave of resistance expressed in sociopolitical resistance and that the publication of literature by Indigenous writers is a significant indicator of such activity. Furthermore, I followed my hunch that this literature impacted innovators of the ROCM. An additional hunch led to investigation of the ROCM through tracing contextualization by IJF in the late 1980s to 2000. This research is presented in the final two chapters. At times categories blur, as for example when sociopolitical and ROCM are both addressed, but no distinctions made.

Data Collection: Qualitative Research

In its 1997 *Delgamuukwa v. British Columbia* landmark decision, the Supreme Court of Canada admitted oral tradition as evidence in land claims trials.³⁴ Oral testimony is an important tool for Indigenous populations in Canada and around the world in their

³⁴ *Delgamuukwa v. British Columbia*, “Delgamuukw Case,” [note variance in spelling], *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/delgamuukw-case/>.

sociopolitical activism and litigation. In a sense, the Supreme Court acknowledged what Indigenous peoples had said to colonizers: “If this is your land, where are your stories?”

Historiography is used here simply as the writing of histories. Histories are of necessity plural, for each people group at each period in time have multiple stories to tell and a multiplicity of ways to tell those stories: oral, written, art, music, jokes, and now social media. The human race is enriched by the preservation of these stories.

Historiographical Methodology

An appropriate historiographical methodology is required for researching and telling the stories of contact and consequences. Historiography is infinitely more layered and complicated than simply recording an event in a written format. Oral history, as one method of preserving a community’s stories, will surface from interviews and conversations. “Oral history is a method of historical and social scientific inquiry and analysis that includes life histories, storytelling, narratives and qualitative research.”³⁵ For Indigenous peoples, oral history is more than simply telling stories; and telling stories is more than storytelling. It is a time honored method of retaining history, communicating worldview and values, honoring Creator and ancestors, as well as educating children in wise choices. Indigenous people want their stories told in their own voices and through their own values, theologies, and worldviews. According to Mark Gilderhus in *History and Historians*,³⁶ “History no longer sets forth common stories that presumably speak for the identity and experience of all readers. For many consumers of history, the narratives

³⁵ University of Winnipeg, “Oral History Center Proposal: The Relevance of Oral History,” accessed Oct. 21, 2011, <http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/oral-history-centre-the-relevance-of-oral-history>. [Website has updated as of January 8, 2018 so information has changed.]

³⁶ Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians: A Historiographical Introduction*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

centering on the activities of white male elites no longer provide satisfaction, stimulation, or a means to truth.”³⁷

This perspective colours the historical strands of this thesis. Moreover, with the shift to a postmodern-postcolonial-neocolonial world (disjointed and piecemeal though that shift may be), Indigenous peoples have been re-characterized as “agents” rather than perpetual “victims” according to Michael Rynkiewich in *Soul, Self, and Society*.³⁸

Lamin Sanneh demonstrates the importance of understanding these shifts when he chides fellow believers by claiming that Western Christian historians and theologians have fallen behind secular scholars in recognizing the need for new methodologies.³⁹ Wilbert Shenk edits a text addressing the disquiet over a narrow Western perspective of church history and the need for a modification to include the global reach of God’s work.⁴⁰ If Robert Webber is correct, the grand narratives that inform and motivate our lives are past their expiration date, if not extinct.⁴¹ Webber asserts that the question of who narrates is “the most pressing issue of our time.”⁴² For postmodernists, narrative holds a particular appeal, especially when encompassing community.

Shenk highlights three dimensions of the contemporary reality facing historians: the shift from Eurocentric to polycentric-multi-cultural awareness; growth from the new

³⁷ Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, 128.

³⁸ Michael A. Rynkiewich, *Soul, Self, and Society: A Postmodern Anthropology for Mission in a Postcolonial World* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 10, Table 1.

³⁹ Lamin Sanneh, “World Christianity and the New Historiography,” in Wilbert R. Shenk, ed., *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2002), 94-114, 98.

⁴⁰ Shenk, *Enlarging the Stories*.

⁴¹ Robert E. Webber, *Who Gets to Narrate the World?—Contending for the Christian Story in an Age of Rivals* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2008), 11. He also issues a “call to narrate the world christianly.”

⁴² Webber, *Who Gets to Narrate the World?*

element of “indigenous agency;” and a rapidly changing sociopolitical environment that includes economics, technology, nation-states, and globalization.⁴³ If Christians are to retain or regain relevance, we must heed Andrew Walls in terms of a necessary reconception, revisioning, and recommissioning by historians and the teachers of history. He states it is necessary to adopt “the consciousness that even one’s own Christian history is part of a process which covers all six continents and occupies two millennia ... something we can legitimately call ‘re-visioning’.”⁴⁴

Grass roots history has come into its own and must be taken into account in “doing” history in this era. Historiography is increasingly judged on inclusivity, plurality of perspectives, interdependence, consultation, and grassroots relevance.

Historiographical Models

The social-sciences are interdisciplinary informants of history as much as, and in some cases more than, the hard sciences. Emma Anderson’s *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert*⁴⁵ serves well as a model of an interdisciplinary approach⁴⁶ and an example of current anthropological-historiographical methodologies. J. M. Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada*, models a compelling template that speaks to the visual sensibilities of this Internet age. Vincent Donovan produced a

⁴³ Shenk, *Enlarging the Story*, xi-xiv.

⁴⁴ Andrew Walls, “Eusebius Tries Again,” in Shenk, ed., *Enlarging the Story*, 1-21, 14.

⁴⁵ Emma Anderson, *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁴⁶ Bearing in mind the cautionary note, “Those who borrow from other disciplines, however, are under an obligation to try to keep up with developments in that discipline.” Rynkiewich, *Soul, Self, and Society*, 139.

work that retains the warmth and immediacy of orality in *Christianity Rediscovered*.⁴⁷ He also displays great personal vulnerability and honesty which reflect Indigenous values. Paul Hackett, a geographer, fuses his discipline to his interest in epidemiology, historiography, and Aboriginal health.⁴⁸

Indigenous scholarly writing should strive to meet academic expectations, yet be accessible to the community. This requires the insertion of story, a readiness to side-track on issues of relevance to the community, respect for community values, and writing which demonstrates coherence to reality as opposed to being merely based on credentials. While it is imperative to address causation of disorder, it must not deteriorate into an inert victimization. Howell and Prevenier are useful here where they set the criteria for “establishing evidentiary satisfaction,”⁴⁹ which requires appropriate methodology.

Research Methodologies, Anthropological Theories, and Missiological Theories

Indigenous Research Methodologies

Indigenous authored literature germane to the indigenization of research methodologies has a significant influence on this study. The 1999 text by the Māori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, which has been frequently referenced already,⁵⁰ was providentially found in a counter-culture café in Winnipeg. Smith attempts to decolonize Western research methodologies as one would anticipate, providing a time-line of Māori

⁴⁷ Vincent J. Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Edition* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003).

⁴⁸ Paul Hackett, *A Very Remarkable Sickness: Epidemics in the Petit Nord, 1670 to 1846* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Winnipeg, 2002).

⁴⁹ See Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources, An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), particularly pp. 79-84.

⁵⁰ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*. However, the term “decolonizing methodologies” seems akin to saying “de-Americanize America.” I prefer the phrase “Indigenize research methodologies.”

progress towards self-determination. She asserts that research methodologies are not culture-free, but are embedded with cultural assumptions reflective of worldview and values of Western academia. In fact, she argues that Indigenous communities hold an inherent bias against research. The word itself “is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary.”⁵¹ Indigenous peoples, globally, have a “collective memory of imperialism”⁵² as represented by endless data collecting by researchers whose product has benefited mostly themselves. “It told us things already known, suggested things that would not work, and made careers for people who already had jobs.”⁵³

Smith’s text “identifies research as a significant site of struggle between the interests and epistemologies of the West and those of the Other.”⁵⁴ Anthropology, in particular, is regarded with suspicion since it—perhaps unwittingly—“made the study of us into ‘their’ science.”⁵⁵ She continues, “Of all the disciplines, anthropology is the one most closely associated with ...the defining of primitivism.”⁵⁶ Smith agrees with Merata Mita, “We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define.”⁵⁷ In spite of years of research, Indigenous communities are left with “social conditions that perpetuate extreme levels of poverty, chronic ill health, and poor

⁵¹ Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 38, quoting Mereta Mita, “Merita Mita On ...” in the *New Zealand Listener* (Oct. 14, 1989), 30.

educational opportunities.”⁵⁸ Smith points to the small but “increasing numbers of indigenous academics and researchers [who] have begun to address social issues within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization, and social justice.”⁵⁹

Trained for the most part within Western institutions, Indigenous scholars are re-thinking the epistemological and ontological foundations of their academic fields, desiring different methodologies. They are, in effect, “researching back;” seeking “a recovery of ourselves, an analysis of colonialism, and a struggle for self-determination.”⁶⁰ The end goal is research which is “more respectful, ethical, sympathetic, and useful.”⁶¹

Issues sparking questions about research methodology reflect back on the issues raised by emic and etic points of view of the community being studied.⁶² This is somewhat of an enigma for the Indigenous researcher. On the one hand, there may be the community perception that being Indigenous, he or she is somehow less qualified academically. On the other hand, the same person may be regarded as too biased by the academy. Surprisingly, the insider may have more issues to overcome than the suspicion and cynicism that greets the outsider.⁶³ Insiders do not necessarily understand the interconnectedness of their own culture; yet the community may assume the researcher “knows” and therefore cannot understand why the questions are being asked. Also,

⁵⁸ Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 4.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶² Michael Rynkiewich notes, “This is much misunderstood as if it just means insider and outsider viewpoints. It is based on linguistic analogy, phonemic and phonetic, and it goes much deeper than that. It is not surface worldview.” Personal communication, Dec. 2012.

⁶³ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 10-12. Multiple citations by other researchers suggest Smith’s work is seminal and is held in high esteem by Indigenous scholars globally.

worldview interpretations and presuppositions create a screen or grid through which the Indigenous student and non-Indigenous mentor attempt to communicate.

Indigenous methodology, according to Kovach, “asks that we move beyond intellectual rationales to spirit and heart.”⁶⁴ A book by Jo-Ann Episkenew⁶⁵ resembles Smith’s rather vexed tone as she addresses Indigenous literature in juxtaposition to Western literature noting the centrality of spirituality in the former. A decade later, Cree scholar Shawn Wilson builds upon Smith’s research in *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*.⁶⁶ This concentration on research methodology itself demonstrates the global connectedness of Indigenous ideas and merging of agendas. One observation to simply note here is the progression and apparent rising confidence between Smith’s 1999 writing compared to Wilson and Kovach a decade later.

Anthropological Theories, Research Methodologies, and Data Analysis

Select scholars who contribute to this study are noted briefly here. Clifford Geertz, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, provides a definition of culture, augmented by further insights in his later edition.⁶⁷ Michael Rynkiewich’s complementary theory of culture (as contingent, constructed, contested) adds to the standard theory traditionally taught. It is helpful in understanding the process and possibilities of reclamation.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 179.

⁶⁵ Episkenew, *Taking Back Our Spirits*.

⁶⁶ Wilson, *Research as Ceremony*.

⁶⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973); and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, NY: Basic Books, [1973] 2000).

⁶⁸ Michael A. Rynkiewich, “The World in my Parish,” *Missiology*, xxx, no. 3 (2002): 301-21.

Everett Rogers's text on *Diffusion of Innovations*⁶⁹ will serve as the primary tool for this research project. Rogers's volume addresses a wide array of relevant topics on the Innovation/Diffusion Theory— its history, development, and application. Bruce Bradshaw cites Geertz's "webs of significance he himself has spun" in his work, *Change across Cultures*,⁷⁰ combining biblical wisdom and storytelling with instruction on how to understand hidden narratives that may unlock keys to creating a better narrative.

A text first published in 1991 and continually reprinted by SAGE Publishing is John Scott's *Social Network Analysis*.⁷¹ Scott helps to interpret the language and methodologies of social network theorists in order to equip researchers dealing with the linkages between events, individuals, and groups within relational data. On this same theme, SAGE offers a publication by the same title in its series on quantitative research by authors David Knoke and Song Yang.⁷² Their purpose is didactic, but they emphasize that the theory is "an integrated set of theoretical concepts and analytical methods" and not simply "a conceptual framework for describing how a set of actors is linked together."⁷³ This form of analysis can illuminate not just linkages, but "variations in structural relations and their consequences."⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*.

⁷⁰ Bruce Bradshaw, *Change across Cultures: A Narrative Approach to Social Transformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 71; citing Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 5; albeit with a slight change.

⁷¹ John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd., [1995], 2005).

⁷² David Knoke and Song Yang, *Social Network Analysis*, 2nd edition in Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences 154 (London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Texts on ethnography and data collection include Harry Wolcott's *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*⁷⁵ and Robert Yin's *Case Study Research*.⁷⁶ Yin is both practical and methodical in laying out cases and critiquing them. Wolcott projects the future of the discipline through a history of ethnography and advising on employing an ethnographical perspective. Julia Crane and Michael Angrosino published their third edition of a handbook, *Field Projects in Anthropology*.⁷⁷ It is older (1992) but provides a sense of where and how field research has progressed when read alongside other texts.

Jean Converse and Stanley Presser, in *Survey Questions: Handcrafting the Questionnaire*,⁷⁸ were instrumental in the development of the survey I used at the 2008 WCGIP.

Crises, Change Agents, Innovators, and Diffusion

Articles which are forerunners to this research and written by members of the NAIITS community are: Andrea Smith's "'The One Who Did Not Break His Promises: Native Americans in the Evangelical Race Reconciliation Movement;'"⁷⁹ Jeanine LeBlanc's "Walking 'The Good Red Road': NAIITS;"⁸⁰ Richard Twiss's "Native-led Contextualization Efforts in North America;"⁸¹ and, Casey Church's *Holy Smoke*.⁸²

⁷⁵ Harry F. Wolcott, *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*, 2nd ed. (Plymouth, UK: Altamira Press, 2008).

⁷⁶ Robert Yin, *Case Study Research*, 4th ed. vol. 5 (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009).

⁷⁷ Julia G. Crane and Michael V. Angrosino, *Field Projects in Anthropology: A Student Handbook*, 3rd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Wave Press, Inc., 1992).

⁷⁸ Jean M. Converse and Stanley Presser, *Survey Questions: Handcrafting the Questionnaire*, Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences (Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1986).

⁷⁹ Andrea Smith, "'The One Who Did Not Break His Promises: Native Americans in the Evangelical Race Reconciliation Movement,'" in *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Dec. 2006), 478-509.

⁸⁰ Jeanine LeBlanc, "Walking 'The Good Red Road: NAIITS, The Obstacles It Faces and How They are Being Overcome,'" *Journal of NAIITS*, vol. 6 (2008): 5-20.

First Contact and Consequences through to Resistance: Global

This study focuses in Chapters Two and Three on the commonalities experienced by Indigenous peoples. Research on First Contact provides an overview of colonization for the global level beginning with the first visit by English seafarers to New Zealand and culminating in the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. The Māori story will fast-forward to the crises/resistance phase known as the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. New Zealand Government websites provide full text for both treaties.

Gay Reed addresses a common experience for Indigenous peoples—forced Western education: “Historical documentation of the deculturalization of Hawai’i through the educational system ... reveals much the same pattern that took place in ... other parts of the world where the culture and language of indigenous populations have been systemically eradicated by newcomers.”⁸³ Terms such as cultural sustainability, reindigenization, retraditionalization, decolonization, and reclamation of culture are terms for strategies designed to reverse, or at least diminish, the Euro-culturalization processes. Monte Rereamoamo Ohia focuses on Māori transformation movements, particularly in the area of education.⁸⁴ His dissertation provides insight into his own journey of reclamation. It will serve as the major work related to Māori experience for two reasons: Ohia (and his wife, Linda) functioned as primary innovators for the WCGIP until his

⁸¹ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization.

⁸² Casey Church, *Holy Smoke: The Contextual Use of Native American Ritual and Ceremony* (Cleveland, TN: Cherohala Press), 2017.

⁸³ Gay Garland Reed, “Reversing Deculturalization for Better or for Worse” in *Cultural Education—Cultural Sustainability: Minority, Diaspora, Indigenous and Ethno-Religious Groups in Multicultural Societies*, edited by Zvi Bekerman and Ezra Kopelowitz (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 232ff.

⁸⁴ Monte Refremoamo Ohia, “Towards a Values-Based Transformation Movement for Maori Advancement: The Case for Spiritual, Ethical and Moral Imperatives within Maori Transformational Movements” (PhD thesis University of Auckland, 2006).

passing in 2008; and, his doctoral thesis is not limited to the discipline of secular education, but provides a sweeping historical analysis. It is profitable for understanding Māori spirituality, as well as it contributes material for a comparative analysis of Māori colonization, resistance, retraditionalization, and reclamation by IJF. Although his thesis was submitted to a “secular” institution within the faculty of education, spirituality is foundational to its purpose and contents. While Ohia’s thesis serves as a plumb-line, other literature and research both augment and, at times, recalibrate my research.

J.M.R. Owens, in *Prophets in the Wilderness*,⁸⁵ argues that contrary to the theory of social determinism, the Māoris at Whangaroa exhibited a willingness to participate in the exchange of ideas which naturally occurs with human interaction. This is in line with Rynkiewicz’s theory of culture as contingent, constructed, and contested.

First Contact and Consequences through to Resistance: Regional

This section investigates historical contexts for North America, excluding Mexico. Texts by Nicholas Cushner, Harold Horwood, James Moore, plus S.R. Mealing’s English translation of the Jesuit documents *Relations des Jesuits*,⁸⁶ known collectively as *Les Relations (Relations)*, will be prominent in this section. The Jesuits serve as the first of the five organizations to be investigated. The papal Bull, *Regimini Militantis*, by Pope Paul III in 1540, positioned the Jesuits to become the foremost missionaries in north-eastern North America for the first century and more of its colonization, beginning their mission activities in “New France” in 1611.

⁸⁵ J.M.R. Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness: The Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand, 1819-27* (Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 1974).

⁸⁶ S. R. Mealing, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Carleton Library, no. 7 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969).

Selecting the Jesuits as a global representative of first contact is intended to tease out the indicators of loss of culture, reclamation of culture (if such a phenomenon existed in those early stages), and re-entrenchment of traditional religion at an early stage—seeking evidence of how Indigenous converts interpreted their pre-Christ/pre-European contact identities and realities. Although focusing on the Anglican Church may seem a more appropriate choice, French Catholicism influenced the Winnipeg (local) geographic region as much as the British did. Terry LeBlanc’s 2012 dissertation addressing Mi’kmaq and Jesuit understandings of the spiritual will be significant in this section.⁸⁷

Exactly which Europeans “discovered” Canada is shrouded in mystery as thick as the fogs of Newfoundland. Celtic legends from approximately 725 A.D. recount tales of Ocean crossings. Vikings left their traces on Newfoundland shores when around 1000 A.D. Bjarni Herjolfsson is known to have reached what is now Nova Scotia from Iceland.⁸⁸ Some of his crew made a repeat voyage with Leif Erikson. There is evidence of earlier visitations but no official records. Basques, Britons, and Normans had fished off the eastern shores, using the shoreline to dry fish. Notwithstanding the existing Indigenous population, children have routinely been taught in school that Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) discovered Canada in 1534 through his exploration of the St. Lawrence River. According to Horwood’s work, Cartier provided fascinating hints but little real information about first contact with First Nations. He wrote of being greeted in the St. Lawrence gulf by forty or fifty canoes loaded with men intent on trade, in spite of being

⁸⁷ Terry LeBlanc, “Spirit and Spirituality: Mi’kmaq and French/Jesuit Understandings of the Spiritual and the Implications of Faith” (PhD dissertation Asbury Theological Seminary, 2012).

⁸⁸ Harold Horwood, *The Colonial Dream, 1497-1760*, Canada’s Illustrated Heritage (Toronto: Natural Science of Canada Ltd., 1978), 7. According to Horwood, only the Icelanders remembered the tale of the land that they called Vinland—they and the archives of the Vatican (13).

shot at with “fire lance” as well as “gunpowder, broken glass, bent nails and the like.”⁸⁹ Their tenacity indicated that White Europeans were known as potential traders.

Moore’s book, *Indian and Jesuit*, provides insight into the Jesuit foray into New France in 1611 that was short lived. The “permanent” Jesuit missions began in 1632. By the end of the century, Jesuits had missionaries in settlements and outposts reaching “from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Wisconsin and Louisiana,”⁹⁰ all within the territory claimed as New France. The Jesuits had not functioned merely as missionaries; by searching out converts further north, west, and south; they served as colonizers, explorers, and expansionists for France, amassing approximately 900,000 acres of land in New France by 1760—land viewed as “compensation for the waning of its influence in France.”⁹¹ They illustrate the agenda for conquest, civilization, and Christianization.

First Contact and Consequences through to Resistance: Local

The “Oblate Communications”⁹² are an excellent source of information for another Roman Catholic Order that held tremendous power in Canadian history, including in the Red River Settlement. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate [O.M.I.] grew to rival the largest mission forces of the Catholic Church with its founding in France (1816). The Oblates gained influence in vast regions of the developing confederation, travelling via inland waterway routes, ministering to *les Canadiens* (fur traders from the east), the

⁸⁹ Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, 26.

⁹⁰ James T Moore, *Indian and Jesuit: A Seventeenth-Century Encounter* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), xi ff.

⁹¹ Mealing, *The Jesuit Relations*, x.

⁹² “Oblates of Mary Immaculate,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed Nov. 23, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/367557/Oblates-of-Mary-Immaculate>.

Métis, and later to French settlers.⁹³ Our family parish of St. Charles within the Red River Settlement (now Winnipeg) deferred to Oblates even after English dominance.

Retraditionalization and Reclamation Movements: Global and Regional

A sweeping overview of resistance strategies and movements since the late 1960s are presented in Chapter Three as crises occurred and led to the events, organizations, and innovators highlighted in Chapter Four. The role of literature by Indigenous writers is examined as an indicator of resistance, retraditionalization, and reclamation. I will demonstrate that the belated public awareness (both by non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples) of the Canadian Residential Schools has served to further both the retraditionalization and the reclamation movements. Other sources helpful here include doctoral work by Richard Twiss, Terry LeBlanc, Cheryl Bear, Randy Woodley, and Casey Church. Their theses/dissertations take their place alongside the collective resistance literature. Episkew contends that not only does “Indigenous literature respond to and critique the policies of the Government of Canada, it also functions as ‘medicine’ to help cure the colonial contagion by healing the communities that these policies have injured.”⁹⁴ Furthermore,

It accomplishes this by challenging the “master narrative,” that is, a summary of the stories that embody the “socially shared understanding.” This master narrative is, in fact, the myth of the new Canadian nation-state, which valorizes the settlers but which sometimes misrepresents and more often excludes Indigenous peoples. ... Indigenous literature comprises a “counterstory” that resists the “oppressive identity ... and attempts to replace it with one that commands respect.”⁹⁵

⁹³ “Oblates of Mary Immaculate,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Their emphasis on Mary is reflected in the name of our family church, Our Lady of Perpetual Help.

⁹⁴ Episkew, *Taking Back Our Spirits*, 2; referencing Hilde Lindemann Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 6.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Quotation marks indicate Nelson’s words.

The first book written by an Indigenous person that I recall reading is *Halfbreed* (1976 publication) by Maria Campbell.⁹⁶ Literature by Indigenous scholars and authors is now readily available at the local level. Native Studies programs at provincial universities combined with more First Nations and Métis students seeking academic credentials may account for the increase in publications. These resources help to reveal the role of resistance literature.

Retraditionalization and Reclamation Movements: Local

In 2008, I studied the demographics of the city of Winnipeg, its historical development, racial interactions, and other pertinent information related to First Nations people moving off reserve and into the urban core. I did this for an Urban Anthropology course at Asbury Theological Seminary. Volunteer work in the North End these past four years has increased my knowledge of the area and people who live there through participant observation with the ministries in Chapter Five.

Data Collection Method, Analysis, and Interpretation

The significance of research methodology when applied to my study “frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods being employed, and shapes the analyses. Within an indigenous framework, methodological debates are ones concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals of Indigenous research,”⁹⁷ writes Smith. Furthermore, “Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and Indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of Indigenous researchers which continues to be within the academy, and the parameters and

⁹⁶ Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Halifax: Goodread Biographies, 1973).

⁹⁷ Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 143.

common-sense understandings of research which govern how Indigenous communities and researchers define their activities.”⁹⁸

Philip Salzman and Patricia Rice define ethnography as “the cultural study of a single cultural group and often the written description of that particular culture.”⁹⁹

Indigenous cultures in Canada are far from a homogeneous singular cultural group even without the inclusion of Native American and Māori participants and international events in this study. First Nations cultures are diverse much as European cultures are dissimilar. Despite the differences in languages, creation stories, traditions, food sources, housing structures, and other cultural factors; nonetheless, they share many values and perspectives as well as colonial experiences under Britain. Therefore, I recognize I am extending the definition of ethnography to include cultural commonalities and shared experiences.

Research methodologies include the following components:

- Conversations: Conversations have been face-to-face, telephone calls, e-mail, and through social media and at conferences. Indigenous research methodology requires conversation at individual and community levels.¹⁰⁰ I have initiated conversations with four of the five named individuals at multiple times within the timeframe allotted to this research and have followed up with e-mails when warranted. These individuals, to the best of my knowledge, represent the groups and categories which most directly relate to the questions I researched. They are Richard Twiss, Terry LeBlanc, Cheryl Bear, and Pastor A.
- Personal interviews: In addition to individuals noted, I conducted personal interviews with selected leaders/attendees of the WCGIP and built upon or clarified previous notes. I sought information from interviews or correspondence with individuals who appeared to be a source of additional knowledge, such as Katherine Twiss, Ray Aldred, Matt LeBlanc, and Hannah Chapman; and with others as deemed necessary. Additionally, I interviewed five individuals in inner

⁹⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 143.

⁹⁹ Philip Carl Salzman and Patricia C. Rice, *Thinking Anthropologically: A Practical Guide for Students*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education Inc., Prentice Hall, 2008), 113.

¹⁰⁰ Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*.

city Winnipeg from organizations such as Inner City Youth Alive, First Nations Community Church, and North End Family Center.

- Participant Observation: My analysis includes data collected prior to the proposal phase of this project, from attendance at Sacred Assembly (1995);¹⁰¹ and two WCGIP gatherings (Israel 2008 and New Zealand 2010); additionally, I attended all but one NAIITS symposiums, a variety of Indigenous conferences, powwows, and ceremonies; and hosted numerous Indigenous guests. I conducted a survey and formal interviews at WCGIP 2008. I have edited and overseen the publishing of a journal for fourteen NAIITS symposiums (the fifteenth journal is in the editing phase).¹⁰² I have organized ROCM events and taught at academic institutions on this topic. Thus, participant observation is intrinsic to my research.
- Video recordings: I have examined and analyzed select videos related to WCGIP events and Wiconi International initiatives. I viewed official video recordings, unreleased video material, literature, websites, advertisements, and online resources, for cases or patterns of contextualization and/or networking.
- Surveys: I had developed and used a survey at WCGIP in 2008; the inconclusive results led to developing a shorter questionnaire/interview form.
- Literature: I had been given material by Richard Twiss from Wiconi International ministry and had access to former staff when necessary to clarify information.
- Relationships: I have also relied on Hannah Chapman, Terry LeBlanc and NAIITS board members for additional information and clarification. Winnipeg has an abundance of readily available Indigenous authored books.

Without analysis and interpretation, data is inadequate to inform or to draw reliable conclusions. Adequate research design and data collection strategy are of utmost importance. Yin cautions the researcher to carefully consider the unit of analysis by clearly defining it; yet, he states that flexibility is required, that as research progresses and clarity develops, these units and facets “can be revisited”¹⁰³ and adjusted as new discoveries are made. The main unit of analysis in my research is the extent of the adoption or rejection of the innovation of reclamation of culture by IFJ including

¹⁰¹ I also attended a portion of the second and final Sacred Assembly (Sagkeeng First Nation, Manitoba, 1997). The second assembly disintegrated into conflicting agendas. The hosts favored a sociopolitical agenda while Harper focused on the original agenda of seeking common ground through spiritual values. I was present when Harper angrily declared that Sacred Assembly was *his* vision and he trusted in the Name of Jesus Christ.

¹⁰² The 2017 NAIITS Journal is in the editing stage.

¹⁰³ Yin, *Case Study Research*, 30.

Individual 5—Pastor A. Other embedded units which emerge are noted in Chapters Four and Five.¹⁰⁴

Preliminary Theoretical Framework

Theories and methodologies which are appropriate for this study are:

- Global/Regional/Local Networking Analysis;
- Social Networking Theory;
- Diffusion of Innovation Theory (Everett Rogers¹⁰⁵);
- Revitalization Theory, which favors mass people movements, is referenced when relevant (in particular, work by Anthony Wallace,¹⁰⁶ Lee Irwin¹⁰⁷ [prophets as change agents], and Alice Beck Kehoe¹⁰⁸).

I investigated *Case Study Research* to determine if and how my research objectives could be enhanced through the case study approach examined and explained by Yin.¹⁰⁹ This is most applicable to the local level research. The case study approach that Yin expands upon, especially the concept of employing metaphor, informs the concept of research as gifting protocol.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Yin, *Case Study Research*, 31.

¹⁰⁵ Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*.

¹⁰⁶ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for their Comparative Study." *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2 (April, 1956): 264-281. Also, Anthony F.C. Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement," *Ethnohistory*, 5, no. 2 (Spring 1958): 118-130.

¹⁰⁷ Lee Irwin, *Coming Down from Above: Prophecy, Resistance, and Renewal in Native American Religions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

¹⁰⁸ Alice Beck Kehoe, *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

Summarization of Questions

Questions which are posed and answered related to my qualitative research as previously stated are:

- Has the contemporary Reclamation of Culture Movement by Indigenous followers of Jesus positioned Indigenous peoples to do self-theologizing at the local level in Canada?
- Given the distortion of identity and negative social realities evidenced among many Indigenous people in Canada, is there evidence that these issues have similarly affected other Indigenous groups who are emerging from colonial dominance at the global and regional levels?
- What are these networks, links, and loops in the ongoing conversation between Global, Regional, and Local levels? Are there channels for the flow of information, goods, and persons between the reindigenization movement by political/social activists and the reclamation of culture movement that involves self-identified Jesus-followers?
- Is there evidence of self-theologizing at the global and at the regional levels of the Jesus-followers' reclamation of culture movement, and if so, is there evidence that self-theologizing is being diffused to the local level?
- What other signs of change are evident of local adoption or rejection?
- What other questions emerge as the study progresses?

Data Analysis Plan

The first level of analysis is historical, using parallel time frames based on first contact and crisis/resistance events in the political/social arena in all three locales. Cluster Analysis¹¹¹ is applied in the second level of research, concentrating on sociopolitical activist literature (published during the late 1960s forward) at the three levels. Highlighted from this period is data on the time frame, types of literature, impetus for publishing, and issues addressed, in order to summarize the stresses that resulted in innovation/diffusion of retraditionalization. The resources located in the Native Studies Departments of the University of Winnipeg and University of Manitoba are instrumental in this phase of research as data has been previously compiled and analyzed by other

¹¹¹ Russell H. Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Pub., 1988), 689.

scholars. Episkenew's *Taking Back Our Spirits*¹¹² is an example of the excellent resources available. The bibliography in her work and in the previously cited texts by Smith, Wilson, and Kovach lead to other authors. These four authors exemplify new literature as they advance Indigenous methodologies. Readily accessible resources include: resistance literature, the Canadian Human Rights Museum, archives of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and First Nations leaders.

The third level of analysis addresses the impact of colonization on the social realities of Māori, Native North Americans, and Canadian (specifically Winnipeg) Indigenous peoples. I assessed commonalities of experiences and consequences employing a percentile basis of analysis from official government statistics comparing Indigenous peoples with the macro culture in the areas of education, poverty, incarceration, and suicide. I present selected statistics. Although health issues and life expectancies are also good indicators, they are not necessary to make the point of marginalization. Since proving marginalization is not the primary goal of my project, I depend upon comparative statistical documentation from reliable sources where available rather than primary research (other than participant observation).

The fourth level of analysis seeks patterns from interviews, conversations, records, video recordings, and participation at events and with organizations to determine how and if cultural reclamation and contextualization experienced at the global level has diffused to the regional level. The fifth and final level of analysis reveals attitudes toward and evidence of reclamation of culture and contextualization at the local level.

¹¹² Episkenew, *Taking Back Our Spirits*.

Ethical Considerations and Statement

Key Indigenous Christian leadership in Canada consists of a relatively small number of people. Even when there are opposing camps, the leadership tends to be known to one another, at least by name. Key players in the reclamation movement are readily accessible and network together across denominational lines in spite of vast geographical distances. Some who oppose contextualization have published their views in accessible literature or websites. Other leaders are investigating their faith and the impact of contextualization on their ministries, still counting the cost. For that reason, at the local level of my research, I may be confronted with issues of confidentiality. While a “Consent Form” is appropriate to other communities, it is not with Indigenous interviewees; therefore, I have been careful to explain my research, clarify that the potential interviewee may choose or decline to participate, and that there are various levels of confidentiality that they may request. These are: (1) full disclosure, (2) use of direct quotes along with a vague reference to title or position but not name, (3) reference to ideas or positions without any identifying information, or (4) no reference to interview.

My Bias

I am legally Red River Métis rooted in the well documented Red River Métis Settlement on the south side of the Assiniboine River in the Parish of St. Charles¹¹³ with its historic relationship to the Hudson’s Bay Company [HBC] and the Catholic Oblate Order. My maiden name was Wendy Lynn Marie Beauchemin, a direct descendant of the Métis Hogue and Beauchemin families. I was baptized and confirmed Roman Catholic. I

¹¹³ “Few populations are more thoroughly documented in the pattern of their marriages and geographical distribution than the people who developed the Red River Settlement between 1820 and 1870.” D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, Compilers, *The Genealogy of the First Métis Nation* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Pub., 1983 [2000]), 9. This work repeatedly references the Hogue, Beauchemin, and other related families.

was re-baptized as a married adult through the Evangelical Free Church of Canada. My formal Beauchemin ancestry records in Canada reach back to the early 1600s.¹¹⁴

There are twenty-nine surnames recorded in my paternal genealogy. Two are of Scottish origin; the others are French. Colonizers had the habit of giving European names to Indigenous peoples. Cree names are lost to history. It is often impossible to trace whether spouse is Métis or Indian, except when “halfbreed” is listed.

On my paternal grandmother’s side, it is clear that the Cree woman called “Jane Amérindienne/Amerindian” was born near Churchill in northern Manitoba in the late 1700s. She was the “country wife”¹¹⁵ of seaman George Taylor who later became the master of the Sloop Churchill.¹¹⁶ They resided at York Factory. My great grandfather, Jean-Baptiste Beauchemin, served around 1869 on Louis Riel’s Council.¹¹⁷ (See an archival photograph in Appendix 2.) Riel’s “rebellion” culminated in the latter being executed for treason some fifteen years later (1885). In February each year, however, Manitobans now enjoy a holiday called Louis Riel Day in honor of his role in Manitoba history. Baptiste, as my great-grandfather was known, remained on his river lot farm land along the Assiniboine River and seemingly did not join the latter part of the resistance (1885) in Saskatchewan. One of the family tales tells of his brother being born under a

¹¹⁴ “Ancestors of Wendy Beauchemin-Peterson,” La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface (1993). The Roman Catholic Church kept quite precise records which are readily accessible. The 1669 marriage between *Canadiens* Paul Hus and Jeanne Baillargeon in Contrat Cusson (Cap-de-la-Madeleine), Quebec, is the first documented date in the “New World”—although all four of their parents’ names appear to be stated as residents of New France at earlier dates.

¹¹⁵ A term used for the union of Cree or “half-breed” women with British men. Britain did not send clergy to the HBC enterprises this early in colonial history, so legal marriages did not take place.

¹¹⁶ See George Taylor (1759-1844) / Jane Cree Indian (1780-1844); Red River Ancestry.ca, accessed Sept. 28, 2017, available at redriverancestry.ca.

¹¹⁷ See picture of council in John Weinstein, *Quiet Revolution West: The Rebirth of Métis Nationalism* (Calgary, AB: Fifth House Ltd., 2007), 10. Reprinted in Appendix 2.

Red River cart during a buffalo hunt. I spent the first fourteen years of my life on that land which was shared then by four generations and at least six other Beauchemin and Hogue families: my godparents, grandmother, *ma mere* and *ma pere*, and other relatives within a two mile stretch on Municipal Road in Charleswood. My parents had attended Beauchemin School, named after my grandparents as it was built on their donated land. However, by the time I attended the same school, the name was changed to Charleswood School “because the English couldn’t pronounce Beauchemin”¹¹⁸ (see Appendix 2). A small park plus a 55⁺ apartment block carry the Beauchemin name, marking the location of the family home. A short road is called Beauchemin Ave. My Métis grandparents, Patrice Beauchemin and Albina [nee Hogue], were next-door neighbors as children. My ancestors’ intermarriages between Cree, Anishinaabe, French, and two English/Scottish fur traders reflect early colonial history in Canada’s Prairie Provinces.¹¹⁹

In 1991, a distant cousin produced a documentary entitled *Women in the Shadows* which features our Cree great-great-grandmother, Margurite Hogue nee Margaret Taylor.¹²⁰ The cousin investigates the shame and social disadvantage of being Métis after the Riel Rebellion/Resistance (1885), known as “*temps noir*” or “dark times,” explaining why many Métis tried to “pass” as French/White.

¹¹⁸ Personal conversation with my aunt, Patricia Beauchemin Carrière, 90 years old, in August 2011. My older cousin Jeanne Kubiak, Oct. 2017, told me that someone chipped out the “Beauchemin School” stone and dumped it in the river one night around 1913, so the name changed to “Charleswood School.”

¹¹⁹ Pre-1800, eighty percent plus of HBC personnel were from “the impoverished Orkney Islands.” Sprague and Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Métis Nation*, 11.

¹²⁰ Christine Welsh and Signe Johansson, *Women in the Shadows*, directed by Nora Bailey, a documentary film (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1991). Our ancestor’s Cree name is lost. George Taylor’s name is still carved into the Churchill River shoreline rock as “Geo.Taylor 0787” (July 1787) along with explorer Samuel Hearne’s name (1767). Although Cree, she was named Margaret Taylor as the country-wife of Sir Simpson. When he married his cousin and brought her back from England, he gave Margaret and their two sons to Amable Hogue. She was renamed Marquerite Hoque and is buried hundreds of miles from York Factory, in our family cemetery in St. Charles, Winnipeg.

My mother was a Canadian child born to British immigrants who settled in Manitoba around WWI. Her parents were Ellen and Fredrick Keen. In other words, I represent both the oppressors and the oppressed—the oblivious and the cognizant—of Indigenous identities distorted by a macro culture’s prejudice, racism, and governmental policies. I am also the mother of a Saulteaux/Anishinaabe (adopted) son who was part of the “Sixties Scoop;”¹²¹ and grandmother of three (biological) Métis, nine “half” Saulteaux, and three (adopted) Ethiopian grandchildren.

I am a founding board member of NAIITS, editor of the NAIITS Journal, founding Co-Chair of the Aboriginal Task Force of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (which morphed into the Aboriginal Ministry Council which I also co-chaired); I was a participant in Sacred Assembly (1995), and two WCGIP events (Israel and New Zealand), and I am a doctoral candidate at Asbury Theological Seminary under a NAIITS agreement. I served as a board member/treasurer of North End Family Center [NEFC], an Indigenous led non-profit in the heart of Winnipeg’s Indigenous community from January 2016 through August 2017. I have recently been asked to join the board of Inner City Youth Alive (I have deferred). I also frequently help plan conferences and/or speak at events in Inner City Winnipeg. I am a current board member of Indigenous Pathways—NAIITS, Wiconi, and two other ministries function under that organizational structure. I

¹²¹ We adopted our youngest son in 1974. The term “Sixties Scoop,” alternatively “60s Scoop,” refers to Canada’s Indigenous children who were taken from their homes in the latter half of the 1960s through the 1980s, often under suspicious circumstances with minimal accountability. The children were usually adopted into non-Indigenous homes in Canada and internationally. The Canadian Government announced an almost 800 million dollars settlement on October 6, 2017. The children lost their identity, language, and culture. We were led to believe our son’s birth mother was from Manitoba. We were told he was non-Status (had no Treaty community). He received a government letter in April 2015 stating he is “full Status Indian” from George Gordon First Nation, Treaty 4—without an apology. The government lied to us. More importantly, they stole our child’s identity from him. See “Agreement-in-Principle reached to resolve the Sixties Scoop Litigation,” Indigenous and Northern Affairs (Oct. 6, 2017), Government of Canada, accessed Oct. 7, 2017, <https://www.canada.ca/en/indigenous-northern-affairs/news/2017/10/agreement-in-principlereachedtoresolvethesixtiesscooplitigation.html>.

have been participating in reclamation of identity through contextualization for twenty-five years. I self-identify as a flawed follower of Jesus Christ.

Delimitations

Although my presupposition is that Indigenous retraditionalization and reclamation movements are occurring globally based on participant observation at WCGIP events, both by followers of Jesus and by those to whom Jesus is either unknown or considered irrelevant, my concern is primarily with Jesus-followers. While I could not assume each person's motivation is identical or even similar, I did assess observable outcomes, which will be addressed in Chapters Four and Five. As noted, signed contracts and surveys will not suit this particular research.

Due to the geographical vastness of North America, the regional research will focus on First Contact with Jesuits in Canada with some references to post-first contact, for example, with the Lakota Sioux as representative of historical realities and impacts that are relevant to those founding Wiconi International and NAIITS.

Attention is paid to selected literature produced by opponents to reclamation of culture and contextualization; nevertheless, such work is not a focal point of this research.

The inner-city community of Winnipeg represents the diffusion theory test. However, the nature of the community does not suit a quantitative test to determine if a critical mass has adopted reclamation of culture. The community of inner city ministries is relatively small with denominational divisions and no natural gathering place; therefore, interviews, conversations, and participation observation inform this study. Determining sustainability of the reclamation of culture movement is beyond the parameters of this work, although some extrapolations will be drawn.

Innu and Inuit are self-identifying terms for the far northern Indigenous peoples (although there are also Déne, James Bay Cree, and others who reside in the north). The North End does have a small population of Innu. Many are transient as they or relatives are in Winnipeg for medical reasons. Even though Inuit (“Eskimos”) attended WCGIP, they will be excluded from specific consideration since their “first contact” stories occur later and are geographically too diverse to examine in this research.

While much is to be learned from every Indigenous community’s journey and each individual’s experience, not every Indigenous group named will be researched or enlarged upon. At the local level, being able to communicate in the mother tongues of the prospective interviewees (Cree, Anishinaabe, or Oji-Cree) would be advantageous. However, since many have lost their mother tongues through colonization and since the majorities who reside in Winnipeg speak English, interviews are conducted in English.

Reclamation, ideally, should result in revitalized commitment to Jesus Christ expressed in deeper discipleship. This idealized state, however, is somewhat subjective and difficult to measure objectively especially juxtaposing numerous Indigenous cultures with Western expectations, particularly in the structure of “doing church.”¹²²

Under colonialism, descriptors of people groups often conflict with self-identifying names. At the beginning of this project, “Aboriginal” was the preferred collective descriptor for “Indian”/First Nations, “Eskimo”/Inuit, and “Half-Breed”/Métis peoples. That term fell out of favor and has been replaced by “Indigenous,” as reflected in the name change of the *Indian Department* (1755) to a division of Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1936) to *Department of Indian and Northern*

¹²² For example, pews stacked behind one another and a hierarchical leader at the front are at odds with a sacred circle where all are equal.

Affairs (1966)¹²³ to *Indian and Inuit Affairs* (1978)¹²⁴ to *Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development* (2011)¹²⁵ to *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada* (2015). Use of the terms is further explained in the Glossary (pages xff).

Preliminary Overview of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters: Chapter One: Introduction to the study; Chapter Two: Acquisition, Dispossession, and Marginalization: The Impact of First Contact on Indigenous Peoples, with the historiographical foundation and consequences; Chapter Three: Crises and Resistance as Sociopolitical Activism as First Peoples respond to loss and marginalization; Chapter Four: The Innovation and Diffusion of Contextualization within the Reclamation of Culture Movement introduces events that kindle organizations and individuals to innovate and to diffuse information to create a better future; and Chapter Five: Imperialism to Indigeneity: Impact of the Reclamation of Culture Movement at the Local Level (Winnipeg, Manitoba), seeks to discern a path towards a change point in Indigenous experiences of self-theologizing by Indigenous followers of Jesus. This final chapter provides an anthropological view of Winnipeg, an introduction to organizations and individuals who minister in the inner city, a summary of the study, an analysis of innovation and diffusion at the global, regional, and local levels,

¹²³ See Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “A History of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada,” Government of Canada, accessed Oct. 9, 2017, <https://www.aadncaandc.gc.ca/eng/1314977281262/1314977321448>.

¹²⁴ See “Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Oct. 9, 2017, thecanadianencyclopedia.ca.

¹²⁵ Bill Curry, “Aboriginal Affairs: A new name with an uncertain meaning,” First Peoples, *Globe and Mail*, accessed Oct. 9, 2017, beta.globeandmail.com.

and conclusions drawn from the research along with recommended areas for further research.¹²⁶

Conclusion

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to set forth questions which determine the parameters for my dissertation. The primary question is stated thus: *Has the contemporary Reclamation of Culture Movement by Indigenous followers of Jesus positioned Indigenous peoples to do self-theologizing at the local level in Canada?*

Here I presented an introduction to my research. It states that I will compare the experiences and consequences of colonization of Indigenous peoples in three locations: (1) the Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, (2) Native Americans in the U.S. and Indigenous peoples in Canada, and (3) First Nations and Métis ending with local church leaders in Winnipeg, to represent the global/regional/local levels in networking theory—in particular, diffusion of innovation theory. This study highlights consequent impacts on identity and social order, crisis/resistance related to the sociopolitical realm and the resultant resistance literature. What I theorized and herein prove is the latter's connection with the ROCM within the Indigenous expression of the church. I do this through the selection of five key historical events, and five influential organizations. To demonstrate the social networking that has energized (or blocked) the movement, I selected five individuals. The fifth individual will represent its influence, or lack thereof, at the grassroots leadership level and therefore provides the test for potential sustainability and on-going diffusion. I additionally conducted interviews with five individuals who minister in the inner city of Winnipeg, including Pastor A. The significance of the

¹²⁶ See Table A.1 in Appendix 1 for summarization of the selected events, organizations and individuals highlighted in this study.

research and its relevance within Indigenous Christian communities in Canada is stated. By extension, it is relevant also to Indigenous peoples in the United States and New Zealand. A review of literature is included in the text of this dissertation; ethical considerations as well as my bias are noted, and tentative data collecting strategies and methodologies stated.

This paper also focuses on the theological inadequacies intrinsic to ethnocentric and human-centered theologies in missions. The intention is not to discourage missionary activity, but purposely to discover when and where it is promoting healthy identity, healing, and wholeness or where it can be improved upon.¹²⁷

Debates over what is appropriate for Christian life and worship have existed as long as the Church, as we are reminded by a reading of the Book of Acts. In previous centuries and diverse cultures, there have been those who moved in the direction of contextualization while others took the position of defender of the faith, often motivated by a fear of syncretism. Syncretism sometimes—perhaps always—occurs as successful contextualization is a movement towards something new, yet compatible with the received gospel. In this research process, I am comforted by the words of Geertz, “This backward order of things—first you write and then you figure out what you are writing about—may seem odd, or even perverse, but it is, I think, at least most of the time, standard procedure in cultural anthropology.”¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Neil Darragh, “Hazardous missions and shifting frameworks,” paper for the IAMS assembly in Malaysia (2004), accessed Nov. 23, 2012, http://missionstudies.org/archive/conference/1papers/fp/Neil_Darragh_Full_paper.pdf.

¹²⁸ Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Preface to the 2000 Edition, v.

CHAPTER TWO

ACQUISITION, DISPOSSESSION, AND MARGINALIZATION: THE IMPACT OF FIRST CONTACT ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

My only object was to raise them from savage and revolting cannibalism, to the position of happy and civilized cottagers each village with its little Church and School. Each family with their neat and boarded Cottage, surrounded by their orchards and wheatfields ... and their women no longer laboring as beasts of burden, but engaged with their sewing, These are the plans I formed.

—John Morgan

This second chapter addresses the first of five events, identified as First Contact, and the commonalities and consequences experienced at the global, regional, and local levels. The objective is to understand the underlying motivation for Indigenous peoples to reclaim their identities through their reclaimed culture. Evidence is noted of early resistance to colonial assimilation attempts. Braided into this part of the narrative is the role of the Jesuits in colonial missions as the first of five organizations that acted as change points in history. The objective will be accomplished by presenting selected details, seeking both positive and negative voices, with the goal of demonstrating social consequences experienced by the colonized.¹ Since this is being presented from an Indigenous perspective, it is inevitable that more of the negative consequences will be brought forward—events and words overlooked in the dominant educational system. Given that in Canada, up to the present day, education on the country's history has been from a single perspective of the descendants of settlers, this work is seeking to hear the voices of the silenced. The following table illustrates the overall scheme of this chapter.

¹ This is not to suggest the colonizer remained unchanged, but that is subject matter for a different dissertation.

Table 2.1. Elements of Chapter Two

ELEMENT	Triad I GLOBAL New Zealand & North America	Triad II REGIONAL North America	Triad III LOCAL Canada / Winnipeg
EVENT 1 Colonization	<i>First Contact</i> England Treaty of Waitangi 1840	<i>First Contact</i> Spain/Portugal France England Dutch	<i>First Contact</i> France England
ORGANIZATION 1 Colonization	<i>Jesuits</i> Exemplar for: Anglican Missions Methodists Missions	<i>Jesuits</i> Exemplar for: Anglican/Episcopalian Methodists Puritans Quakers	<i>Jesuits</i>

Event 1: First Contact Commonalities and Consequences

They came by ones and twos, dozens and hundreds— then unremitting waves assaulting the shores. They journeyed by ship, on foot, in wagons and canoes, or on horseback. They left their lands of birth craving adventure, hungering for imperial fame, or seeking new resources to feed the unrelenting appetite of an industrial age. They left homes driven by strife with fellow-countrymen, dreaming of creating conflicting visions of utopia. The greater number came compelled by poverty and depleted resources in their homelands. Others found themselves shipped off as prisoners or servants, spit out by their mother land. Some were abducted—sold to work and die as slaves on the sugar plantations and cotton fields producing products to satisfy European markets. A pioneering mission movement attracted Christians who braved the journey convinced that they possessed spiritual truth and life lessons that the uncivilized heathen required.

At first only men came. The earliest explorers, trappers, traders, settlers, priests, missionaries, and colonizers required help from the First Peoples to survive. Europeans brought enticing goods unlike anything along the ancient trading routes. Initially seen as

curiosities, these goods soon morphed into coveted possessions and necessities. Two trading goods created desire with deadly consequences—guns and alcohol. What the migrants wanted—what corporations too often still crave—is land, land and its resources.

Indigenous flora, fauna, and humans inhabited the new lands. The humans demonstrated a persistent resistance to Western ways, mores, and values. In a word, they proved “inconvenient” to colonizers’ dreams and desires,² or, as Helmut Schoeck theorizes—their covetousness.³ The Europeans brought their cultures, epistemologies, values, theologies, resourcefulness, technology, and a tradition of warring over the nature of God and his decrees. They also carried a concept of “the savage” as Robert Williams argues in his work *Savage Anxieties*.⁴ The savage, he contends, fall into two categories: Wild or Noble. Both are dangerous. The latter at any point may revert to his natural nature, which is wild. Europeans, as the epitome of civilization according to Williams, look outwards, beyond civilization where the savage inhabits the wilderness, as I summarize in the illustration below.

² Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Toronto, ON: Doubleday Canada, 2012).

³ See Helmut Schoeck, *Envy: A Theory of Social Behaviour*, trans. by Martin Secker and Warburg Limited (New York: Harcourt, Bruce and World, 1969; repr., North Shadeland, IN: Liberty Fund, 1985); first published as *Der Neid: Eine Theorie der Gesellschaft* (Germany, 1966). Schoeck’s theory is that the root cause of negative social behaviour can be attributed to envy, encountered as greed. At times this may seem an obvious conclusion to draw, as when Indigenous peoples respond to economic disparity. However, at times clashes occurred based on social organization, worldviews, and values.

⁴ Robert A. Williams, *Savage Anxieties: The Invention of Western Civilization* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Rooted in the word for wild, *Les sauvages* is the primary word the French have for the Indigenous peoples of New France. For a contemporary application of this, see John Stackhouse article and NAIITS response in Appendix 7 of this study.

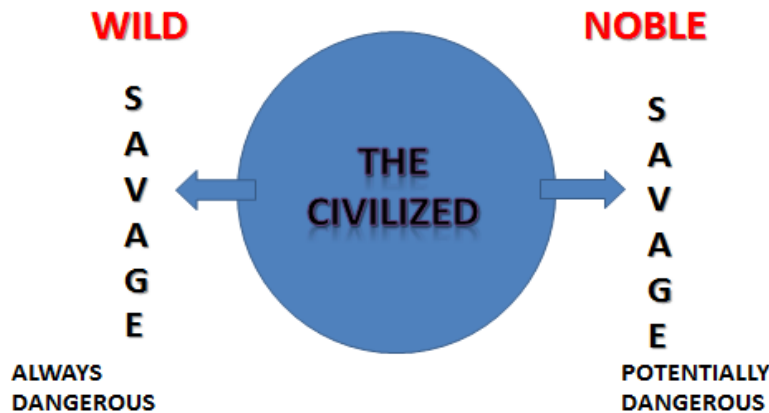


Figure 2.1. Robert Williams's Concept of the Savage.

Politics, profit, and mission are often inseparable in the colonial era as colonies and countries formed. David Bebbington writes “Because the past shapes the present, a just understanding of the past is important for any individual, society, or church.”⁵ Equally important, the present shapes the future. Therefore, the historical section will serve a vital purpose in laying the *raison d’etre* for an ancient-new way via the reclamation of culture. To not tell the story that comes before would be to disrespect the losses and the social consequences that haunt Indigenous lives today.

The Global Impact of First Contact on Indigenous Peoples: Māori

With buoyant step Balboa⁶ hastened to the beach, and, while the tide laved his feet, took possession of the newly-discovered [Great Pacific] ocean, and all the lands washed by its waters, in the name of the King of Spain.

—Robert Ward

⁵ David Bebbington, promotional quote for Carl R. Trueman, *Histories and Fallacies: Problems Faced in Writing History* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2010), back cover.

⁶ His full name: Vasco Nunez de Balboa.

What the Māori faced as the genesis of European colonization in Aotearoa in the early nineteenth century, the colonizers experienced as the waning days of “discovery” through global exploration and expansion. The British, described as “latecomers”⁷ to the task of colonization, had successfully staked their claim to vast portions of land including the greater part of North America, but later relinquished a large segment in 1776 to an independent United States. Northward, what would become the second largest nation in the world, geographically speaking, would birth the Dominion of Canada in 1867 after England’s defeat of New France, having enlarged its territory through the purchase of Rupert’s Land from the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1869/70.⁸ Thus, the colonizers of New Zealand had been at the collective task of colonization for centuries. For the Māori, colonial rites of passage would be swift and painful.

Emphasizing missions draws out commonalities experienced by First Peoples. These commonalties will be assessed alongside the opportunities or obstructions to self-theologizing. Thus, First Contact provides an overview at the global level beginning with the first European seafarers and culminating after the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. It is at this time that the people were collectively called Māori.⁹

⁷ Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (New York, NY: Crown Business/Crown Publishing Group, 2012), 19. The authors base their comment on the poverty England experienced as a result of the War of the Roses (1455-85/87), as “She was in no state to take advantage of the scramble for loot and gold and the opportunity to exploit the indigenous peoples ...”, but the good fortune after defeating Spain (1588) led to colonial endeavours.

⁸ See Rupert’s Land, *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Feb. 28, 2013, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/ruperts-land>. Also spelled Rupertsland, England’s King Charles II named the territory after his cousin in 1670, but granted it to the Hudson’s Bay Company. The British North American Act, 1867, transferred it to Canadian ownership without consulting First Peoples.

⁹ In the next chapter the Māori story of the crisis/resistance phase culminates in the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. Full texts for both treaties are available from a variety of New Zealand Government websites.

Pre-Contact at Global Level

The term “pre-contact” is used to refer to Indigenous societies prior to sustained contact with Europeans. In this study, the Europeans are primarily British (in spite of Balboa’s buoyancy over the Pacific), plus the French in northern North America, although on occasion other European nations are included to fill in the story.

The self-identity of the Māori is rooted in the era of thirteenth century migration in massive and ornate canoes to the land of the long white cloud. Thus, the canoe, the journey, and land loom large in Māori symbolism and culture.¹⁰ The Māori structured their societies around chiefdoms. Each chief had a linkage or connection to particular land, and his people to a particular canoe. Mark Allen describes the role of fortifications in this era.¹¹ These structures contributed to power shifts—the rise and fall of chiefdoms. The fortifications consisted of fenced “forts” called *pa*¹² built atop hills. Allen highlights six Māori characteristics: (1) a series of *pa* suited the population density; (2) food was stored in the *pa*; (3) boundaries of each *pa* were recognized by other groups; (4) the autonomy of each *pa* was accepted; (5) a place of refuge, *pa* symbolized their occupants and leaders; and, (6) *pa* “represented Māori economic projects and investments.”¹³

Religious life and structures bore little likeness to European ones. Symbols, rituals, protocol, cosmology, myth, supernatural beings, concepts of the sacred and

¹⁰ Hans Mol, *The Fixed and The Fickle: Religion and Identity in New Zealand* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1982), 7-9. I found individual Māori in conversation who date this earlier.

¹¹ Mark W. Allen, “Hillforts and Cycling of Maori Chiefdoms: Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors?” in Jim A. Railey and Richard Martin Reycraft, *Global Perspectives on the Collapse of Complex Systems*; Anthropological Papers no. 8 (Albuquerque, NM: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, 2008).

¹² Sometimes capitalized, as by Morgan in Jan Pilditch, ed., *The Letters and Journals of Reverend John Morgan*, vol.1 (Glasgow, UK: Grimsay Press, 2010), 39; at other times spelled *Pah* by Robert Ward, *et al*, *Life among the Maoris of New Zealand: Being a Description of Missionary, Colonial, and Military Achievements* (Breinigsville, PA: n.p., 2009), 18.

¹³ Allen, “Hillforts,” 77.

mundane, warfare, cannibalism,¹⁴ obligations to community, and kinship/social roles all had their place in Māori life and identity. The primordial emergence of the female god Papa (or *Papatuanuku* as Earth Mother¹⁵) was followed by the male god Rangi (Sky Father). Hans Mol describes this “gendered binary view of existence”¹⁶ complete with multiple offspring including a rebellious son, Tane. This worldview is complicated by “an alternative cosmology [featuring] IO—the uncreated creator—with Tane and his brothers responsible for evil.”¹⁷ James Irwin concludes, despite diversity in creation stories, “We have a coherent account of the worldview of the Maori.”¹⁸ The cultural and theological contrasts provided potential points for clashing or for contextualizing.

The first Christian sermon in Māori land is credited to Samuel Marsden on Christmas Day, 1814.¹⁹ Marsden, an Anglican, served with the Church Missionary Society. He could not speak or understand the Maori language or culture.

¹⁴ Keith Newman, *Bible & Treaty, Missionaries among the Maori—A New Perspective* (Rosedale, NZ: Penguin Books, 2010), 9. He addresses the cannibalism in the Pacific Islands in an unflinching manner. The horror of it to Europeans perhaps was matched by the horror of gun powder—murder-from-a-distance. Huron and Iroquoian practiced cannibalism. Daniel Reff, *Plagues, Priests, Demons: Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity in the Old World and the New* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 138, reveals the cannibalism in France in 1572, following the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre.

¹⁵ James Irwin, “Maori Primal Religion,” in *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W. Turner*, eds., A. F. Walls and Wilbert R. Shenk (Elkhard, IN: Mission Focus Pub., 1990), 55.

¹⁶ Mol, *The Fixed and The Fickle*, 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22f. This is a simplistic summarization of a complex belief system that differed among Māori traditions. For a contemporary re-telling or reclaiming, see Samuel Timoti Robinson, *Tohunga: The Revival; Ancient Knowledge for the Modern Era* (New Zealand: Reed Books, 2005). Also, see J. Irwin, “Maori Primal Religion,” 54f. The name IO was revealed to outsiders at an 1860 gathering.

¹⁸ J. Irwin, “Maori Primal Religion,” 55.

¹⁹ Samuel Marsden, “The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838,” accessed Jan. 23, 2014, <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/docs/Marsden/PDF/mars1000.pdf>. Note: original punctuation all in upper case. Marsden served as Senior Chaplain in the Colony of New South Wales and Superintendent of the Mission of the Church Missionary Society. Also, see Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 44.

The first known recorded description of the Māori is from the Dutch explorer Abel Jansen Tazman in 1642. It was he who named the area Nova Zeelandia, and penned his impressions of a large people with hoarse voices,

These people were of a colour between brown and yellow, their hair long and black, and almost as thick as the Japanese, combed up and fixed on the top of their heads with a quill, or some such thing, that was thickest in the middle, and with a white feather stuck up in the knot. These people cover the middle of their bodies with some kind of a mat, others with a sort of woollen [*sic*] cloth; but as for their upper and lower parts, they leave them altogether naked.²¹

Europeans marveled at the painful, elaborate, and intricate scrollwork tattoos along with the green stone ornamentation (*pounamu*²²) worn as a necklace, passed on as heirlooms, common to this day. Men had full faced tattoos; women's only covered lips and chins.²³ Captain James Cook, in spite of losing crew members, some cannibalized, described the Māori as “brave, noble, open and benevolent [in] disposition, but they are a people who will never put up with an insult if they have an opportunity to resent it.”²⁴

Robert Ward lived for decades in New Zealand as a Primitive Methodist missionary, completing his history of the Māori people in 1872. He described the Māori as “an industrious people. The neat and orderly state of their plantations of taro and

²⁰ The term “first contact” (or pre-Columbian period) is inaccurate since at all three levels European contact pre-dated the accepted settler mythologies such as Christopher Columbus Day in the United States.

²¹ Ward, *Life among the Maoris*, 15. Newman also claims to quote from Tasman's (or Tazman's) journal, but the two differ, likely due to translation. See Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 15.

²² Ward spelled it *poenamtu*, but Hannah Haiu (now Hannah Chapman) corrected it for me. Hannah Haiu, e-mail correspondence, Nov. 27, 13. Ward, *Life among the Maories*, 82f. It is still considered an honour to be gifted with one.

²³ See Sketches of Tohitapu (1823) and Rawiri Taiwhanga (1829) in Caroline Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters from the Bay of Islands: The Story of Marianne Williams* (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2004), facing page 79; also Te Pahi (n.d.) and Hongi Hika (n.d.), n.p. [fifth page following p.78].

²⁴ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 15.

kumaras attracted the attention of Captain Cook.”²⁵ He noted they were known for their “excellence of industry”²⁶ and their crops frequently out-produced newcomers.

Church Mission Society [CMS] missionary Richard Taylor’s 1836 description of the Māori is quite dark, written before he met a Māori. In 1845, he reported on a visit to a *pa*; “poor creatures I do not know a more filthy set than they are or any who have made less progress in civilization.”²⁷ Once he came to know Māoris his descriptions changed gradually. After he acquiesced to a traditional greeting by pressing noses, he reflected on this custom, allowing that his people had seemingly odd customs also; “I was thinking what a dirty barbarous custom the smearing of the head with red ochre and oil was but then I remembered the scarcely obsolete custom of wearing powder [in hair] which is quite as bad; and the native custom of wearing a great bunch of white Albatross down stuck in the ear is quite equaled by the wig or earring.”²⁸ He then concluded: “England’s painted savages are now the most highly civilized race on the face of the globe.”²⁹

James Cook is credited with the beginning of Māori colonization having formally “taken” the islands for George III in 1769.³⁰ Cook’s first voyage brought casualties: Europeans lost twenty-six crew members in one encounter; the Māori lost twelve times as

²⁵ Ward, *Life among the Maoris of New Zealand*, 85.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ J.M.R. Owens, *The Mediator: A Life of Richard Taylor, 1805-1873* (Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press, 2004), 110.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 109

³⁰ Ward, *Life among the Maoris of New Zealand*, 19 (referencing Nov. 15, 1769).

many.³¹ Occasionally Māori were kidnapped. In 1793 two victims were returned by the British.³² They then acted as ambassadors. They brought home British goods, along with knowledge of the language and the culture.³³ European settlement began tentatively with merchants and missionaries, increasing rapidly after 1840.

In Keith Newman's study, he states that the British brought to their late eighteenth century colonial endeavor in Aotearoa an altered attitude, "a new humanitarian and Christian conscience had entered public thinking ahead of any colonizing plans for New Zealand."³⁴ Yet, from the Māori perspective, the British ships also meant death or kidnapping. The evidence for more humanitarian missionaries presents a mixed picture.

It mattered greatly to the Māori when the British evaluated ports and land for their strategic accessibility and value. Perhaps as early as the sixteenth century ships sighted along its shoreline signified trading goods. In spite of sporadic loss of life on both sides, from the Māori perspective, where missionaries and settlers situated themselves there was access to trading—beginning in earnest in 1814.³⁵

Samuel Marsden had met a few Māori and held a relatively high opinion of them. He moved to New Zealand, claiming "Faith and prayer will again build the walls of Jerusalem, even if obliged to hold the Trowel in one Hand, and the Sword in another."³⁶

³¹ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 16.

³² Ibid. They assumed that the Māori men could teach their flax weaving techniques in the Norfolk Island—except weaving was gender specific so the men did not know how. They eventually returned to Aotearoa. Other men were kidnapped to serve on ships. Still other Māori ventured out on ships travelling as crew bound for South Pacific Islands or as far as England. Ibid., 30-37, 43 and 78. Occasionally European ships left port without paying the Māori for their trade goods. Ibid., 43.

³³ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 18f.

³⁴ Ibid., 7.

³⁵ Angela Middleton, *Te Puna—A New Zealand Mission Station: Historical Archeology in New Zealand* (Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago, 2008), 86.

³⁶ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 29 & 41.

He chose the eastern side towards the tip of the North Island as his primary “station,” populating it with about twenty people plus convicts as servants.³⁷ The station lasted for sixteen years. Te Puna, the next station, was southwest and functioned for four decades. The newcomers exerted growing pressure and control over the Māori. The stability of life and potential conversions seemed precarious to the British. Alcohol arrived in the form of rum.³⁸ It would contribute to generational havoc. Jealousies developed between chiefs and *pa* over newly-gained wealth.³⁹

Samuel Leigh, Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society [WMMS], left his Australian mission in 1819 to begin a new work at Whangaroa (north-east Bay of Islands) to “the rude savages of New Zealand,”⁴⁰ anticipating difficulties and suffering.⁴¹ His objectives included establishing schools, enabling agriculture, fair-trade in goods, and salvation of souls. Schooling the young “savages” would ideally weaken superstitions, barbarism and “absurd opinions.”⁴² While the mission forbade trading firearms and accumulation of property, it did allow for acquisition of five hundred acres of land.⁴³

³⁷ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 42

³⁸ R.F. Keam, *Dissolving Dream: The Improbable Story of the first Baptist Maori Mission* (Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland, 2004), 39. Keam states that the only alcohol was mildly fermented fruit juice.

³⁹ See Schoeck, *Envy*, 390f, where he discusses the Māori custom of *murū*, a socially acceptable way to plunder those who have more (or have stuff you want). From Schoeck’s cultural standpoint, this amounted to robbery. The Māori, however, seemed to view it as a redistribution of wealth, their version of taxation.

⁴⁰ J.R.M. Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness: The Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand, 1819-27* (Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 1974) 13.

⁴¹ Alexander Strachan, *Remarkable Incidents in the Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh, Missionary to the Settlers and Savages of Australia and New Zealand, with a Succinct History of the Origin and Progress of the Missions in those Colonies*, 2nd ed. (London, England, n.p., MDCCCLV [1855]), 14, imprint by Stanford University Libraries, accessed Jan. 23, 2013, <http://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=F74MAAAIAAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA13&dq=Samuel+Leigh+Bay+of+Islands&ots=90swffXD5y&sig=sIWqmTCWg7o2GatB23x5sHmPtAU#v=onepage&q=Samuel%20Leigh%20Bay%20of%20Islands&f=false>.

⁴² Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness*, 13f.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 13-17.

Owens, in *Prophets in the Wilderness*, tells the story of Leigh. Owens argues that contrary to the theory of social determinism, the Māoris at Whangaroa exhibited a willingness to participate in the exchange of ideas with the British.⁴⁴ This is in line with Michael Rynkiewicz's description of culture as contingent, constructed, and contested.⁴⁵ Not unlike globalization, colonization was an “‘engagement,’ not a done deal.”⁴⁶ Missionaries debated whether “civilization” resulted in or from conversion.⁴⁷ Dismissive attitudes towards the complexity of Māori culture and the rapidity of changing social order created a climate for impending conflict while whalers traded muskets with the Māori. Mission activity almost halted in the 1820s during the Musket Wars. “In the three decades to 1832 at least 20,000 Māori had been killed by other Māori during the bloodiest battles in New Zealand's precolonial history.”⁴⁸ This death toll does not include the Māori who died from diseases or at the hand of Europeans.

CMS missionary Henry William, troubled by rumours that the New Zealand Company [NZC] hungered for land acquisitions, intervened with a letter stating his concern “that unless some protection be given by the British Government, the country

⁴⁴ Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness*, 141-146.

⁴⁵ Michael A. Rynkiewicz, “The World *in* my Parish: Rethinking the Standard Missiological Model,” *Missiology* 30.3 (2002): 301-21, 315f. Rynkiewicz states on p. 316: “Against the background of the ‘standard anthropological model’ . . . , we need to consider the model of culture as contingent, constructed, and contested. As it turns out, our own deeply rooted assumptions about life, persons, and cultures, something like a folk theory of society, tend to pervade our thinking so much that we miss any possibility for locally understood sociology to be different. We need to understand how culture is contingent on regional and global flows, how culture is constructed from materials brought into the present over historic and geographic distances, and how culture is constantly being contested in daily life. If we do not have such an understanding, we fail to grasp the missionary situation and to communicate the gospel properly.”

⁴⁶ Michael A. Rynkiewicz, *Soul, Self, and Society: A Postmodern Anthropology for Mission in a Postcolonial World* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 236.

⁴⁷ King writes, “This idea, that Native people were waiting for Europeans to lead us to civilization, is just a variation on the old savagism versus civilization dichotomy, but it is a dichotomy that North America trusts without question.” Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian*, 79; cf. Rynkiewicz, *Soul, Self, and Society*, 195f.

⁴⁸ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 58-60. “Pre-colonial” is inaccurate given that missionary stations had existed since 1814. Colonizers were already there.

will be bought up, and the people pass into a kind of slavery, or be utterly destroyed.”⁴⁹ William was given a document by Captain Hobson in 1840 to translate into Māori. The translation of the Treaty of Waitangi was read to the chiefs the next morning. “It guaranteed the Māori chiefs exclusive possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, in return for ceding sovereignty to Queen Victoria. In all, forty-three chiefs signed ...”⁵⁰ Immigration increased from 2,000 to approximately 28,000 in the next twelve years. “The Treaty helped ensure that for the next century and beyond, most immigrants to New Zealand would come from the United Kingdom.”⁵¹

The NZC took the lead in amassing land and wealth by pursuing settlers while offering free passage as indicated in this advertisement:

Agricultural Laborers, Shepherds, Miners, Gardeners, Bricklayers, Mechanics, Handicraftsmen, and Domestic Servants, BEING MARRIED, and not exceeding Forty years of age; also for SINGLE FEMALES, under the care of near relatives, and SINGLE MEN, accompanied by one or more ADULT SISTERS, not exceeding, in either case, the age of Thirty years. Strict inquiry will be made as to qualifications and character.⁵²

Robert Frost used the term “walling out” in a poem addressing the thoughtless constructions of walls.⁵³ Walls are not merely physical, but can be constructed in a metaphorical or metaphysical sense to control, keep at bay, or even eliminate “the other”.

⁴⁹ Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters from the Bay of Islands*, 244. By 1850, which is within 12 years, NZC had increased the population and acquired over a million acres of land. See Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 268.

⁵⁰ Fitzgerald, *Letters from the Bay of Islands*, 247.

⁵¹ “Story: History of immigration; Page 3—British immigration and the New Zealand Company,” n.d.; accessed Jan. 17, 2018, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/history-of-immigration/page-3>. An actual date is not provided on the poster, but the early 1840s is evidenced.

⁵² A reprint of the original advertisement appeared in the *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January 1940 commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Treaty 1840. See Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 189. Emphasis in original. The missionary Archbishop Octavius Hadfield suffered grave misgivings over the effect of the thousands of settlers who believed the NZC owned vast portions of land to sell to them cheaply. He rightly feared war would result from illegitimate land deals. *Ibid.*, 128f and 188-192.

⁵³ Robert Frost, *Mending Wall*. The reference “before I built a wall I’d ask to know/What I was walling in or walling out/And to whom I was like to give offense.” Allen, “Hillforts” cites from this.

Allen, as noted previously, wrote of the *pa* “walls” contributing to power shifts.⁵⁴ Under colonialism, old Māori walls literally and figuratively broke down. “Times were probably pretty good,” Allen wrote, “for the early colonists on Aotearoa. ... [In time] birds became scarcer through human predation and habitat destruction The pressure only increased as human populations expanded and resources continued to dwindle.”⁵⁵ Flora and fauna suffered, but the Māori suffered also, chiefly attributable to land acquired by Pakeha through greed (on both sides) and deceit which fueled wars. European immigration impacted cultural norms, inter-tribal relationships, living standards, and cultural values in profound and lasting ways. British social structures, powerful weaponry, and decreasing Māori autonomy—combined with the devaluing of *pa* and its embedded symbolism—seemed inevitable. Both colonized and colonizer experienced the necessity for innovation in search of a new stability—a new norm.⁵⁶

Māori religion had its own expression. Misunderstandings of the complexity of Māori stories, terminology, concepts, and social norms led to confusion over the new message the strangers brought. Questions arose over the certainty of Christian conversions based on converts who seemed intrigued with selective aspects of the teachings. Tensions increased from the imposition of British authority, for example, observing the Lord’s Day when the Māori had no concept of European time divisions.⁵⁷ Many Māori feared hospitals since their custom required burning buildings in which

⁵⁴ Allen, “Hillforts,” 77.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 69. Of particular concern, the loss of the moa birds (likely the largest food source available) led Pilditch to quote Patricia Burns who surmised that the early Māori who had access to moa flesh did not eat human flesh, and “At times Maoris ate human flesh for the same reason that other people have done so: simple hunger.” Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals of John Morgan*, vol. 1, xx; quoting Patricia Burns, *Te Rauparaha A New Perspective* (Wellington: Reed, 1980), 25. Burns’ point is difficult to affirm or disprove.

⁵⁶ Mol, *The Fixed and The Fickle*.

⁵⁷ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 52f. Newman complained they valued building tribal *mana* more than learning about Christianity.

people died.⁵⁸ Additionally, the Māoris reacted against the economic disparity and the European model of nuclear family isolated from kinship group responsibilities and fellowship.⁵⁹ Other roadblocks to conversion included the English authoritarian leadership style, their unremitting quest for land, and the social disintegration experienced as a result of mission activities and trade. On the other side, missionaries were concerned over constant warfare between tribes and the Protestant anxiety over idleness.⁶⁰ Few could comprehend the others' point of view. Robert Ward's analysis concluded,

The Maories were, in a certain sense, religious people; for they never engaged in any important undertaking without first uttering a *karakia*—some sort of prayer or incantation At the return of a war party, the *tolunga*, or priest, was again engaged, and various ceremonies performed. But their religion afforded them no comfort when their heart was rung with anguish; ... it tormented them with witchcraft, and a thousand other fears ...⁶¹

Ward further noted the confusion the British had in comprehending the complicated concept of *tapu* or sacredness/consequences.⁶² “But if the Tapu was helpful in some respects, in the absence of law and order properly understood, it was an inconvenient institution in other cases;”⁶³ particularly to foreigners when it resulted in their deaths.

In an archeological/historical study of the mission at Te Puna, a portrait of the CMS station has a household model not an institutional model: (1) the house structure

⁵⁸ Peter Oettli, *God's Messenger: J.F. Riemenschneider and Racial Conflict in 19th Century New Zealand* (Wellington, Aotearoa NZ: Huia Publishers, 2008), 124f.

⁵⁹ Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness*: 141-146.

⁶⁰ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 52f. This is at a time when England had recently passed Wilberforce's Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (1807) and Europeans had for centuries been at warfare with one another.

⁶¹ Ward, *Life among the Maoris of New Zealand*, 79.

⁶² Oettli, *God's Messenger*, 123f. Here he points out similarities between the concept of *tabu* (taboo) and missionary Riemenschneider's ascribing illness and crop failure to Māori disobedience to God.

⁶³ Ward, *Life among the Maoris of New Zealand*, 79.

used local materials, yet bore no resemblance to Māori structures; (2) it was set apart from the *pa*; (3) it bore almost no evidence of Māori culture although Māori children resided with the missionary family; (4) it contained items such as tools and dishes reflective of colonization; (5) it revealed evidence of a typical English diet; (6) it showed the CMS value of homeland societal class-structures, including domestication of women; and, (7) it reinforced that missionaries played a key role in the beginning of the colonization process.⁶⁴ The study notes “the lack of Maori artifacts speaks loudly about this changing cultural context into which they [Māori] were incorporated.”⁶⁵

Angelo Middleton wrote, “For missionaries trade was the means to gain access to the prime target of conversion of Maori to Christianity and to wage a war on Maori social custom.”⁶⁶ While the colonized desired the trading goods and negotiated the trading process, they often did not want the values and religion attached to the goods,

Maori agency continued as Marsden and the first missionaries came to Rangihoua ... Missionaries were desirable to Maori of Rangihoua not for the catechisms, prayers, and Bibles they brought with them, but for the metal axes and other tools their blacksmith forged at Oihi. As Marsden had realized, the ideas of Christianity would be unacceptable unless dressed in more attractive attire, that of material goods and the “spirit of trade” or commerce that accompanied “civilization” ... Owens considered that literacy was the Trojan Horse that carried the “otherwise unacceptable ideas” of Christianity into the Maori camp.⁶⁷

Missionaries had their own stresses, not the least being slow communication with their respective mission society, lack of sufficient funding, and constant fear of being caught in tribal warfare during the first five decades of mission. Inter-mission conflict, for example between Anglicans and Wesleyans, affected both missionary and Māori. “The

⁶⁴ This is a summation of the findings in Middleton, *Te Puna*, 221-223.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *Te Puna*, 222.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, *Te Puna*, 226.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.

conflict and divisions that resulted from the bishops' determined attempts to promote one God to the Māori, while they fought among themselves, is at best colourful history and at worst a travesty, as their intended converts tried to navigate their way through those doctrinal and denominational differences."⁶⁸ With political figures and traders added to the mix of characters in the colonial drama, "the tapestry is threaded through with the good, the bad and the ugly"⁶⁹ each contributing, depending on the power they wielded.

The Māori story of mission encounters includes the phenomenon of a "people movement" or mass conversion to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Such a mass conversion is dated to the late 1830s and attributed to twelve year old Tārore, a chief's daughter. She was murdered by a warring tribe. Hearing her beloved translation of the gospel of Luke led her father to forgive her murderer.⁷⁰ One scholar claims the "revival" later came to a halt because of land grabs and wars.⁷¹

Tensions with settlers led to uprisings, ending in a truce of sorts reached in the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. However, it resolved little.⁷² Middleton speculates that,

While history has glorified (and critiqued) the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Bay of Islands in February 1840 as the definitive moment of colonization and the seminal event of the Maori and Pakeha relationship, historical archeology reveals the beginnings of these processes at least two decades earlier, in the

⁶⁸ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 10. He also makes note of the Roman Catholic mission in addressing "the schismatic and aggressive nature of mission."

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Her father consequently had someone read the Gospel of Luke to him. He submitted to Jesus Christ and forgave his daughter's murderer, leading to the mass conversion. I first heard the story at her, Tārore's, traditional gravesite as told to me by Māori Elders in January 2011. For the missionary perspective see Malcolm Falloon, *To Plough or to Preach: Mission Strategies in New Zealand during the 1820s*, Latimer Studies 72 (London, UK: Latimer Trust, 2010). For the Māori perspective, see the children's storybook by Joy Cowley, *Tārore and Her Book* (Wellington, NZ: Bible Society of New Zealand, 2009).

⁷¹ Viv Grigg, *The Spirit of Christ and the Postmodern City* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2009), 134, referencing work by Alan Tippett, *People Movements in Southern Polynesia* (Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1971), 64-68. "Revival" is hardly the right word for new conversions.

⁷² Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 10. Over a century and a half later, Newman authored this text to counteract negativity towards early missionaries.

household and daily life of the mission, established within the patronage of Rangihoua Pa. These “grand narratives” took place ... within the mission household and the broader landscape of the subsistence farm.⁷³

The year 1840 is used herein to signify the culmination of the first contact era.

Although it should be noted that only seven years later missionary John Morgan wrote to “the Parent Committee” regarding his concern over Earl Grey “claiming on the part of the British Crown the waste lands belonging to the natives of New Zealand.”⁷⁴ Morgan continued, “It is unnecessary for me to inform you that these instructions are a direct breach of the Treaty of Watangi ... and the result will be that the natives throughout the island will take up arms and oppose this breach of faith. The Committee will bear in mind there is not an inch of unclaimed land in New Zealand.”⁷⁵

The Māori were not entirely powerless. Perhaps, then, it was the pluralities of colonization which overwhelmed them. Ward quoted Deuteronomy 7:7-9 to describe the attitude of the immigrants to the “gift” of this “new” land. He referred to their goal of “pacification, progress, and prosperity”⁷⁶ and concluded,

It is not likely the native people, without any foreign assistance, could ever appreciate the natural advantages which their country possesses. In their former state, they were conscious of comparatively few wants, which were easily supplied. God had prepared the land for another race—a race which is destined, we trust, to lift up the Maori people to the enjoyment and usefulness of

⁷³ Middleton, *Te Puna*, 223f.

⁷⁴ Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, 226.

⁷⁵ Ibid. In this same letter Morgan tells of a mute son who is 8, requesting he be sent to a public Dumb Institute in England and makes a notation of nation-wide sickness causing much death: “the Lord has been pleased to remove two of my Children. Mrs, Morgan and the other children are recovering after a severe season of sickness” (p. 227). The emotion he expressed in both cases is in such contrast to the deep emotion he reveals when arguing for “my Natives”. This possessiveness was not limited to Morgan. Oettli, *God’s Messenger*, 130 notes that Riemenschneider speaks of a fellow missionary and “his natives” in the 1850s. See also Canadian John Stackhouse’s use of possessive in Appendix 7 of this study.

⁷⁶ Ward, *Life among the Maoris*, viii.

civilization, and to contribute to the advancement of the moral and religious welfare of the southern hemisphere.⁷⁷

Apologist Newman argues that “the Treaty of Waitangi would not have been possible without the missionaries.”⁷⁸ He states that new sensibilities and hindsight can overshadow the reality that “history would have taken an entirely different course if it hadn’t been for the influence of these committed cultural intermediaries, peacemakers, educators, and expounders of a new spiritual awareness.”⁷⁹ His statement ignores the fact that not all missionaries stood on the side of justice. Many acted from a deeply rooted paternalism and/or from expediency.

In the wake of the 1840 Treaty, Māori acquiescence to Pakeha domination was followed by pockets of resistance bubbling to the surface from time to time, like the thermal waters at Rotorua, leaving death and destruction. In the early 1870s, Ward referred to local Māori’s “recent unhappy attempt to maintain their nationality by an appeal to arms....”⁸⁰ Optimistically, Ward considers it all “a part of the plan by which God intends the waste places of the earth to be cultivated and by which those tribes of mankind ... are to be gathered into the fold of the Great Shepherd.”⁸¹ Eventually, Māori resistance subsided with a re-working of the Treaty more than a century into the future.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 43. People with “few wants” are a poor prospect for a consumer centered worldview. Meanwhile, Ward references a census taken in 1871 which enumerates various livestock, notes dairy products in excess of five million pounds of butter and two and a half million pounds of cheese, with the human population at 256,393 “exclusive of aborigines.” Ibid., ix. Throughout Ward’s text, the matter of commerce and material extractions from the country is a recurring theme, such as the value of gold extracted in 10 years preceding 1861 from the colony at Victoria being valued at £146,057,444. Ibid., 35.

⁷⁸ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 7.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 13. He goes too far when he calls pre-Treaty mission “precolonial” (p. 14).

⁸⁰ Ward, *Life among the Maories of New Zealand*, 3f.

⁸¹ Ibid., 4. And yet, the “waste places” were the exact places European immigrants coveted.

One consequence of colonialism is the half-breed or half-caste⁸² children and their acceptance/rejection by the Indigenous peoples and/or dominant colonizers. Early on children resulted from rapes or from the role of mistress to a European⁸³ and occasional formal marriages. Irwin suggests that half-caste children pre-dated formal settler colonization.⁸⁴ Pilditch quoted John Morgan on this topic:

The Half caste children are very numerous and are a very interesting race.... These children will no doubt in future years exercise great influence amongst their respective tribes, either for good or for evil. How important then that they should receive a Christian education. ... [They] if attended to ... will form a bond of union between the Europeans and the Native race, and will be exactly the persons the Society require to act as Schoolmasters and we may hope that some of them will be ministers of the Gospel.⁸⁵

Angela Wanhalla has also written about these children in her cleverly titled book, *In/visible Sight*.⁸⁶ She begins with the story of her mixed-descent father (born in 1943) who, because people were puzzled by his physical appearance, he conveniently “recast his identity at will”⁸⁷ passing as different ethnicities. She adds, “In these brief moments of transformation, my father engaged in a practice adopted by many mixed-descent

⁸² In my research, New Zealanders prefer “half caste” while in Manitoba the official British/Canadian term was “half breed” while the French Canadians self-identified as Métis. The Métis are not only a recognized nation within Canada, they have recently been recast as “Indian.” A half-caste nation never developed in New Zealand.

⁸³ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 59. Thomas Kendall (1820s) is an example; he had served as a mission teacher and justice of the peace in Marsden’s area. The woman had been his student and house servant.

⁸⁴ Irwin, “Maori Primal Religion,” 51.

⁸⁵ Morgan in Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, xxv. See also Morgan’s ledger for The Half Caste School dated June 1851-30th July 1852. *Ibid.*, 453f. See also pp. 314-315 which is another example among many where Morgan states his belief that the half-caste children needed the mission’s full attention. His school seems to have had at the most 60 students, whereas Morgan’s goal had been 50 girls and 50 boys. He sought equal education for girls, although their industrial studies would be gender specific. He believed every mission station should also have a school.

⁸⁶ Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand* (Wellington, NZ: Athabasca University Press, 2010).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

people in New Zealand since the mid nineteenth century.”⁸⁸ Negative consequences also existed for the women who bore these children. In Māori land, there were only two or three hundred Europeans by 1830. However, when ships arrived they might “require” four or five hundred women for the time they lay in harbour. Three-week marriages sufficed for those men whose conscience needed the decorum of legitimacy. Most did not.⁸⁹ As settlement increased, so did inter-marriages, normally Māori or half-caste women with European men and most often the latter were from the lower end of the social scale.⁹⁰ This served to keep both Māori and half-caste marginalized.

Impact of First Contact at the Global Level: Marginalization

First contact at the global level can be summarized in terms of acquisitions, losses, and dispossession. Flora, fauna, and humans underwent profound and permanent alteration. The English proclaimed possession of all the islands that would form the nation of New Zealand with the Crown, individual citizens, companies, churches and missions taking possession of the land. Land had been sold to them by Māoris, amassed through trickery or negotiations, or simply “claimed.” Britain, along with various merchants and investors, gained trade goods whose value would contribute to the growing wealth in the “old world.” Britain also assumed paternal authority over Māori. The power and prestige of the *pa* and chiefs diminished rapidly.

Social problems introduced by alcohol, half-caste children, diminished authority of chiefs and elders, and loss of cultural norms—including traditional parenting—began

⁸⁸ Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight*, 1.

⁸⁹ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 78f.

⁹⁰ This is borne out by Wanhalla’s research. She notes “Mixed descent women ... had far more options than their brothers.” Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight*, 61. She uses words such as shame, anger, dislocation, dispersal, denial, denial of rights, and survival to describe the “half-caste” self-identity.

to distance Māori from their pre-contact identity and challenged their worldview. A century and a half later, Monté Ohia (Māori) would write, “it is only in colonial contexts that issues concerning Māori identity arise because in essence their physical features are distinctive, and although the Māori language, culture, values and music are valid and acceptable in Māori settings, they are ‘unusual’ in non-Māori contexts.”⁹¹

Globally, expectations to embrace Euro-based education in a foreign language and from a Western worldview would increase. Marginalization intensified as settlements grew and governments imposed their norms and laws. Social pressures would lead to both aggressive and passive-aggressive resistance in all corners of the colonized world. These transformations will be addressed further in Chapter Three. J. Irwin quotes Owens in summarizing evangelism methodologies and their impact on the Maori—an impact in many ways similar in North America:

They came, expecting that the methods of evangelism tried and tested in England would work. They did not. They thought that on the model of Robinson Crusoe, a home and garden could be conjured out of the wilderness and Man Friday would emulate. He seldom did. They thought they could set a model of a Christian family and the [Indigenous] would follow. It rarely happened.⁹²

One further matter is the impact of alcohol which helped decimate families and communities. A temperance pledge was tried as a solution for Māori “habitual drinkers and inveterate drunkards.” One Māori responded to the pledge by questioning how it was that the Europeans originally brought the rum, persuading them to drink it, and “here come other white men, who tell us it is wrong. Whom are we to believe?”⁹³

⁹¹ Monte Rereamoamo Ohia, “Towards a Values-Based Transformation Movement for Māori Advancement: The Case for Spiritual, Ethical and Moral Imperatives within Māori Transformational Movements” (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2006), 239.

⁹² J. Irwin, “Maori Primal Religion,” 52; quoting J. Owens, “The Unexpected Impact,” in *Religion in New Zealand, 1938-42*, eds., C. Nichol and J. Veitch (Wellington: Religious Studies Department, 1980), 34.

⁹³ Keam, *Dissolving Dream*, 48. Keam is quoting former missionary William Snow’s account.

The Regional Impact of First Contact on Indigenous Peoples: “Indians”

Only occasionally was the voice of an Indian heard, and then more often than not it was recorded by the pen of a white man. The Indian was the dark menace of myths

—Heather Pringle, “The First Americans”

The regional level concerns a wider sweep of time and geography—“the longest geographic expanse ever settled by humans”⁹⁴—the American continent. It is impossible to do justice to the particulars of North America’s first contact. This section will present a historical overview of selected aspects, small slices of first contact in the present nations of the United States of America with greater emphasis on Canada. It will build towards the formalization of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 and western expansion in the U.S. in the same general timeframe.

Pre-Contact at the Regional Level

The children’s book, *The Wonder Book of North American Indians*,⁹⁵ published in 1965, typifies the perceptions North Americans have held about its First Peoples. Its intent is to teach about living peacefully with different races and cultural heritages.⁹⁶ It claims to represent a new consciousness, an empathetic voice towards the noble Indian whose ancestors arrived “on one historic day . . . [when] a band of Asiatic hunters came from Siberia to Alaska. They had probably been chasing polar bears, walruses, or seals. In any case, they kept going south.”⁹⁷ Continuing south, followed by other hunters, they

⁹⁴ Heather Pringle, “The First Americans” in *Scientific American*, November (2011), 36-45, 45.

⁹⁵ Felix Sutton, *The How and Why Wonder Book of North American Indians*, illustrated by Leonard Vosburgh, ed. by Dr. Paul E. Blackwood in the How and Why Wonder Book Series (New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965). The front page states “Brooklyn Children’s Museum, Brooklyn, New York.”

⁹⁶ Paul E. Blackwood, “Introduction,” in Sutton, *The How and Why Wonder Book*, n.p. The back cover states “Produced and approved by noted authorities.”

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

eventually reached Chile and ten thousand years later filled the Americas with thirteen million people by 1492.⁹⁸ Marcia Crosby states, the interest in Indigenous peoples “dates back hundreds of years, and has been manifest in many ways: collecting and displaying ‘Indian’ objects and collecting and displaying ‘Indians’ as objects or human specimens, collecting pseudo-Indians in literature and visual arts.”⁹⁹

First Contact at the Regional Level: “Indians”

Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pokanoket, and many other once powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice and the oppression of the White Man, as snow before a summer sun.

– Tecumseh of the Shawnees

The intent of this section is to provide a framework for the political, social, and religious forces that began the legacy of losses. The research will seek to shed light on attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, their cultures, and spirituality that affect Indigenous realities to this day.

Jesuit Juan Rogel wrote of the original inhabitants of Florida and their potential conversion in 1568, “The Indians are good farmers, they don’t have too many idols, and they sow and harvest abundant corn.”¹⁰⁰ He anticipated, “There will be absolutely no need to change anything in their lives.”¹⁰¹ His colleague, however, described them as “sensual, savage beasts who preferred going to hell with the devil than to heaven with

⁹⁸ Sutton, *The How and Why Wonder Book*, 5-7. Curiously, the author and consultant make no mention of women among the hunters.

⁹⁹ Marcia Crosby, “Construction of the Imaginary Indian,” pp. 488-492 in Janet Giltrow, ed., *Reading and Writing across the Disciplines*, Academic Reading, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002), 488.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas P. Cushner, *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767* (Buffalo, NY: Language Communications/digital, 2002), 52.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

Christians.”¹⁰² Rogel was puzzled that seemingly good men did not convert in Florida. The Jesuits gave up and moved on to Mexico in 1572 where they met with success. Nicholas Cushner compiles a number of observations about the Indigenous Mexicans, explaining the cruel measures used by the Spaniards and noting the forceful destruction of idols, but also the similarities between some of the local beliefs and rituals with Catholic ones, which likely “eased the transition to a new religion.”¹⁰³

Hospitality may best describe the first contact along the eastern coast where the English initiated the land and its peoples to their presence and their wants. Charles Mann offers this version of his ancestor who arrived on the *Mayflower* in 1620:

A few years ago it occurred to me that my ancestor and everyone else in the colony had voluntarily enlisted in a venture that brought them to New England without food or shelter six weeks before winter. Half the 102 people on the *Mayflower* made it through to spring, which to me was amazing. How, I wondered, did they survive? In his history of Plymouth Colony, Bradford provided the answer: by robbing Indian houses and graves.¹⁰⁴

Hospitality, even involuntary hospitality, soon gave way to the reality of permanent settlers. The early history of the Colonies was fraught with infighting, Indian-fighting, frustration, and trials. “The Indians did not understand the white settlers’ overpowering need for land.”¹⁰⁵ As in Aotearoa, occasionally individuals stood against

¹⁰² Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 52f.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 136. Reff’s discussion of baptisms seems at variance to the Jesuits along the St. Lawrence who referenced baptism for children on their death bed but not adults. This is because Jesuits change from baptising adults (whoever was willing) when the result was deemed to provide inadequate evidence of conversion. In Mexico Reff speaks of baptism from birth to age seven, “but adults and older children only when death was imminent, otherwise baptisms required adherence to a list of requirements or abstentions.” Reff, *Plagues, Priests, Demons*, 62.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Mann, “1491,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, Mar. 2002. Mann notes his ancestor achieved notoriety as the first person hanged in the colonies.

¹⁰⁵ Sutton, *The How and Why Wonder Book*, 19.

their governments and peers in the interests of First Peoples.¹⁰⁶ Today, Indigenous scholars are often driven by a similar desire, a desire to confront and correct the stories about their people. For example, the aforementioned children's book states, "While many tribes lived in peace, others fought against each other as deadly enemies. Collecting the scalps of rival tribesmen and then carrying off their women and children as slaves was the accepted manner for a young warrior to prove his manhood and become a full-fledged brave."¹⁰⁷ The author makes no mention of bounties offered for First Nations' scalps. Tink Tinker (Osage Nation) asks "how would it change our understanding of the past to tell the narrative of american (*sic*) colonial history as tragedy rather than romance?"¹⁰⁸ He poses a legitimate question, yet it is impossible to begin writing the history of Indigenous peoples from a "clean slate" given the triumphant romantic stories in American and Canadian mythology wherein the Indian is most frequently presented as infantile, slow of speech, wild or noble savage, given to violence. It is a human response to want to tell the other side of the story, such as the Indian heads-on-spikes displayed at early American colonies.¹⁰⁹ Writers such as Amos Yong and Barbara Brown Zikmund, editors of

¹⁰⁶ The Puritan Roger Williams is one example, suffering voluntary exile from New England (1636). Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London, Great Britain: Little, Brown and Company, 1994; reprint, 2007), 8.

¹⁰⁷ Sutton, *The How and Why Wonder Book*, 8.

¹⁰⁸ [George] Tink Tinker, "The Romance and Tragedy of Christian Mission among American Indians," in Amos Yong and Barbara Brown Zikmund, eds., *Remembering Jamestown: Hard Questions about Christian Mission* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2010), 16. Use of lower case in original.

¹⁰⁹ An English style execution: "That you be led to the place from whence you came, and from thence be drawn upon a hurdle [dragged by a horse] to the place of execution, and then you shall be hanged by the neck and, being alive, shall be cut down, and your privy members to be cut off, and your entrails be taken out of your body and, you [still] living, the same to be burnt before your eyes, and your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and head and quarters to be disposed of at the pleasure of the King's majesty. And the Lord have mercy on your soul." Geoffrey Abbott, *Execution: A Guide to the Ultimate Penalty* (Chichester, UK: Summerside Publishers, 1994; reprint 2005), 158. The man's head was then displayed as a warning to others.

Remembering Jamestown,¹¹⁰ and Indigenous authors of the caliber of Thomas King¹¹¹ are re-crafting the stories of first contacts and consequences from a perspective stripped of romanticism and settler mythology. At times, they devolve into despair.

Initial attempts to settle the eastern coasts of N.A. in the process of establishing both nascent nations ended in failure. From Nova Scotia to Virginia, the British found the land less hospitable than promoters advertised. The American story—of Portugal, Spain, France, Netherlands, and Britain endeavouring to claim territory—is de-emphasized here.

Impact of Colonization at Regional Level

Older generations of North Americans were educated about Indigenous peoples as much by Western cowboy and Indian movies, perhaps more so because of the vividness of cinematography, than through their formal education. Movies filled in the details of Indians, creating a homogenous model, and a perpetual hero in the cowboy. Authors such as Daniel Francis in *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* addresses this reality.¹¹² In speaking of the period between 1860 and 1890, Dee Brown wrote, “It was an incredible era of violence, greed, audacity, sentimentality, undirected exuberance, and an almost reverential attitude toward the ideal of personal freedom for those who already had it.”¹¹³ Furthermore, “if the readers of this book should ever chance to see the poverty, the hopelessness, and the squalor of a modern Indian reservation, they may find it possible to truly understand the reason why.”¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Yong and Zikmund, eds., *Remembering Jamestown*.

¹¹¹ King, *The Inconvenient Indian*.

¹¹² See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver, B.C.: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2011).

¹¹³ Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, xxiii.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xxv.

There is a tendency for Indigenous authors to despair, to cast blame, even to demonize the colonizer. In the African context, Bagele Chilisa offers guidelines for scholars to consider by asking two questions: (1) “What psychological harm, humiliation, embarrassment, and other losses, if any, have these theories and body of knowledge caused the researched?” (2) “What is the body of knowledge of the colonized that researchers can use to counter theories and rebut the body of knowledge that may cause humiliation and embarrassment to the researched?”¹¹⁵ The application of this challenge is to write historiography achieving the goals embedded in these questions. The danger is to fall into demonization or victimization.

The Local Impact of First Contact on Indigenous Peoples: First Nations

Winnipeg is visually central to a map of U.S. and Canada. It is flat land. As in pre-contact times, the tall prairie grasses around the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers sit surrounded by diverse geography. The area south-west includes a desert; to the west lay hundreds of miles of unbroken prairie; travellers east and north enter a great boreal forest strewn with rock features, large and small in-land lakes, bountiful rivers, and eventually northern tundra. The upper north-east provincial border is the Hudson Bay, previously known as the Polar Sea. Geologists claim the largest inland lake in the world, which makes the combined area of the Great Lakes small by comparison, glacial Lake Agassiz, carved the terrain.¹¹⁶ The Red River, which is prone to flooding, is birthed in the U.S., its waters flowing north through the Red River Valley into Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay.

¹¹⁵ Bagele Chilisa, *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (Los Angeles: University of Botswana, 2012), 193.

¹¹⁶ From personal notes taken at a lecture on Feb. 5, 2018 at the Charleswood Historical Society where I am a member. The lecturer was Bill Redekop, author of *Lake Agassiz: The Rise and Demise of the World's Greatest Lake* (Winnipeg, MB: Heartland associates, 2017).

The names Manitoba (the straits of the Great Spirit) and Winnipeg (muddy waters) are the legacy of Indigenous ancestors. The land came to be sectioned into the Province of Manitoba in the late 1800s. The area is located from the 60th to the 49th parallel, encasing almost 650,000 square kilometres around the longitudinal center of Canada. Beaver, bison, moose, deer, caribou, bear (black and polar), beluga whales, seal, fish, geese, duck, wild rice, berries, and numerous medicines are examples of the way Creator met the needs of the people of Manitoba for sustenance. A land of short hot summers and long cold winters produced people who moved between summer camps and winter hunting grounds—a people who knew how to live close to creation. This territory served as home for numerous First Nations not constrained by impending borders. They self-identified as: Thlingchadinne (Dog Rib), Nihithawiwin (Woodlands Cree¹¹⁷), Mushkegowuk (Western Cree), Omushkego (Eastern Swampy Cree), Nakoda (Assiniboine), Wazhashk-Onlganininiwag and Goojijwiniwag (Anishinaabe), Nakewahē (Saulteaux), Etthen eldili dene (Dene), Ahialmiut (Inuit) and Hâthél-hot!inne.¹¹⁸

Archaeologists have confirmed continuous human occupation for over 5,000 years in parts of Manitoba; it also has one of the oldest known agrarian sites.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ The Cree are one of the largest Indigenous populations in N.A., the largest in Canada. Peter Farb, writing from a cultural evolutionary perspective, argued in 1968 that the Cree arrived in this area from the east as a direct result of the European fur trade and the introduction of the horse. As an American museum director and consultant for the Smithsonian Institute at the time, his influence was substantial. See Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization: As Shown by the Indians of North America from Primal Times to the Coming of the Industrial State* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1968), 117f. He cites for his support the fact the Cree are first mentioned by the Jesuits in 1640, in the northern regions of what is now Ontario and Quebec. He fails to distinguish between the various Cree tribal distinctions across vast regions of the north, their self-identifying names, and distinctive dialects which are not always understood between groups.

¹¹⁸ Aaron Carapella, "Aboriginal First Nations: Our Own Names and Locations" (Warner, OK: Tribal Nations Maps). Information taken from a 3' x 5' map that hangs on my office wall. These names are not exhaustive. The ones in brackets are the names Europeans have assigned as identifiers.

¹¹⁹ Ed Fread, archeologist, presenting to the Charleswood Historical Society, Jan. 8, 2018.

First Contact at Local Level

Henry VII of England, in 1496, had granted to John Cabot “full and free authority, faculty and power, to sail to all parts, regions and coast of the eastern, western and northern sea, under our banners, flags and ensigns”¹²⁰ The English were to become masters over the Polar Sea, eventually renamed Hudson Bay. Three men served primary roles in the colonization process of Canada and the subsequent mythologies: Cabot (England), Jacques Cartier (France), and Samuel de Champlain (France), who is credited with the first successful settlement. France gained the advantage temporarily through Cartier’s three known voyages.

He is usually credited with discovering Canada, meaning the small region of Québec he named Canada during his 1535 voyage. He was the first explorer of the Gulf of St Lawrence and certainly the first to chart the St. Lawrence River, the discovery of which in 1535 enabled France to occupy the interior of N America. ... [He] certainly came to Newfoundland before 1534, since ... he sailed there directly as if it were familiar to him.¹²¹

The long standing conflict with Britain is part of the legacy brought to North America, but new reasons for being enemies would evolve in the new world. When Cartier arrived at Hochelaga, a palisaded settlement with some fifty longhouses (each approximately 30’ x 100’), two to three thousand agrarian Iroquois lived there. He read the gospel to them (in French). The French men offended the Iroquois by refusing to participate in a feast prepared in their honour. After they forcefully took five Iroquois men to France, all of whom died, the Iroquois regarded them as enemies. Six decades

¹²⁰ Harold Horwood, *The Colonial Dream 1497-1760*. Canada’s Illustrated Heritage (Toronto, ON National Science of Canada, Ltd., 1978), 7.

¹²¹ *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Jacques Cartier;” accessed Jan. 16, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jacques-cartier/>.

later the French returned and found the Hochelagans had vanished.¹²² In hindsight, there is a missed opportunity for contextualization inherent in this anecdote: Some Iroquois, in an attempt to keep Cartier from proceeding to Hochelaga on his second voyage, gave him three children—a traditional way of sealing alliances.¹²³

On the Protestant side, the British had claimed Newfoundland in 1583, which provided the Church of England with opportunities for evangelism. A matter of debate involves the first known clergyman in Canada. Paul Knowles claims the Northwest Territories hosted one of the first Protestant services in 1578. Over time, this area would become the largest geographical Anglican diocese in the world.¹²⁴

Among the first known Protestant clergy was the provocative Erasmus Stourton who arrived and stayed briefly (1627-28) in the northeast from a colony to the south.¹²⁵ While the earliest traders and settlers at times requested a chaplain, the English, prior to 1760, were not fully involved in colonization or mission activity, other than the trading posts and a few small forts.

¹²² *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Hochelaga,” accessed Oct. 27, 2008, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0003793>. Ethnographers and archeological discoveries conflict in some details (such as alignment of fireplace in longhouse) with a fuller description of the village Cartier provided. See *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Hochelaga,” Jan. 16, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/hochelaga/>.

¹²³ See Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, 31.

¹²⁴ It would be some three and a half centuries before ongoing missionary effort reached there: “One must make up one’s mind to endure and suffer more than can be imagined from hunger, from sleeping always on bare ground ... all the evils the season and weather can conflict, and ... countless swarms of mosquitoes and midges, together with difficulties in language....” Paul Knowles, ed. *Canada: Sharing Our Christian Heritage* (Toronto, ON Mainroads Productions Inc., 1982), 117.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13. Knowles claims Stourton was the first, but at least two others preceded him, briefly. See also “The Church of England (Anglican Church),” Newfoundland and Labrador History, Online; accessed Jan. 11, 2014; <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/anglicanism.html>. Stourton then travelled southward by ship, and was the impetus for a letter in 1629 to the King wherein Lord Baltimore describes him as “that audacious man ..., who being banished [from] the Colony for his misdeeds did the last winter (as I understand) raise a false and slanderous report of me at Plymouth.” See Colony of Avalon History, “Documents relating to Ferryland: 1597 to 1726 (19 August, 1629); Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore Letter to King Charles I,” Newfoundland and Labrador History, accessed Jan. 11, 2014, http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/letter_14.html.

The first successful colony by Champlain, Port Royal, had both a secular¹²⁶ Catholic priest and a Protestant minister. Their work concerned the colonists, not mission. Both soon died from scurvy. A replacement priest was unavailable as “there was no means of dragging one of them out of Paris,”¹²⁷ Moreover, “many of the letters sent back to France by the early parish priests deplore the slight regard most colonists had for the Church.”¹²⁸ The Franciscan Récollets reached New France prior to the Jesuits, and sought to convert the Mi’kmaq of Acadia.¹²⁹ A 1610 report by a Huguenot tells of the baptism at Port Royal of a chief and twenty others.¹³⁰ A Catholic perspective is that France’s colonists could not compete with the 262,000 British colonists by 1706. “In the meantime England continued to cast envious eyes on the Catholic colony of Canada, which France, with her lack of foresight, was neglecting more and more.”¹³¹ Acadia

¹²⁶ “Secular” or Diocesan priests are ordained, but not members of a religious order. They are ordained for “a specific geographical area.” See “Vocations.ca: Types of Vocations – Diocesan Priests,” accessed May 20, 2015; http://vocations.ca/types_of_vocations/diocesan_priests/

¹²⁷ Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, quoting Marc Lescarbot (1570-1641).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁹ See Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 47. He claims that they “met with little success.” Cf. Terry LeBlanc, “Mi’kmaq and French/Jesuit Understandings of the Spiritual and Spirituality: Implications for Faith” (doctoral dissertation, Asbury Theological Seminary, Nov. 2012). LeBlanc writes, “Since the monument to this event is on the *Listuguj* reserve, I feel compelled to say that some oral traditions still being passed on place the number higher for this inaugural baptismal event among the *Mi’kmaw* peoples – as many as thirty-three extended family members and, of course, the 140 recorded by the Jesuit in total in the month(s) that followed. See [Marc] Lescarbot (1612, vol. 2, 56),” 188, fn. 207.

¹³⁰ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the original French, Latin, and Italian texts, with English translations and notes* (1896), vol.1, Acadia 1610-13; “La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont esté baptizes en la Nouvelle France, cette annee 1610. *Marc Lescarbot*,” 49-114; accessed Feb. 21, 2014, <http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.07535/5?r=0&s=1>.

¹³¹ “New Advent,” Catholicity in Canada, Catholic Encyclopedia Online, accessed Oct 4, 2016; <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03231a.htm>. This source credits visits by Basque, Breton, and Norman seamen prior to Jacques Cabot in 1497, Verrazzano in 1522, and on to Cartier.

was particularly vulnerable “and against her the efforts of England and her American colonies were first directed.”¹³² England’s supremacy led to the French Acadians eventual expulsion. “[Governor] Lawrence ... with calculating violence embarked (1755) the Acadians on English vessels and scattered them throughout the American colonies. This act of barbarism ... has caused his name to be execrated by all men”¹³³

The credit for early missions to Canada rightfully belongs to the Jesuits. Jesuits did have an advantage in viewing Natives, via Aristotelian philosophy and Thomistic theology, more optimistically since they rejected the presupposition of human depravity, and so were more readily able to view the Indians as inherently good.

Coming early to the shores of Nova Scotia (1611), nearly a decade before the landing of the Plymouth Pilgrims, ... they met the American savage before contact with civilization had seriously affected him. With heroic fortitude, often with marvellous enterprise, they pierced our wilderness while still there were but Indian trails to connect far-distant villages of semi-naked aborigines. ... To win these crude beings to the Christian faith, it was necessary to know them intimately, in their daily walks.¹³⁴

Jesuits were experienced global missionaries.¹³⁵ Harold Cushner writes with a measure of cynicism,

Evangelization was considered a joint effort that obligated civil as well as religious authority. Both stood to gain. ... Just when Satan, it was argued, was tricking thousands of the faithful in Europe into following Luther and Calvin, untold numbers of souls were made available in America for the waters of baptism and entrance into the one true church.¹³⁶

¹³² “New Advent,” Catholicity in Canada.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Thwaites, *Relations and Allied Documents*, viii; accessed Jan. 16, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/jesuitrelations85jesugoog> .

¹³⁵ James T. Moore, *Indian and Jesuit: a Seventeenth-Century Encounter* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), 3.

¹³⁶ Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 46.

Baptisms were performed before language learning. In June of 1611, Pierre Baird wrote a letter lamenting the lack of signs for true conversion. “So there is scarcely any change in them after their baptism. The same savagery ... the same customs, ceremonies, usages, fashions, and vices remain, at least as far as can be learned; no attention being paid to any distinction of time, days, offices, exercises, prayers, duties, virtues, or spiritual remedies.”¹³⁷ By 1612 he expressed misgivings on the French methodology.

Since we have observed that those who had been previously baptized had gotten scarcely anything else through their baptism than increased peril, we have restrained this eager inclination to administer this sacrament without discrimination, and we insist that no adult person shall receive it until he has the necessary understanding of his faith and his profession. So, as we have thus far been ignorant of the language and have been unable to explain our doctrines through any interpreter, or to commit them to writing. ... [w]e try to persuade the savages to bring their babes to us for baptism; and this, with God’s blessing, they are beginning to do.¹³⁸

Around 1615 the Recollects reached Quebec from Acadia, where they had little success, and so they asked for Jesuit assistance. Conflicts eventually developed between these two orders; the Jesuits held the position of primary missionaries and teachers in New France¹³⁹ Later, they travelled further inland. The Jesuits reflected the diversity of personality and character of humankind in their interactions with First Nations. Here I emphasize events that are symptomatic of the later marginalization of these peoples.

As inter-European battles spilled over into North America, and new reasons for conflicts arose in the New World, negotiations between England and France gave much of New France to Britain. The Jesuits worked to rebuild what had been destroyed. The

¹³⁷ Pierre Baird, “Letter From Father Baird, to Reverend Father Christopher Baltazar, Provincial of France, at Paris,” June 10, 1611; in Thwaites, ed., *Relations and Allied Documents*, accessed Jan. 16, 2018, http://moses.creighton.edu/kripke/jesuitrelations/relations_01.html .

¹³⁸ Baird, *The Relations*, vol. 2, (1612), 31f; as quoted by LeBlanc, “*Mi'kmaq* and French/Jesuit,” 115.

¹³⁹ S. R. Mealing, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Carleton Library, Number 7 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), x.

“permanent” Jesuit missions are dated to 1632. By 1700 Jesuit missionaries were established “from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Wisconsin and Louisiana.”¹⁴⁰

Another attempt in 1638 to gather the Savages into a community was modelled upon a French village in the hopes of having converts more accessible for teaching. Within ten years more than ten dozen souls inhabited the village, yet, in ten more years, they had moved on. The Jesuits were left ministering to French settlers.¹⁴¹ The problem, according to Cushner, was the Jesuit “pedagogical disposition combined with the regimental orientation of the Society created a tendency in the Jesuits to reduce what they encountered to known and manageable processes and categories. Establishing clear boundaries, procedures, and practices also provided a sense of progress and accomplishment”¹⁴² which ultimately led to frustration. Eventually the Jesuits gave up on assimilation, opting for a form of indigenization. While their intention was to bring the Church to the Savages and to make them into a replica of the French Catholic—in Latin liturgy, confessional requirements, memorized prayer, short haircuts, and more civilized garb—it simply was not working. What had “worked” in Japan, China, and Mexico did not fit. Mobility of lifestyle took some of the blame. On the other hand, from an Indigenous perspective, they could see no value in this new religion. Perhaps too suddenly, they had been thrust into the Iron Age¹⁴³ as Jesuits traded their goods. Newcomers had also brought disease and death and the inevitable alcohol, as well as involving Indigenous allies in inter-European colonial warfare, increasing the tension (understated) between the Hurons and parts of the Iroquoian federation.

¹⁴⁰ Moore, *Indian and Jesuit*, xi-xii.

¹⁴¹ Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 275.

¹⁴² LeBlanc, “*Mi'kmaq* and French/Jesuit,” 120.

¹⁴³ Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, 59.

The Mohawks raged against the Huron because they did not have enough furs to trade with the Dutch; the Algonkins (*sic*) battled against the Mohawks who searched out more furs in the Algonkin territory; the Jesuits who were allied with the French threw their weight on one side, then pulled back to the other, encouraged treaties only to see them broken, acted as peacemakers, middlemen, agents, all in an attempt to smooth the way for proselytization.¹⁴⁴

The Jesuits tried to impede the flow of alcohol. Jesuit Paul Le Jeune noted that the Indians did not respond well to threats or coercion, but did respond to love.¹⁴⁵ Moore records without comment that Indian girls were given land if they married a Frenchman and that there were sometimes monetary incentives for those men.¹⁴⁶

Lethal epidemics led the Huron to suspect the Jesuits were to blame. Half the population perished.¹⁴⁷ The Jesuits reported baptizing 1200 dying children in one year. While they interpreted this as a spiritual harvest, the Huron regarded it less positively, assuming the priests' baptism killed their ill children.¹⁴⁸ Iroquois attacks along with disease scattered and destroyed the Huron. Jesuit priests demonstrated resolve in language acquisition, in spite of the many dialects. In addition to giving gifts for attendance and genuflecting, they set the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed to music in the Montagnais language—although Latin recitation was still required. “At a signal, all

¹⁴⁴ Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 279f.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 16f.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁴⁷ The Huron Nation of over 30,000 people at first contact was near extinction if not “virtually destroyed.” Jesuits interpreted these deaths and destruction as God's punishment on the Natives. In 1650 Jesuit Paul Ragueneau wrote “... thirteen years ago, I had seen it (the river) bordered with large numbers of people of the Algonquin tongue, who knew no God. ... Since they have embraced the faith ... [God has] made them a prey to miseries, torments, and cruel deaths; in a word, they are a people wiped off from the face of the earth.” See Moore, *Indian and Jesuit*, 30, quoting from *Relations* 34:213-21.

¹⁴⁸ Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 271f.

knelt, signed the cross, and invoked the Trinity, first in Latin and then in Montagnais. ... The usual catechetical instruction followed and then a 'feast' concluded the session."¹⁴⁹

The French and British competed with the Dutch for land; tensions led to the Iroquois-Algonquin wars. "Early settlers fought the Dutch, fought the Indians, fought the pirates, fought each other in a series of English-French wars that lasted for a hundred years, and finally fought the Americans."¹⁵⁰ The Dutch lost influence after 1664, ending decades of "guerrilla warfare at sea."¹⁵¹ War always impeded the work of missionaries.

Initially, Jesuits believed "evangelization was primarily a spiritual activity"¹⁵² which required little specific preparation. However, "it didn't take too long for Jesuit administrators to realize their theology, philosophy, and classical studies were neither the only nor best preparation for evangelizing the American Indian."¹⁵³ New France would fall and the Jesuits dissolved temporarily without them finding the best way.¹⁵⁴

Every student of Canadian history is indebted to *Relations des Jésuites*, known as the *Relations* (see Appendix 4). For over forty years, the French literate public could read the written accounts of Jesuit life and "the Savages" usually within a year. "Jesuit Relations (*Relations des Jésuites*), [are] the voluminous annual documents sent from the Canadian mission of the Society of Jesus to its Paris office, 1632-72, compiled by missionaries in the field, edited by their Québec superior, and printed in France by

¹⁴⁹ Moore, *Indian and Jesuit*, 16.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁵² Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 22.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Sébastien Cramoisy.”¹⁵⁵ They helped inform the lasting understanding and mythology that frames concepts of the “other” and which Indigenous peoples still must navigate.

Jesuits frequently found admirable traits amongst the First Nations, especially their ability to endure hardships with a stoic forbearance of pain, cold, and hunger. The local Jesuits were likely aware of the turmoil over Chinese Rites—Jesuits adapting to Chinese culture and dress. Perhaps they were reluctant to adapt too much to the ways of the Indians.¹⁵⁶ Certainly the *coureur de bois* were scorned for their adaptation.¹⁵⁷ Some missionaries, such as the Franciscan Lois Hennepin (ca.1697), wrote a negative portrayal of “the Savages.” His criticisms included a too-tolerant view of religion. “They are incapable of taking away any Person’s life out of hatred of his Religion.”¹⁵⁸ Hennepin’s surprise likely stemmed from the contrast with the Inquisition and the Reformation.

At its height, New France functioned as “the great empire that stretched from Newfoundland to the Rockies and from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico.”¹⁵⁹ The Jesuits had amassed approximately 900,000 acres of land in New France by 1760, viewed as “compensation for the waning of its influence in France.”¹⁶⁰ In 1763 Canada became Britain’s sixteenth colony in North America. Jesuits had not only functioned as

¹⁵⁵ *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Jesuit Relations”, accessed Oct. 29, 2008, <http://www.the.canadianencyclopedia.com/indexcfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0004124>.

¹⁵⁶ Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 277.

¹⁵⁷ The *coureurs de bois*, literally runners of the woods, were French descendant traders who functioned outside of the licensed trading industry, unlike the *voyageurs* (travelers) who were licensed by France. The former adopted the lifestyle and much of the culture of First Nations.

¹⁵⁸ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 19.

¹⁵⁹ Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, 121.

¹⁶⁰ Mealing, *The Jesuit Relations*, x.

missionaries, but as is the case with other missions, had been explorers searching out 'savages' further inland, aiding imperial expansion.

When Europeans arrived, the First Peoples had no concept of a secular-sacred dichotomy. Animate and inanimate intertwined. They intentionally sought to live in harmony with the land and its creatures (although warfare is obviously an exception and requires unpacking beyond the scope of this study). Europeans were incapable of viewing this harmonious living as spiritual, as "God's presence in all things."¹⁶¹ On the other hand, Natives were suspicious of the Jesuits' sorcery. How else did one account for the dead babies after baptism? Moore relates the Attiwandaronk's suspicions of other Jesuit rituals: "each time they began their daily devotions ... they were accused of invoking spells. Their inkstands, books, and so forth, were looked upon as evil talismans."¹⁶²

Jesuits regarded the Natives as brutally savage in their treatment of enemies; the latter were unimpressed with how the French treated their own people. Reflecting the brutality of France, "Gallows, stocks and pillories were among the first structures of this Old World system of justice. There were no lawyers in New France, and according to the statutes, a person could be hanged for rape, pilloried for being poor or drunk, and have his tongue cut out for blasphemy."¹⁶³ The hanging of a sixteen year old girl for stealing occurred in 1649. Jesuits record it, but do not seem to have protested. Heads of those hanged (1686) were to be mounted at a crossroads as a vivid object lesson.¹⁶⁴ The definition of savage, like beauty, may be in the eye of the beholder. As Horwood

¹⁶¹ Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 20.

¹⁶² Moore, *Indian and Jesuit*, 23.

¹⁶³ Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, 11.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

remarks, “why the ritual torture of prisoners should have seemed more barbaric than the public burnings, brandings, guttings, and breakings-on-the-wheel ... we may well wonder.”¹⁶⁵

European patriarchy was unprepared to meet Indian matriarchy in the Iroquoian nations which structured themselves around women more than Jesuits deemed “natural.” Nor did they understand the fluid and dissolvable matrimonial bonds.

The history of Canada necessitates acknowledging the tremendous impact made by two rival fur trading companies: the Hudson’s Bay Company [HBC] formed in 1670, and the Northwest Company [NWC] established in 1783.¹⁶⁶ The former established its headquarters on Hudson Bay at York Factory (Manitoba),¹⁶⁷ eventually moving south to Fort Garry (Winnipeg). The NWC was formed by French traders opposing Montreal’s control. Their impact on Indigenous peoples, as they both helped and impeded missions, is a separate study. Examples of HBC aid include housing missionaries in outposts, attempting to stop the alcohol trade, and begetting children who sometimes trained to aid in missions. Examples of impediment include officers and traders who robbed the people, who used and discarded the women and children, and created dependencies.

In the Red River regions, life as it had existed for millennia would change dramatically, first on the shores of the Polar Sea (Hudson Bay and James Bay) and then

¹⁶⁵ Horwood, *The Colonial Dream*, 62.

¹⁶⁶ The HBC was formed by British Royal Charter in 1670. The NWC later merged with the HBC, diversified and developed major Canadian department stores, changed their name to The Bay, and to the chagrin of many Canadians, were very recently sold to Americans. See Peter Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, as told to Henry Thompson (Calgary, AB: Fifth House Ltd., 1999), 134, for a high opinion of HBC.

¹⁶⁷ I visited this site and walked through the structures in Aug 2016. In 1728 a HBC employee returned inferior goods intended for trade as the Indians could no longer be fooled. They included combs with teeth too small, kettles too thin to use, and ripped cloth. Part of the problem was that “the natives have grown so politic in their way of trade, so as they are not to be dealt by as formerly ...” Arthur J. Ray, “Fur Trade History as an ‘Aspect of Native History’, in *Readings in Canadian pre-Confederation History*, eds., R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, 5th ed. (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, Harcourt Brace & Company, 1998), 56. Ray is referring to a report by Thomas McCliesh sent to London on Aug. 8, 1728.

in the interior reached via waterways to the Red River Valley as trappers, traders, explorers, and settlers “opened the west” and ships opened northern routes into the interior.¹⁶⁸ The men entered relationships with “country wives”¹⁶⁹ in the absence of clergy. John Ralston Saul contends this was “marrying up” for the Europeans,

A company factor who was lucky enough to be allowed by a chief to marry one of his daughters gained influence in the region and stability for his trade. As with arranged marriages anywhere, the husband sought a financial advantage. In this case, it was access to trade infrastructure. His wife—multilingual and at the heart of local politics—often became a key player.¹⁷⁰

Central to the HBC trading domain was the junction of the Assiniboine and the Red Rivers. Trading at “the forks” has been traced back to at least 6000 BC. Traders included the Cree, Ojibwa/Anishinaabe, Assiniboine, Sioux, and others. In the early 1730s the first White explorer paddled his way to the forks, signaling the arrival of French and Métis traders. He established a small post known as Fort Rouge.¹⁷¹ In 1809, the NWC built Fort Gibraltar near the site.¹⁷² Seven years later, the HBC attacked the NWC, ending in a merger. In 1822, HBC built [Upper] Fort Garry on or near the site of the former Fort Gibraltar.¹⁷³ Thus, the Red River Settlement, now the city of Winnipeg,

¹⁶⁸ Hudson’s Bay Company Archives [HBCA], accessed Jan. 31, 2014, http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/about/hbca_holdings.html. In 1884, these archives were donated to Manitoba. At times these marriages were intentionally short-term since the men intended to return to their homeland.

¹⁶⁹ Christine Welsh and Signe Johansson, “Women in the Shadows,” dir. Norma Bailey, video recording (1991).

¹⁷⁰ John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling the Truth about Canada* (Toronto: Viking, 2008), 11.

¹⁷¹ He was Pierre Gauthier de Varennes et de la Verendrye. See “Upper Fort Garry Gate: 130 Main Street,” City of Winnipeg Historical Buildings Committee, accessed May 5, 2014, <http://www.winnipeg.ca/ppd/historic/pdf-consv/Main%20130-long.pdf>. A committee was established in 2013 to oppose the city’s plans to relocate the gate and walls so they could sell the prime land it stands on.

¹⁷² Now located in the French Quarter of Winnipeg, the fort serves as the site for the annual winter Métis celebration, *Festival du Voyageur*.

¹⁷³ Due to flooding, Lower Fort Garry replaced the earlier fort. A few years ago, an historical exhibit in the Assiniboine Park Conservatory had a plaque mounted which said the fort was built for two reasons: (1) because of constant flooding; (2) so that Sir Simpson could avoid his former “country wife” as she was perpetually bothering him about jobs for their sons—the woman was my great great grandmother.

began its urban existence at the site of “the first European post on the Canadian prairies.”¹⁷⁴ It boasted one hundred residents in 1830.¹⁷⁵ Historically it served as the “gateway to the west.”¹⁷⁶ Métis, such as my great-grandfather, established farms on river lots. However, European settlement is attributed to Lord Selkirk in 1812 who settled one hundred and five Scottish farmers there, plus European mercenaries to protect them.¹⁷⁷ French Bishop Joseph Norbert Provencher chose a site near the Red and Seine Rivers convergence for a missionary settlement, establishing St. Boniface College (1818).¹⁷⁸

The Oblates are a second Roman Catholic Order that exerted exceptional influence in the west, and therefore over Indigenous peoples, including involvement in treaty making. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate began in France, 1816, under Eugene du Mazenod with four men who desired to “preach Missions”.¹⁷⁹ The Oblates were instrumental in taking Christianity to the Métis, Cree, Saulteaux, Blackfoot, and other tribes in the Prairies. The HBC served as reluctant benefactors and set the parameters.

This period under the British roughly parallels the lifetime of A. A. Taché, the second archbishop of St. Boniface, from 1823 to 1894. It also directly relates to my paternal family’s history. Six generations or more lived under Oblate influences, were

¹⁷⁴ McGill University Digital Library, accessed May 1, 2008, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/chro/text_1701.htm. Note: McGill states 1737, while other sources state 1738. The main gate and a portion of wall remains from Upper Fort Garry. Lower Fort Garry is maintained as a tourist attraction.

¹⁷⁵ “Winnipeg at a Glance,” Destination Winnipeg, accessed April 30, 2008, <http://www.destinationwinnipeg.ca/mediakit>. It had decreased by 5 residents since 1812.

¹⁷⁶ Whereas Toronto, which is east, has been considered “central” – it is purely a political distinction.

¹⁷⁷ Canadian Encyclopedia, s.v., “St. Boniface,” accessed Feb. 4, 2014, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/en/article/st-boniface/>. Lord Selkirk was a shareholder in HBC.

¹⁷⁸ “St. Boniface,” *Britannica*, accessed May 12, 2008, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/516871/Saint-Boniface>.

¹⁷⁹ Oblate Communications, “Who are we?” accessed Nov. 25, 2008, <http://www.omiworld.org/WhoareWe/whoarewe1.asp?L=1>.

baptized and confirmed, and many were educated at Oblate schools. The Oblates are introduced here as a primary change agent in Western Canada.

The first mission of the Sisters of Charity in the Red River Settlement was built in 1906, less than ten miles from downtown Winnipeg on the banks of the Assiniboine River and called St. Charles Convent. The “little village with a sizable Métis population”¹⁸⁰ included my father’s family. The Oblates and the Sisters of Charity—*Soeurs Grises* or Grey Nuns— worked “side by side” since 1844 in the Red River Settlement.¹⁸¹ Gradually the nuns lost their status and served as support workers for the male mission.¹⁸² In the next century, the Oblates operated one hundred and eighteen residences, residential schools, and other facilities.¹⁸³

While Tàché’s career and life were winding down in Manitoba, Adrien-Gabriel Morice (1859–1938) arrived in 1880¹⁸⁴ from France with his goal “to become a missionary priest-king,”¹⁸⁵ and “to battle among, and conquer, the lowly of America, that is my vocation.”¹⁸⁶ He fulfilled his goal in interior British Columbia amongst the Carrier and Sikani. (Cheryl Bear’s homeland; she is Individual 4 in this study.) Morice learned

¹⁸⁰ Bruno-Jofré, *The Missionary Oblate Sisters* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), 30. An aside: This is the church where many of my relatives are buried, and my brother and cousins attended school. Our family’s church is pictured on page 30, taken ca. 1928.

¹⁸¹ E. Palmer Patterson, *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500* (Don Mills, ON: Collier-MacMillan Canada, 1972), 125, quoting Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe, The Black-Robe Voyageur* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1920), 336.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 173-190.

¹⁸⁴ *Canadian Encyclopedia*, “Father Adrien Gabriel Morice,” *Historica Canada, Canadian Encyclopedia Online*, accessed Feb. 3, 2014, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/en/article/father-adrien-gabriel-morice/>.

¹⁸⁵ David Mulhall, *Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), xi.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

the language well and guarded the Indians from the HBC and the Indian Agent. The fact he appointed the new chief for the Carrier is one example of a paternalistic authoritarian missionary.¹⁸⁷ David Mulhall expressed his disdain for Morice who “from the height of his grandeur treated the Indians as slaves.”¹⁸⁸

The 1860s and 1870s brought turmoil to the lives of the Catholic Red River Métis when Canadian surveyors arrived to divide the land. The resultant first phase of the Red River Rebellion/Resistance coincided with the migration of displaced Mennonites. A number of Mennonite denominations gradually involved themselves in ministry to Indians, attempting to convert them not just to Jesus, but to their particular culture and religious expression. Rationale for the failure rate of conversion/transformation of Indians has included the confusion and social conflict created by missionary competition as well as ignorance of and insensitivity to cultural nuances. Missionaries had made selfless sacrifices, had laboured at learning the languages, lived on reserves or near-by, yet usually managed to live apart from the people.

The slaughter of the buffalo (bison) by the thousands for their hides and to force Indians into submission through starvation left the Indians not only starving, but incredulous for the “Destruction of food was in their minds worse than the murder of a man’s own family.”¹⁸⁹ As the buffalo were hunted almost to extinction, and settlers poured into western Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Métis struggled to keep their identity as a new and separate nation of people, their land rights,

¹⁸⁷ Mulhall, *Will to Power*, 82f (photograph section). He frequently accepted invitations to speak as an “expert on Indians.” Morice managed to convince at least one modern researcher that he “was in a class quite by himself. . . . an outstanding brilliant scholar. If the Oblates had not been so short of men he probably would never have been put out into the missionary field at all, but retained for some strictly academic project”, Kay Cronin, *Cross in the Wilderness* (Vancouver, BC: Mitchell Press, 1960), 159. One assumes “Indians” are not nearly as valuable as academics. This text is a contrast with Mulhall.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁸⁹ Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, 227.

and their distinct culture. Previously, I referenced the Māori half-caste who “recast his identity at will”¹⁹⁰ passing as different ethnicities. This tactic was replicated in Canada as “halfbreeds,” the official term used by the British and early Canadian governments, would increasingly try to “pass” as French or British. Some children such as Louis Riel were offered privileged education. At times these children were given the surname of their benefactors. (One could argue this reflected a paternalistic mindset similar to that which Morgan displayed in his habitual references to “my natives.”¹⁹¹) Indigenous names routinely gave way to European ones both as a part of Christianization and for the convenience of the newcomers. Métis Peter Erasmus (1833-1931) provides an illustration of the complexity of identity for halfbreeds for he was a descendent of two English HBC officers, a Danish father, and Indian grandparents, and married to a “mixed-blood” wife. Erasmus served as a teacher, evangelist, guide to a Methodist missionary, translator who spoke six local languages plus English, and as the translator in negotiating Treaty 6.¹⁹²

I will leave this section of the study and briefly highlight some missionaries at the height of Protestant missions in western Canada. The study of Protestant missionary endeavours in N.A. presents a sharp contrast with the Jesuits, complicated by a number of factors: the divisiveness and competitiveness between Protestant denominations and mission institutions; and the diversity of faith expressions¹⁹³ including American born sects (such as Mormons and later Jehovah’s Witnesses). The Anglican John Stuart, born in Virginia in 1736, made his way north to minister to the Mohawks and the Five Nations. By the late 1700s he too had little fruit for his labours as he saw “that [the

¹⁹⁰ Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight*, 1.

¹⁹¹ See Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals of Reverend John Morgan*.

¹⁹² Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, xv-xxix, 305.

¹⁹³ This is not to ignore territorial tensions between missionaries representing various Catholic orders.

Indians] were deteriorating in character, and rapidly declining in number: indolence, quarrelsomeness, and a passion for ardent spirits, were their besetting sins; and while they had not the advantage of any resident teacher, they were constantly exposed to the corrupting influence of the more abandoned white settlers.”¹⁹⁴ Thomas Crosby (1840-1914) was dubbed “the most famous Methodist missionary in British Columbia, if not all of Canada.”¹⁹⁵ His reputation grew in part through self-promotion. Jan Hare and Jean Barman, in *Good Intentions Gone Awry*, demonstrate the tremendous responsibility carried by his wife Emma (1849-1926), which included her twelve children plus full responsibility for the mission while her husband travelled. The ethos of mission at the time was to reach the whole world in one generation. The times also dictated strict roles for missionary wives as support personnel who were to be helpmeets for the real missionaries: their husbands. Women Salvation Army officers as missionaries were an exception.¹⁹⁶ The first self-sufficient woman homesteader in Alberta, the widow Mrs. George McDowell, taught “Indian women Christian concepts” and domestic skills.¹⁹⁷

An 1855 picture of Rev. Henry Bird Steinhauer shows him clothed in a suit, with an English style haircut.¹⁹⁸ Steinhauer was an Ojibway, proficient in Cree, English, Greek and Hebrew, and applauded as an example of an “improved Indian.” He joined James

¹⁹⁴ “The Rev. John Stuart,” Project Canterbury, Early Canadian Missionaries, from *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, no. ii (Aug. 1847), 61-66; no. viii (Feb. 1848), 298-306; no. ix (March, 1848), 333-338; transcribed by the Right Reverend Dr. Terry Brown, Bishop of Malaita, Church of the Province of Melanesia, 2008; Anglican History, accessed Jan. 11, 2014, http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/early_missionaries1847.html.

¹⁹⁵ Jan Hare and Jean Barman, *Good Intentions Gone Awry* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2006), xix.

¹⁹⁶ Knowles, *Canada*, 113, re “The Hallelujah Lassies” and their impact in 1887 in Vancouver.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁹⁸ Patterson, *The Canadian Indian*, 104.

Evans as a Methodist missionary in translating Scripture into Cree—the rare Indian who earned clergy status as assimilated, a mark of success, and subservient.¹⁹⁹

The Methodists as a whole began to lose interest in Indians. They were not alone. Other missions faced similar struggles. By the end of the 1800s some Christians questioned the validity of missions to Indians as ‘money wasted’ with so little return for the dollar. John McLean commented: “here are many doubters as to the success attending the labours of missionaries among the red men. With them it is the practical question of dollars and cents. A definite amount had been expended on an Indian mission, and the exact equivalent in conversion according to some ideal standard must result.”²⁰⁰ McLean affirmed the power of the gospel in that “the Indian manifests no less than the white man the power of the Spirit of God.”²⁰¹ Politicians, citizens, missions, and denominations who weigh the worth of work to/with Indigenous peoples on the basis of how much money is being ‘wasted’ will be encountered again in Chapter Three. At this point, I note that exceptional missionaries (either for positive or negative reasons) are most likely to have biographies as a legacy. One assumes most missionaries with the best of intentions, and perhaps better methodologies, are less accessible.

On the east coast, “After a generation or so not a single Beothuk was left alive, at any rate none who would admit their tribal identity.”²⁰² The defining moment for ultimate control over Indigenous peoples’ lives had occurred far to the east with the Battle of the

¹⁹⁹ Knowles, *Canada*, 10. In recent times, it has been proposed that the work which made Evans well known and admired was, in fact, work accomplished by Steinhauer such as translation.

²⁰⁰ John McLean, *The Indians: Their Manners and Customs* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889; reprinted Toronto: Coles, 1970), 287.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² William Brandon, *The Rise and Fall of North American Indians: From Prehistory through Geronimo* (Lanham, Maryland: Roberts Rhinehart Publishers, 2003), 260.

Plains of Abraham (1759), on which hung “the fate of a continent.”²⁰³ The official formation of Canada (1867) cemented control. A story not as well-known involves the scalp bounties. They had first been introduced by the Dutch. Eventually they were implemented in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Nova Scotia, and California. William Brandon wrote, “Of course, no one could be sure the scalps brought in were the scalps of whatever Indians happened to be enemies at the moment. Missionaries had to keep a frantic watch over their Indian flocks during bounty years.”²⁰⁴

Aboriginal status continued to decline as Indigenous roles diminished in developing the new nation. Culturally and numerically, the Indian assumed the status of alien in the land. The Indigenous person was to co-operate, assimilate or get out of the way. If resistant, European descendants dealt with them in ways common to their values.

The White man became the default position for humanity. (White women were not yet considered persons by the Law.) The perplexing problem of why Indians did not, would not, change has been analyzed from both political and religious vantage points. The 1844 *Report on the Affairs of Indians in Canada*, discussing their non-compliance with the plans to convert and transform them, contained this explanation:

The chief obstacle to their conversion is a joint determination on the part of certain of their chiefs to persevere in their rejection of Christianity.... The glaring inconsistency, which they cannot fail to discover, between the profession and practice of the nominal Christians among the white people who have settled around them, and who are generally of very bad character, has furnished them with a plausible objection to the Christian religion.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Joy Carroll, *Wolfe & Montcalm: Their Lives, Their Times and the Fate of a Continent* (Richmond Hill, ON: Firefly Books, 2004).

²⁰⁴ Brandon, *The Rise and Fall of North American Indians*, 260. He contends, “The French used the scalp bounty to have the inoffensive Beothuk of Newfoundland cut off, as the phraseology of the time had it...”

²⁰⁵ Patterson, *The Canadian Indian*, 84.

“The Indian problem”²⁰⁶ impeded the desire to open the west for settlement following the birth of Canada. Ridding the country of Indians became a priority. The 1870s brought the completion of the transcontinental railroad with Winnipeg as the major hub in western Canada. The inevitable influx of European immigrants followed. With the buffalo gone and orchestrated famine stalking the Indians, submitting to treaties seemed the only way out of starvation and impending extinction. Consequences of first contact on the prairies include decimation of wildlife impacting sustainability of the hunting/trapping lifestyle. Fur-trade and governmental policies had similar affects.²⁰⁷ Missionaries often played significant roles in convincing people to sign these treaties.²⁰⁸

The three issues from a governing perspective continued to be land, the civilizing project, and resistance to assimilation. In spite of those like Father Lacombe who desired Indians “to live there in pastoral contentment and certainty of food,”²⁰⁹ they were not succeeding at farming. In part, the problem can be attributed to governments issuing poor quality seed, old cattle, incompetent farm instructors, and forced relocation to scrub land.²¹⁰ Even the prime minister had doubts about the scheme.²¹¹ Other challenges were broken treaties which left them without promised equipment. One analysis of the ‘Indian problem’ concluded that a blunder was made in assigning the work to men, who “were

²⁰⁶ Candace Savage, *A Geography of Blood: Unearthing Memory from a Prairie Landscape* (Vancouver/Toronto/Berkeley: Greystone Books, 2012). Savage is non-Indigenous. This is a story of deliberate death to buffalo, Indian (our adopted son’s people), and Métis on the part of both the American and Canadian governments. Berg tells the similar story for an American audience. Scott W. Berg, *38 Nooses: Lincoln, Little Crow, and the Beginning of the Frontier’s End* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2012).

²⁰⁷ See James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina, SK: University of Regina Press, 2013), and, Savage, *A Geography of Blood*.

²⁰⁸ See Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, Métis interpreter for missionaries and government officials.

²⁰⁹ Patterson, *The Canadian Indian*, 125, quoting Hughes, *Father Lacombe*.

²¹⁰ Hugh Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive: Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873-1965* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), 224.

²¹¹ Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, 115f.

used to ‘spectacular’ occupations ... whereas women were best suited to those which were ‘humdrum’” and therefore would have been more successful at farming.²¹² As pointed out by Hugh Shewell, it was not recognized that “sustenance gardening was probably not a viable proposition for any culture” on the lands assigned.²¹³

Indigenous communities were de-stabilized. The “Old Men” or Elders had played an essential role in community life. Some Native communities were patriarchal (to the extent of plural wives), some matriarchal, and others egalitarian. In the latter, older women were also Elders. The responsibilities of these Elders were manifold.

The Old Men have had a responsible and important position to fill with the band. In a sense, they have supplied our moral code, taking the place of historians and legal advisors. Theirs has been the task of firing the spirits of the young men through stories of daring deeds done in times past. ... [I]t was the Old men who were the influence for good, who sought to right wrongs and to settle disputes.²¹⁴

Three primary factors that caused the social demotion of Elders were: the confusion created by the rapid pace of change; the role played by the imposition of laws in conflict with social norms; and, the missionaries seeking to protect “their Indians” from the greater evil of their fellow citizens. Missionaries provided medical care, acted as judges in disputes, preached, taught basic schooling, set moral codes, issued advice, and acted as arbitrators with the government. The missionary thus replaced and usurped the role of the Elder in many communities. This aided in the loss of important cultural touchstones.

By the late 1800s the Canadian Government had “consolidated its control over Canada’s First Nations” not in small part through starvation.²¹⁵ Erasmus records “a

²¹² Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive*, 224. Our adopted son is from the first First Nation, starved into submission by the policies of Prime Minister Macdonald, that signed Treaty 4, George Gordon FN., SK.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Rev. Canon Edward Ahenekeew (1885-1961), in Edward Ahenekeew and Ruth M. Buck, *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Regina, SK: University of Regina, 1995), 10.

²¹⁵ Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive*, 166.

growing resentment among various native people that men from the [HBC] ... should be called into consultation with the big [White] chief while the Indians and half-breeds, those chiefly concerned, would be ignored completely. It was worse than useless to try to justify these facts or explain them to native thinking.”²¹⁶

An increasingly important figure, who would come to dominate Native life and create resentment, was the Indian Agent. He imposed government policy and daily oversight of “wards of the state.” Some agents did this with kindness; others with pharisaic rule, and ruthless disregard for life.²¹⁷ Church steeples representing all the major European denominations dotted the landscape almost from sea to sea to sea by 1880. Rapid change also brought transient workers who settled in slums faster than city fathers could respond. Desperate poverty in the cities led to the growth of city missions.

In what is now Ontario, 1781 to 1857 witnessed the signing of formal Treaties with eleven major people groups and clans. In the Canadian prairies, between 1871 and 1923, eleven numbered Treaties plus the Williams Treaty were signed. It would be 1996 before another negotiated treaty would be signed. It should be noted that “less than half of 1% of land south of the 60th Parallel was set aside as Native Reserves—a tiny amount compared to the vast territory of Canada.”²¹⁸ If all the reserve land in Manitoba were to be gathered together, plus the disputed land, and placed on an envelope, it would be the size of a normal stamp. This is less land mass than belongs to Parks Canada. Regarding the treaties, the claim is made that missionaries often “lent ‘the authority and prestige of

²¹⁶ Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, 227.

²¹⁷ Agents were always White men. However, a particularly brutal sub-agent who was “mixed-blood” led to the Frog Lake Massacre. See Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, 151-153.

²¹⁸ Meredith MacArdle, *The Timechart History of Canada* (London: Worth Press, Ltd., 2003), 3.

white man's religion' to convince the Indians to sign."²¹⁹ Were the missionaries unwitting pawns of the government? Of traders? Of chiefs? Of the North West Mounted Police? It is argued, yes, to each of these in various circumstances.

Andrew Walls's study of the eighteenth century missionary movement led him to conclude that many Europeans were seeking "to bolster [the Christian model] and deepen communal Christian allegiance by the infusion of 'real' Christianity."²²⁰ "Real" Christianity expressed itself as devout and holy, and sought commonality of purpose.

We have seen how a sense of common purpose could link groups in different countries who stood for "real" Christianity There have been illuminating studies of the networks developed among evangelicals in Britain and how these networks crossed the Atlantic; ... links were established between missionary societies in different countries. ... All the springs for the Protestant missionary movement lay in the movement for "real" Christianity within Christendom. Overseas missions were not a separate growth from home missions or European missions; they arose in the same soil and were rarely rivals.²²¹

The North America frontier gradually grew as a destination of choice for mission activity. Psalm 2:8 seemed to refer to just such a harvest field, "I shall give you the heathen for your inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for your possession."²²² Former efforts to convert Indians are notable: John Eliot (1642) in Martha's Vineyard; Thomas Mayer, Jr. began earlier and lasted until 1657 in Massachusetts, but David Brainerd's efforts (1718-47) are legendary. It is difficult to assess the results of his efforts

²¹⁹ Patterson, *The Canadian Indian*, 180.

²²⁰ Andrew F. Walls, "The Eighteenth-Century Missionary Awakening," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, Studies in the History of Missions, ed., Brian Stanley; gen. eds., R.E. Frykenberg and Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 40f.

²²¹ Ibid. Our family volunteered in the early 1990s at a Shantyman camp in order to expose our Saulteaux son to other Saulteaux children. At one camp, a 5 or 6 year old girl walked up to me and asked, "What denomination are you?" Her question illustrates the divisions introduced into reserve communities.

²²² See Jane Samson, "Ethnology and Theology: Nineteenth-Century Mission Dilemmas in the South Pacific," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, *Studies in the History of Missions*, edited by, Brian Stanley and R.E. Frykenberg, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 99. She states this verse was "much cited in ... missionary meetings and periodicals".

with the understanding his converts had of conversion given the turmoil during the Great Awakening.²²³ Brainerd's interviews with converts led later scholars to conclude, "[W]e can see that there is also something indigenous taking place in terms of a contest and confrontation of spiritual powers."²²⁴ But is this "something indigenous" an expectation—accurate or misconceived—of what and how pagan Indigenous peoples *should* experience conversion? Certainly the stories abound that the convert's "spirit of conjuration left him entirely." Are these reflections of missionary assumptions of what converts should experience? Do we really need "help . . . to establish the conditions for narratable evangelical conversion?"²²⁵ These questions will not be pursued further.²²⁶

Studies relative to first contact are readily available on the Doctrine of Discovery, the concepts of *terra nullius*, manifest destiny, and capitalism/consumerism—to name a few. The role played by the so called Protestant work ethic in evaluating the value of the "other" is another; however, "The pursuit of profit remained the most powerful driving force behind Britain's bid for North American colonies."²²⁷ The Doctrine of Discovery provided them (and other European colonialists) the moral authority. Robert Miller refers to the 1823 U.S. Supreme Court decision acknowledging the legitimacy of Discovery.

Discovery meant that when European Christian nations encountered new lands that the discovering country automatically gained property rights over non-Christian nations even though the Native people already owned, occupied, and

²²³ D. Bruce Hindmarsh, "Patterns of Conversion in Early Evangelical History," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, Studies in the History of Missions, ed., Brian Stanley; gen. eds., R.E. Frykenberg and Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 82-84.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

²²⁶ I think of a movement in my home city a decade ago. One of the "manifestations of the Spirit" was an uncontrollable shaking. Curiously, a woman who experienced the Spirit in this way entered the women's washroom, stopped shaking, tweaked her make-up, etc., left the washroom, and immediately resumed shaking as she made her way back to her seat. Similar experiences are what lie behind my questions.

²²⁷ James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, 11.

were using their lands. In addition, the discovering country also gained governmental rights over the Native people and their governments²²⁸

Lawrence James relates a popular opinion in the early seventeenth century that “the American continent was a richly endowed virgin bride awaiting a husband.”²²⁹ Miller states the place of Christianity as foremost. “Religion was a significant aspect of the Doctrine. Under Discovery, non-Christian peoples did not have the same rights to land, sovereignty, and self-determination as Christians.”²³⁰

The seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries’ toll on North America’s Indigenous peoples can hardly be exaggerated. Scalp bounties, fraudulent treaties, depletion of resources, land grabs in all their forms, Indian removals, Indian reserves/reservations, Indian agents, education-for-assimilation policies, construction of railroads, warfare, disease, starvation, and alcohol—all combined with their agency in the fur trade, conspiring together to insure marginalization.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Canada had succeeded in claiming, often unlawfully even by their own standards, rights to all Indians as wards of the State, according to the Indian Act²³¹ and all land (including the lands reserved for Indians) not owned under Canadian law. In the U.S, Indians were still “other” with voting rights granted in 1924 but withheld in seven states until 1948.²³²

²²⁸ Robert J. Miller, “Christianity, American Indians, and the Doctrine of Discovery,” in Yong and Zikmund, *Remembering Jamestown*, 59.

²²⁹ James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, 12.

²³⁰ Miller, “Christianity, American Indians,” 59f. Mark Charles, Navajo, has taken it upon himself to educate his fellow American citizens on this matter. See his blog, *WirelessHogan: Reflections from the Hogan*, accessed Jan. 18, 2018, <http://wirelesshogan.blogspot.ca/2014/12/doctrine-of-discovery.html>.

²³¹ “Indian Act,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Jan. 18, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/indian-act/>.

²³² “Indigenous Peoples and Resources,” posted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Feb. 3, 2014; accessed Feb. 3, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10152132168057976>

Conclusion

[L]ess has been accomplished towards the civilization and improvements of Indians in Canada in proportion to the expenses incurred than has been done for the native tribes in any other colonies.

—Lord Grey

Marginalization continued unabated in every sphere of the Indigenous reality, including the Halfbreed experience. Religion provided no exception. In historical works, when addressing faith, Native peoples are viewed not as contributors, but receivers. The learning/giving is mono-directional as is the typical role of Indigenous peoples in relationship to governance, education, media— in daily life in Canada both then and now.

When we Westerners call people ‘natives’ we implicitly take the cultural colour of our perception of them. We see them as wild animals infesting the country . . . , as part of the local flora and fauna and not as men of like passions with ourselves. So long as we think of them as “natives,” we may exterminate them or, as is more likely today, domesticate them and honestly . . . believe that we are improving the breed, but we do not begin to understand them.²³³

The Jesuits were fully aware of European Protestants and Catholics engaged in doctrinal wars (1618-48), “an unholy Christian holy war which sapped the evangelical and Catholic energies.”²³⁴ The French were surrounded in the New World by the old enemy, England, her American descendants, and the Dutch. One thing all newcomers agreed on concerned Native spirituality: it was savage, pagan, and immoral—“nothing in

&set=a.378473232975.160482.318668727975&type=1&theater. I include this Facebook citation since social media has become an educational and rallying tool for Indigenous peoples worldwide.

²³³ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946) as quoted in E. Palmer Patterson, *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500* (Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-MacMillan Canada, 1972). Also see Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, 112. As Métis guide for Englishmen documenting plant specimens in the late 1800s, Erasmus feared that if he accepted their invitation to England “I would be a curiosity to their associates and would probably be viewed in the same way as the specimens so carefully preserved by the party. Most Englishmen . . . considered themselves made of superior cloth; even the most ignorant and pitifully helpless individuals faced with . . . living in the West all looked down on the native inhabitants as inferior beings, even though . . . their very lives were dependent on . . . our people.”

²³⁴ Martin Marty, *The Christian World: A Global History* (New York: Modern Library, 2007), 119.

the Native spiritual expressions was valid, and that their own versions of the Christian replacements had to prevail, still under European national flags and at the expense of other types of Christians.”²³⁵ Converting Indigenous people globally tended to be a more difficult task than missionary enthusiasm predicted, while some adopted concepts, many rejected the message. “Although Indian missions rarely conformed to their benefactors’ expectations, Christianity still had far-reaching implications for native culture.”²³⁶

[T]he Maori people had developed a worldview that kept them in harmony with a spiritual universe and enabled them to respond in meaningful ways. The values thus expressed have been in many cases Christianized ... Yet these values are essential to Maori self-identity”²³⁷

Success in evangelization at the global, regional and local levels was and is often assessed by how far a people group has assimilated. Assimilation is captured in paintings and photographs of Indigenous peoples who are dressed in European fashion. An 1884 photograph from Auckland touting the work of the doomed Baptist Māori Mission shows missionary Alfred Fairbrother seated while a young Māori protégé stands behind, his arm resting on the former’s shoulder. The child is not named. He is attired in a western suit with hair cut short, hand in one pocket, one leg crossed over the other ankle—assuming in all ways the airs of a typical English child. The photograph is identified as belonging to Thomas (son of Charles) Spurgeon’s scrapbook.²³⁸ These superficial visuals belie the deeper fact that many Indigenous peoples grew to love the person of Jesus.

As access to land passed from Indigenous peoples to foreigners, as the latter passed a multitude of laws to control the First Peoples, as denominational and mission

²³⁵ Marty, *The Christian World*, 63.

²³⁶ Eliga H. Gould as quoted in Norman Etherington, ed. *Missions and Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 21.

²³⁷ J. Irwin, “Maori Primal Religion,” 59.

²³⁸ Keam, *Dissolving Dream*, 90.

conflicts escalated, as alcohol and residential/boarding school abuses multiplied, the self-respect and self-identities of the First Peoples continued to deteriorate. Families and communities imploded upon themselves. Coming centuries would reveal that the festering wounds have not healed. Isolated pockets of resistance grew.

There is disagreement over the role of missionaries in exploitation of new lands and new peoples during the initial phases of colonization, with differences in degree between Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. Both used education and trade as a bridge to the gospel, and often for personal (or group) survival or enrichment. The changes they sought as proof of conversion stayed at what Paul Hiebert identifies as “surface culture.”²³⁹ Various triadic formulations have expressed the relationship to colonization: Civilized, Christianized, Catholic;²⁴⁰ Pacification, Progress, Prosperity;²⁴¹ God, Gold, Glory;²⁴² or, Commerce, Civilization, Christianity.²⁴³ Andrew Walls’s summarization of mission motivations points elsewhere.

The missionary movement, first Catholic, then protestant, then both at once, makes up a single story that arises out of the great European Migration. ... It arose among the radicals of Christendom, and it remained the sphere of the radicals, the enthusiasts, people usually of minor significance in the church, rarely the holders of ecclesiastical power or the leaders of ecclesiastical thought. ... The final reason for their existence was to point to Christ. With all the failures, contradictions, and ambiguities that belong to the human condition, missionaries were migrants for Christ’s sake.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Paul G. Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 316.

²⁴⁰ Moore, *Indian and Jesuit*, xi-xii.

²⁴¹ Ward, *Life among the Maoris*, viii.

²⁴² Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 46.

²⁴³ “Most missionaries in the modern era saw their task as both Christianizing and civilizing the ‘natives.’ To these, [David] Livingston added the third C, ‘commercializing,’ because he believed that free trade would obviate slavery.” Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews*, 209.

²⁴⁴ Andrew Walls, “Afterword: Christian Mission in a Five-hundred-year Context,” *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, ed. Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross (Great Britain: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., 2008), 197.

Indigenous peoples responded to external political forces, the persuasiveness of missionaries, their own ambitions, and the gospel with acceptance, acquiescence, or resistance—both passive and aggressive. Chapter Three will present the histories of selected Indigenous resistance strategies during crises at the global, regional, and local levels which lay the foundations for retraditionalization and reclamation movements.

This summary does not fully answer the question Michael Rynkiewich poses: *Why were the Europeans able to dominate most of the rest of the world in the period between 1500 and 1900?*²⁴⁵ He references Jared Diamond's book *Guns, Germs, and Steel*—noting that Europeans could take no credit for the origins of this triad. What they can take credit for is prolonged warfare with deadly war strategies.²⁴⁶ However, “This does not answer the question of why Europeans *would want* to plunder, migrate and confiscate, or settle and stay. That question cannot be answered by citing the accidents of history, but by searching the hearts and minds of the Europeans.”²⁴⁷ Although this topic is not central to this study, some insights into the formation of this history can be gleaned throughout.

²⁴⁵ Rynkiewich, *Soul, Self, and Society*, 172. This begs the question, Why the 1900 cut-off date? N.A. Indigenous people would testify that European descendants still dominate.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 172f.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 173. And this may well lead back to Schoeck's work, *Envy: A Theory of Social Behaviour*.

CHAPTER THREE

CRISES AND RESISTANCE: SOCIOPOLITICAL ACTIVISM

Out of the belly of Christopher's ship / a mob bursts / Running in all directions/
Pulling furs off animals / Shooting buffalo / Shooting each other / left and right
.../ Civilization has reached / the promised land .../ The colossi / in which they
trust / while burying / breathing forests and fields / beneath concrete and steel/
stand shaking fists / waiting to mutilate / whole civilizations / ten generations
at a blow...

—Jeannette Armstrong

This chapter continues with consequences that reverberate from First Contact to Event 2, Crises and Resistance. The story of resistance is couched in terms such as “massacre, “murder,” “rebellion,” and “revolt;” whereas terms describing a dominant culture’s actions include “victory,” “quashing rebellion,” “execution,” and “just war.” Indigenous resistance by the end of the 19th century is seldom violent in New Zealand or North America. This does not imply acquiescence. Resistance only comes to public attention when a particular event overwhelms and compels the oppressed to take public action. The action may be individual or by organizations formed through innovative alliances, using a variety of strategies to transform the status quo. In many senses, resistance has been a centuries-long conversation, albeit often one-sided. This chapter continues to braid together research and stories of organizations which play innovative roles, events which serve as historical pivot points, and individuals who act as change agents. The above excerpt from Armstrong’s poem, “History Lesson,”¹ is an example of

¹ Jeannette C. Armstrong, “History Lesson (1978, 1991),” in *Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology*, ed. Jeannette C. Armstrong and Larry Grauer (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001), 110f. Armstrong self-identifies as Okanagan, Penticton First Nation. Ellipses are in the original.

Event 3, a proliferation of literature as resistance strategy. At the Global level, the consequences of breaking the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 led to treaty renewal in 1975. The formation of AIM [American Indian Movement] in 1968 resulted from pressures at the Regional level. At the Local level, the Canadian Government published an ill-advised policy paper in 1969. Individual 1, Pauline, will be introduced as an exemplar of education gone awry. The Table below illustrates the elements of this chapter.

Table 3.1. Elements of Chapter Three

ELEMENT	Triad I GLOBAL New Zealand	Triad II REGIONAL North America	Triad III LOCAL Canada & Winnipeg
EVENT 2 Retraditionalization	Consequences→ Crisis Treaty of Waitangi 1840 Treaty of Waitangi 1975 1970s Political scene	Consequences→ Crisis Wounded Knee: AIM Occupation (1973)	Consequences→ Crisis Political: The White Paper (1969)
EVENT 3 Retraditionalization Reclamation	Resistance Literature Word Power	Resistance Literature Word Power	Resistance Literature (1969 –Present) Word Power
INDIVIDUAL 1 Colonization	Pauline	Pauline	Pauline

Andrew Walls states that William Carey (1761-1834) has been miscredited with “heralding the new era of missions... [for] Carey is clearly conscious that missionary work is already and has long been in progress.”² Carey held a higher regard for the potentiality of Indigenous peoples than many Europeans, for he considered their “souls are immortal as ours, and [they] are as capable as ourselves, of adorning the gospel, and contributing by their preaching, writing, or practices to the glory of the Redeemer’s

² Andrew F. Walls, “The Eighteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Awakening in Its European Context,” in *Christian Mission and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2001), 32.

name, and the good of his church.”³ However, his plea to prospective missionaries asked, “Can we hear that they are without the gospel, without government, without laws, and without arts and sciences; and not exert ourselves to introduce amongst them the sentiments of me, and of Christians?”⁴ Merchants, traders, missionaries, and settlers echoed Carey’s perception that Indigenous peoples had a civilization void. From First Contact, the colonizer and missionary evaluated First Peoples by their productivity—an explicit bias based on the “Protestant work ethic”⁵ combined with an implicit cultural value in favor of physical material objects, thereby judging Indigenous peoples and their cultures as inferior. These may be distilled to a series of equivalences:

Table 3.2. Perceived Deficits of Indigenous Cultures⁶

No Books	=	No History
No Church or Temple	=	No Religion
No Courts or Jails	=	No Law
No Legislative Building	=	No Governance
No Factories	=	No Productivity
No Tombstones	=	No Cemetery
No Buildings	=	Land Free for the Taking
No Productivity	=	Laziness &/or Stupidity
No Material Prosperity	=	Wild or Noble Savages

³ William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, 69-70, as quoted in Brian Stanley, “Christian Mission: A Reevaluation,” in Stanley, ed., *Christian Mission*, 11.

⁴ Carey, as quoted by Walls, “The Eighteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Awakening,” 11f.

⁵ Also called the Puritan work ethic, it values hard (physical) work, busy schedules, thrift, self-discipline, a sense of vocation and commitment, and appropriate use of time. Accumulation of wealth and material goods is viewed as a sign of God’s blessing or reward for hard work—a forerunner of the Prosperity Gospel. The Gospel Coalition provides a brief overview in John Starke, “The Myth of the Protestant Work Ethic” (Aug. 7, 2012), *The Gospel Coalition*, accessed Oct. 7, 2016, <https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/the-myth-of-the-protestant-work-ethic>.

⁶ This may well be a forerunner to the “prosperity gospel” wherein an abundance of material possessions signifies God’s favor or blessing.

This viewpoint is foundational to the mindset behind the Age of Discovery, the Doctrine of Discovery,⁷ *terra nullius*, and Manifest Destiny.⁸ Brian Stanley theorizes that Christian missions “appropriated the intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment”⁹ which informed its theology, theory, and practice.

Crises and Resistance at Global Level

The Europeans have brought us much [the Maori say], but along with it also illness and destruction, and in exchange for this they have taken our land and want to take more and more, until they have it all in their power Our land is our greatest good. ... Let them be content with what they have.... We do not want them to spread themselves any further across our land.

–John F. Riemenschneider

Colonization, at one level, seems to be primarily about land and resources. While land remains a foremost and emotional connecting point to self-identity, self-governance, self-theologizing, and cultural identity, colonialism requires total subjugation and assimilation. In the aftermath of the 1860s land wars, Bishop Selwyn, Church Missionary Society [CMS], lamented that the Māori no longer held him in high regard as their father.

⁷ A Canadian Roman Catholic response, arguing that the Doctrine of Discovery was clarified by Pope Paul III in 1537, states: “When Saint John Paul II visited Canada in 1987, he addressed a gathering of Indigenous people at Fort Simpson, recalling again the words of Paul III: ‘At the dawn of the Church's presence in the New World, my predecessor Pope Paul III proclaimed in 1537 the rights of the native peoples of those times. He affirmed their dignity, defended their freedom and asserted that they could not be enslaved or deprived of their goods or ownership. That has always been the Church's position....’” See Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, “The ‘Doctrine of Discovery’ and Terra Nullius: A Catholic Response” (2016), accessed Sept. 26, 2016, <http://www.cccb.ca/site/images/stories/pdf/catholic%20response%20to%20doctrine%20of%20discovery%20and%20tn.pdf>.

⁸ As a counterpoint to this, one Catholic website states: “A 30-year effort to get the Pope to take back the words of two 15th century popes got another boost this summer when Leadership Conference of Women Religious ... passed a resolution calling on Pope Francis to repudiate the doctrine of discovery. ...” Michael Swan, “Doctrine of discovery first repudiated in 1537,” *The Catholic Register*, (Oct. 02, 2004), accessed Sept. 26, 2016, <http://www.catholicregister.org/home/international/item/18900-doctrine-of-discovery-first-repudiated-in-1537>.

⁹ Brian Stanley, “Christian Missions: A Reevaluation,” in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2001), 2. An early missionary in New Zealand, Samuel Marsden, is used to exemplify this theory.

The people had no Christian leadership as CMS influence waned. “[Selwyn] had always actively resisted the ordination of Māori ministers, and minimized the training of Māori teachers during the most crucial periods of mission development.”¹⁰ This reluctance to train leaders adequately, and the reluctance to disempower White leaders, persists.

Denominational and missional boundary disputes were too common, yet there is also evidence of co-operation.¹¹ Sociologist Hans Mol argues:

If, then, we want to provide a social-scientific sketch of religion in New Zealand ... we must pay suitable attention to a phenomenon unknown in primitive societies, yet crucial in Western societies imposed on them. This phenomenon is the separating out of religious organization as an identity in its own right distinct from the various other identities (such as tribes, families, individuals, nations, communities etcetera). The descriptive shift from religious function to religious organization is necessary if one wants to trace typical New Zealand problems of race relations and the effect which the denominations have on them.¹²

In the conclusion to his study, Mol observes that “in an embryonic way a variety of ‘religions’ have begun to emerge which unite Maoris and Pakeha [White New Zealanders].”¹³ These religions or groups emphasized the role of the prophetic. Mol names five leaders and movements from the later 1800s with influence into the mid-1900s. The impetus to “consolidate Maori identity in the face of Western onslaught”¹⁴

¹⁰ Keith Newman, *Bible and Treaty: Missionaries among the Maori—A New Perspective* (Rosedale, NZ: Penguin Books, 2010), 297 and 305.

¹¹ See Peter Oettli, *God’s Messenger: J.F. Riemenschneider and Racial Conflict in 19th Century New Zealand* (Wellington, Aotearoa NZ: Huia Publishers, 2008), 129f, for example of cooperation. See Newman for disputes, both involving Riemenschneider. Newman, *Bible & Treaty*, 225.

¹² Hans Mol, *The Fixed and The Fickle: Religion and Identity in New Zealand* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1982), 4. This study dealt with the era 1926-1971.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30. It is worth noting here that Christianity was not the only religion vying for converts. See Marjorie Newton, *Mormon and Maori* (Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2014) which addresses the history of Mormon mission in New Zealand since 1880.

drove the movements. In a very real sense, these prophets and spiritual leaders practiced both resistance and self-theologizing.

Discontent erupted into active resistance in the latter half of the twentieth century. “In 1969, a large march of Christians occurred along Queen St. in Auckland, with the Maori prophet-evangelist, Muri Thompson, in the forefront. It was a sign of a new generation of youth rejecting the marginalization of classic Christianity.”¹⁵ The march played a role in the overall revival led by charismatic leaning individuals from the 1960s through the 1980s,¹⁶ both Māori and Pakeha. It did not seem to affect the dynamics of separate interracial worship already in place. In fact, Viv Grigg suggests that the movement choose the prosperity gospel and materialism over reconciliation and acts of justice; noting that while some leaders did address reconciliation, and some even initiated contact with Pakeha Christians in order for them to hear the pain caused to their Māori brothers and sisters, “The renewed church, in general, did not obey.”¹⁷ This silence by the Church is a factor in historical crises and resistance to colonization.

Crisis: The Aftermath of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840

New Zealanders recognize two main historical events in Pakeha and Māori relationships. The first is the culmination of First Contact: the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. The second is the culmination of the consequences from the almost immediate breaking of that treaty with continued immigration and land theft. Sociopolitical activism led to the Treaty of Waitangi 1975.

¹⁵ Viv Grigg, *The Spirit of Christ and the Postmodern City* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2009), 125.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 142.

There are two social science theories which impacted the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. One is the theory of evolution, itself evolving to include humanity in the aftermath of Darwin's visit to New Zealand (NZ) and the 1859 publication of *The Origin of Species*.¹⁸ Keith Newman notes that newspapers kept colonizers informed of European debates as Christians struggled to respond to worldview challenges. He argues that *race* took on a new detrimental meaning as the theory was applied to the First Peoples and racial slurs became common.¹⁹ The second theory is eugenics. Building on and deepening racism, eugenics taught that human characteristics are embedded in one's race—innate and inherited.²⁰ A propensity towards criminality, for example, is influenced by the shape of one's skull and nose. David Hume contended that differences were innate while others attributed differences to civilization.²¹

¹⁸ See under "Darwin fuels racism," in Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 286-289.

¹⁹ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 287. In personal correspondence, Michael Rynkiewich noted: "This is a long and complex development. Darwin himself said little about races or about what came to be known as 'cultural evolution.' It was Herbert Spencer while talking about societies as organisms [who] introduced the term 'the survival of the fittest.' This did not make it back into Darwin's *The Origin of Species* until the 6th edition. Ironically, churchmen tended to reject biological evolution while accepting the speculations of cultural evolution theory. Finally, within Anthropology, Cultural Evolution as a theoretical paradigm died around 1910. However, the cat was out of the bag, so to speak, because the ideas escaped into other disciplines (Biblical Studies, Sociology, Psychology, Political Science) as well as into the imagination of the general public. So, while Anthropologists had moved on to Functionalism and derided cultural evolutionary language, the rest of the world didn't get the memo."

²⁰ See Nicholas Wade, *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race, and Human History* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2014). Basing his thesis on the ongoing impact of decoding the human genome, Wade writes, "It would be of the greatest interest to know how people have evolved in recent times and to reconstruct the fingerprints of natural selection as it molded and reworked the genetic clay. ... But the exploration and discussion of these issues is complicated by the fact of race.... [A]nyone interested in recent human evolution is inevitably studying human races, whether they wish it or not ... [and] public policy interest of not generating possibly invidious comparisons that might foment racism.... [and] the assertion that there is no biological basis for race" (pp. 1-2). He further argues, "Analysis of genomes from around the world establishes that there is indeed a biological reality to race, despite the official statements to the contrary of leading social science organizations" (p. 4). Brian Bethune's article "Battles over Inheritance" challenges Wade's conclusions, especially regarding more recent human evolution. See Brian Bethune, "Battles over Inheritance," in *Macleans*, May 26 (2014): 60-61. Wade's challenge to the "social science creed" (p.5f) that race is a cultural construct is beyond the scope of this paper.

²¹ See Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, 171.

At the local level, Sir John A. MacDonald, second Prime Minister of Canada,²² betrays this mindset in his educational strategy which planted the seeds for Residential Schools: “When the school is on the reserve, the child lives with his parents who are savages; he is surrounded by savages, and though he may learn to read and write, his habits and training and mode of thought are Indian. He is simply a savage who can read and write.”²³ Maintaining this understanding of “savage” requires ignoring Western and colonial examples of savagery including crucifixion, Inquisition tortures, Viking “blood-eagle” killings, the guillotine,²⁴ British execution by “drawing and quartering,” slave ships, “tarring and feathering,” and Ku Klux Klan lynchings. Ironically, First Nations chiefs petitioned in 2000 to have the Nova Scotia scalp bounty laws for Indian scalps rescinded.²⁵ American Indians had addressed similar concerns in 1990.²⁶

²² He served from 1867, the Confederation of Canada, until 1873, and was re-elected 1878-1891.

²³ “Sir John A. MacDonald, second Prime Minister of Canada, House of Commons, 1883” in “Residential Schools,” Creator-Land-People, Living Sky School No. 201, Treaty 6 Education, accessed Sept. 26, 2016, <https://treaty6education.lskysd.ca/residentialschools>.

²⁴ Philip Martin argues that beheading was practiced in Europe by warriors and civil authorities and bounties offered by the British in Ireland, but in N.A. colonists reduced the bounty to just scalps with graduated rates for male, female, or children. Phillip Martin, “Scalping Fact and Fantasy,” *Rethinking Columbus: The Next 500 Years*, edited by Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson, 2nd ed. (Rethinking Schools, Milwaukee, 1998), 58-59, accessed Sept. 27, 2016, <https://www.manataka.org/page1438.html>.

²⁵ “[N]ative chiefs asked the premier to remove scalping laws from the books. The 1756 proclamation offers a bounty for each Mi'kmaq scalp. It's never been removed and the province has never apologized.” See “Two hundred year-old scalp law still on books in Nova Scotia,” CBC News, Canada (Jan. 4, 2000), accessed Sept. 27, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/two-hundred-year-old-scalp-law-still-on-books-in-nova-scotia-1.230906>. Due to public pressure, the process has begun to rescind the proclamation.

²⁶ In an effort to address this issue, an online scholars’ forum reads “in 1990, the federal government passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which mandated the return of sacred Indian artifacts and of remains. As museums combed through their collections, they found scalps that were clearly Indian. Some even had documentation identifying the scalp-takers as colonists. Historical records confirm that Colonial authorities offered a bounty on Indian scalps. ... In Salem, redeemed scalps were hung along the walls of the town courthouse, in full view of the public, until the building was torn down in 1785.” Diane E. Foulds, “Who Scalped Whom? Historians Suggest Indians were as Much Victims as Perpetrators,” Hawthorne in “Salem” [North Shore Community College], accessed Sept. 27, 2016, <http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/ScholarsForum/MMD2263.html>.

In this century, Mark Charles (Navajo), at the regional level, has made it his mission to educate the American public on the inclusion of the phrase "merciless Indian Savages" in the U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776) just thirty lines below the statement, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights"²⁷ As a follower of Jesus, Charles is an active participant in reclaiming culture.

The mid-to-late 19th century immigrants solidified and formalized Euro-based power structures at all three levels. In New Zealand, Lord Grey continued at "his ongoing manipulations to acquire as much Māori land as possible."²⁸ Remarkably, the Māori increasingly self-identified as Christians, yet their resistance to land grabs persisted as did exercising their agency in trade. Since the 1820s the Māori were noted for seeking the upper hand in trade. Colonizers resented Māori agency. "The natives regard fish hooks equivalent to copper, axes and hoes to silver and muskets and powder to our gold. Nor can we [any longer] dictate to them which of these they must receive in payment for their property and services. They dictate to us."²⁹

Missionaries and Māori still clashed over land acquisition.³⁰ Some Māori advocated for retention of land at all costs; others "become tired of debating and gladly hand over their possessions to land agents. Against this state of things no aboriginal race

²⁷ Charles states, "[T]he Declaration of Independence both codifies that racial bias and justifies the violent history that resulted." See Mark Charles, "The Declaration of Independence. It's not what you think," *WirelessHogan: Reflections from the Hogan* (July 3, 2016), accessed Sept. 29, 2016, <http://wireless.hogan.blogspot.com/>. Mark is co-writing a book along with Soong-Chan Rah dealing with the Doctrine of Discovery and Manifest Destiny.

²⁸ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 260f.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 59, quoting the mission teacher and justice of the peace, Thomas Kendall.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 255-265 cites Anglican Bishop Selwyn as colluding with the government while others such as CMS missionary Thomas Grace standing up for the Māori, albeit with a paternalistic and ethnocentric view of the Natives. Yet, Newman also claims Selwyn defended their military defenses at times. *Ibid.*, 286.

on earth can stand long...”³¹ One missionary recorded Māori sentiments in 1853: “We and our children have nothing left but are forced to throw ourselves into labouring and carrying out the trade of the lowest class of the Europeans to find our livelihood. We Maori do not intend to do that. Our land is our greatest good. ... Let them be content with what they have....”³²

Europeans from a variety of nations presumed a “natural” authority over the Māori. German missionaries included Johann Riemenschneider who served under the North German Mission Society (1843-1866), arriving soon after the signing of the Treaty until the 1860s wars.³³ Twenty-two Europeans were killed on the day he arrived. The “Wairau massacre” resulted from “Māori anger about their cavalier treatment by Pākehā, and a dispute about the sale of a parcel of land... [They] had underestimated the Māori determination to resist.”³⁴ Oettli comments, “Almost every report that Riemenschneider wrote in the early fifties contains one or more bitter complaints about the behaviour of Māori towards him and his family or towards each other.”³⁵ For example, the Māori young people, “If I earnestly reproached them for their godless foolishness, they laughed. If I ordered them to leave, they defiantly replied that this land was their own and they could send me away, but I could not send them away. So we had to put up with it.”³⁶

³¹ David Grace, *A Driven Man: Missionary Thomas Samuel Grace* (Wellington, NZ: Ngaio Press, 2004), 79f quoted in Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 265.

³² Oettli, *God's Messenger*, 121.

³³ *Ibid.*, ix. Oettli notes that John [Johann] Riemenschneider was falsely accused of siding with the Pakeha.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

The American Baptist Māori Mission leader William Snow, in 1887, wrote an account of his journey through northern NZ: “When comparing them as a whole with other aboriginal and indifferently civilized people they are universally declared by the white residents in New Zealand, as well as studious tourists, to be decidedly a superior race.”³⁷ Ironically, one mark of this superiority is how Māori protect land “from the covetous grasp of the white man.”³⁸

CMS missionary John Morgan (1849) remarked favorably vis-à-vis the “progress of civilization amongst the aborigines. A general desire now exists amongst the natives to rise *as near as they can* to a level with Europeans.”³⁹ Indigenous traditions fell under the scrutiny of missionary and settler alike. The Māori haka (a traditional dance) was no exception. By the late 1870s, it served as part of the growing tourist package offered in New Zealand. Keam wrote,

For suitable recompense guests were offered entertainment in the form of haka. ... However it had become expected that the audience treat the performers to alcoholic refreshments ... [W]hen it was sensed that the potential audience might be responsive, it was hinted that for extra payment certain extra facets of the dances could be included. These were haka known as poteteke where the performers danced topless or completely naked.⁴⁰

In 1851 Morgan wrote, “I am very anxious to direct the attention of the Aborigines to the arts of civilized life. If we can engage their attention and fully occupy their time with agriculture, spinning, weaving, etc. their thoughts and attention will be

³⁷ R.F. Keam, *Dissolving Dream: The Improbable Story of the First Baptist Maori Mission* (Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland, 2004), 28f.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁹ Jan Pilditch, ed. *The Letters and Journals, Reverend John Morgan: Missionary at Otawhao, 1833-1865*. vol. 1 (Glasgow, Scotland: Grimsay Press, 2010), 206. Emphasis in original.

⁴⁰ Keam, *Dissolving Dream*, 45.

drawn off from their petty land quarrels, and they will find their time too valuable to be spent in this way.”⁴¹ Morgan reveals additional pressures on the Māori:

We must bear in mind they are not converts from civilized society, but from savage life, and that 10 or 12 years ago they were cannibals. At that time their only property consisted in their lands, a few pigs, and maize and potatoes. In reference to land, very few tribes have derived any advantage from the sale of land to Government. In this district not a single shilling has been received. ... As we discourage as many as possible the wearing of native clothing, the Aborigines out of their limited income have 1st, to provide clothing and various other necessities ... for the use of their families. Their entire income is unequal to this expenditure, and hence the adults are often poorly clothed, and the children naked.⁴²

Morgan and other missionaries struggled with another issue, the relationship of evangelization to the “promotion of civilization.” In 1852 he wrote:

My pleasure in the promotion of civilization is the hope that under God’s blessing the Gospel of Christ may be more permanently established thereby. I am fully aware that many dangers and temptations attend the promotion of civilization, and a transition state, but what are we to do? Are we to preach the Gospel and baptize the converts, but leave them the same dirty, idle, uncivilized people we found them? Can they continue Christians at heart, and remain barbarians in manner? Shall we point to our converts basking idly in the sun, or following their ploughs....? Shall we leave them as we found them, sitting naked, and sleeping men women and children huddled together in their warm houses, like so many pigs, or shall we endeavor to improve their habits, and give them the means of enjoying the comforts of small farmers at home?”⁴³

Morgan desired to teach the Māori “how they can obtain all the comforts of Europeans.”⁴⁴ He understood that consumerism required encouragement. Western consumerism is an innovation from an Indigenous perspective. In Riemenschneider’s 1859 reports, he complained that just as God had rescued the Israelites from the Egyptians, so God had rescued Māori (through colonialism) and they should therefore not

⁴¹ Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, 449.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 446. Letter dated 24th March, 1852.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 480f.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 481.

express ungrateful rebellion.⁴⁵ Oettli comments, “[Riemenschneider] was incapable of understanding that what he saw as blessings of European civilization might be regarded by another culture with distaste and as a curse.”⁴⁶ He also expressed vexation over Māori “callous ingratitude” as “they view with contempt and suspicion the Queen as well as the local government and the officials who have done everything possible for their welfare . . . , who let them have all protection and freedom and who strive most earnestly to help with the promotion of their civilization and education in every possible way.”⁴⁷

By 1856, some were sounding the death knell for the Māori, just as they did for First Nations in America, believing the European race was destined for survival. “Our plain duty as good compassionate colonists is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history would have nothing to reproach us with.”⁴⁸ Yet, the desperation for self-preservation had led to three distinct wars.⁴⁹ The Taranaki Wars occurred in the district Riemenschneider inhabited and where he had he preached that his parishoners were “physically and spiritually decayed people.”⁵⁰ A Māori leader conversing with him about a battle, stated that the Pakeha in effect were no different than the Māori as both killed, yet the Māori “give the enemy a chance to defend themselves” whereas the Pakeha “undertakes his expeditions of destruction at sea with warships and their guns” for which

⁴⁵ Oettli, *God's Messenger*, 158f; cf. Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol.2, 621, where Morgan states that he sides with the government.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 120f.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁴⁸ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 339, note 20; cf.321. Here Newman champions missionaries as cultural mitigaters providing literacy, etc. at great sacrifice to themselves and their supporters.

⁴⁹ The earlier Musket Wars (1830), the Taranaki Wars (1860-61) – with roots in the previous wars and resultant migrations (1860-61) – and the Waikato Wars (1863) were all preceded by other clashes.

⁵⁰ Oettli, *God's Messenger*, i, & 122. At one point he expressed his preference for a parish of Europeans “independent of the natives and their narrow-minded toleration,” but chose to stay. *Ibid.*, 127.

the Māori had no defense.⁵¹ The Māori violence in 1860 led to the Riemenschneider family's permanent removal. "His dream of a flourishing village community of Europeanized Māori, trading and working harmoniously with the colonists and learning useful skills from them, had literally turned to ashes."⁵²

As the Indigenous people shifted to minority status, the churches shifted their focus.⁵³ The British Crown appointed an Anglican Bishop in 1856 for the South Island. His responsibilities included parishes, a college, and cathedral, replacing a missionary focus.⁵⁴ The Māori were apparently already Christian, with little pastoral care other than for baptisms.⁵⁵ It seemed they performed below the colonists' standards.⁵⁶ This was a time of denominational discord over worship styles and governance⁵⁷ which would last for decades while the island's population expanded with settlers and gold-seekers.

The Crown, not unlike a termite's appetite for wood, continued its determination to consume all available land. Māori resistance came in many forms at different stages. An astute political move by the Māori involved the establishment of their own monarchy.⁵⁸ The Kingitanga (Kingmaker) Movement developed on the North Island. In

⁵¹ Oettli, *God's Messenger*, 172.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 174.

⁵³ Manuka Henare, "Christianity: Maori Churches," in Dominic O'Sullivan, *Faith, Politics and Reconciliation: Catholicism and the Politics of Indigeneity* (New Zealand: Huia Publishers, 2005), 124.

⁵⁴ Colin Brown, Marie Peters and Jane Teal. eds., *Shaping a Colonial Church: Bishop Harper and the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch, 1856-1890* (Christchurch, NZ: University of Canterbury, 2006), 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 162f.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 25-27.

⁵⁸ I say "astute" as that is the impression left from time spent in January 2011 with Māori, who are very proud of the decision by their ancestors and their present King. Ward's interpretation is of a king with "pseudo-royal honours" (p. 323), although he acknowledges that had his government taken different steps

1852 a gathering met to cement the “land league.” The concept seemed simple enough: unite the tribal concerns around land by forming pan-tribal representation, as promised in the Treaty, through a Māori King who would function alongside the British Queen’s representatives.⁵⁹ Influential Christian chiefs, such as Wiremu Tamihana, joined. He had tried writing to the governor explaining his rationale based on the Bible (an example of self-theologizing). He felt the solution to “the river of blood” lies in scriptures such as Deuteronomy 17:15⁶⁰ and Proverbs 29:4;⁶¹ the Māori needed to appoint the right kind of king over their own people.⁶² In 1854 a ceremonial covenant formalized a pan-tribal agreement. The people chose chief Pōtatau Te Wherowhero to be King. At first he refused, but in 1857 he was installed as Pōtatau I⁶³ creating a more balanced position for negotiation with the British as a change agent. His marae (meeting place) still serves as the emotional-connecting point for the Māori King Movement,⁶⁴ an innovative strategy.

much bloodshed would have been avoided. He does seem to forget that England was not always united under a monarchy. See Chapter XIV “Appointment of a King” in Robert Ward, Thomas Lowe and William Whitby, *Life among the Maories of New Zealand: Being a Description of Missionary, Colonial, and Military Achievements* (Breinigsville, PA: n.p., 2009), 316-341. John Morgan wrote, “Politics has occupied the time and attention of the Kingites, while the plough and the cultivation of wheat has been neglected....” in Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals of John Morgan*, vol. 1, xxvii. The editor of this volume notes that Morgan felt the Māori were forgetting they were “subjects not rulers” and that he regarded the movement as “a delusion of Satan, to urge on the people to destruction and arrest the work of God.” Ibid.

⁵⁹ Not all chiefs joined the movement. See Chapter 13 “The Royal Resistance Movement” in Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 275-296 for a succinct analysis.

⁶⁰ “You shall surely set a king over you whom the LORD your God chooses, *one* from among your countrymen you shall set as king over yourselves; you may not put a foreigner over yourselves who is not your countryman.” (NASB)

⁶¹ “The king gives stability to the land by justice, But a man who takes bribes overthrows it.” (NASB)

⁶² Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 294.

⁶³ Ibid., 282; cf. Oettli, *God’s Messenger*, 157; and Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, 618ff. Morgan declared “It is deplorable to see how the people are carried away with this foolish idea.” Ibid.

⁶⁴ According to my companions at Tūrangawaewae Marae, official residence of King Tuheitia Paki.

As emotions heated up, Selwyn wrote a letter to the Secretary of Crown Lands arguing “that the colony owed a debt of respect and gratitude for the willing and prompt surrender by Māori tribes of millions of acres of land, including all the best harbours for trifling payments.”⁶⁵ He warned that unjust actions would have disastrous consequences “to the English Colony and the Native race.”⁶⁶ The governor dismissed the movement, increased land acquisitions, issued an ultimatum, and followed it up by declaring martial law. As such things often happen in human affairs; a relatively minor incident related to the land issue⁶⁷ brought a disproportionate response. The British military entirely wiped out and burnt the community where Riemenschneider resided, leaving only his church standing. In 1861, Morgan wrote to his superiors about the Māori resistance:

The present is one of the most critical moments in the history of New Zealand. Our only refuge is in prayer to God, that it may please Him to overrule the hearts of the assembled chiefs, to humble their pride and dispose them to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the Queen. ... the preservation of the Maori race requires that the Queen’s supremacy should be maintained, and that the Maori flag should no longer be a rallying point for the Aborigines to lead them on to war. ... [T]he natives are utterly incompetent to establish order and carry out law without the assistance of the British.⁶⁸

“The Natives” were not persuaded. Morgan received private communication to quietly prepare the settlers to leave before the military acted.⁶⁹ War continued throughout

⁶⁵ The letter was written 28 April, 1860. Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 286.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ The incident involved Māori response to surveyors and has a number of parallels to the Red River Rebellion/Resistance, by Métis the following decade as Canada helped itself to land. See Joseph Boyden, *Louis Riel & Gabriel Dumont*, in *Extraordinary Canadians Series*, ed. by John Ralston Saul (Toronto, ON: Penguin Group, 2010).

⁶⁸ Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, 621-662, in a letter dated May 29, 1861.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 625. His communication reflects a deep-seated confidence and belief in “the Queen’s supremacy” to which the “obstinate” Māori needed to submit if only God would humble them. Ibid. (July 21, 1861), 627f. Morgan faced chastisement from fellow missionaries for supplying the Government with information on Māori opinions and intentions. See his response to allegations by the CMS Secretary in New Zealand,

much of the 1860s. Colonizers passed provocative legislation such as the Suppression of Rebellion Act and the New Zealand Settlement Act, thereby confiscating land totaling three and a quarter million acres in the northern tribal areas alone.⁷⁰ The Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1865 “helped to undermine the Māori system of communal ownership of land”⁷¹ as non-Māori owned almost 95 percent of the North Island by 1900. In the aftermath some missions left the area, and some missionaries switched allegiances.⁷²

When missionary Robert Ward concluded his autobiographical account of Māori history in 1872, the people had resisted Pakeha control and negotiated for representation in the House of Representatives. “The part they take, however, does not extend beyond the vote, for ignorance of the English language, as well as their crude ideas of law and order, prevent them from being of much real service in the senate house,” stated Ward.⁷³

dated 17th December 1863. Ibid., 636-641. One of many sad postscripts to Morgan’s life in these years of conflict was the rape of his daughter followed by fellow missionaries discrediting it as a rape, saying she had consented. Morgan writes a painful and lengthy letter with many Māori witnesses confirming her innocence on Dec. 23, 1863. Ibid., 648-656.

⁷⁰ Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 299. A plan with a humorous twist occurred in Aotearoa during this period. The Māori set up a blockade allowing only those who paid a predetermined toll to proceed. Toll fees included the following: Pig driven in a cart £006; Cow or horse £020; Māori policeman £5 00; Pakeha policeman £500 00; Minister of the Gospel £50 00; and evasion of toll £5 00.⁷⁰ Ward comments: “The gate with its tolls may be considered as a clever piece of policy, for it completely shuts out the settlers from going in search of their cattle and horses which strayed beyond the boundary, or which had been taken away by hostile natives” Ward, *Life among the Māoris*, 412f.

⁷¹ New Zealand Parliament, Research Papers, “The Origins of the Māori Seats” (Nov. 2003 [updated May 2009]), accessed June 26, 2014, <http://www.parliament.nz/en-nz/parl-support/research-papers/00PLLaw RP03141/origins-of-the-m%20ori-seats>.

⁷² Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 303. CMS missionaries had served as army chaplains, for which Selwyn became an apologist of sorts.

⁷³ Ward, *Life Among the Maoris*, 470. As an aside, I am reading the autobiography of Nelson Mandela as my “pleasure reading” at the same time as I am researching this section. The contrast could not be greater between the critical interpretation of tribal hierarchies by Robert Ward (see 316ff) and Mandela’s warmth expressed towards his tribal heritage of acceptance and honoring of his tribal hierarchies. Cf. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (New York, NY: Little, Brown and Company, 1994, 2014). See “Part One, A Country Childhood.”

Resistance may be analyzed at multiple levels: religious (Indigenous prophetic movements), political (demonstrations, armed resistance), the arts (literature, media), environmental issues (opposition to hydro projects or mining), and education concerns (decolonizing, demanding access) for examples. In the religious arena it seems that Indigenous prophetic movements rose as a coping mechanism.⁷⁴ Mol contends that,

The New Zealand religious scene is particularly interesting to the social scientist because of the abundant examples of the Maori, change-absorbing, charismatic movements of the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries. ... These movements revitalized Maori identity by stripping the old tribal patterns and by welding new ones, better adjusted to changed conditions. The Maoris had to borrow this effective mode of dealing with change from Christianity, since their own *tapu*-hedged meaning-system was less able to cope with it.⁷⁵

References to the Western education required to fully assimilate the Māori are plentiful in mission and government documents. The push for assimilation had some church leaders strategizing to keep “my natives” closer to home base. For example, in 1849, with government aid, Morgan had started an “industrial system” as part of his boarding school initiative to help defray costs and to teach trades.⁷⁶ Morgan’s compiler rejects the binary view of missionary agents/colonizer and Natives/colonized, stating as the better kind of missionary, Morgan considered “Māori to be his ‘own people’, although these feelings are conceptualized in largely Western and paternalistic terms.”⁷⁷ Pilditch concluded he did have the best interests of the Māori at heart. Repeatedly, Morgan stressed in his correspondence that more funds were necessary for schools and

⁷⁴ Taylor is appalled in 1845 by a movement that practices self-flagellation. He realizes the Māori are applying 1 Cor 9:27, which they read as “I beat my body with my fists.” See Owens, *The Mediator*, 108.

⁷⁵ Mol, *The Fixed and The Fickle*, 3. I have not confirmed his conclusions.

⁷⁶ Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, 313-16. Establishing a school was not a given. Riemenschneider was unable to establish one. See Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 227.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

supplies.⁷⁸ He believed that every missionary needed a sound understanding of good pedagogy.⁷⁹

If the Aborigines are to survive the attendant evils of European civilisation, if they are to rise as a nation, and become a people fearing God and working righteousness, and if the Church Missionary Society are to be one of the main instruments in effecting in a few brief years this glorious and important change, they must endeavour to draw the young together into proper Institutions where they will receive a sound English education combined with religious and industrial training.⁸⁰

Marie Peters analyzed the factors which “completed the marginalization of Māori.”⁸¹ The quotations contained in this section demonstrate the colonial enterprise to civilize the Indigenous people through approved productive work that left them landless and penniless, but with an increased appetite and necessity for material goods. Mission and governance personnel remained baffled at the Māori lack of appreciation. If the 1840 Treaty were all the Pakeha claimed it to be, and if there had been at least an attempt to honour it, the Treaty of Waitangi 1975 would have been unnecessary.

Resistance: Treaty of Waitangi 1975

It might be safely admitted that the Maori mind is more sensitive on the subject of losing his land than on any other [matter]. ... It can hardly be expected that the noblest principles of colonization—of peopling the waste places of the earth, of improving an unformed race till it be amalgamated with the most refined portions of mankind [were beyond their comprehension].

—Robert Ward

Nelson Mandela illustrates the global Indigenous resistance in his comments on the South African Black Consciousness movement: “[It] was less a movement than a

⁷⁸ Pilditch, *The Letters and Journals*, vol.1, 314.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 446f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*.

⁸¹ Marie Peters, “Homeland and Colony,” in Brown *et al.*, *Shaping a Colonial Church*, 29-30.

philosophy and grew out of the idea that blacks must first liberate themselves from the sense of psychological inferiority bred by three centuries of white rule. Only then could the people rise up in confidence and truly liberate themselves from repression.”⁸² The form of resistance taken is influenced by the proportionate ratio of the marginalized to the dominant culture. Resistance looks different for a small minority such as the American Indian when compared to the African-American population. The Māori population was significant enough to impact the majority. The Māori marched down the length of the North Island in 1975 in resistance to a government “unsympathetic to reconciliation.”⁸³ The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 had been passed, but it did not meet the needs for justice and reconciliation as land lust had never abated. The Māori declared “Not one more acre of Maori land to be surrendered to the Pakeha”⁸⁴ and demanded “control of Maori land in perpetuity.”⁸⁵

In Aroha Harris’s text, *Hīkoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest*,⁸⁶ Harris looks back from the 2004 *hīkoi* (protest march) on the parliament building in Wellington. He claims, since the “last land grab of 1967”⁸⁷ Māori resistance ebbed and flowed with new groups of protestors organizing Waitangi Day protests against the dis-honored treaty, racism, a partisan justice system, inequitable treatment, and the “double-dose of discrimination”

⁸² Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 486.

⁸³ O’Sullivan, *Faith, Politics and Reconciliation*, 198.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Aroha Harris, *Hīkoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest* (Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers, 2004), 88-99.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

against women.⁸⁸ Literature raised the volume of the conversation in 1984 with the publication of two books by Māori authors: *Maori Sovereignty* and *Whakapohone*.⁸⁹ Activism grew alongside the “cultural renaissance.” In addition to *whakapohone* (i.e., “mooning”), strategists produced T-shirts, wrote literature, created protest art and dramas, as well as offered workshops and educational kits.⁹⁰ They also protested cultural appropriation and cultural violation, in particular against the University of Auckland’s engineering students (all Pakeha) who continued to perform a derisive haka in mocking attire with obscenities and racial slurs painted on their bodies. The university took no action. Emotions boiled over in 1979, leading to Māori arrests and imprisonment. Yet, the marches continued, including a significant 2004 march. At last sociopolitical resistance led to positive change: Māori was declared an official language, Māori education (although limited) was introduced, and Māori radio and television were born.⁹¹ Steps have been taken to recompense for confiscated land and a formal apology made by the government. Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches also moved towards a meaningful reconciliation. However, Donovan O’Sullivan expresses his opinion that only the Catholic documents state the theological reasons for reconciliation.⁹²

⁸⁸ Harris, *Hīkoi*, 88-91.

⁸⁹ Harris labels these two books as “provocative”: Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty* and Dun Mihaka, *Whakapohone*. The latter title refers to the act of “mooning”. In fact, “mass mooning” was a protest strategy. See Harris, *Hīkoi*, 88.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, from a promotional summation of this book, accessed Sept. 26, 2016, <http://penguin.co.nz/books/hikoi-9781869691011>.

⁹² O’Sullivan, *Faith, Politics and Reconciliation*, 207.

In 2006, Māori Monté Ohia wrote on the ongoing reclamation or “transformation” movement for re-establishing a traditional values-based culture.⁹³ In his dissertation, Ohia does self-theologizing, incorporating his Christianity with his traditional values as the spiritual basis for decolonizing education.⁹⁴ Ohia served as the co-founder and a vision keeper of the World Christian Gathering on Indigenous Peoples (see Chapter Four).

Resistance did not belong solely to one era; however, the 1960s and 1970s proved significant as an active resistance phase for Indigenous peoples globally.⁹⁵

Crisis and Resistance at Regional Level

When a war between nations is lost / The loser we know pays the cost
But even when Germany fell to your hands / Consider, dear lady, consider dear
man. / You left them their pride and you left them their land, / And what have you
done to these ones.

Has a change come about Uncle Sam / Or are you still taking our land /
A treaty for ever George Washington signed / He did, dear lady, he did, dear man.
And the treaty's being broken by Kinzua Dam,⁹⁶ / And what will you do for these
ones?

Oh it's all in the past you can say / But it's still going on till today
The government now want the Iroquois land / That of the Seneca and the
Cheyanne. / It's here and it's now, you must help us, dear man
Now that the buffalo's gone.

– Buffy Sainte-Marie

Poetry and song have risen as major elements of modern resistance, featured as Resistance Literature in this work. The “word power” packaged in these genres resonates

⁹³ Monte Rereamoamo Ohia, “Towards a Values-Based Transformation Movement for Māori Advancement: The Case for Spiritual, Ethical and Moral Imperatives within Māori Transformational Movements” (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2006).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁵ Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 108-115.

⁹⁶ Kinzua Dam is referenced and footnoted in Chapter 2. See also Christina Rose, “9 Reasons NOT to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Kinzua Dam” (10/7/15), in Indian Country Today Media Network, accessed Sept. 30, 2016, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2015/10/07/9-reasons-not-celebrate-50th-anniversary-kinzua-dam-161995>.

with Indigenous communities. The tactic of using literature to express discontent and demand justice has been particularly effective in Canada, as will be demonstrated, but it has crossed borders with songs and books shared globally. This section first examines events that lead to the American Indian Movement [AIM] and Wounded Knee 1973.

Crisis: The Inconvenience of Being “Indian”

The actions of colonizer and colonized were replicated in the United States. It would be hyperbolic to pretend a utopian world existed in pre-European North America. However, as colonization advanced, Indigenous peoples were increasingly confined physically in reservations away from the civilized under the oversight of Indian Agents⁹⁷ and progressively marginalized and restrained by legislation. Randy Woodley (Keetoowah Cherokee) charges both American governments and missions with complicity in the marginalization of Indigenous peoples.

Deep-seated racism exhibited through normalized white supremacy ... was the impetus for the majority of the mistreatment Native Americans received whether by the US government or through missionary endeavors. The ever-present agenda in such looming endeavors was land theft ... like the Land Act of 1804, the Military Tract of 1812, the Georgia Land Lottery, the Preemption Act of 1841, the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, the Homestead Act and the Boomer/Sooner Oklahoma Land Run, found few notable objections from mission organizations. They too saw the Indian as a problem more often than understanding that they were people with dignity to be empowered.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ “Indian agents” is a term used in both U.S. and Canada. The agent’s word was law. Depending on the territory and treaty people, he had power to take children from parents and send them to schools, regulate and distribute all supplies including food, to act with police/military, etc. One task of the agents in Canada was to grant passes. “The pass system was at first to be issued only to ‘Rebel Indians;’ however, [Prime Minister] Macdonald insisted that the system should be applied to all First Nations. In early 1886, books of passes were issued to Indian agents, and subsequently First Nations people could not leave their reserve unless they had a pass signed by the Indian agent and describing when they could leave, where they could go, and when they had to return. The pass system, however, was never passed into legislation and as a result was never legal—although it was enforced well into the 1940s.” See “Indian Policy and the Early Reserve Period,” *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*, accessed Sept. 29, 2016, http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/indian_policy_and_the_early_reserve_period.html.

⁹⁸ Randy S. Woodley, “Mission and the Cultural Other: In Search of the Pre-colonial Jesus,” *Missiology: An International Review* 43 no. 4 (Oct. 2015): 461.

The dispossessed experienced disease, destitution, and despair. Oppressed communities imploded with violence. Suicide rates escalated. In his book, *The Inconvenient Indian*, Thomas King⁹⁹ succinctly summarizes why the First Peoples continued to be harassed: because they were and are impediments, and therefore inconvenient, to imperial expansion—and they had what others wanted.

Gene Green contrasts this reality with the attribute and high value of Indigenous hospitality he calls “welcoming,” as exemplified by Tecumseh in the winter of 1811:

Brothers. – When the white men first set foot on our grounds, they were hungry; they had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble; they could do nothing for themselves. Our fathers commiserated their distress, and shared freely with them whatever the Great Spirit had given his red children. They gave them food when hungry, medicine when sick, spread skins for them to sleep on, and gave them grounds, that they might hunt and raise corn.¹⁰⁰

As in New Zealand, American Indians bore the biases of Western concepts. John McLean chided, “Point not to the influences of civilization as the cause of the deterioration of the Indian nature, but rather ascribe their degeneracy in morals and debilitated physical condition to the evils that follow in its train.”¹⁰¹ He chided White men for thinking Indian customs strange given that Indians inversely considered them “white savages” for institutionalizing orphans rather than adopting them into their homes.

⁹⁹ Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

¹⁰⁰ Bob Blaisdell, ed., *Great Speeches by Native Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2000), 4; in Gene L. Green, “The Death of Mission: Rethinking the Great Commission,” in *Journal of NAIITS*, vol. 12 (2004), 81-110.

¹⁰¹ John McLean, *The Indians*, 285. On the other hand, he expressed repulsion that the Cree left dead bodies wrapped in blankets in trees, rather than burying them since “Christian burial” is a sign of advancement.

Resistance: AIM and Wounded Knee 1973

Domesticating, civilizing, integrating, or assimilating—no matter the term used—has generated generations of resisters. The Lakota Sioux, Indigenous to the Great Plains, are one of the *Očhéthi Šakówiŋ* confederation, or Seven Council Fires. Active resistance against the U.S. Army is recorded in 1854¹⁰² and is germane to the history of Individual 3, Richard Twiss. On the American Indian Movement's [AIM] website, it is clear that AIM is simply a continuation of that resistance, "the movement existed for 500 years without a name. The leaders and members of today's AIM never fail to remember all of those who have traveled on before ... [for] the survival of the people."¹⁰³ "Wounded Knee was the brainchild of [AIM]."¹⁰⁴ Organized in 1968 by disenchanting and angry young men and women, AIM strategized and fashioned a national agenda. In 1972 protestors made their way to Washington, DC. Richard Twiss participated in the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹⁰⁵ The intention had been a discussion with the president, which never materialized. The resulting event at "Wounded Knee ... was intended to force the U.S. government to make good on its word."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quannah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History* (New York, NY: Scribner, 2010), 14f.

¹⁰³ Laura Waterman Wittstock and Elaine J. Salinas, "A Brief History of the American Indian Movement," accessed May 17, 2016, <http://www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html>.

¹⁰⁴ Wittstock and Salinas, "A Brief History of the American Indian Movement," NAPT: Native American Public Telecommunications, accessed Feb. 28, 2013, http://www.media-diversity.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53:napt-native-american-public-telecommunications&catid=61:north-america&Itemid=84.

¹⁰⁵ Richard told me about this time in personal conversations. See Richard Twiss, *One Church, Many Tribes: Following Jesus the Way God Made You* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 2000), 7-10.

¹⁰⁶ Laura Waterman Wittstock and Elaine J. Salinas, "A Brief History of the American Indian Movement" American Indian Movement Grand Governing Council, accessed Feb. 28, 2013, <https://www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html>.

Before nightfall on February 27, 1973, about 250 ... Sioux, residents of Wounded Knee Village, Indians from all over the United States, unaffiliated Vietnam veterans and AIM moved into and occupied the little village. ... Tipped off, FBI agents and U.S. marshals were already there, having been called out to protect the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building from an attack by AIM. Over time, they would completely surround Wounded Knee ... Armored personnel carriers, overflying jets, and semi-military tactics were used It would later be disputed in court whether the U.S. Army and Air Force had authority to move in on the Indians as they had.¹⁰⁷

Negotiations led to a promise by President Nixon's representative to meet with AIM to discuss treaties and land compensation. After 73 days, "The Sioux National Anthem filled the air at sunrise on May 8, and 125 Wounded Knee defenders surrendered to federal authorities in three predetermined groups. The federal authorities overran the village, searching for expected explosives and large weapons. None were found..."¹⁰⁸

During American Indian Heritage month (November 2016) the Standing Rock Reservation made international news as the Hunkpapa Lakota and Yanktonai Dakota protested a pipeline which they fear will contaminate their only water supply. While Standing Rock is an ongoing resistance in spite of being met with trained attack dogs, mercenaries, and military, it has faded from news cycles. Typically issues related to First Peoples arise in the midst of crisis but in the end, the collective attention span pivots and "Indians" are in Aldred's words, "the flavor of the month."¹⁰⁹ Squalor, poverty, suicides, underfunded education and health, incarceration, and broken promises remain.

¹⁰⁷ Laura Waterman Wittstock, Blog, Wounded Knee 1973 (Feb. 15, 2013), accessed March 17, 2018, <https://www.visionmakermedia.org/blog/wounded-knee-1973>. See also *We Are Still Here: A Photographic History of the American Indian Movement* (self-published, Borealis Press, 2013).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ A term Ray Aldred, Cree, has used in conversation on similar occasions.

Even though nearly all of 1973 America knew [of AIM¹¹⁰ and] of the occupation of the little village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation and came to know of the atrocious conditions under which many of the Lakota people lived out their lives, time has faded memories. As the 40th anniversary of Wounded Knee approach[ed], many of those who were part of the occupation ... have died. Appallingly, conditions have not improved in the lives ... on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Some of these are the children and grandchildren of the original occupiers. It was thought that much more would have happened; much more would have changed than it has.¹¹¹

Wounded Knee 1973 lives on as a bitter memory, one more added to centuries-long injustices.¹¹² In the decades following AIM's actions, the end results of confrontations in Canada (though less overtly violent) would replicate those of Wounded Knee.¹¹³ The ongoing Standing Rock Dakota protest against oil lines drew global attention and support, reopening old wounds.¹¹⁴

Crisis and Resistance at the Local Level

When we Westerners call people 'natives' we implicitly take the cultural colour of our perception of them. We see them as wild animals infesting the country in which we happen to come across them, as part of the local flora and fauna and not as men of like passions with ourselves. So long as we think of them as 'natives,' ['Indians' or 'Savages'] we may exterminate them or, as is more likely today, domesticate them and honestly ... believe that we are improving the breed, but we do not begin to understand them.

–Arnold Toynbee

¹¹⁰ For the list of 20 claims made to the U.S. government, the text of the 20-point Manifesto, the timeline of events pre-and- post-1973, and the contributions AIM has made to American Indian lives post-1973, see their website American Indian Movement, accessed May 17, 2016, <http://www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html>.

¹¹¹ Wittstock and Salinas, "A Brief History."

¹¹² In September 2016, Lakota land and occupation protests based at Standing Rock made news headlines for months following. The issue is land use and environmental protection of water from potential oil spills plus destruction of burial grounds. Thousands of First Peoples from Global, Regional and Local locales have gathered physically for prayer or added their collective voices through social media in support.

¹¹³ Resistance incidents include: The Oka Crisis (1990), Ipperwash (1995), Attiwapiskat (2011), and IdleNoMore Movement (2012 to present).

¹¹⁴ Standing Rock Sioux Tribe- Home/ Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298239798452/>.

The arrival of Scottish Presbyterian settlers in 1812 distressed the French speaking fur traders from the Northwest Company. At the Local level in the Red River Settlement/Winnipeg, First Contact with missionaries occurred in the early nineteenth century in the aftermath of settler clashes:

The Battle of Seven Oaks [ensued] in which twenty-two whites, including the governor of the colony, lost their lives. As it was evident to the noble founder that no permanent success could be achieved without the aid of religion, he obtained from the Bishop of Quebec two missionaries To establish his missions securely, Bishop Provencher invited to his diocese the Oblate Fathers¹¹⁵

The Red River Settlement served as a distribution point for missions, for ministering to settlers and educating Indians. As a continuation of Catholic and Protestant animosities, their followers settled on opposite sides of the Red River. Education of Indians (boarding and industrial schools) remained integral to Catholic mission.¹¹⁶

In 1869 the Métis community and several First Nations groups organized under the leadership of Métis Louis Riel. They resisted the government over land issues and the treatment of the Indigenous population. The government defeated the 1885 uprising (second phase of resistance in Batoche, Saskatchewan) and hanged Louis Riel. In numerous ways the hanging of Riel and the end of the so-called Riel Rebellion spelled defeat for both Métis and First Nations. The defeat of the Métis ambition for political parity and a land base broke the spirit of aggressive resistance. Occasionally minor pockets of resurgence popped up like prairie gophers, but it would be a hundred years before Indigenous voices grew strong—together—again.

¹¹⁵ “Catholicity in Canada” (1910), New Advent, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed Oct. 4, 2016, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03231a.htm>. This article claimed that in 1910 “Of a native population of 111,043, Canada officially counts today 40,820 Catholic [Treaty] Indians,” but closer to 55,000 if non-Treating and “halfbreeds” were included. My family was included in the halfbreed estimate.

¹¹⁶ “Grey Nuns,” New Advent, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed Oct. 4, 2016, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07031a.htm>.

In the twentieth century, new technology provided the government easier access to Indigenous children, and provided corporations with easier access to resources. The role technology played is already noted in 1938 by an Anglican missionary in northern Ontario: “With the advent of air travel and radio and later mines springing up all around and bulldozers opening up winter roads so that tractor trains could reach every major trading post . . ., suddenly all Indian life was becoming engulfed in the white man’s culture, bringing with it great repercussions to the economy and spiritual lives of the native people.”¹¹⁷ The introduction of television brought a non-traditional form of storytelling with stories and faces foreign to the far northern First Peoples, competing with the Elders’ stories.

It has been argued that there are only two distinct periods of Canadian policy related to Indigenous people: Confederation (1867) to World War II, and post-war.¹¹⁸ The first was marked by continued cultural repression with churches and the Department of Indian Affairs administering policies, assisted by the Hudson’s Bay Company. The post-war phase emphasized integration via granting *earned* citizenship rights. Indians were not now viewed as *the* problem, but rather as “*having* problems, which scientifically conceived programs could address and fix.”¹¹⁹ Yet, under The Indian Act, which applies only to First Nations, “Indians” were forbidden to: vote, bring litigation against the government, leave their reserve without a pass, form political organizations, enter a pool hall or beverage room (pub), practice traditional religion or celebrate with a potlatch. Nor

¹¹⁷ Leslie Garrett, *My Album of Memories* (Saskatoon, SK: Western Tract Mission, n.d.), 29.

¹¹⁸ Hugh Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), 22.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

could a woman married to a White man remain on her reserve. Anyone accepted to university lost their status. Amendments were gradually made in post-war years.

Poverty and welfare remain the lot of many Indigenous peoples. “Indian dependency on welfare is not simply an episode in the history of their dispossession; ... it has been a consistent part of state attempts to assimilate Indians.”¹²⁰ Paulette Regan writes, “Many Canadians still believe that Indigenous people have been the fortunate beneficiaries of our altruism.”¹²¹ There is little patience for homelessness or panhandlers.¹²² G. K. Chesterton points to the strange dichotomy society holds between poverty and charity: “I happen to think the whole modern attitude towards beggars is entirely heathen and inhuman. ... I should say it is intrinsically insane to urge people to give charity and forbid people to accept charity.”¹²³ The social value granted to or withheld from Indigenous peoples cannot be separated from two widely accepted beliefs: (1) the poor are poor due to moral shortcomings or genetic/ethnic deficiencies; and, (2) charity is provided by moral and ethnic superiors. This has suited governments, as welfare dependency, “the language of domination,”¹²⁴ was intended “to maintain the pacification achieved during the post-Confederation period and to teach Indians the principles of individual self-reliance, often through harsh measures.”¹²⁵ In the late 1960s,

¹²⁰ Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive*, 23.

¹²¹ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2010), 84.

¹²² CBC News online has disabled the comments section on any story related to First Nations, Metis or Inuit given the propensity for readers to respond with racial slurs and to break “hate laws”.

¹²³ G.K. Chesterton *et al.* *Lent and Easter Wisdom from G.K. Chesterton: Daily Scripture and Prayers Together with G.K. Chesterton's Own Words* (Liguori, Mo: Liguori, 2007), 90.

¹²⁴ Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive*, 337.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 166.

when their existence was threatened yet again, First Nations tackled the task of re-educating settlers causing some to reflect, “What does our historical amnesia reveal about our continuing complicity in denying, erasing, and forgetting this part of our own history as colonizers while pathologizing the colonized?”¹²⁶

Crisis: The White Paper 1969

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien played key roles in producing the 1969 White Paper crisis. A “white paper” is a Canadian policy paper—an ironic name when applied to Indigenous peoples. The paper’s official title was “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969.” Harold Cardinal, a 24-year-old Cree, led the “Red Power” reaction. Trudeau claimed he would lead Canada to becoming “The Just Society” when he ran for election in 1968. This phrase prompted Cardinal to entitle his book, *The Unjust Society*.¹²⁷ “The 1969 White Paper ... attempted to abolish previous legal documents pertaining to Indigenous peoples in Canada, including the Indian Act and treaties, and assimilate all ‘Indian’ peoples under the Canadian state.”¹²⁸ Trudeau was attempting to fix the Indian problem and its staggering socio-economic realities as outlined in The Hawthorne Report¹²⁹ published just prior to his election. Politicians failed to abide by Indigenous leaders’ council. It is necessary to provide background to the legislation before addressing the Indian responses

¹²⁶ Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 6.

¹²⁷ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 1969).

¹²⁸ “The White Paper 1969,” *Historica Canada, Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Sept. 26, 2016, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-white-paper-1969/.

¹²⁹ Harry Hawthorn, ed., *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer Press, 1966–1967).

to the paper. Foundational to government interaction with the First Peoples is The Indian Act. It is the 1876 consolidation of the Gradual Civilization Act (1857) and the Gradual Enfranchisement Act (1869), with some amendments, and overseen by the Department of Indian Affairs (now Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada). This Act,

... afforded the government sweeping powers with regards to First Nations identity, political structures, governance, cultural practices and education. These powers were extremely paternalistic, and allowed officials to determine rights and benefits based on “good moral character.” Further, the Act replaced traditional structures of governance with band council elections—all at the discretion of the Department and its agents.¹³⁰

Ironically, within Trudeau’s vision of “the Just Society,” he declared “The Just Society will be one in which the rights of minorities will be safe from the whims of intolerant majorities.”¹³¹ Four sentences later, he wrote “The Just Society will be one in which our Indian and Inuit population will be encouraged to assume the full rights of citizenship through policies which will give them both greater responsibility for their own future and more meaningful equality of opportunity.”¹³² Trudeau’s goal “was to achieve equality among all Canadians by eliminating *Indian* as a distinct legal status.”¹³³

¹³⁰ “Indian Act,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/indian-act/>. Many First Nations are afraid to have it rescinded, as Cardinal explains, “We do not want the Indian Act retained because it is a good piece of legislation. It isn’t. It is discriminatory from start to finish. But it is a lever in our hands and an embarrassment to the government, as it should be. No just society and no society with even pretensions to being just can long tolerate such a piece of legislation, but we would rather continue to live in bondage under the inequitable Indian Act than surrender our sacred rights. Any time the government wants to honor its obligations to us we are more than happy to help devise new Indian legislation.” Cardinal, *Unjust Society*, 140.

¹³¹ Pierre Elliott Trudeau, “The Just Society” in *The Essential Trudeau*, ed. Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Ron Graham (Toronto: M & S, 1998), 16-20.

¹³² Trudeau, “The Just Society.”

¹³³ “The White Paper 1969,” Indigenous Foundations, University of British Columbia, accessed to Feb. 28, 2018, <http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/?s=The+White+Paper+1969>.

Paternalistic as the Act is, First Nations fear it is the only buffer between cultural genocide cloaked as assimilation and the loss of remaining lands.

Resistance: Red Power Movement as Resistant Literature

Red Power Movement

Indian leaders from across Canada responded in outrage to the unmistakable goal of full assimilation, a final solution to the inconvenience they had always posed to colonizers. Cardinal asserted, “In spite of all government attempts to convince Indians to accept the White Paper, their efforts will fail, because Indians understand that the path outlined by the Department of Indian Affairs through its mouthpiece, the Honourable Mr. Chrétien, leads directly to cultural genocide. We will not walk this path.”¹³⁴

The National Indian Brotherhood, the Indian association of Alberta, the newly formed Union of BC Indian Chiefs (140 bands) along with many other leaders, produced numerous documents—two of which became known as the Brown Paper and the Red Paper.¹³⁵ Throughout Canada, leaders organized protest marches, and did whatever else they could to raise public awareness. The *Canadian Encyclopedia* explains,

Pierre Trudeau was against special status for any group of people, and fully intended to eliminate Aboriginal peoples as a distinct group. ... This included reserve lands, fishing and hunting rights, education rights, medical services, use of land, and economic development on reserve lands. Understandably, the White Paper was met with [opposition] ... Due to the fierce and continued opposition by Aboriginal groups and their supporters, the Canadian government quickly withdrew the White Paper.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Cardinal, *The Unjust Society*, 139.

¹³⁵ “Citizens Plus” was the official title of the Red Paper and “A Declaration of Indian Rights: The BC Indian Position Paper” was dubbed the Brown Paper.

¹³⁶ “Indian Act,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/indian-act/>.

A contemporary of Trudeau claimed that the Prime Minister “angrily stated: ‘We’ll keep them in the ghetto as long as they want.’”¹³⁷ The backlash came to be called the Red Power Movement. The resistance generated then endures. “The legacies of the 1969 White Paper continue to be felt today in government policy meetings, and Canadian and Indigenous activist groups, academic circles and grassroots communities.”¹³⁸

Resistance Literature: Word Power Momentum

The words of Indigenous people have been selectively recorded, translated, and transmitted since first contact. Determining which words were deemed worthy of recording for posterity fell under the purveyance of non-Indigenous people until Indigenous peoples learned Western modes of transmission. Projects by anthropologists and linguists, some of whom were Indigenous, have recorded countless traditional songs and stories both in traditional languages and/or in English. In recent years, various anthologies have been published to make these more readily accessible. *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English* is one example.¹³⁹ The various editions contain translated Inuit songs, traditional Southern First Nations stories, letters and speeches by Mohawk and Ojibway from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, as well as poetry and other contemporary writings.

As stated, the year 1969 is noteworthy as government policies motivated First Nations to write documents in opposition. One such document is entitled “Message of the Grand Chief,” by David Courchene Sr. who is Anishinaabe (Sagkeeng First Nation). It is

¹³⁷ “The White Paper,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Sept 24, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-white-paper-1969/>.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Moses and Goldie, *An Anthology*. The first through fourth editions were published in 1992, 1998, 2005, and 2013.

reprinted in the book *Manitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water*.¹⁴⁰

Courchene wrote, “We, the first people of this land called Manitoba, are a people of indomitable will to survive, to survive as a people, strong and creative.”¹⁴¹

Two years later the publication of a slim volume simply titled *Halfbreed*¹⁴² changed the Canadian literary landscape in profound ways, contributing to the survival of Canada’s Indigenous voices. Maria Campbell, the author, simply told her story. Raised in northern Saskatchewan, her family lived in shacks in the “road allowances” since Métis were not wanted in towns (such as Prince Albert or Saskatoon) and not permitted to live on reserves. A rough childhood in abject poverty and violence led her to marry “a white man” at the age of 15, grasping at marriage as her escape route. Predictably, it did not go well. In *Halfbreed*, Campbell provides an unsettling and stark frame to view the colonial impact on First Peoples. As mainstream readers read about life from an Indigenous perspective for the first time, they could no longer deny realities that challenged the Canada-as-benevolent mythology.¹⁴³ I read Campbell’s book the year it was released. It made an indelible impression, being the first Indigenous autobiography I had ever read. In the process of this dissertation work, I intuitively sensed Campbell’s work was groundbreaking as a sociopolitical innovation. Research led to confirmation of that impression through a number of different theoretical approaches: “A Revisiting of Maria

¹⁴⁰ David Courchene Sr., “Message of the Grand Chief” [1971] in *Manitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water*, eds., Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair and Warren Cariou (Winnipeg, MB: High Water Press, 2011), 126-131.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁴² Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 1973).

¹⁴³ See Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, Introduction (p. 1ff) and Chapter 3, “Deconstructing Canada’s Peacemaker Myth,” (83ff) for example of a non-Indigenous Canadian grappling with re-education and its ramifications.

Campbell's *Halfbreed*,"¹⁴⁴ her inclusion in anthologies and Native Studies such as *Looking at the Words of our People*,¹⁴⁵ *Native Writers: Voices of Power* in the Native Trailblazers Series,¹⁴⁶ and "Reading the Reception of Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed*."¹⁴⁷ The latter work approaches a study of her identity, considered "politically mobilized" as Native, Métis, and/or hybrid; from the "theoretical movement known as 'post-positivist realism' [as it] may offer a way to understand these multiple identities within *Halfbreed*."¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, some view "her text [as] an 'intervention' in some very particular 'social debates of its time'" including the White Paper 1969.¹⁴⁹ Regardless of the theoretical approach, Campbell's work serves as an example of creating conversation within the Indigenous community, as a trailblazer that opened markets for Indigenous literature, and as an example of history told from the "other" side.¹⁵⁰

Campbell's 1973 work proved to be a watershed moment in retraditionalization in Canada, foreshadowing a renaissance of resistance literature. Support for this idea may be

¹⁴⁴ Janice Pelletier Acoose, "A Revisiting of Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed*" in *Looking at the Words of Our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature*, ed. by Jeannette C. Armstrong (Penticton, BC: Theytus Press, 1993), 148.

¹⁴⁵ Jeannette Armstrong, *Looking at the Words of Our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature*, (Penticton, BC: Theytus Press, 1994).

¹⁴⁶ Kim Sigafus and Lyle Ernst, *Native Writers: Voices of Power* in the Native Trailblazers Series (Summertown, TN: 7th Generation, 2012). See Chapter 8, "Maria Campbell, Métis."

¹⁴⁷ Kristina Fagan *et al.*, "Reading the Reception of Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed*," in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 29, no. 1 & 2 (Brandon, MB: Society for the Advancement of Native Studies, 2009), 257-281.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 257.

¹⁴⁹ Fagan *et al.*, citing Cheryl Suzak, "Law Stories as Life Stories: Jeanette Lavell, Yvonne Bedard, and *Halfbreed*" in *Tracing the Autobiographical*, eds. Marlene Kadar, Linda Warley, Jeanne Perreault, and Susanna Egan (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2005), 117-42, 123, in Fagan *et al.*, "Reading the Reception of Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed*," 266.

¹⁵⁰ See Bruce G. Tigger, "The Historians' Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," in Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates, *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*, New Canadian Readings (Toronto, ON: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), 19-44.

found in books such as Emma LaRoque's *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990*.¹⁵¹ A perusal of LaRoque's bibliography of over 300 texts reveals that the majority of the literature dates from the mid-1970s through 1990s. An anthology of poetry from 1960 to 2000, entitled *Native Poetry in Canada*,¹⁵² contains many poems which could be described as resistance literature. Additional anthologies are *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*,¹⁵³ *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature*,¹⁵⁴ *Through the Eye of the Deer: An Anthology of Native American Women Writers*,¹⁵⁵ and *Our Story: Aboriginal Voices on Canada's Past*.¹⁵⁶ At the local level, *Maitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water* is a collection of "writings" by Indigenous peoples of Manitoba beginning with rock paintings and an ancient scroll through to modern times.¹⁵⁷

Courchene included in his Chief's message three "fundamental facts:"

First, we are determined to remain a strong and proud and identifiable group of people. Second, we refuse to have our lives directed by others who do not and who can not know our ways. Third, we are a 20th-century people, not a colourful folkloric remnant. We are capable and competent and perfectly able to assess

¹⁵¹ Emma LaRoque, *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010).

¹⁵² Jeannette C. Armstrong and Larry Grauer, eds., *Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001).

¹⁵³ Moses and Goldie, *An Anthology*.

¹⁵⁴ Geary Hobson, *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature* (Albuquerque, NM: Red Earth Press, 1979, reprint 2003).

¹⁵⁵ Carolyn Dunn and Carol Comfort, eds., *Through the Eye of the Deer: An Anthology of Native American Women Writers* (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1999).

¹⁵⁶ Thomas King *et al.*, *Our Story: Aboriginal Voices on Canada's Past* (New York, NY: Random House, 2004).

¹⁵⁷ James Niigaanwewidam Sinclair and Warren Cariou, *Maitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water* (Winnipeg, MB: Highwater Press, 2011).

today's conditions and develop ways of adjusting positively and successfully to them.¹⁵⁸

In the decades following, Indigenous peoples have adapted their oral storytelling skills (and humour) to the written page, television, theatre, and social media. This reclamation of word power to inform and influence has served the Indigenous community well. In this manner, literature has gained momentum as a form of resistance.

Crisis and Resistance through Education

A Montana American Indian college named in honor of the nineteenth century North Dakota Cheyenne Chief Dull Knife uses a quotation from him as their slogan: “We can no longer live the way we used to. We cannot move around anymore the way we were brought up. We have to learn a new way of life. Let us ask for schools to be built in our country so that our children can go to these schools and learn this new way of life.”¹⁵⁹ However, the Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples concluded that the education offered through Canadian Residential Schools amounted to “cutting the artery of culture.”¹⁶⁰ The concept of education proved to be a complex and controversial project at the global, regional, and local levels. At times, Indigenous people have requested Western education. More often, missionaries set educational goals before leaving their homelands. As the colonizers gained purchase in new lands, church and state combined

¹⁵⁸ Courchene, “Message of the Grand Chief,” 127f.

¹⁵⁹ Chief Dull Knife [1810-1883], known to his people as *Vooheheva*—Morning Star, was a northern Cheyenne leader who managed to save less than 80 of his people from extinction at the hands of the U.S. government and army. See Tribal College, “The Future of the Tribal College Movement,” *Journal of American Higher Education*, 24, no. 2 (Winter 2012). This Journal contains a Timeline dated 1884 to 2013 highlighting achievements in “American Indian Higher Education Consortium”(between pages 34 and 35).

¹⁶⁰ Government of Canada, Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples, vol. 3 (Ottawa, CA: Government of Canada), 442-499.

their efforts to educate for civilization, assimilation, and trades intended to service the higher strata in society.

One Christmas season the church bulletin in a church we had just begun to attend featured an announcement which read “Is There Room in the Inn?” It requested help for Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School children from nearby Kenora, Ontario, who required a place to spend Christmas. We lived in a Manitoba housing project at the time, but of course we had room. Six-year-old Irene joined us for Christmas and then for Easter holidays. The next Christmas season we received a phone call telling us that Irene’s thirteen-year-old brother had frozen to death. They asked if five-year-old Lillian could join us for the holidays. Again, we agreed. This served as our first introduction to and first-hand knowledge of Residential Schools.

Residential Schools and Pauline

The first humble church structure raised at the Red River Settlement is credited to the Roman Catholic Church in 1818. Four years later, the first Anglican Church followed. Eleven years after, a school for both the children of influential parents and an educational arm for “the training of native missionaries” were erected.¹⁶¹ Soon Presbyterians (1851) and Methodists (1868) arrived to meet the needs of specific settler groups. These came to be known as the “old mainline” churches in Manitoba, along with the United Church (Methodist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian)¹⁶² and Lutherans in 1888.¹⁶³ These

¹⁶¹ James B. Hartman, *Manitoba History: The Churches of Early Winnipeg*, Manitoba Historical Society Online, Number 45 (Spring/Summer 2003), accessed Sept. 25, 2016, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/45/winnipegchurches.shtml.

¹⁶² The United Church formed in 1925 “when the Methodist Church, Canada, the Congregational Union of Canada, and 70 percent of The Presbyterian Church in Canada entered into a union” in “Historical Timeline,” The United Church of Canada, accessed Sept. 25, 2016, <http://www.unitedchurch.ca/community-faith/welcome-united-church-canada/historical-timeline>.

became the primary participants in missions to Indians until the mid-twentieth century.

The Presbyterian Church of Canada Archives state

The PCC first began its mission work with aboriginal people in Canada in the mid-1860s. ... By the early 1880s, however, the Federal Government became focused on a system of off-reserve, residential (ie. “boarding”) schools for the education of aboriginal children Generally speaking, the Church was responsible for operating the schools while the government provided funding and oversight, and established the policies ...¹⁶⁴

The presence of numerous other denominations, world religions, Christian sects, and New Religious Movements eventually created a very different religious scene.

Mennonites, Pentecostals, various Evangelical missions, Jesus-Only churches, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and Latter-day Saints joined the mainline churches to convert Indians. The concept of over-gospeiling is a common phenomenon on reserves, causing dissensions and dividing families.¹⁶⁵ Meanwhile, inner city missions developed. As more First Nations were permitted to move to Winnipeg, including those who the government decreed had lost their status, more missions located in the inner core.

Increasingly education was taken from parents and entrusted to the churches, which suited the agendas of both church and state. The Anglican and Catholic Churches held inordinate influence over political powers. The United Church served as a third

¹⁶³ “Lutherans,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Sept.25, 2016, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/lutherans/#h3_jump_1.

¹⁶⁴ “Guide to Records Relating to the Residential Schools,” Presbyterian Church of Canada Archives (Nov. 23, 2011), 6, accessed Oct. 4, 2016, <http://www.presbyterianarchives.ca/RS%20-%20FA-Residential%20Schools%20Thematic%20Guide.pdf>.

¹⁶⁵ “Over-gospeiling” is my term for the competitiveness that split communities and families, leaving confusion over “what actually *is* the gospel?” This term was used (1620-1677) in a sentence which reads, “For men are always given to over-gospeiling and inlarging (*sic*) their privileges.” The context suggests the sense of over-extending the meaning of the gospel for personal gain. Thomas Manton, *A Second Volume of Sermons Preached by the Late Reverend and Learned Thomas Manton in Two Parts* (n.p.), Sermon xxxvii; available at Early English Books Online, accessed Sept. 24, 2016, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pagevieweridx?cc=ebo;c=ebo;idno=a51846.0001.001;node=A51846.0001.001%3A10;seq=1077;vid=59992;page=root;view=text>.

power broker. However, it was the Bagot Commission Report, 1842, that altered the course of First People's lives. Charles Bagot had invested two years investigating conditions on reserves. He endorsed the need for Indians to undergo Western schooling "to acquire 'industry and knowledge,' if they were to become valuable members of society."¹⁶⁶ Five years later, a report by "Egerton Ryerson, the Methodist head of education in Upper Canada"¹⁶⁷ affirmed the idea, with the addition of assigning the task to others in the form of "a partnership between government and church, and that the schooling be of a religious nature."¹⁶⁸

The Davin Report in 1879, based upon a study of U.S. schools, "praised the 'aggressive civilization policy of the Americans,' deemed successful because it effectively cut children off from the presumed negative influences of their families."¹⁶⁹ It continued, "'If anything is to be done with the Indian we must catch them very young,' wrote [Nicholas Flood] Davin. The difficulty here was that 'the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school.'"¹⁷⁰ The tipping point was reached with the Anglican Bishop recommending "continual residence."¹⁷¹ This sealed the fate of thousands of children, their families, and communities as Prime Minister McDonald introduced Indian Residential Schools. The last one, Cecilia Jeffery, closed in 1996. Thus, schools turned into virtual prisons to protect the children from their own

¹⁶⁶ David Napier, "Sins of the Fathers" (May 2, 2000), *Anglican Journal*, accessed Oct. 1, 2016, <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/sins-of-the-fathers-6853>.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

parents and culture with mandatory attendance.¹⁷² Children suffered. Children died. Government paid. Churches taught. Neither fulfilled their role well.

Resistance: Truth, Resilience, and Reconciliation

Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches¹⁷³ “ran approximately 130 Indian residential schools that dotted the national map from Alert Bay on Vancouver Island to Nova Scotia, where some 105,000 children attended.”¹⁷⁴ The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1995) declared “The basic premise of resocialization, of the great transformation from ‘savage’ to ‘civilized,’ was violent... [Government] aimed at severing the artery of culture that ran between the generations and was the profound connection between parent and child sustaining family and community. In the end ... ‘all the Indian there is in the race should be dead.’”¹⁷⁵

Phil Fontaine, Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, told his “shocking testimony of sexual abuse” at a Residential School in 1990, a tale that “stunned the nation.”¹⁷⁶ “As early as the 1960s, stories of abuse at residential schools were leaking

¹⁷² See n. 3 on Duncan Scott’s role in Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 239.

¹⁷³ Although the Methodist churches and most of the Presbyterian had joined The United Church of Canada in 1925, in the case of the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School named in this segment, it functioned as a Presbyterian institution. “Only two schools—Birtle School in Manitoba and Cecilia Jeffrey School in Kenora, Ontario - remained the responsibility of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC).” *The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Archives Guide to Records Relating to the Residential Schools* (Nov. 23, 2011), 6, Presbyterian Church of Canada, accessed Oct. 4, 2016, <http://www.presbyterianarchives.ca/RS%20-%20FA-Residential%20Schools%20Thematic%20Guide.pdf>.

¹⁷⁴ Napier, “Sins of the Fathers,” accessed October 1, 2016.

¹⁷⁵ Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, vol. 1, “Looking Forward, Looking Back” (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996), pt. 2, “False Assumptions and a Failed Relationship,” chap. 10, “Residential Schools,” Indian and Northern Affairs Canada; as cited in Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 100.

¹⁷⁶ “Phil Fontaine’s shocking testimony of sexual abuse” (Oct. 30, 1990), CBC Digital Archives, video, accessed October 2, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/phil-fontaines-shocking-testimony-of-sexual-abuse>. Fontaine would continue in politics, serving also as National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations

out.”¹⁷⁷ After Fontaine spoke on national media, “accounts of abuse erupted from Native communities, tearing lives apart.”¹⁷⁸ Pauline, as a child from a Saskatchewan reserve, is Individual 1. [See Appendix 5 for Pauline’s Story, “A Prayer God Could Not Answer.”] She represents children harmed by government and church actions at the Global, Regional, and Local levels of this study. Pauline stood as an elderly woman before the assembly in Hull, Quebec, and recalled the feelings she experienced as she was forced to board a plane at seven years of age. Her voice quivering, she relived the fear, the humiliation, the panic of not understanding English, the pain of punishment for speaking Cree, the violence, the hunger from meager rations, the manual labor forced upon children, and the loneliness when away from family two years at a time. She spoke of her troubled adult years, describing herself as “the most hated drunken Indian” in her town.¹⁷⁹

The concept of contextualizing educational methodology or preserving cultural values was the antithesis of the educational intent. The intent was to produce a non-Indian-Indian. To change all but skin colour¹⁸⁰ as Pauline’s story clearly demonstrates.

One administrator of the school on George Gordon First Nation, the band to which our adopted son belongs, has been convicted of the sexual abuse of 10 boys¹⁸¹ and

[AFN] for three terms during 1997-2009. Fontaine endured sexual abuse at the Roman Catholic Oblates of Mary Immaculate Residential Schools on his home reserve. Note: Napier states he first publicly spoke of his abuse in 1992, however, CBC archives this interview dated 1990. Cf. Napier, “Sins of the Fathers.”

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Wendy Peterson, Pauline’s Story: “The Prayer God Could Not Answer,” in Appendix 5.

¹⁸⁰ The movie *The Rabbit Proof Fence*, capturing the Australian experience in 1931 of “The Stolen Generation,” argues against that statement by demonstrating the intent to ‘breed out’ the dark color. *The Rabbit Proof Fence*, directed by Philip Noyce (Australia: HanWay Films, 2002).

¹⁸¹ “History of George Gordon,” George Gordon First Nation, accessed May 18, 2016, <http://www.georgegordonfirstnation.com/history.html>. Kaneonuskatew (George Gordon) signed Treaty 4 in Saskatchewan,

given a four and one-half year prison sentence.¹⁸² A staggering 230 boys claim to have been abused by the same man over a ten year period.¹⁸³ In addition to abuse, schools are held accountable for hiring unqualified teachers, the malnourishment that at times led to deaths due to government underfunding, and the medical experiments performed on children such as those in Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School.¹⁸⁴ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC] concluded that this is “an ignoble chapter in Canadian history”¹⁸⁵ and the clear intent was cultural genocide. The overall effect is well documented elsewhere.¹⁸⁶

My knowledge of Residential Schools had expanded from reading books and news items, hearing personal stories of sexual abuse shared by friends, and from attending the TRC in Saskatoon (June 2012). I had purchased a book in 2015 entitled *A*

1874. Formerly it was known as Gordon Indian Reserve (near Punnichy, SK). It became the site of the longest running Residential School in Canada, 1889-1996, operated by the Anglican Church.

¹⁸² “Residential Church School Scandal,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/residential-church-school-scandal/>.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ These medical experiments took place during and after Canada fought Nazi Germany. See “Church apologizes to Kenora residential school survivors: Cecilia Jeffrey school students were subjected to ear, nutritional experiments,” *CBC News* (Aug.14, 2013), accessed Oct. 2, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/church-apologizes-to-kenora-residential-school-survivors-1.1318382>. “‘I want to acknowledge that at Cecilia Jeffrey, there was physical abuse and sexual abuse and emotional abuse. For that, I am profoundly and deeply sorry,’ said Peter Bush of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. ‘We sinned, and I am sorry for that.’”

¹⁸⁵ “Residential Church School Scandal,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/residential-church-school-scandal/>. This article was published in 2003, and last edited in 2013. Since then a much fuller story has been revealed through the TRC which culminated in 2015.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System-1879 to 1986*. (Winnipeg, MB: The University of Manitoba Press), 1999; Napier, “Sins of the Fathers;” *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, accessed Oct. 1, 2016, <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3>. See also *Journal of North American Institute for Theological Studies: NAIITS*, vol. 3 (2005), especially “Where Do We Go from Here?” by Anita Keith.

National Crime by John Milloy.¹⁸⁷ I flipped to the Index and looked up Cecilia Jeffery Indian Residential School. Tears filled my eyes as I read the story of Irene’s and Liliane’s brother, learning the truth at last. He had run away from the school with a friend in winter, trying to make it across an impossible distance to their homes. They both froze to death.¹⁸⁸ No one was held accountable. A decision was eventually made to teach kids survival skills. The decision did not address abuse.

Consequences of Crises and Resistance

The CMS (New Zealand) missionaries had three measurements in place from 1840 to 1870 as a strategy to insure they would complete their missions well—the “three selves.” The tenets of this approach sought to establish churches that would be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.¹⁸⁹ In spite of the best intentions of the theory of mission propagation, Dana Robert states, “As the British presence moved from informal to formal empire ... pressures grew to shift the goal of missions from the ‘three selves’ to a more permanent ‘trustee’ model of missions, in which Europeans were needed to lead churches permanently to ensure efficient organization and orthodox theology.”¹⁹⁰ This trustee model has been the norm in missions to Indigenous peoples in Canada. That

¹⁸⁷ Milloy, *A National Crime*.

¹⁸⁸ Dennis is not named in the account, but the timeline fits exactly. A boy who has gained national fame through musician Gord Downie froze to death years earlier from the same school. See “The Secret Path,” at Secret Path, accessed Mar. 16, 2018, secretpath.ca. They are not the only children to suffer this fate. See Milloy, *A National Crime*, 286-289. Technically, the school had been turned over to the Canadian Government to run in 1969. However, in a recent discussion (Oct. 27 & 29, 2016) with Peter Bush, the Presbyterian man who wrote their official response to the Residential School apology, he did concede that not all the staff changed. More research is needed on the role PCC and its members had at this point.

¹⁸⁹ Morgan, vol. 1. xxviii. The concept is attributed to Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn.

¹⁹⁰ Dana Robert, ed., *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2008), 14.

missionaries aided the colonial endeavor is hardly debatable at this point in history. To what extent they were vehicles for the process is still debated. That they frequently sought to mitigate the process can certainly be demonstrated. The book *Converting Colonialism* is written from the perspective of how missionaries and their converts struggled against competing ideas of the gospel, at times creating “emerging Christian movements.”¹⁹¹

At the Regional Level, Jared Taylor, writing in 1992, identified race as “the great American dilemma.”¹⁹² He claimed, “Neither Indians nor blacks are full participants in America.”¹⁹³ He noted the irony that a director of the University of Texas’s Minority Information Center denied American Indians access to its services “as it was already busy enough serving blacks and Hispanics.”¹⁹⁴ Taylor admits that “even as the nation becomes a mix of many races, the quintessential racial divide in America ... is between black and white.”¹⁹⁵ Paradoxically, Taylor only addresses the existence of American Indians three times in his book *Paved with Good Intentions*. The world of the under-class, he contends, is seen by most as consisting of Black Americans and the former “is as remote from them as Indian reservations are. However, we cannot let our inner cities become reservations ... to turn them into reservations would be the starkest sort of cruelty.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹² Jared Taylor, *Paved with Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* (New York: NY Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1992), 9.

¹⁹³ Taylor, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 198.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 10.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 353.

In late 2016, a candidate for the president of United States repeatedly and mockingly called a competitor “Pocahontas,”¹⁹⁷ while another candidate raised a short-lived media storm by stating “I have a lot of experience dealing with men who get off the reservation.”¹⁹⁸ While racist remarks against Black Americans and Mexicans are recycled repeatedly, and the speakers held accountable to public backlash, slurs against Native Americans typically have a short shelf life. My point is this: In United States, the Indigenous peoples are virtually invisible to the political powers and to the Church. This is not a minor consequence of colonization. In many ways, the “Inconvenient Indian” has been replaced by a shield of invisibility which erases responsibility for addressing injustice let alone laying a new path forward. What is needed is a new common memory—a memory which acknowledges the sins of the past and addresses the sins of the present, that it may mitigate the sins of the future.

Two consequences of crises at all three levels are marginalization and resistance that is leading to resurgence of Indigenous identity, power, and dignity.

Marginalization and Resurgence

Non-Western historians, probing the records from 1706 to 1914, demonstrate how the colonized functioned pragmatically and “interacted with specific historical contexts.”¹⁹⁹ Without debating the analysis, I contend that the original inhabitants of

¹⁹⁷ Michelle Ye Hee Lee, “Why Donald Trump calls Elizabeth Warren ‘Pocahontas’” (June 28, 2016), Washington Post, accessed Oct. 23, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/factchecker/wp/2016/06/28/why-donald-trump-calls-elizabeth-warren-pocahontas/>.

¹⁹⁸ Hillary Clinton referring to Donald Trump. Simon Moya-Smith, “An Ugly Truth about America behind Hillary Clinton’s ‘Reservation’ Comment” (May 2, 2016), CNN Opinion, accessed Oct. 3, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/05/02/opinions/clinton-comment-native-americans-smith/>.

¹⁹⁹ Robert, *Converting Colonialism*, 5.

places as far flung as Auckland, Sioux Falls, and Moose Factory all share the same social consequences such as high rates of incarceration,²⁰⁰ shorter life spans, violent deaths, gender and sexual violence, lower economic earnings, and systemic discrimination. These distinct people groups share the history of imposed foreign laws, marginalizing them in their own lands. It is appropriate to identify the common denominator, which is Western colonialism. That is not to be forgotten in the perpetual dissecting of the past.

Globally, Indigenous peoples are occupying inner cities that have been vacated by the dominate culture group's movement to the suburbs. In Hans Mol's study of *Race Relations and Religion*, he points out the disproportionate number of Māori in prison in 1975 comparing their incarceration rate of almost 50% of the prisons, yet less than one-tenth of the population.²⁰¹ Updated to the twenty-first century, a comparison of the incarceration rates are reproduced in the following table:

²⁰⁰ For example, 51 percent of New Zealand people incarcerated in March 2016 were Maori (cf. 34 percent Europeans), whereas only 15 percent of the population identified as Maori a few months previously in 2015. The next census is due in 2018. See "Prison Facts and Statistics – March 2016," Department of Corrections, New Zealand Government, accessed January 7, 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resource/s/research_and_statistics/quarterly_prison_statistics/PS_March_2016.html. Also see "How is our Maori Population Changing?" Stats New Zealand Government, accessed Jan. 7 2017, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/maori-population-article-2015.aspx.

²⁰¹ Mol, *Race Relations and Religion*, 64f.

Table 3.3. Incarceration Rates of First Peoples

Indigenous Peoples	New Zealand 2013²⁰²	U.S.A. 2010-2015²⁰³ Federal only	U.S.A. State of South Dakota 2017²⁰⁴	Canada 2013²⁰⁵
Percentage of Total Population	15.8 %	1.6 %	9.00 %	4.00 %
Percentage of Incarcerated Population	ca 50.0 %	2.2 %	3.09 % men 50.00 % women ²⁰⁶	23.20 %

Mol attributes this in part to the stresses of modern urbanization and its impact on Māori identity, however, “the social disorganization that accompanies urbanization and is so vividly expressed in the Maori crime statistics also undermines Pakeha disorder.”²⁰⁷ It also recycles prejudice, racism, and marginalization through yet another generation.

Suicides and spousal/partner abuse are common repercussions of displacement and Residential Schools. "There is enormous abuse of women and girls," claims Mary Wells, a Toronto-based social worker and expert on sexual abuse. One fact is known, Wells says. "Basic parenting skills were lost as a result of residential schools, which left

²⁰² “Reducing Re-offending among Maori,” Government of New Zealand, accessed Dec. 1, 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/strategic_reports/reducing_re-offending_among_maori.html.

²⁰³ These stats are compiled from: “Facts for Features: American Indian and Alaska Native Heritage Month: November 2016,” United States Census, accessed Dec. 1, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2016/cb16-ff22.html>. “The American and Alaska Native Population: 2010 Census Briefs,” United States Census Bureau, assessed March 1, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-10.pdf>.

²⁰⁴ “Quick Facts: South Dakota,” United States Census Bureau, accessed Dec. 1, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/SD>.

²⁰⁵ “Backgrounder-Aboriginal Offenders-A Critical Situation,” Government of Canada, accessed Dec. 1, 2017, https://www.canada.ca/en/sr.html?cdn=canada&st=s&num=10&langs=en&st1rt=1&s5bm3ts21rch=x&q=indigenous+incarceration&_charset=UTF-8&wb-srch-sub=.

²⁰⁶ Compiled from “Statistics: Adult Corrections, Adult Inmates by Race/Ethnicity,” South Dakota Department of Justice, accessed Dec. 1, 2017, <http://doc.sd.gov/documents/InmatesbyRaceEthnicityNovember12017.pdf>.

²⁰⁷ Mol, *Race Relations and Religion*, 97.

behind an enormous residue of anger and self-hatred."²⁰⁸ This is evident in “Lateral Violence workshops” offered for this self-destruction²⁰⁹ as First Nations implode.

Nelson Mandela understood that education in a dominant culture’s institutions has value; he “learned the language and customs of his oppressor so that one day he might better convey to them how their own freedom depended upon his.”²¹⁰ By 1975, a small minority of “educated Indians” began to use the tools of the Western intellectual world against the still colonial-minded governments. For example, Indigenous voices are retelling the story of Canada’s development, placing their people at the center of the story. One text, *Cultural Education—Cultural Sustainability*, edited by Bekerman and Kopelowitz, addresses the issue of community controlled education in diverse cultural groups. Ohia’s doctoral thesis²¹¹ focuses on education with a time-line for reclamation of Māori identity and culture. Some are calling this the de-colonization of their history.²¹² Indigenous people, as will be evidenced by NAIITS, are increasingly seeking higher education globally to serve as change agents. Alongside resistance literature,

²⁰⁸ “Kweykway: Building Stronger, More Connected First Nations Communities,” KweykwayConsulting, accessed Jan. 13, 2014, <http://www.kweykway.ca/>.

²⁰⁹ Napier, “Sins of the Fathers,” accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/sins-of-the-fathers-6853>.

²¹⁰ Barack Obama, addressing the memorial gathering for Nelson Mandela, Dec. 10, 2013, Nelson Mandela Foundation, accessed Dec. 10, 2013, <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/remembering-nelson-mandela-remarks-by-president-barack-obama>.

²¹¹ Ohia, “Towards a Values-Based Transformation.”

²¹² E. Palmer Patterson, *Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500* (Don Mills, ON: Collier-MacMillan Canada, 1972), 181. See also Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Ngugi wa Thiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Oxford, UK: James Currey, 2011); and Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing, 2013).

education—as much as possible on their own terms— functions as a part of global Indigenous resurgence and revitalization.

Patterson suggests correctly that resurgence existed in embryonic form prior to the 1970s, yet 1969 to 1975 is clearly a tipping point for sociopolitical activism at all three levels. (Patterson also noted this parallel resurgence in other colonized countries.) Resurgence has been explored by authors such as Harold Cardinal and his 1977 text, *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians*.²¹³ Indeed, it appears from this vantage point to be the strongest on-going resurgence of Indigenous voices in Canada's history. Demands are being made, not always with a 'please' attached and not always in a manner that pleases the dominant culture. It is obvious that First Peoples have refused to assimilate, to melt away, or to go quietly into the night. Non-Indigenous people often find this stance uncomfortable, and so they turn the focus on finances, protesting the waste of tax-dollars.

Marginalization has motivated Indigenous scholars, religious and political leaders, and ordinary citizens to seek alliances and solutions globally. Terms such as cultural sustainability, revitalization, reindigenization, retraditionalization, decolonization, and reclamation of culture speak of methodologies designed to reverse, or at least diminish, the Western-culturalization processes. Actions to protect natural resources has led to court battles demanding recompense for environmental damage. An additional aspect of resurgence is the fight against cultural appropriation which juxtaposes First Nations salvaging their dignity from exploitation by non-Indigenous religions, academic

²¹³ David R. Newhouse, Cora J. Voyageur, and Dan Beavon, eds., *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 35.

institutions,²¹⁴ corporations, and entertainment entities colonizing Indigenous art, artifacts, clothing, and traditions.²¹⁵ Jeremy Rifkin addresses exploitation of Indigenous cultures as they are “transformed into ‘access zones’ reserved for those who can afford to pay for the privilege of experiencing someone else’s culture.”²¹⁶ The revenue gained from the commodification of culture and land is far from the Indigenous people’s reach, but credited to corporate balance sheets. Yet, First Peoples are finding ways to have their voices heard. “[The] Indigenous population are [*sic*] ‘the other “other”’ in United States; [yet] social media is providing a forum for an entirely new means of resistance.”²¹⁷ Professionals and other leaders are committed to deconstructing the walls of marginalization without assimilating; while IFJ are resisting through the added dimension of the Reclamation of Culture Movement.

²¹⁴ While Academia is taking initiatives to confront colonialism, not all First Nations are enamored. Crosby writes, “Increasingly, we as First Nations people assert our national and cultural differences against the homogenizing effects of academic discourse, mass culture and government legislation. ... Historically, Western interest in aboriginal peoples has really been self-interest. ... [As to] the West’s recent self-critique of its historical depiction of ‘the other,’ I am not entirely convinced that this is not just another form ... or, more specifically, the ultimate colonization of ‘the Indian’ into the spaces the West’s postmodern centre/margin cartography.” Marcia Crosby, “Construction of the Imaginary Indian,” in *Reading and Writing across the Disciplines*, Academic Reading, 2nd ed., Janet Giltrow, ed. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002), 488.

²¹⁵ For example, see “Sweat Lodge Leader Sentenced to Two Years in Prison,” *CNN* (Nov. 18, 2011), accessed Oct. 3, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/11/18/justice/arizona-sweat-lodge-sentencing/>. The recent production of *The Lone Ranger* movie using a non-Indigenous actor for Tonto is another case in point.

²¹⁶ Jeremy Rifkin, *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism where all of Life is a Paid-for Experience* (New York: Tarcher/ Putnam, 2000). Simon Moya-Smith, “Native Americans: We are not Your Mascots,” *CNN Opinion*, May 19, 2014, accessed May 19, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/05/19/opinion/moya-smith-native-american-racism/index.html?iref=allsearch>. He departs from Canadian experience when he argues, “First, the term ‘redskins’ is a pejorative. ... The term ‘Indian’ isn’t a racial slur.” “#ProudToBe, is a video and photo campaign that uses the web and demonstrates that we are more than a costume. We are more than a mascot. ... The [other part of the] campaign ... is aptly called #NotYourMascot.” ... Moya-Smith, “Native Americans: We are not Your Mascots.”

Conclusion

The Treaty of Waitangi 1975, Wounded Knee 1973, and the White Paper 1969 all ignited an awakening of active sociopolitical resistance and served as pivot points in their respective lands. First Nations people found the White Paper insulting.

Your government recently announced their new Indian policy, their grand design for Indian emancipation, for Indian assimilation. This new policy was not developed with Indian participation, co-operation, or consideration. It is a white man's white paper, conceived in isolation and as far as Indians are concerned aborted at birth. No single action by any Government since confederation has aroused such a violent reaction from Indian people — never have Indians felt so bitter and frustrated as they do today.²¹⁸

According to recent Prime Minister Harper, Canada has experienced a century and a half of “untroubled democracy. ... We also have no history of colonialism.”²¹⁹ This alternative reality clashes with the lived experiences of First Peoples. Since first contact, they have moved from autonomy and sovereignty to being classified a social burden. Yet, there has always been resistance to assimilation. The contextualization movement in many ways parallels sociopolitical activism and resurgence. The intent is to de-colonize the gospel, not create a new gospel, but rather reveal the true story with more power for heart transformation—seeking wholeness in place of humiliation and loss.

Henri Blocher, in commenting on Genesis 4:17-27, states “The descendants of Cain, a race of inventors, invent *violence within civilization*. ... Just as Lamech is more ‘civilized’, able to forge weapons with which to deliver his ‘seventy-sevenfold’ blows, so

²¹⁸ Patterson, *The Canadian Indian*, 178. The White Paper was eventually withdrawn.

²¹⁹ Stephen Harper, quoted in David Ljunggren, “Every G20 nation wants to be Canada, insists PM” Reuters, US Edition, Sept. 25, 2009, accessed Feb. 26, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/09/26/columns-us-g20-canada-advantages-idUSTRE58P05Z20090926>. See also the daily newspaper called *Times Colonist* “the oldest newspaper in Western Canada” (ca. 1858). “About the Colonist,” accessed Feb. 26, 2013, www.timescolonist.com.

also he possesses the art of words and of phrases to express brutality.”²²⁰ Indigenous peoples have been the object of such violence. In recent history they have had to learn the art of words in the dominant language. Some are utilizing these tools in breaking down colonial walls and forging a better future.

On the political stage, Indigenous leaders have made it very clear to the Canadian government that the days of paternalism are over. The years of consultation are upon us. The White Paper and the Red Power Movement altered that pattern. Social attitudinal changes in understanding the Māori or “Indian problem” seem to be improving in dominant cultures’ responses in New Zealand and Canada. It is less evident in the U.S.A.

Indigenous literature, music, poetry, art, theatre, and media function as protest-conversation, seeking correctives to one-sided mythologies. This is influencing macro cultures and bringing marginalization to the forefront at the local level, extending the conversations. The Journal of NAIITS is one example of literature used by the Reclamation of Culture Movement as Indigenous followers of Jesus join the resistance. Cardinal’s *Unjust Society* and Campbell’s *Half-Breed* were just the beginning. The good news is in the high value many Indigenous people hold for the gospel and the Name of Jesus. The New Zealand Christian Network has produced a booklet which includes the statement, “in spite of human failings and limitations, the Creator’s purposes will be established in these islands.”²²¹ Many Indigenous people at all three levels choose to believe this even while fighting for recognition and correction of systemic injustice.

²²⁰ Henri Blocher, *In the Beginning: The Opening Chapters of Genesis* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984), 199.

²²¹ See New Zealand Christian Network, “A Statement for the Gospel Bicentenary: Aotearoa New Zealand, August 2014.” Gifted to me by Māori David Moko one of the writers of the statement.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INNOVATION AND DIFFUSION OF THE RECLAMATION OF CULTURE MOVEMENT [ROCM]

Then he showed me a river of the water of life, clear as crystal, coming from the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the middle of its street. On either side of the river was the tree of life, bearing twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

—Rev 22: 1 & 2 NASB

Many North American Indigenous followers of Jesus regard the leaves of cedar, tobacco, sage, and sweetgrass as agents of healing—as medicine in a holistic sense. Communicating this to non-Indigenous people requires self-theologizing. Given that Indigenous storytelling is circular with ideas repeating and yet building upon one another, self-theologizing follows a similar pattern, leaving it vulnerable to be judged as “other,” thus incompatible with Western standards or categories.

In this fourth chapter, anthropological and sociological theories are used to analyze the Reclamation of Culture Movement [ROCM].¹ This will be accomplished through telling the stories of specific events, organizations, and individuals, with the intent of demonstrating evidence of innovation and diffusion, networking, and self-theologizing by Indigenous followers of Jesus. The content is as follows:

¹ In researching data bases, I did not find “reclamation of culture” as a movement. The closest equivalency is in the sense of “language *reclamation* and *culture* revitalization.” See Drew H. Gitomer and Courtney A. Bell, *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, 5th ed. (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2016), eBook, accessed Dec. 5, 2017, <https://ebooks.aera.net/catalog/book/handbook-research-teaching-fifth-edition>. “Reclamation of culture” is used by Indigenous people as evidenced by a new radio program, Reclaimed. “*Reclaimed* is a weekly series on CBC Radio that explores the many worlds of contemporary Indigenous music Equal parts celebration, resistance, and reclamation, Reclaimed introduces listeners to a new generation of Indigenous artists reclaiming their culture through music and song.” See “Reclaimed – CBC Music,” CBC Radio, accessed Feb. 12, 2018, www.cbcmusic.ca/programs/reclaimed.

Table 4.1. Elements of Chapter Four

ELEMENT	TRIAD I GLOBAL New Zealand & North America	TRIAD II REGIONAL North America	TRIAD III LOCAL Canada & Winnipeg
EVENT 4 Retraditionalization Reclamation			Sacred Assembly (1995)
EVENT 5 Government Attempt at Decolonization			The Apology (2010)
ORGANIZATION 2 Reclamation	World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People	World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People	World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People
ORGANIZATION 3 Reclamation		Wiconi International	Wiconi International
ORGANIZATION 4 Reclamation			Aboriginal Task Force - Evangelical Fellowship of Canada
ORGANIZATION 5 Reclamation	NAIITS (2017)	NAIITS	NAIITS
INDIVIDUAL 2 Reclamation	Richard & Katherine Twiss	Richard & Katherine Twiss	Richard & Katherine Twiss
INDIVIDUAL 3 Reclamation	Terry & Bev LeBlanc	Terry & Bev LeBlanc	Terry & Bev LeBlanc
INDIVIDUAL 4 Reclamation		Cheryl Bear	Cheryl Bear

Theoretical Basis of Study

The gospel is reconciliation: to Creator, to creation, to one's self, and to one's neighbor. As an essential dynamic of reconciliation, reclamation is a step towards the restoration of a healthy self-identity by Indigenous followers of Jesus [IFJ].² Tito Paredes asserts that "People groups must always be studied in relation to their past and their future, in relation to other groups and classes, and in relation to larger national and

² See Wendy Peterson, "An Aboriginal Missiology of Identity: Towards Revitalization for Canada's Indigenous Peoples through Healing of Identity and an Aboriginal Missiology of Reclamation," *The Asbury Journal*: 65 no. 1 (Spring, 2010): 48-64, accessed March 2, 2018, <http://place.asburyseminary.edu/asburyjournal/vol65/iss1/5>.

international interests and goals.”³ Furthermore, “we can no longer deny that integral to the proclamation of the gospel of the kingdom is the proclamation of hope for social justice through social change.”⁴ We live glocally in a local community set in “a ‘global village’ in which the dealings and interests of one society affect and influence others.”⁵ This is true of the universal Church (Matt 16:18; 1 Cor 12:12-14)⁶ and of the IFJ in New Zealand, Australia, and North America wanting to walk a global path of peace.

Diffusion of Innovations [DOI] Theory, the legacy of Everett Rogers,⁷ is the primary anthropological model that undergirds this study. The theory originated in communication;⁸ however, it is widely applied to marketing, public health issues, political surveying,⁹ in promoting new technology,¹⁰ and in occupational science.¹¹ In this study, Innovation begins with the agreement between two or more IFJ who propose new

³ Tito Paredes, “Culture and Social Change,” in Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden, eds., *The Church in Response to Human Need* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1987), 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶ Matt 16:18 “I also say to you, you are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church ...”; 1 Cor 12:12-14 “For even as the body is one and yet has many members, and all the members of the body, though they are many, are one body, so is Christ ... For the body is not one member, but many.” NASB

⁷ DOI was developed in 1962. See Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 5th ed. (New York, NY: Free Press, 2003).

⁸ Wayne W. Lamorte, “Diffusion of Innovation Theory,” Behavioral Change Models (Boston, MA: Boston University School of Public Health, 2016), accessed Nov. 30, 2017, <http://sphweb.bumc.bu.edu/otlt/MPHModules/SB/BehavioralChangeTheories/BehavioralChangeTheories4.html>.

⁹ See Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 18, 82-89, for examples; Lamorte, “Diffusion of Innovation Theory,” n.p. See also, Russell K. Schutt, *Investigating the Social World: The Practice and Process of Research*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Pub., Pine Forge Press, 2006), 113, Exhibit 4.9 & 272f.

¹⁰ However, there are limitations to complex IT technologies. See Kalle Lyytinen and Jan Damsgaard, “What's Wrong with the Diffusion of Innovation Theory? The case of a complex and networked technology,” in *Diffusing Software Product and Process Innovations*, ed. M. A. Ardis et al. (2001), accessed Nov. 28, 2017; https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-0-387-35404-0_11.pdf.

¹¹ Occupational Science falls within the field of Behavioral Science (a multi-discipline perspective in the field of psychology), e.g. a Study of gang graffiti “tagging” by E. Russell, “Writing on the Wall: The Form, Function and Meaning of Tagging,” *Journal of Occupational Science*, 15, no. 2 (2008): 87-97.

means of interpretation and methodology for transmitting the gospel of Jesus Christ, by rejecting outsider requirements to conform to a pre-determined model for Christian life and worship. The decision to contextualize and the questions regarding the ceremonies chosen for contextualization are complicated by a number of factors: (1) Are the ones doing contextualization living in urban centers, on home territory, or splitting time between both locations? (2) Are there individuals on the home territory who have continued the ceremonies (perhaps secretly)?¹² (3) Are the ceremonies traditional to their people or adapted from other Indigenous groups? (4) Is permission and mentoring required to use and/or adapt the ceremonies? The resulting innovations are expressed in new worship forms, contextualized hermeneutics, and the formation of groundbreaking organizations and programs. Diffusion begins when a premise is adopted allowing IFJ to live into his or her God-given indigeneity and culture without pressure to choose between indigeneity and Jesus. Diffusion methodologies in the ROCM include conversation, gatherings and events, social media, formal education, church services or new forms of doing church, and through the publication of literature.

Social Network Theory [SNT] is a sociological theory designed to demonstrate the ways that networks are involved in social change. “In its most simple form, a social network is a map of all of the relevant ties between the nodes [people and organizations] being studied.”¹³ Social Cognitive Theory [SCT], also a sociological theory, is relevant to the formation of relationships which support innovators and change agents in the ROCM. “The unique feature of SCT is the emphasis on social influence and its emphasis on

¹² Given that cultures are not static and that post-contact pollination of terminology, epistemologies, and the presence of Christian language and understandings, it is highly unlikely there are pre-contact ceremonies untouched by Western influence.

¹³ Ryan T. Cragun and Deborah Cragun, *Introduction to Sociology* (Wikibooks, 2006), 81, accessed Dec. 4, 2017, https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Introduction_to_Sociology.

external and internal social reinforcement.”¹⁴ An additional consideration is the rate of change influenced or produced by an innovation which “allows a system to achieve the maximum benefits of an innovation and yet not produce disequilibrium.”¹⁵ The work by Malcolm Gladwell introduced the sociological term “tipping point.”¹⁶ It represents the point in time where small changes are of enough significance that their accumulation stimulates large (perhaps irreversible) changes. It does not necessitate an entire population consenting to or adopting the change.¹⁷ Ultimately, it is the guidance of the Holy Spirit as the supreme change agent who determines the value, achievements, and rightness of the ROCM to inspire living as both fully Indigenous and fully Christian.

Reclamation of Culture Movements

The grandiose social experiments with my people were based upon the idea you could kill the savage and save the man. Is it really possible to do that? After you have thrown away all the unnecessary trappings of culture, do you have anything left? ...[N]ow children throw themselves away ... Forgetting who they are and where they are from, the next generation has abandoned its deepest identity. Without value, thrown away, Native American identity appears disposable.

—Ray Aldred, “Freedom,”

¹⁴ Lamorte, “Diffusion of Innovation Theory,” n.p.

¹⁵ Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 452.

¹⁶ Maxwell Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 2000). Rogers identifies this as the “Take-off” point. See Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 11, Figures 1-2.

¹⁷ See J. Xie *et al.*, “Social consensus through the influence of committed minorities,” in *Jrnl Phys. Rev E* 84, 011130 24 no. 1 (July, 2011), the authors research the dynamics of social change (p. 1). Their conclusion is that the critical value is 10%. Citing the Suffragette and African-American civil-rights movements, they state, “we have demonstrated here the existence of a tipping point at which the initial majority opinion of a network switches quickly to that of a consistent and inflexible minority” (p. 5). Yet, racism and sexism remain; the tipping point, therefore, cannot literally mean “the entire population” adopts the change. Also see “Tipping point,” English Oxford *Living Dictionaries*, accessed Dec. 1, 2017, en.oxforddictionaries.com.

Terminology of Revitalization and Reclamation Movements

Ray Aldred captures the pathos which drives Indigenous peoples to reclaim culture—a desire for respect, dignity, a healthy identity. Other motivations are the need for a spiritual connection more accessible than what Western Christianity typically provides, a leadership style compatible with community values, a desire to protect remaining traditions, and a longing for those traditions to continue into the next generation. The Reclamation of Culture Movement in this sense is a revitalization movement.

Revitalization and Reclamation within the Māori Context

Anthony Wallace's term, revitalization movements, describes group endeavours to create social change when life becomes unsatisfying or even unbearable.¹⁸ A classic example is the 19th century ghost dance in N.A. analyzed by Alice Beck Kehoe.¹⁹ Her ethnographical narrative clearly places the movement within social crises attributed to colonization. Elsewhere, Bronwyn Elsmore writes about the Kohiti faith in New Zealand.²⁰ She suggests its leader attempted to meet Māori spiritual needs and contends that “[a] revival of traditional values and practices often occurs in response to a clash of the cultures ... [when] the former beliefs do not transfer well to the new world ... the results may be extremism where the entirety of the old is cast off ... for the adoption of

¹⁸ Richard H. Robbins, *Cultural Anthropology: A Problem-Based Approach*, 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Higher Education, 2006), 142f. See also Michael A. Rynkiewich, *Soul, Self, and Society: A Postmodern Anthropology for Mission in a Postcolonial World* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 151.

¹⁹ Alice Beck Kehoe, *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory & Revitalization*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2006).

²⁰ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Te Kohititanga Marama – New Moon, New World: The Religion of Matenga Tamati* (Auckland, NZ: Reed Books, 1989), 79.

new methods that bring wealth; or else a rejection of the new in protection of the old.”²¹

These are examples of innovations designed to reverse losses and bring revitalization.

Māori followers of Jesus are attempting to contextualize the gospel in this age, not to create new religions or to return indiscriminately to former beliefs. The term *regensis* seems to be uniquely Māori, yet it parallels the self-determination and self-theologizing of the ROCM. Rangi Nicholson, “a contextual theologian and clergyman,” uses the term *regensis* in the sense of retraditionalization or reclamation.²² He chooses cultural regensis as one theme to explore in his doctoral thesis. He notes that Māori theological writings were rare, with 1971 being the first he cites. He reviews the writings of twenty-three individuals from 1991 to 2007.²³ They represent diversity in Māori IFJ and are significant in their parallels at the regional and local levels: (1) questioning the need for God/Jesus to be presented as White; (2) examining the historical realities of theological education and attempts to decolonize it; (3) exploring Māori ecclesiology becoming truly Indigenous; (4) questioning the subjection of inculturation to denominational ownership; (5) promoting contextual theology; (6) examining the relationship of Māori and land, and Māori spirituality to ecclesiology; (7) investigating a model for cultural exegesis based on Exodus 19, plus Māori retention and reconciliation of tribal spirituality with Christian spirituality, and the concern over violence against women.

²¹ Elsmore, *Te Kohititanga Marama*, 80.

²² Rangi Nicholson, “*Ko te Mea Nui Ko Te Aroha: Theological Perspectives on Maori Language and Cultural Regensis Policy and Practice of the Anglican Church*,” doctoral thesis (University of Auckland, Nov. 8, 2015), 120f, accessed May 23, 2016, http://web.its.auckland.ac.nz/maik/rangi_nicholson. Also, see Te Waaka Melbourne, “Maori Spirituality in the New Millennium,” in *First Peoples Theology Journal* 1, no. 3 (2005): 112. For example, as the term *Regensis* is used in his doctoral thesis title: Nicholson, “According to the Oxford Dictionary, the ‘earliest use [is] found in Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881).’” C.v. “Regensis”, Oxford Dictionaries, accessed May 23, 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/regensis.

²³ Nicholson, “Ko te Mea Nui Ko te Aroha, 112, accessed May 23, 2016, http://web.its.auckland.ac.nz/maik/rangi_nicholson. He indicates that there are few emerging Māori theologians.

A Word on Self-Theologizing

Dean Shingoose (Saulteaux) writes, “Not only did colonizers regard Native Spirituality as foolish, many did and do demonize all things Native—be they drums, rattles, feathers, dancing, [or] powwows.”²⁴ Ray Aldred nods his agreement with George Tinker in that Native Americans have not been trusted to interpret Christianity.²⁵ “I would propose that the gospel story itself has not been entrusted to the aboriginal community, except the one that is read through the lenses of Euro-American and Euro-Canadian theology. This is particularly true of those trained in a Western academic institution.”²⁶ Nicholson claims that “Māori have been doing Christian theology implicitly since the first interactions with Pākehā missionary.”²⁷ Is self-theologizing an organic response to encountering the gospel? Te Waaka Melbourne states, “A spiritual discourse fuses more than the dimension of *wairua* [spirit]. It is a struggle over world-view, over Maori knowledge, history and ... the realms in which we function as humans.”²⁸

Land can become a tiresome topic to non-Indigenous people, yet spirituality and land are central to Indigenous identity and life. The Māori word for land, *whenua*, is also the word for placenta. The name of the land, *Papatuanuku* [or *Papa*] is female—thus, land

²⁴ Dean Shingoose, a former pastor, now a hospital chaplain, in personal correspondence, Jan. 14, 2018. I was in Dean’s church in Calgary when he shared with me that the Indian (from India) congregation that rented the upstairs space could play their traditional drums, but he was warned that if anyone brought a Native drum into the space rented by First Nations, their lease would be cancelled. On the same theme, at Sacred Assembly a Déné woman challenged this “paganism” perspective: “You have your tooth fairy, Easter bunny, Santa Claus; you celebrate Halloween with witches and ghosts; you make the sign of the cross, kiss rosaries and wear medals for protection. And you call us pagans!” Personal notes, Dec. 1995.

²⁵ George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest : The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 115, as noted in Ray Aldred, an untitled paper sent in August 2011.

²⁶ Aldred, an untitled paper, August 2011.

²⁷ Nicholson, “*Ko te Mea Nui Ko te Aroha*, 112.

²⁸ Melbourne, “Maori Spirituality in the New Millennium,” 109.

is “a female created being.”²⁹ She is mother, can suffer abuse, weeps over the suffering of land and the people who live on it. “The fact that *tangata* [humans] are linked to *Papa* through *whakapapa* [genealogy] is the key to the significance of the relationship with *whenua* [land].”³⁰ Since “a landless Maori is literally a non-person; there is no ‘place’ they belong.”³¹ How then do Maori become persons in the aftermath of land loss? When arguing for the spiritual connection to the land, Helen Bergin and Susan Smith state, “secular society of Aotearoa does not have ears to hear such conversation.”³² Self-theologizing inevitably includes the Indigenous place on the land.

Events

In Chapter One I identified five events which have created crises or spurred Indigenous innovations—Event 1, First Contact and Consequences; Event 2, Crises and Resistance; Event 3, Resistance Literature; Event 4, Sacred Assembly; and Event 5, The Apology. In Chapters Two and Three I have discussed the first three events. I now consider the fourth and fifth events.

Event 4 - Sacred Assembly: Canada, 1995

Elijah Harper, Cree, former Chief of Red Sucker Lake, delivered a speech in 1990 as an elected member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. He sat holding an eagle

²⁹ Helen Bergin and Susan Smith, eds., *Land and Place: He Whenua, He Wāhi: Spiritualities from Aotearoa New Zealand* (Auckland, NZ: Accent Publications, 2004), 31.

³⁰ Bergin and Smith, eds., *Land and Place*, 38.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

³² *Ibid.*, 40.

feather, registering a “no” vote which changed the course of Canadian history.³³ (See photo in Appendix 2.) Following five years as a Member of Parliament, he reflected that “During those days when I stood in the Legislature to speak for Aboriginal people, our voice was one. I could feel the strength of all our people, a generation of people giving strength to my voice.”³⁴ Consequent to these times, Harper was stricken with a mysterious ailment. In desperation he turned to Jesus Christ and was healed. He attributed his illness to God's desire to humble him following his rise to national prominence. During this period, sociopolitical frustrations were besetting Indigenous Canada. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP] Report had been released. Leaders feared that the work of the commission would simply be one more hard-fought and hard-won battle that ended up in volumes of history and solutions collecting dust on government shelves. After a profoundly moving experience that Harper described as a vision to unite all Aboriginal peoples around the concept of land as a gift from Creator (not unlike the Hebraic perspective),³⁵ Harper called for a sacred assembly in late 1995.

³³ See photograph and article at “The Death of the Meech Lake Accord,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Nov. 8, 2012, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCESearch&Params=A1>. Also, “Elijah Harper,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Jan. 11, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/elijah-harper/>.

³⁴ Hon. Andrew Swan, “Orders of the Day – Government Business; Motions of Condolence, Elijah Harper,” Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (Monday, May 12, 2014), Hansard, accessed Dec. 5, 2017, http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/40th_3rd/vol_53/h53.html.

³⁵ Extracted from personal notes, Sacred Assembly, Dec. 1995. For a discussion of this concept of land as a gift see Bryan D. Cummins, “*Only God Can Own the Land:*” *The Attawapiskat Cree*, Canadian Ethnography Series, edited by Bryan D. Cummins and John L. Steckley, vol 1 (Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004). For OT theologies of land, see Walter Bruggemann, *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith*, 2nd edition (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002); Walter Bruggemann, “Land: Fertility and Justice” in *Theology of the Land*, ed. Leonard Weber (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1987); Christopher J.H. Wright, *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 1990); and, Norman Habel, *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies: Overtures to Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). Palestinian Yohanna Katanacho offers another perspective similar to the Canadian Indigenous view in his paper entitled “A Palestinian Christian Perspective on the ‘Land’: Jesus Christ is the Owner of the ‘Land’,” unpublished paper (Deerfield, IL: 2003), accessed Nov. 22, 2012, <http://www.twinstours.com/PDF%20Files/A%20Palestinian%20Christian%20Perspective%20on%20the.pdf>.

Leaders responded to Harper's vision. Approximately 2500 people from every region of Canada gathered in December for a four day Sacred Assembly in Hull, Quebec. Top leadership from most Christian organizations attended. Government leaders arrived, including Prime Minister Chrétien, who made a brief appearance and speech.³⁶ The Assembly convened around four themes: Sacred Foundations, Spiritual Reconciliation, Aboriginal Justice, and Political Responsibilities. The grand finale showcased a sacred fire and a staking ceremony, borrowed and adapted from the Sioux (Dakota/Lakota/Nakota peoples). I was honored to be chosen as one of two leaders to represent the Evangelical community. Six others represented the mainline denominations. My participation demonstrated my commitment to being a change agent in the pursuit of reconciliation and justice between evangelicalism and Indigenous peoples.

I have selected this event for a variety of reasons including: Terry LeBlanc's role as a panelist and co-author of the resulting Reconciliation Proclamation; the momentum Residential Schools gained in the political realm--culminating in The Apology (Event 5); and the Aboriginal Task Force addressed as Organization 4. The late Elijah Harper served as innovator and change agent by positioning others to move his vision forward. A NAIITS scholarship has been established in his honour and with his family's permission.

Event 5 - The Apology: Canada, 2010

The treatment of children in Indian Residential Schools is a sad chapter in our history.

For more than a century, Indian Residential Schools separated over 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and communities. In the 1870's, the federal government, partly in order to meet its obligation to educate Aboriginal children, began to play a role in the development and administration of these schools. Two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. These objectives

³⁶ Extracted from personal notes, Sacred Assembly, 1995.

were based on the assumption Aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, "to kill the Indian in the child". Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country.³⁷

–Prime Minister Steven Harper

“What began as a whisper of litigation in the mid-1990s has now become a storm: to date, a staggering 6,324 native plaintiffs (not including class-action suits) are suing the federal government and, in many cases, the Roman Catholic,³⁸ United, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches.”³⁹ On June 11, 2008, across the Dominion of Canada elders and families affected by the Indian Residential Schools⁴⁰ sat before televisions wondering what his words would be—weighing their own reaction. On that day Prime Minister Harper rose in the House of Commons to read the “Statement of Apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools, on behalf of the Government of Canada.”⁴¹

³⁷ Full text of Apology available at Government of Canada, “Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system” (11 June 2008), Indigenous and Northern affairs Canada, Government of Canada, accessed Dec. 6, 2017, <https://www.aadncaandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>.

³⁸ “The following text considers and repudiates illegitimate concepts and principles used by Europeans The presuppositions behind these concepts also undergirded the deeply regrettable policy of the removal of Indigenous children from their families and cultures in order to place them in residential schools.” See “The ‘Doctrine of Discovery’ and *Terra Nullius*: A Catholic Response” (2016), Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, accessed Sept. 26, 2016, <http://www.cccb.ca/site/images/stories/pdf/catholic%20response%20to%20doctrine%20of%20discovery%20and%20tn.pdf>.

³⁹ “Residential Church School Scandal,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/residential-church-school-scandal/>.

⁴⁰ The Apology was addressed only to First Nations. It did not include the day schools on reserve or those attended by Métis children or Residential Schools for “Eskimo” (Inuit/Yupik/Inupiat) children. Litigation for those similar experiences still wended its way through the court system. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau travelled to Newfoundland and Labrador, on Nov.24, 2017, to apologize to students of that region at five boarding schools operated by the Moravian Mission and International Grenfell Association. Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, News, accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/11/24/remarks-prime-minister-justin-trudeau-apologize-behalf-government-canada-former>.

⁴¹ Government of Canada, “Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system” (11 June 2008), Indigenous and Northern affairs Canada, Government of Canada, accessed Dec. 6, 2017; <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>.

Phil Fontaine (Ojibway), National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, one of the first to publicly speak about sexual abuse, responded on behalf of First Nations:

Prime Minister, Chief Justice, members of the House, elders, survivors, Canadians: for our parents, our grandparents, great grandparents, indeed for all of the generations which have preceded us, this day testifies to nothing less than the achievement of the impossible.

This morning our elders held a condolence ceremony for those who never heard an apology, never received compensation, yet courageously fought assimilation so that we could witness this day.

Together we remember and honour them for it was they who suffered the most as they witnessed generation after generation of their children taken from their families' love and guidance. For the generations that will follow us, we bear witness today in this House that our survival as first nations peoples in this land is affirmed forever.

Therefore, the significance of this day is not just about what has been but, equally important, what is to come. Never again will this House consider us the Indian problem just for being who we are.

... Finally, we heard Canada say it is sorry.⁴²

The Prime Minister's text includes a clear admission of attempted cultural genocide. Terry LeBlanc analyzed the Apology as two sides of the same coin. "On one side are the Canadian Government's words: *We were Wrong*; on the other side are the words of Indigenous people: *We were Right*—we were right to resist assimilation and cultural genocide."⁴³ This event is included as a Take-Off moment—a Tipping Point—at the sociopolitical level of resistance to assimilation. A major outcome is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC] on the Residential Schools which issued 94 "Calls to Action" for the Canadian government, churches, citizens, new immigrants, and in areas

⁴² Full text available at Phil Fontaine, "Indian Residential Schools Statement of Apology - Phil Fontaine, National Chief, Assembly of First Nations," Transcript, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Canada (June 11, 2008), accessed Dec. 6, 2017, <https://www.aadncaandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015697/1100100015700>.

⁴³ Terry LeBlanc, Personal conversation, Feb. 21, 2018.

as diverse as education, athletics, business, governance, and proselytizers.⁴⁴ The TRC was birthed in both the RCAP Report and First Nations survivors' stories.⁴⁵ As Cheryl Bear points out, reconciliation was the idea of Residential School survivors, a gracious response from the victims of abuse.⁴⁶

A Word on Dynamic Activism

Since the final decade of the twentieth century through to the early months of 2018 when acceptance of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples⁴⁷ is before the Federal Government for the second reading as Bill-262,⁴⁸ Canadian Indigenous peoples are in an unparalleled period of activism and innovation—

⁴⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Calls to Action* (2015), accessed Dec. 7, 2017, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

⁴⁵ Phil Fontaine (Ojibway) told his story publically in 1992 at an Assembly of First Nations meeting in Yukon: "I was criticized by some at the meeting who thought there were other, more pressing issues," recalls Fontaine, who was sexually assaulted as a child at the Oblates ... Residential School in Sagkeeng, Man. Undaunted by this initial rejection, Fontaine took his message to a gathering of about 200 journalists in Toronto a few weeks later. The news hit the media like a hammer on a drum, and his message resonated almost immediately with people throughout Native communities who were deeply moved, to the point of activism. All of a sudden, people who had hidden the abuse in their pasts from friends and family, started coming forward, talking about their pain, searching for healing and demanding justice." See David Napier, "Sins of the Fathers," *Anglican Journal*, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://www.anglicanjournal.com/articles/sins-of-the-fathers-6853>.

⁴⁶ Cheryl Bear, "We Can Be Better Together: What are the First Steps?" in *Faith Today*, January/February (2018), 32-34.

⁴⁷ Commonly referred to as UNDRIP by activists in Canada, authors have been at work writing and promoting it for 33 years. One of its framers Andrea Carmen honoured NAIITS in June 2017 as opening plenary speaker. Her PowerPoint Presentation is available from either Terry LeBlanc or me.

⁴⁸ Margo McDiarmid, "NDP bill adopting UN Indigenous declaration begins debate with Liberal support: 'It's the first fundamental step towards reconciliation,' sponsor Roméo Saganash says," *CBC News, Politics*, (Dec. 5, 2017; updated Dec. 6, 2017); accessed Dec. 7, 2017; <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/romeo-saganash-un-declaration-indigenous-rights-1.4432858>. See also House of Commons of Canada; First Session, "Forty-second Parliament, 64-65 Elizabeth II, 2015-2016, BILL C-262, An Act to ensure that the laws of Canada are in harmony with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;" First Reading, April 21, 2016; accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-262/first-reading>.

from sea, to sea, to sea. The TRC's ongoing influence is awakening churches. "Liberal" churches responded quickly. Evangelicals seem to be still in the processing stage.⁴⁹

"Idle No More," one of the most successful sociopolitical innovations, originated as a uniquely Canadian form of activism birthed in an e-mail discussions over Bill C-45, a Conservative government bill, which four women in Saskatchewan deemed to be a threat to Indigenous rights and the environment.⁵⁰ It then emerged as a Facebook Page, November 2012,⁵¹ and exploded into a full blown protest movement. Diverse strategies spontaneously erupted including teach-ins, flash-mob round (friendship) dances in malls, rail line blockages, marches, outdoor rallies, a 1600 kilometer walk by six Cree boys from northern Québec to Ottawa,⁵² and a hunger strike by Chief Theresa Spence (Cree, Attawapiskat First Nation).⁵³ Idle No More spread across the country, becoming "one of the largest Indigenous mass movements in Canadian history."⁵⁴ It caught international imaginations. Supporters from New Zealand to Ukraine and beyond posted pictures on social media supporting the movement with their own Idle No More signage. Five of the

⁴⁹ Wendy Peterson, "Evangelicals Still Reaching for Reconciliation with Indigenous People," *Faith Today*, January/February (2018), 37-39. The title is not my wording and is the opposite of my intent.

⁵⁰ Resource Extraction is a major issue to Indigenous peoples. Issues include pipelines on Indigenous land and/or vulnerable waterways, harm to hunting and fishing, fracking damage, pollution to potable water, etc. Phil Fontaine's perspective is, "The reality is for most First Nation communities, that they live in resource rich parts of the country that offer very little alternate opportunity. And we cannot make decisions that doom First Nations to a life of perpetual poverty. Resource development can be done appropriately and in an acceptable manner – that's the challenge." See Shawn McCarthy, "First Nations leader Phil Fontaine: An angry radical embraces compromise," *Globe and Mail* (May 16, 2014; updated March 25, 2017), accessed Dec. 5, 2017, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/careers/careersleadership/first-nations-leader-phil-fontaine-an-angry-radical-embraces-compromise/article18726592/>.

⁵¹ Tabitha Marshall, "Idle No More," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.the-canadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/idle-no-more/>.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

board members who were attending a NAIITS board retreat in Portland joined a protest there, participating in an outdoor round dance in January 2013. (See photo in Appendix 2.) Reluctantly, the four Idle No More innovators responded to media pressure to articulate the movement's purpose. The resultant vision statement reads: "Idle No More calls on all people to join in a peaceful revolution, to honour Indigenous sovereignty, and to protect the land and water."⁵⁵ A slogan on their website reads "Turn the Tables—Self-Determination not Termination."⁵⁶ Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair (Anishinaabe) ties this movement to the example Elijah Harper set in politics. "Without Elijah Harper there's no Idle No More."⁵⁷

Organizations

Prior to the formation of organizations to advance contextualization, individuals connected in small conversational groups, asking questions and deliberating on common church and community realities. Gradually, planned casual meetings (coffee, meals) in their individual local areas allowed for longer conversations. As an example, in 1994 I met Terry LeBlanc at Providence College where I was teaching and where he set-up a missions' display in his role as the Manager, Aboriginal Programs, World Vision Canada. I mentioned I am Métis and we immediately engaged in conversation about our identities, our people, and related concerns. This is an example of Stage 1. As Terry crossed paths with individuals in his travels, Stage 2 was born and grew as regional conversations. Stage 3 occurred when regional IFJ enlarged the circles to include individuals holding the

⁵⁵ Marshall, "Idle No More." There are no dates and no persons named or credited on the site.

⁵⁶ A stylized slogan on the website of IdleNoMore, accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.idlenomore.ca/>.

⁵⁷ The statement is by Niigaanwewidam Sinclair in "Elijah Harper, Iconic Aboriginal Leader Who Scuttled Meech Lake Accord, Walks On" (5/08/13), Indian Country Today Media Network, accessed Oct. 2, 2016, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianet.com/2013/05/18/elijah-harper-iconic-aboriginal-leader-who-scuttled-meech-accord-walks-149411>.

same conversations outside of N.A.; thus, isolated conversations converged, resulting in the formation of the World Christian Gathering on Indigenous Peoples—Stage 4.

Conversation partners multiplied through new adopters and diffusion spread at regional and local levels, reversing the order of diffusion after the first global event, in turn spawning new organizations and events—Stage 5. The selection of key organizations is based on those which hosted events where it is assumed innovators, change agents, and early adopters networked, experimented in contextualization in a supportive environment for reclaiming culture, and/or served as communication channels⁵⁸ or diffusion centers. Richard Twiss identified significant organizations in addition to the ones following, which are not addressed further here: “Eagles Wings Ministry, ...Mending Wings, Son Tree Native Path, Tacoma First Nations, Reztoration Ministries, Indigenous Messengers, [and] White Eagle Ministries.” He described them as “active participants of this movement.”⁵⁹ Asbury Theological Seminary, in a formal partner relationship with NAIITS (2004), negotiated by Terry LeBlanc, agreed to seven full scholarship-non-resident spots for doctoral work.⁶⁰ These organizations all assumed an early innovator/adopter role in ROCM.

Organization 2 – World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People [WCGIP]

Monté (Ngati Pukenga, Ngaiterangi, Te Arawa-Māori) and Linda (Te Atiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui) Ohia, are credited with the idea and framework for gathering together

⁵⁸ “[T]he means by which messages get from one individual to another.” Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 18. Also, “Diffusion is a very social process that involves interpersonal communication relationships,” 19.

⁵⁹ Richard L. Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization Efforts in North America: 1989-2009,” 67. The copy I am using is the final approved copy sent for publication which Richard emailed to me.

⁶⁰ Personal conversation with Terry LeBlanc, Feb. 21, 2018. Other early negotiations are not developed here, but include the Religious Studies Department at McGill University and Sioux Falls Seminary.

Indigenous people involved in contextualization and reclamation. At the time of his sudden death in 2008, Monté was an electoral candidate for the Maori Party and a doctoral student. His doctorate in the field of education was awarded posthumously.⁶¹ Monte's thesis critiqued existing educational models for disregarding "the moral, ethical and spiritual elements foundational in Māori cultural life, in favour of more popular political explanations."⁶² The Ohias served as the first Keepers of the Vision until Monte's passing. Other Vision Keepers include Sam (Māori) and Thelma (Irish) Chapman, Richard (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) and Katherine Twiss (both U.S.), Ray and Sharon Minniecon (Kabi Kabi and Gurang-Gurang Nations, Australia), plus Terry and Beverly LeBlanc (Mi'kmaq/Acadian, Canada).⁶³ The inaugural WCGIP, hosted in Aotearoa in 1996,⁶⁴ had over 2000 people from 32 countries participating.⁶⁵ The Maori "expression *Kanohi kitea* or the 'seen face', which conveys the sense that being seen by the people—showing your face, turning up ... —cements your membership."⁶⁶ Thus, participants are considered members of WCGIP.

⁶¹ Selwyn Katene and Rahui Katene, eds., *Point of Order Mr Speaker?: Modern Maori Political Leaders* (Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand: Huia Publishers, 2017), Introduction.

⁶² University of Auckland, "Posthumous Doctorate awarded to outstanding leader in Māori education" (May 17, 2010), accessed Jan. 23, 2018, <http://www.education.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/news/news-2010/2010/05/18/Posthumous-Doctorate-awarded-to-outstanding-leader-in-Mori-education.html>.

⁶³ Terry LeBlanc, telephone conversation, Jan.23, 2018. He explained that the preposition in World Christian Gathering **on** Indigenous People took some time to clarify as the word 'on' was first used, then 'of'. Eventually 'on' was chosen.

⁶⁴ From Wiconi website (page dated 2012): World Christian Gathering of Indigenous Peoples, Wiconi International, accessed Dec. 3, 2017, <http://www.wiconi.com/index9440.html>. This site states the WCGIP Core Values, Mission and Vision Statements. See also video recording of The Inaugural World Gathering of Indigenous People," accessed Jan.24, 2018, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vxfMkE1s6aw>.

⁶⁵ Second World Christian Gathering of Indigenous People, (n.d.), accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.ad2000.org/re71215.htm>.

⁶⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 1999), 15.

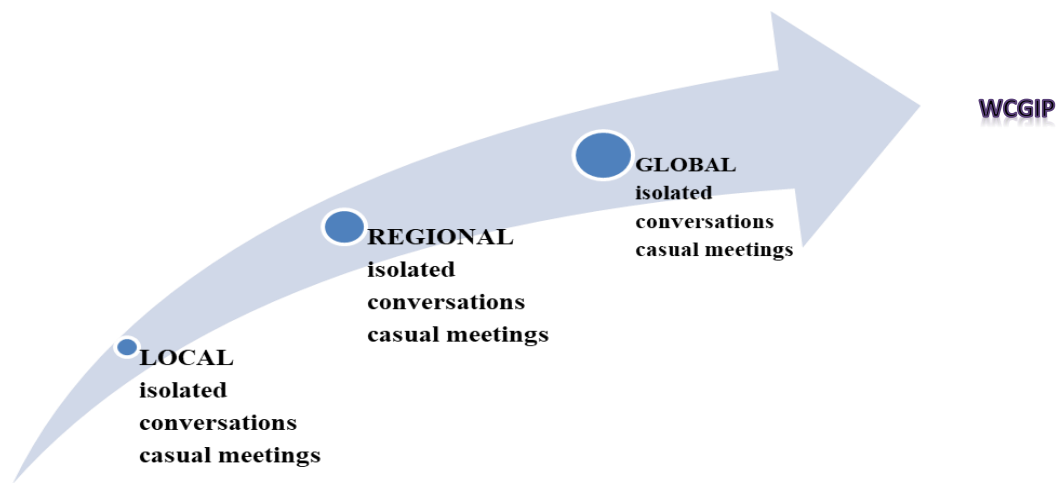


Figure 4.1. ROCM Networking: Casual conversations lead to innovation.

The Twiss and LeBlanc families co-hosted the second gathering in Rapid City, South Dakota, September 1998. An online advertisement describes the event as an opportunity for Indigenous people to celebrate unity and diversity, “to bring an offering of praise and worship to the Lord in culturally redeemed ways;” a global invitation “to grow in their faith and in methods of evangelism;” a time for reconciliation with God and their identity “to collectively explore cultural and linguistic formats to bridge the gaps between Jesus Christ and their people;” as well as repentance so God will “heal their lands.”⁶⁷

Organizers viewed those who gathered for WCGIP events as representing a partial fulfillment of Revelation’s concern (and prophesy) for the conversion of the nations, bringing the glory of the nations in their unique forms of worship—their regalia, stories, dances, musical instruments, and songs—in all their beauty before Creator and the other

⁶⁷ Second World Christian Gathering of Indigenous People, accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.ad2000.org/re71215.htm>.

nations, citing Rev. 14:6, 15:3, 21: 24- 26.⁶⁸ Opposition to the second gathering was clearly anticipated. The Wiconi website cautioned: “Because of the redemptive dynamic regarding native cultures, there will be a tremendous amount of spiritual warfare and heated opposition to the vision.”⁶⁹ Evangelical/conservative Christians (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) often vocally opposed reclaiming culture as unnecessary and spiritually dangerous. However, the Keepers of the Vision believed, “The redeeming of native cultures for the glory of God and building up of the Body of Christ among the nations of the earth has been held in check by the enemy for centuries. We see an emerging among native Christians occurring all over the earth. The fact that the first Nations of North America are hosting the gathering is significant.”⁷⁰ Moreover, “A growing number of leaders around the country believe that this event has the potential to break the authority of some significant [spiritual] strongholds in the land as it relates to native people and God's redemptive purposes for the nations.”⁷¹ The anticipated 10,000 attendees in 1998 never materialized;⁷² yet, this event fortified the participants and grew the ROCM.

⁶⁸ From Wiconi website (2012): World Christian Gathering on Indigenous Peoples, Wiconi International, accessed Dec. 3, 2017, <http://www.wiconi.com/index9440.html>.

⁶⁹ Ibid. This site also states the WCGIP Core Values and Vision Statement.

⁷⁰ Lower/Upper cases as in original.

⁷¹ Second World Christian Gathering of Indigenous People, online (n.d.), accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.ad2000.org/re71215.htm>.

⁷² On Aug. 29, 1998 over 6,000 pilots from Northwest Airlines went on strike, precluding my plans to attend. There are no records of how many attendees this affected. See Laurence Zuckerman, “Northwest Pilots Strike as Talks Fail on Contract,” *New York Times* (Aug. 29, 1998), accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/08/29/us/northwest-pilots-strike-as-talks-fail-on-contract.html>.

Table 4.2. WCGIP Events: 1996-2011⁷³

WCGIP GATHERING	LOCATION HOSTS	YEAR	ATTENDEES [approximate]
First	Māori Rotorua Aotearoa/New Zealand	1996	51 Indigenous Groups 2000 Attendees
Second	Native North Americans Grand Rapids, SD, USA	1998	37 Indigenous Groups 1200 Attendees
Third	Australian Aborigines Windsor Blue Mountains New South Wales, AU	2000	43 Indigenous Groups 970 Attendees
Fourth	People of the Kingdom of Hawaii Hilo and Honolulu Hawaiian Islands	2002	46 Indigenous Groups 870 ⁺ Attendees [Total both Locations]
Fifth	Saami of Scandinavia Kiruna, Sweden	2005	31 Indigenous Groups 350 ⁺ Attendees
Sixth	Tribal People of the Philippines Davao City, Philippines	2006	50 ⁺ Indigenous Groups 800 ⁺ Attendees
Seventh	Jewish People in Israel Israel [Monté Ohia passed away; Linda Ohia participated]	2008	50 Indigenous Groups 400 Attendees
Eighth	Māori Location 1: Rotorua, Hamilton Location 2: Auckland Aotearoa/New Zealand	2011	25 Indigenous Groups 270 Attendees 33 Indigenous Groups 450 Attendees
Ongoing	Young Adult Leaders forge a new path forward	2011 – Present	

Contextualization continued to be addressed at WCGIP workshops into 2011.⁷⁴

Due to discord at the leadership level surrounding the 2008 gathering and continuing into 2011, the second gathering to be hosted by Māori would be the last WCGIP to date. Each of the gatherings had particular spiritual themes and goals. A number of the adult children of the original Keepers of the Vision joined together to develop a new vision for a new

⁷³ In 2002 and 2011, the event was split into two separate locations; therefore, the totals will have some duplicate attendees given people who participated in both locations.

⁷⁴ Personal copy of program, Friday 14th January 2011: World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People (WCGIP) 2011, Sunday 9th January – Sunday 16th January 2011, Version 2, September 23, 2010.

generation. In a PowerPoint presentation prepared by Matt LeBlanc, Hannah Chapman, and Larissa Minniecon for a NAIITS Board meeting in 2012, they summarized the movement as *WCGIP: Past, Present, Future*. They projected the WCGIP journey would continue from dependency, “through the challenges of Independence,” and into “the desired future.”⁷⁵ “The desired future” expresses the goals of the next generation to restore “the intergenerational nature of our communities; Reconnecting the elders and the coming generations; Recovering the community-centred, child focused models of our people; Using the context, the place, including the family, as the primary focus of teaching/learning; Providing for continuity of our values and change in our methods.”⁷⁶ If I understand their intentions correctly, their goal has been to embrace not only a contextualized faith, but a fully contextualized lifestyle as they live out their lives as fully Indigenous and fully followers of the Jesus Way.

H.G. Barnett states: “Innovation does not result from the addition or subtraction of parts. It takes place only when there is a recombination of them.”⁷⁷ In this sense, cultural reclamation is “perceived to be new.” In this phase and context of the ROCM, the Ohias serve as Innovators; the other Keepers of the Vision serve as Change Agents.

Organization 3 - Wiconi International

Wiconi International [WI] is an American-based organization founded by Richard and Katherine Twiss in 1997 in Vancouver, Washington. The couple is profiled below as

⁷⁵ Matt LeBlanc, Hannah Chapman *et al.*, “WCGIP: Past, Present, Future;” PPT presentation from 2009, my files. Most of the data in the chart is extracted from the PPT slides. Matt is the son of Terry and Beverly LeBlanc. He provides leadership to iEmergence in North America and in the Philippines.

⁷⁶ The final lines read: “Moving beyond just the drums, feathers, dances and beads means we dig deeply into the values of our people, parsed by scripture to determine what our lives should reflect in the present.”

⁷⁷ H.G. Barnett, *Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change* (McGraw-Hill, 1953), 9.

Individual 2. Although Richard's name and presence overshadowed Katherine's in public and in literature, it is clear that WI succeeded due to her involvement.

WI intentionally sought to educate towards a greater capacity in the Church to welcome and respect Indigenous people, promoting integration of Indigenous forms of worship and leadership. Under WI, a number of initiatives served to advance both evangelization and reclamation of a healthier identity. Contextualization and innovation were at the forefront.

On the heels of the WCGIP in Rapid City, Wiconi International convened twenty 'Many Nations, One Voice' [MN1V] celebrations in eighteen cities across North American from 1999 to 2005, which served as significant catalytic events to introduce and promote these new ideas. Thousands of people attended these events ... many of whom then went home and began their own contextualization efforts in their local contexts.⁷⁸

Richard wrote, "One of the most important contributions to contextual ministry made by the MN1V Celebrations was they provided a national ministry platform for Native leaders. Leaders representing 29 different tribes and 28 ministries spoke at the events."⁷⁹ Moreover, they provided permission to pursue innovation in reclaiming culture. "Many people now involved in various contextual endeavors point to the MN1V gatherings as 'the' place where they felt affirmed, empowered and 'called' to pursue contextualizing the gospel in their unique local cultural contexts."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Sue Martell and Ray Martell, *Dreamcatching: Following in the footsteps of Richard Twiss* (Cleveland, TN: CPT Press, 2017), 62; quoting Richard Twiss, "Making Jesus Known in Knowable Ways," *Mission Frontiers*, (September-October, 2010), 8. I participated in one event with Monte and Linda in Ottawa.

⁷⁹ Twiss, "Native-led Contextualization," 139.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

“Dancing Our Prayers” was another innovation.⁸¹ Participants in these performing arts teams accompanied Richard globally.⁸² Richard’s booklet, *Dancing Our Prayers*, was published in 1998⁸³ as an apologia for contextualization. For Daniel LaPlante (Cheyenne), the concept of dancing prayers provided a way to both express prayer and to evangelize, which included an outreach in Salt Lake City at the 2002 Olympic Games.⁸⁴ Terry LeBlanc had a similar outreach called Dancing The Way.⁸⁵ Richard responded to an interviewer’s question about the meaning of dancing one’s prayers: “When I’m dancing in the pow-wow, every step is a prayer: I dance my prayers for the people. Sometimes I imagine my prayers, I fantasize my prayers; they’re not always audible. Sometimes my prayers are expressed in artistic ways.”⁸⁶ He explained how dancing is communal and is for those who cannot physically join:

⁸¹ The phrase originated with Daniel LaPlante (Cheyenne). Maria Scandale, “Dancing Our Prayers,” In His Strength Newsletter (May 2002), accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <http://inhisstrength.tripod.com/newsletter/id3.html>. This phrase is used by other ministries such as 4Fires which began in 2007. See 4Fires Ministries, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.4fires.org/dancing-our-prayers>. See also Mending Wings, Dancing Our Prayers, youth team, Facebook (last post 2013), accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/events/224877467681720>.

⁸² Richard had invited me to join the team to Peru, but I was prevented by my father’s death. I engaged in an e-mail conversation with him in Pakistan telling me of how he was able providentially to spend hours talking to a major Muslim leader about the Prince of Peace.

⁸³ Sue Martell, e-mail communication, Jan. 29, 2018. Sue Martel, former staff of WI and biographer of Richard. The booklet *Dancing Our Prayers* is described in a product overview: “Perspectives on Syncretism, Critical Contextualization and cultural Practices in First Nations Ministry. This booklet provides the reader with clear Biblical answers to the difficult questions being asked by Native believers today concerning the use of historical Native music, art, dance, symbolism, and ceremonial forms as legitimates expressions of Biblical worship. Can First Nations believers use their traditional style drums on Sunday morning? Can they write and arrange new worship choruses utilizing the traditional styles, sounds, and instruments of their tribal traditions? How about dance?” Richard Twiss, “Dancing Our Prayers,” Wiconi Resources, Wiconi International (1998), accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <http://store.fastcommerce.com/WiconiResources/dancing-our-prayers-by-richard-twiss-ff808081175e96dc01176560e2de7a3a-p.html>.

⁸⁴ “We dance our prayers,” he summed up, “Christians are praying people, and what better outlet than the dance?” Scandale, “Dancing Our Prayers.”

⁸⁵ This was a team of twelve dancers started in 2002, and then two teams for the years 2003-2008. Terry LeBlanc, interview with author, Tyndale University, Toronto, Feb. 21, 2018.

⁸⁶ Kate Rae Davis and Richard Twiss, “Dancing Prayers: An Interview with Richard Twiss,” in *The Other Journal: An Intersection of Theology & Culture*, The Seattle School of Theology & Psychology, no. 21:

When I'm dancing, sometimes more consciously than other times, I'm thinking about all the people who are sitting there and can't be here dancing. I'm not dancing to entertain them or to perform for them; I'm dancing to encourage them. I'm praying for them. My dances are my prayers, asking Creator to bless them, encourage them, heal them, help them, and a variety of other things. We say that every step is a prayer for the people.⁸⁷

A third WI innovation is the annual *Mni Wiconi Wacipi* "Living Waters Powwow" and Family Camp, started in 2004. It evolved into the Richard Twiss Memorial Powwow and Family Camp. It is "designed to be a place where campers can experience ... how to live out one's faith as followers of Jesus in an Indigenous context."⁸⁸ These three initiatives are samples of the innovations in the ROCM.⁸⁹

WI appointed Casey Church (Potawatomi), as interim director upon Richard's passing. WI changed to simply Wiconi when it joined Indigenous Pathways in 2016; Casey is the director. Lora (Dine/Navajo), his wife, and their children are dancers who participate in events with Casey. Sue and Ray Martell wrote, "Wiconi ... continues to reach out to Indigenous people, encouraging them to be who God created them to be as Native people and followers of Jesus, as Richard believed and lived."⁹⁰

Prayer Issue (December 10, 2012), accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://theotherjournal.com/2012/12/10/dancing-prayers-an-interview-with-richard-twiss/>.

⁸⁷ Communal is my word, interpreting his full response.

⁸⁸ Family Camp, Wiconi: Removing Barriers and Building Bridges, accessed Jan. 30, 2018; <https://www.wiconi.com/page-2/>. An additional innovation was a co-sponsored Northwest Native Women's Conference held twice. See Twiss, "Native-led Contextualization," 169.

⁸⁹ In 2011, Richard developed a vision paper with guiding values introducing a new innovation, Salmon Nation Internship House which he did not live to bring to fruition. He distributed a three page document entitled "Wiconi International," e-mailed to me Aug. 17, 2011.

⁹⁰ Sue Martell, e-mail correspondence, Jan. 29, 2018.

Organization 4 – Aboriginal Task Force, Evangelical Fellowship of Canada

Brian Stiller, as President of Evangelical Fellowship of Canada [EFC], addressed Sacred Assembly. Referencing Pauline’s story of hiding when men came to take her, threatening to imprison her father if she would not board the plane, Stiller avowed that while Evangelical denominations had not operated the Residential Schools, evangelicals are guilty of sins of omission.⁹¹ He stated that the Jesus he knew would never force a young girl to make a decision that would send her father to jail. This event increased Stiller’s awareness of Indigenous issues. He invited IFJ to form an Aboriginal Task Force [ATF] under EFC. In a side meeting, we considered and then accepted Stiller’s invitation. Wally McKay (Cree) and I were appointed as co-chairs by those present. Other initial members included Ray Aldred, Terry LeBlanc, Adrian Jacobs (Cayuga-Six Nations), and later Cheryl Bear—all of whom would be involved in the ROCM.⁹²

We began by framing our mandate. Members spoke of the need for reformation of relationships within churches. The word “reformation” struck some non-Indigenous EFC staff as too strong. We kept the word and expressed our mission: “To promote Christian unity among the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Community through Relationship, Reconciliation, and Reformation.” Our first task was responding to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP] Report—a herculean task considering the six

⁹¹ This is not entirely accurate. Both Baptist (Kenora, Ontario) and Mennonite (Whitehorse, NWT) are officially listed as Religious Affiliation for one school each. See Recognized Indian Residential Schools, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Canada, accessed Dec. 8, 2017, <https://www.aadncaandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015606/1100100015611>.

⁹² Other members included Dean Shingoose (Saulteaux), Mavis Etienne (Mohawk), Larry Wilson (Cree), James Kallapa (Makah), Bruce Brown (Haida), Joe Elkerton (Chipewyan), and Larry Sault (Mohawk).

large bound volumes. I served as editor and included Pauline's story.⁹³ This written work foreshadowed a future of writing and editing for a number of the ATF team.

In 2004, the EFC morphed the task force into the Aboriginal Ministry Council [AMC] with Ray Aldred and I continuing as co-chairs until Ray assumed the role as chair. Cheryl Bear and others joined the council. Our work included trips to Parliament in Ottawa, meetings with politicians, and presentations to denominational leaders. In 2012 the council members determined we had met all the goals we would likely meet and voted to disband. Reformation within Evangelical churches seemed a pipe dream; yet, EFC continues to consult with some of us as needed. In October 2017, Aileen van Ginkel, Vice-President of Ministry Services, requested that we meet with denominational representatives at the Canadian Mennonite University. Larry Wilson (Cree) and I attended as advisors (along with NAIITS board member, Shari Russell, and Pastor A). Fifteen denominations had sent representatives. The topic focused on reconciliation in response to the TRC's Calls to Action. There is a seven member Next Steps working group (including Shari Russell and me) who will be attending the 2018 NAIITS Symposium as the first next-step. A number of the ATF occasionally write for the magazine *Faith Today* (working partner with EFC). The January/February 2018 issue includes articles by Cheryl Bear and by me on the theme of reconciliation.

ATF-EFC has been included as an innovation which ties individuals and organizations into the network of the ROCM's narratives, initiatives, and theologizing. The ATF provided the team members opportunities to network nationally and to hone skills which advance the ROCM agenda.

⁹³ Wendy Peterson, "The Prayer God Could Not Answer," in Wendy Peterson, gen. ed., RCAP Report, The Aboriginal Task Force of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (Markham, ON, 2000).

Organization 5 – NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community

Also of great importance to me is to assist in forming an international coalition of Indigenous leaders world-wide, to be vitally involved in developing a coalition for the formation of a North American Native theology, examining from a theological, missiological, anthropological, and historical perspective, the place of redeeming Native culture for the purposes of reaching lost Native people and equipping the church to become all God intends for her to be.

–Richard Twiss, 1996

There are two primary reasons for the creation of NAIITS. The first is grounded in a lack of Indigenous generated theological resources. The second is “in response to the inability of the Christian evangelical church to include Indigenous North Americans in a manner that affirmed who their Creator has shaped them to be.”⁹⁴ Globally, the shield of syncretism is quickly wielded to protect Western Christianity from adaptation by and integration of its Indigenous siblings. “The struggle for equality on the part of Native Christian leaders in the dominant culture church today is part of a longstanding historical stream of resistance, one with very little success to show for it, particularly in theology.”⁹⁵ Other reasons include the need for an educational delivery system more suited to Indigenous realities and informed of on-reserve challenges. Christian churches and academic institutions failed IFJ in their inflexibility and self-assurance. “It is the inherent distrust of all things indigenous that First Nations theologians are challenging, and correcting ... Western evangelical propositionalism that assumes that one’s own statements are the essence of eternal truth precludes any ability to change to account for new information or context.”⁹⁶ However, the decisive impetus for founding the North

⁹⁴ “NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community,” a digital promotional document emailed to me by Terry LeBlanc, Dec. 4, 2017, 1.

⁹⁵ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 170.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

American Institute for Indigenous Theological Education: NAIITS resulted from opposition to contextualization—specifically, the U.S. publication of a policy paper entitled “Boundary Lines.”⁹⁷ The comprehensive document is printed in the first NAIITS Journal.⁹⁸ It is accompanied by two brief documents: “CHIEF, A Biblical Position by Native Leaders on Native Spirituality,”⁹⁹ and “A Biblical position by the Native American Fellowship of the Assemblies of God on the Presentation of the Gospel within the Context of Native Cultures.”¹⁰⁰ This triad of position papers opposed to contextualization was intended to smother the Indigenous contextualization movement in its infancy. The first document sought to set “both theological and cultural guidelines” with the key question posed being, “Do you believe that the teaching of redeeming of sacred objects used in traditional or contemporary Native American animistic practices and worship constitute unbiblical, heretical, and false doctrine?”¹⁰¹ The issue was not culture per se, but rather *spiritual* culture. The dilemma is that lacking a westernized dichotomy, IFJ relate everything to the spiritual realm.

⁹⁷ Craig S. Smith, “Boundary Lines: The Issue of Christ, Indigenous Worship, and Native American Culture,” Report of the Native Theological Task Force, *Journal of North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies: NAIITS*, 1 (2003), 101-139. This document is addressed also by Terry LeBlanc and Jeanine LeBlanc Lowe, “Missions and Primal Religions: Case Study on Contextual Mission, Indigenous Context,” in *Witnessing to Christ in a Pluralistic Age: Christian Mission among Other Faiths*, ed. Lalsangkima Pachuau and Knud Jorgenson (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 231f.

⁹⁸ Smith, “Boundary Lines.” It self-identifies as the work of the C&MA [Christian and Missionary Alliance, U.S.] for its members and the wider Evangelical community, 102f.

⁹⁹ C.H.I.E.F., “CHIEF, A Biblical Position by Native Leaders on Native Spirituality” (April 2, 1998), *Journal of North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies: NAIITS*, 1 (2003), 141-143. This presents a statement of seven “We Believe” affirmations.

¹⁰⁰ Native American Fellowship of Assemblies of God, “A Biblical position by the Native American Fellowship of the Assemblies of God on the presentation of the Gospel within the Context of Native Cultures” (Albuquerque, NM: n.p., Oct.31, 1998), *Journal of North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies: NAIITS*, 1 (2003), 145-6.

¹⁰¹ Smith, “Boundary Lines,” CHIEF134f. The position paper did allow for some cultural forms to be used as a bridge to evangelism (p. 136).

The first symposium formed an initial defence of contextualization and pointed to a healthier way forward. “Since its conception in the late 1990s, and organizational birth in the year 2001, NAIITS has become a well-recognized and well-respected group of Indigenous women and men (and non-Indigenous colleagues) dedicated to the advancement of Indigenous people within the wider compass of those who follow the Jesus way.”¹⁰² Journalist Sue Careless covered the inaugural symposium, noting 150 people attended. She wrote: “Participants, including native and non-native missionaries, theologians, pastors and scholars from many denominations, wrestled with vexing questions about cultural practices that may water down spiritual truths, and teachings by Christians that unnecessarily denigrate native culture.”¹⁰³ She interviewed a professor who said: “The anglo-hermeneutical community should trust the new, emerging aboriginal community that the Bible is their text too. ... We should be in dialogue.”¹⁰⁴ The Journal of NAIITS has documented each symposium.

The founding board of directors consisted of Terry LeBlanc, Richard Twiss, Ray Aldred, Cheryl Bear Barnetson, Cornelius Buller (non-Indigenous), Adrian Jacobs, Steve Cheramierisingson (Biloxi-chittamacha), and Wendy Peterson.¹⁰⁵ Terry served as board chair and director alongside his role as director of My People International [MPI] until

¹⁰² LeBlanc, “NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community,” 3.

¹⁰³ Sue Careless, “Not a White Man’s Religion,” *Christian Week*, January 8, 2002; accessed Feb. 1, 2018, <http://www.christianweek.org/not-a-white-mans-religion/>. (*Christian Week* no longer publishes in hard copy.)

¹⁰⁴ Michael Fullingim, Oklahoma Wesleyan University, in Sue Careless, “Not a White Man’s Religion.”

¹⁰⁵ As listed in *The Journal of NAIITS*, 1, p. iii. LeBlanc, Buller, and Peterson signed the organizational documents submitted to government. The early ethos of NAIITS is captured in the story of how Cheryl became a founding member. At the end of the first symposium, as the board gathered on stage for a group photo, Richard called, “Cheryl, get up here.” Thus, Bear joined the board. Later board members have included Randy Woodley, Casey Church, and Gavriel Gefen (Jewish).

2010.¹⁰⁶ He assumed the role of Executive Director of the newly created Indigenous Pathways [IP] in 2016, with NAIITS being one of the four families of ministries under his directorship. As of 2017, the Board of Directors consists of Ray Aldred, Cheryl Bear, Shari Russell, Joe Dion (Cree), Marc Levasseur (Algonquin Metis), Siouxsan Robinson (Lakota/Blackfoot), Andrea Smith (Cherokee-Ojibway), and Wendy Peterson.

Annual symposiums remain at the heart of the NAIITS community. “Finding little in print that addressed the theological, biblical and missiological issues at hand, this small band determined to gather a group of people together to explore and write on the issue of contextualization of culture and faith.”¹⁰⁷ Hence, the NAIITS community was founded on the need for self-theologizing and theological education. Perhaps the most important initial development in NAIITS has been the seminal partnership with Asbury Theological Seminary [ATS]. We believe it is the first N.A. educational partnership where one side is Indigenous. ATS professors Daryl Whiteman and Eunice Irwin served as adopters and diffusers of NAIITS goals as well as change agents in supporting the relationship that resulted in Richard, Randy, Terry, and Roger Boyer (Mississauga Anishinaabe) completing doctoral programs. I am the last of five who, by written agreement, received scholarships without adhering to full residency requirements in the E. Stanley Jones School of Mission and Evangelism.¹⁰⁸ The intent is to demonstrate that Indigenous students can perform well while remaining in their communities. Partnering with

¹⁰⁶ MPI was launched in 2001 also. It and NAIITS amalgamated in 2007. In 2016, IP was formed with My People [MP], NAIITS, iEmergence and Wiconi functioning under one Executive Director, Terry, who also serves as the director of NAIITS.

¹⁰⁷ Terry LeBlanc, “NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community,” promotional document, 1.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix 6 for a list of dissertation topics and books based on those topics. One other person, the sixth, pursued a degree through London School of Theology and moved to University of Toronto. A seventh was rejected.

educational institutions has remained a central strategy as evidenced by the co-hosts of the fourteen symposiums.¹⁰⁹ In forging other partnerships, NAIITS has graduated seventeen students in masters programs, has thirty-six students enrolled in masters degrees and five in doctoral degree programs as of January 2018. Jeanine LeBlanc's 2008 case study¹¹⁰ and Christine Folch's 2016 analysis¹¹¹ provide insights into the strengths and weaknesses in NAIITS.

In 2013 we changed the organizational name to retain only the acronym as we added community development programs to the theological emphasis. In 2015 we published a bi-lingual paper which led to the current name—NAIITS: *An Indigenous Learning Community / Une Communauté Autochtone D'apprentissage*. The Elijah Harper Scholarship was established in 2016. The following figure illustrates the progress.

¹⁰⁹ Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg, MB; William and Catherine Booth College, Winnipeg, MB; Crestmont College, Crestmont, CA; Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY; Sioux Falls Seminary, Sioux Falls, SD; Trinity Western University, Langley, BC; Portland Seminary (formerly George Fox), Newberg, OR; Ambrose Theological Seminary, Calgary, AB; Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL; Tyndale University College and Seminary, Toronto, ON; and in 2018, Acadia University, Wolfville, NS.

¹¹⁰ Jeanine LeBlanc, "Walking 'The Good Red Road': NAIITS, The Obstacles it Faces and How They are being Overcome," *Journal of NAIITS* 6 (2008): 5-20. Jeanine is Terry and Bev's daughter.

¹¹¹ Christine Folch, "Reflections and Vindications: Looking to NAIITS' Past for Wisdom for the Future," *Journal of NAIITS*, vol. 14 (2016), 7-22, 9f. She categorizes symposium topics (emphasis in original): "NAIITS' history may be thought of as a movement between four stages: 1) it began by **defending contextualization** [May 2001; recorded in Volume 1]; 2) and then, bolstered by this defense, moved into experimenting with what **self-theologizing** might look like (these theologies are pragmatic, historically-nuanced, and prophetic) [May 2003-June 2011; recorded in Volumes 2-9]; 3) after a few years, NAIITS was confronted with the limits of a contextualization defense-oriented conversation, experiencing something of **contextualization fatigue** [June 2012; recorded in Volume 10]; 4) and now, it has moved into a time where NAIITS initiates **discussions on topics of interest to Indigenous communities, Indigenous Christians, and Indigenous academics** [June 2013 – June 2015; Volumes 10-13]."

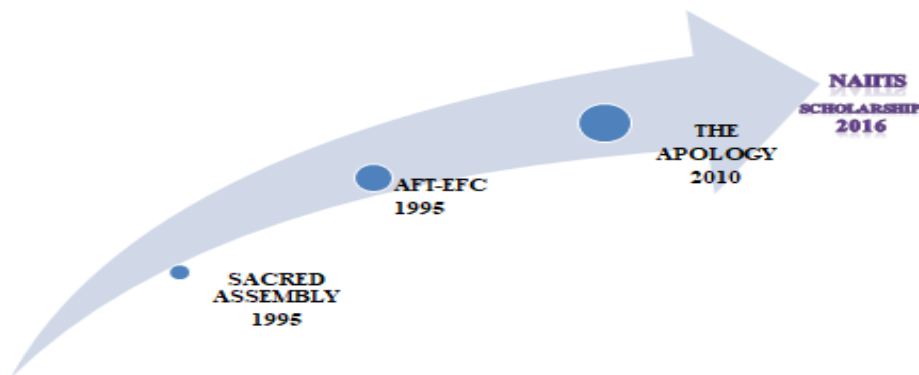


Figure 4.3. Diffusion: The Legacy of Elijah Harper.

The following year, due to ongoing engagement with Ray Minniecon, NAIITS “Down Under” was launched, offering a Masters and Ph.D. through Whitley College, University of Melbourne, Australia.¹¹² An undergraduate program is forthcoming in Fall 2018 at Providence University College (Manitoba).

Individuals

Contextualization or indigenization is the “encounter between gospel and human contexts.”¹¹³ It is the task of interpreting or putting “the gospel into human contexts so that it is understood properly but does not become captive to these contexts.”¹¹⁴ Paul Hiebert states there are three views of contextualization: (1) Noncontextualization and Minimal Contextualization are treated as the same view; (2) Uncritical Contextualization

¹¹² NAIITS “Down Under” and Whitley College, accessed Feb. 23, 2018, www.naiits.com. It was launched in July 2017.

¹¹³ Paul Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts: Anthropological Explorations for Contemporary Missions* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Academic, 2009), 13.

¹¹⁴ Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts*.

and Radical Contextualization are the second view; and, (3) Critical Contextualization is his preferred view.¹¹⁵ The first is rooted in theological positivism and grounded in one's own culture. It is the prevailing view that dominated/controls the presentation of the gospel to First Nations peoples. The second values dynamic equivalencies in translating scripture, and moves to contextualization in the sending culture. The third is a move away from equating the gospel with a culture and seeing the gospel as localized and yet reflecting a universal reality.¹¹⁶ Hiebert states: "we need to develop metacultural grids that enable us to evaluate different worldviews, to translate between them, and to negotiate between them."¹¹⁷ I would contend that Indigenous peoples have been forced to walk in at least two worldviews so are positioned to see through a metacultural grid—yet, for Indigenous followers of Jesus, have been permitted one option—to be considered "Christian," their mode of worship must be Western in content and appearance.

Michael Rynkiewich, Asbury Theological Seminary, introduced his class to the idea that the Apostle Paul was in fact an innovator. Citing Acts 22:1-6 and 6-16, Rynkiewich states,

It is not an initial experience of faith, and not exactly a change from one faith to another faith. Paul was involved in innovation. Note that he was not immediately accepted, nor did he immediately fit in. All of his life he had to struggle both against the Jews and the Christians to get his innovations accepted.

His conversion experience introduced a new set of data and demanded a recombination of elements and relationships. He made a conscious decision that changed his life, from a particularized Jewish faith to a more universal Jewish-Christian faith.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts*, 19-29.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26-27. A summarization of this section.

¹¹⁷ Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts*, 28.

¹¹⁸ Michael Rynkiewich, Class Notes for MB700 Introduction to Anthropology, Fall semester, 2007.

Twiss, his student, presented a similar idea in that “the ‘sweat lodge’ is an ancient ritual, but the way it is being used by these followers of Jesus within the Native evangelical community is considered a new thing.”¹¹⁹

Contemporary contextualization, as represented in the Reclamation of Culture Movement, is driven by the loss of identity through colonialism combined with the damage done by governments empowering themselves to provide Indigenous peoples with an imposed identity. It is also driven by a desire to see Indigenous peoples as disciples of Jesus Christ and fully integrated into the life of the Church. Rejecting assimilation in Western modes of worship, Indigenous reclaimers of culture desire above all else to live integrated lives as fully Indigenous and fully Christian. For IFJ, “the problem with colonial missions is that the gospel had become captive to 17th and 18th century contexts.”¹²⁰ The individuals introduced here are choosing a different path to self-identity and influence. Three individuals (two as couples) have been selected as representative of those who have grown the ROCM. Individual 1, Pauline, was highlighted in Chapter Three.

Individual 2 - Richard and Katherine Twiss

Richard Twiss (1954-2013) self-identified as Sicangu Lakota Oyate from Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. His Lakota name is *Taoyate Ob Najin* (He Stands with His People). Richard’s journey—which is documented in *One Church, Many Tribes*, in his dissertation,¹²¹ and online in video format—included a childhood lived with

¹¹⁹ Richard L. Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization Efforts in North America” (D.Miss. dissertation, Asbury Theological Seminary, August 2011), 127.

¹²⁰ Terry LeBlanc, Personal conversation, February 20, 2018.

¹²¹ Richard Twiss, *One Church, Many Tribes: Following Jesus the Way God Made You* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 2000). Also see section “My Story” in Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 98ff.

his single mother on Rosebud Reservation, followed by moves to poverty areas in cities. He came to lament “legislative social engineering” as an “ignoble scheme”¹²² that negatively impacted his family by moving Native Americans to urban centers. His young adult years included a political activist period in the American Indian Movement (including the 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C.), animosity towards White oppressors, and a 1974 dramatic conversion to Jesus Christ on a beach in Hawaii. A move to Alaska followed his conversion where he met and married Katherine. He became a pastor and together they spent a short period on Rosebud Reserve, eventually settling in Vancouver, WA, where they created Wiconi International. After his passing, Katherine described Richard: “He had an amazing ability to deliver a hard truth in the robe of humor He was able to speak as a truth teller and state things as they were. But he was not poisoned by anger.”¹²³ Richard credits Katherine in 2011 for her role in WI: “My wife Katherine and I have been married for 32 years and we have four sons. Together we lead an organization, Wiconi International”¹²⁴ This is not tokenism as he made clear in his statement, “I am deeply grateful for you and what we have forged together.”¹²⁵ Cheryl Bear wrote about her first encounter with Katherine: “The first speaker I heard was Katherine Twiss. ... She was so eloquent. I even remember what she was wearing. It was a powerful moment.”¹²⁶ Richard describes the early elation

¹²² Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 99f.

¹²³ Danny Moran, “Life story: Richard Twiss, Pastor and Author, wove Native American heritage into Christianity,” *Oregonian/OregonLive* (Mar. 2, 2013), accessed Jan. 29, 2018, http://www.oregonlive.com/clark-county/index.ssf/2013/03/life_story_richard_twiss_pastor.html.

¹²⁴ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 251. “Since 1990, my wife Katherine and I, through the organization we founded in 1997 ... have played a key role in the innovation and diffusion of current contextualization efforts in North America,” 139.

¹²⁵ Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel*, dedication page.

¹²⁶ Cheryl Bear, text message, February 6, 2018.

experienced in the burgeoning movement of two events: Sacred Fire (Florida) and Many Nations One Voice.

Three months after the Rapid City Gathering, twenty of us First Nations national ministry leaders met in Florida to discuss how to keep the momentum going Some in attendance were my wife Katherine and I, Terry Leblanc, Lynda Prince, Suuqiina We decided to hold a series of North American conferences patterned after the WCGIP to promote this new contextual approach to Native ministry that was beginning to grow

The first event was held four months later (April 1999) in Kansas City, Missouri and it was called the *Many Nations One Voice Celebration* (MN1V). More than 300 people attended from across Canada and the United States. Much of the excitement and enthusiasm from Rapid City carried over and several dozen again wore their traditional powwow dance outfits and danced with great joy and freedom during the extended and free-flowing worship times. Lynda Prince had commissioned the making of 120 hand-drums Jonathan Maracle played the large drum ... as the 120 were randomly distributed to people in the crowd played in time with him, creating a dynamic sound that filled the building and hearts of all the people there. People ... went back to their local communities/churches across the land and convened similar gatherings Often, it was these early innovator leaders who were invited to speak and/or lead the music worship times at these new gatherings.¹²⁷

Richard published a study guide in 1996 to teach others to develop their own contextual models, *Christ, Culture and Kingdom Seminar Study Guide – Presenting Biblical Principles for Native Ministry that Honor God, His People and His Creation*.¹²⁸ In 2000, he became chair of the WCGIP; he also chaired NAIITS from 2010 until his passing in 2013. He titled a NAIITS presentation on his doctoral work, “Rescuing Theology from the Cowboys.” It would be reframed as *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys: A Native American Expression of the Jesus Way*—published posthumously.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 138. Terry LeBlanc named the Florida event as “Sacred Fire.” Terry LeBlanc, interview by author, Tyndale University, Toronto, Feb. 21, 2018.

¹²⁸ He stated that he used it for seven years. Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 168f.

¹²⁹ Richard Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys: A Native American Expression of the Jesus Way*, ed. Sue Martell with Ray Martell (Grand Rapids, MI: IVP Books, 2017).

One month to the day before Richard walked-on, I spent a few hours in his office with him. He rifled through his cupboards and drawers, generously offering a box filled with posters, videos, and papers—memories of his journey through the early years of the ROCM. Often, he would stop and comment, “I had forgotten about this” while holding a poster, a gift, or a note from someone. When I entered that same office following his memorial, I saw a diagram of consecutive circles drawn on the white board. Richard had been thinking through the levels of integration of Native culture as evidenced by degrees of reclaimed culture.¹³⁰ My interpretation follows: The inner circle represents “fully integrated,” in public and private—practicing private smudging, for example. The second circle is “mostly integrated” in that the person dances in powwows, is involved in “tribal society” and language learning. The “mild” circle occupants may have received a Native name, may be learning a tribal language, and may dance in private. The outer circle read “surface (pansy).” This level of involvement references “tribal affiliation?”, “listening to CDs?”, and wearing [Native] jewelry. The question marks and notations point to a work in progress.¹³¹

In a 1993 sermon Richard spoke of a vision he had a year or so after committing his life to Jesus Christ: “I saw myself before great crowds, being a leader of people. I saw myself being used in substantial ways in the Christian Native American community.”¹³²

¹³⁰ Traditional elements of ROCM include some or all of the following: living on the land and hunting, harvesting medicines, wearing and/or making traditional clothing, beadwork, language learning, music, dance, community gatherings (e.g. powwow and pot latch), Indigenous art, educational methodology, and recognizing values such as the Seven Sacred Teachings (respect, honour/honesty, truth, wisdom, love, bravery/courage, humility), also known as the Seven Sacred Grandfather Teachings or The 7 Sacred Laws. Traditionally, each teaching is embodied by an animal. See “The 7 Sacred Teachings,” The Sharing Circle, accessed Dec. 4, 2017, http://www.thesharingcircle.com/sacred_teachings.html.

¹³¹ I asked permission from the office personnel to photograph the white board. My interpretation stems from those pictures.

¹³² Martell and Martell, *Dreamcatching*, 28; quoting Richard Twiss, “Following God’s Dream for Your Life” (sermon presented at New Discovery Community Church, Vancouver, WA, Feb. 1993).

At his passing, Richard had fulfilled the roles of son, brother, husband, father, grandfather, friend; activist, pastor, scholar, international educator, entertainer, author, and speaker before great crowds; an IFJ used in substantial ways in Indigenous communities globally. The 1000 plus individuals from numerous countries who attended his memorial on March 10, 2013, attest to God's faithfulness to Richard's vision.

Individual 3 - Terry and Beverly LeBlanc

Terry and Bev LeBlanc (Mi'kmaq-Acadian) have been married for over 40 years. They have a son Matt, who serves as director of iEmergence, a ministry of Indigenous Pathways, and twin daughters who are faculty with NAIITS. Jeanine is a Ph.D. student at University of Alberta; Jennifer works at the Mi'kmaq Wolastoqey Centre, University of New Brunswick. Terry and Bev live in Prince Edward Island, having formerly lived in Manitoba and Alberta. As a couple, they began their journey in Indigenous ministry in 1979, with Terry working full-time in various organizations. He was ordained in 1983. He is the founding chair and director of NAIITS. Terry earned a Ph.D. through the Asbury-NAIITS agreement (which seems to have been dissolved). He teaches in areas as wide spread geographically as Acadia University in Canada, Portland Seminary in U.S., and Whitley College in Australia. He has served Inter-Varsity Canada on its board, spoken at Urbana, and has been honored with numerous awards.¹³³ Terry has learned asset-based community development and reconciliation process. His community related service includes his appointment as Elder of the B.E.D. Program at Tyndale University College and Seminary where is he is modeling new delivery systems for indigenized

¹³³ Awards include the Dr. E.H. Johnson Memorial Award for Innovation in Mission (in recognition of NAIITS), the Distinguished Christian Leader award from Providence Theological Seminary, and the honorary Doctor of Divinity from Acadia University.

education.¹³⁴ As Executive Director of Indigenous Pathways, Terry oversees NAIITS, My People, iEmergence, and Wiconi. He writes and travels extensively.

This brief biography does not adequately capture the influence of the LeBlanc family—especially Bev’s—in the ROCM. Terry’s contributions have been braided into every phase of innovation and diffusion in this chapter. He, Richard, and Adrian Jacobs co-authored the first article in the first NAIITS Journal entitled “Culture, Christian Faith, and Error.”¹³⁵ The article has longevity and is rooted in the deep relationships these three men and their families forged over a decade of discussions and innovation. Terry has served as a primary innovator, inventor, and recruiter—tying others into the ROCM and advocating for new paths forward to all who will listen (and even those who choose not to hear), pushing hard for transformation. This is evident beyond the shores of N.A. In Australia, Ray Minniecon enlisted Terry to create NAIITS “Down Under.” It has just emerged from its cocoon and is drying its wings. Hannah Chapman, Māori, writes:

I've watched [Uncle Terry] sow seeds for years in communities like ours in Aotearoa ... chipping away at “the establishment” and encouraging the hearts of the indigenous people in order to bring this vision about. It's often at great personal sacrifice and sometimes without bearing tangible fruit. However, the intangible can never be underestimated—the transformed hearts and minds of the people and communities he serves.¹³⁶

NAIITS marches and, at times, stumbles forward. We do have our weaknesses; one is communication.

In terms of communicating the innovation of NAIITS more effectively, there is certainly room for growth in this organization. There is a definite need to

¹³⁴ Terry’s community service activities include application of asset-based community development and reconciliation process; his appointment as Elder of the B.E.D. Program at Tyndale University College and Seminary; and international conversations and speaking engagements.

¹³⁵ Adrian Jacobs, Richard Twiss, Terry LeBlanc, “Culture, Christian Faith and Error,” *Journal of NAIITS* 1 (2003), 5-36.

¹³⁶ Hannah Chapman, e-mail correspondence, Feb. 6, 2018.

communicate in a manner that allows for “trialability” (learning by doing), “observability” (with the innovation being visible to others), and in a way that addresses the issue of “complexity.” The lack of communication may be overcome when the loose networks are continually brought closer and after some of the PhD students have graduated, giving them more time to commit to NAIITS. This may allow for more “observability.”¹³⁷

Since Jeanine wrote this, communication *about* NAIITS has improved greatly; communication *within* NAIITS (board members, students, and community levels) requires improvement. In part, this is due to busyness, but is also affected by a lack of financial resources for hiring staff.¹³⁸ A redistribution of responsibilities should be undertaken by the board to alleviate Terry from raising all the finances. It is my perception that Terry has advanced NAIITS through personal sacrifice (a position with which he will disagree), but not only NAIITS. He has researched, innovated, steered, cheered, and negotiated the path forward for countless individuals who have sought post-graduate education compatible with Indigenous prerequisites. Cheryl agrees. “Terry has done *all* the work, and has made us look good.”¹³⁹ Shari Russell modifies that by noting others who contribute, but essentially agrees on his contribution.¹⁴⁰

Each person in NAIITS has brought their giftedness to serve in attaining the same goal. For example, Katherine Twiss claims that Ray Aldred is the scholar; Terry LeBlanc is the statesman; Adrian Jacobs, the poet.¹⁴¹ Adrian responded through poetry to his and

¹³⁷ Jeanine LeBlanc, “Walking ‘The Good Red Road,’” 19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 20f. The addition of Gene Green to NAIITS staff assures better communication going forward.

¹³⁹ Cheryl Bear, telephone conversation, Feb. 6, 2018. Emphasis is Cheryl’s. Katherine frequently said, “It takes a lot of people to make Richard Twiss.” It has taken many support people to make Terry as well, as noted by Shari Russell. Shari Russell, interview by author, Tyndale University, Toronto, Feb. 20, 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Personal conversation with Shari Russell (board member and treasurer of NAIITS), Tyndale University, Toronto, Feb. 20, 2018. Shari emphasised the role the NAIITS Journal has played.

¹⁴¹ Katherine Twiss, telephone conversation, Feb. 6, 2018. This is not to say others are not scholars. Other contributions: Cheryl is the musician and storyteller; Randy is the activist; Andrea Smith is brilliant at projecting necessary indigenization strategies for the academy.

our grief over the loss of Richard. One stanza that stands out in capturing the relationship of four or five NAIITS men who have played essential roles in ROCM (and who had their battles, but who, according to Katherine, “Have aged out of their egos”¹⁴²) reads;

One year ago today a colleague of ours fell
He was doing all that he did best
Speaking, joking, singing and drumming
Making all of us jealous and proud.¹⁴³

In losing Richard Twiss, “we lost our rock star.”¹⁴⁴ Terry, who ministered to Richard and his family as Richard passed, has stabilized and grown NAIITS in the aftermath of the tragedy and kept us moving forward in a good way.

Individual 4 – Cheryl Bear

Cheryl Bear self-identifies as Nadleh Whut’ en from the Dakelh Nation and Dumdenyoo Clan (Bear clan).¹⁴⁵ She has completed a D.Min at Fuller, co-founded a Native Church and Bible College while ordained with The Foursquare Church, is a band councillor (First Nations political position), and an associate professor at Regent College (Vancouver, B.C.). She is the vice-chair of Indigenous Pathways. Moreover, she is an award-winning musician and song writer,¹⁴⁶ who travels internationally speaking and performing at both Indigenous and non-Indigenous events. She and her family have visited over 600 of the 1000 reserves and reservations in N.A. with her humour-filled, hope-filled, and Jesus-filled messages. Her three grown sons were home schooled as their

¹⁴² Katherine Twiss, telephone conversation, Feb. 6, 2018.

¹⁴³ Adrian Jacob, untitled poem, (Jan. 6, 2013), Facebook post, Feb. 5, 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Cheryl Bear, telephone conversation, Feb. 6, 2018.

¹⁴⁵ The Canadian government had called her people Carrier, an example of reclaiming identity.

¹⁴⁶ “Three Indigenous People’s Choice music awards, two Covenant Awards and a Native American Music Award.” Cheryl Bear, accessed Feb. 6, 2018; cherylbear.com.

family traveled. She has accomplished all of this in spite of family tragedy when a child. Her mother is a Residential School survivor.

Cheryl's "doctoral work presents an approach to First Nations ministry from the foundations of an indigenous worldview and values. She believes that leaders who are more fully informed about Native beliefs, values, and practices will see a dramatic increase in their effectiveness in ministering to indigenous people in North America."¹⁴⁷ This work has prepared Cheryl for engaging with global audiences, since "the practical missiological and theological principles explored can be implemented in any cross-cultural ministry context."¹⁴⁸

Music is one avenue for contextualization and reclamation which penetrates beyond a surface level to root deep in the heart.¹⁴⁹ She credits Richard with her song-writing style. They first met in Uclulet, B.C. where he was speaking and her team performing. She explains, "Richard asked me questions that changed the course of my life."¹⁵⁰ Those questions spurred Cheryl to rethink music: "Richard asked, 'Why don't Native people write their own songs?'" So, she did. He then added, "But, why don't our Native people write songs using our own style and instruments?" So, she does. Cheryl innovates, and she influences change at the global, regional, and local levels.

In the years I have known Cheryl I have lost count of the tragic deaths that have impacted her life. On her website, she states, "our people go from grief to grief because

¹⁴⁷ Bear, cherylbear.com.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ "In 1995 a Mohawk musician, Jonathan Maracle, wrote a song that was selected for use in the national *March for Jesus* soundtrack used all across Canada that utilized some Mohawk words, drumming and style." The WCGIP in 1999 opened Jonathon's perspective further. See Twiss, "Native-led Contextualization," 161f.

¹⁵⁰ Cheryl Bear, telephone conversation, Feb. 6, 2018.

our families are huge There is such a beauty and complexity in our story.”¹⁵¹ Cheryl does not run from grief. She attended most of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission events and addresses the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous girls and women (in song and teaching) from having lost friends and acquaintances to this violence.¹⁵² Cheryl is active at the sociopolitical level, as every band councilor is since First Nations remain in a fiduciary relationship to Canada and given the corporate desire to extract resources. This informs her response to The Apology. Cheryl wrote “Indigenous people have been negotiating with Canada for hundreds of years. Yet we still feel Canadian paternalism, misunderstanding, and racism. If an apology is only words, with no changed behaviour, then it is meaningless. And if reconciliation is desired, there must be restitution.”¹⁵³ In a recent article, she explained:

The reason we are talking about reconciliation is because of the residential school survivors who decided as a part of their settlement they wanted Truth and Reconciliation events across Canada. They courageously wanted Canada to hear and understand their stories, and they also wanted reconciliation. The victims of brutal crimes asked for reconciliation. There’s some grace. In writing this I feel like there should be a *selah* placed here so we take some time to reflect on this.¹⁵⁴

Opposition to Reclamation and Contextualization

Four centuries ago George Dunne wrote, “It is the duty of [human] instrumentalities to put no obstacles in the way of the operation of grace, and to scorn no means, provided in itself good, which might serve, by whatever winding ways, to carry

¹⁵¹ Cheryl Bear, homepage, accessed Feb. 6, 2018; cherylbear.com

¹⁵² In her work in inner city Vancouver, B.C., the notorious Downtown Eastside, she personally knew women murdered in the Robert Pickton case, “the largest serial killer investigation [65 women, 1995-2001] in Canadian history.” See “Robert Pickton Case, *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed Feb. 25, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/robert-pickton-case/>.

¹⁵³ Cheryl Bear, text correspondence, Dec 8, 2017.

¹⁵⁴ Cheryl Bear, “We Can be Better Together: What are the First Steps?” in *Faith Today: Canada’s Christian Magazine*, (January/February 2018), 35. Draft copy emailed to me by editor Dec. 6, 2017.

grace and inspiration to human souls.”¹⁵⁵ It is my observation (albeit biased) that the Reclamation of Culture Movement is serving as a vehicle to carry grace and inspiration, restoring dignity to Indigenous Jesus-followers; however, it was birthed in opposition.

One form of opposition is apathy. Adrian Jacobs laments, “the vast majority sit back and as long as they have bread and circuses they are content to plug their ears to Wisdom crying out for justice in the streets.”¹⁵⁶ Terry also addresses apathy, “there has often been an attitude of apathy toward Native people which says that ‘all we need is the Bible and the Holy Spirit.’” Rogers explains that these kinds of interactions can be described as ‘heterophilous’, or ‘the degree to which two or more individuals who interact are different in certain attributes.’¹⁵⁷ Opposition has at times been harsh. Richard Twiss captured some of the vitriol in a letter he wrote to ministry partners in 2003:

The opposition we face is far more than a debate about feathers, symbols, and instruments because it is not a flesh and blood debate. Behind this conversation is a strong religious spirit entwined with issues of *territory, authority, and face*. It is a subversive thing that only sows *suspicion, division, and antagonism* among believers. Though frequently maligned and organizationally marginalized, I refuse to allow that to become part of how I go about my Father’s business.

I want you to know these tensions have dramatically escalated to the point where those who disagree with my/our perspectives on some of these issues are now sending communiques to major Christian organizations charging me/us of being false teachers, teaching heresy, and promoting sin in the church.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ As quoted in James T. Moore, *Indian and Jesuit: A Seventeenth-Century Encounter* (New Orleans: Loyola University Press, 1982), 203.

¹⁵⁶ Adrian Jacobs, Facebook post, Feb. 12, 2014; reposted Feb. 13, 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Jeanine LeBlanc, “Walking ‘The Good Red Road,’” 14; also, Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 19.

¹⁵⁸ Emphasis in original. Richard Twiss, letter to ministry colleagues (14 January 2003), as quoted in Sue Martell and Ray Martell, *Dreamcatching: Following in the footsteps of Richard Twiss* (Cleveland, TN: CPT Press, 2017), 67. In his dissertation, Richard address some of the opposition, such as “Native pastor and bible teacher, Jim Chosa released a biblical training manual titled, *Thy Kingdom Come*. In the book’s appendix the authors serve an indictment against the traditional native drum” See Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 152f.

In September 2012, the NAIITS board retreat had been booked at the Christian Renewal Center in Oregon. Karen Ward, Terry's assistant at the time, received an e-mail:

Whenever we have a new group register with CRC we take the time and effort to research their beliefs and methods, etc. I have been doing that with NAIITS and we must CANCEL your retreat with us. In NAIITS effort to "restore culture" you are taking the indigenous people back into paganism, shamanism, false gods and the occult. You are leading them away from the Gospel message of the Bible. We pray you will rethink what you are doing to the very people you love so much.

I will return your deposit. Thank you.¹⁵⁹

Richard expressed his deep pain over this rejection, but pursued a discussion to which the registrar responded, "the Lord has asked us to take a very strong stand and we can do nothing less."¹⁶⁰ He recounted to her the positive role the center had played in his early walk with Jesus, and then stated:

The accusations you make against us ... clothed in the notion of protecting the true gospel from native cultural ways of our native Christian community is plainly offensive, theologically arrogant and judgmental at best, perhaps culturally racist at worst. Your language of "the Lord has asked us to take a very strong stand" against people like us and the way we express our faith in Jesus, biblically, culturally and theologically is revealing of the kind of cultural oppression our people face from an idealized and racialized view of scripture. If the goal is to turn the CRC into a bastion of biblical protectionism, theological control and cultural judgmentalism, your words reflect well that direction. ... peace and grace
– Richard.¹⁶¹

Richard tells of his invitation to speak at a Promise Keepers' [PK] event in New Mexico.¹⁶² Just before the event, he received a phone call informing him "some Native

¹⁵⁹ Judy Riegelmann, Registrar, Christian Renewal Center, e-mail correspondence to Karen Ward, Sept. 20, 2012.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² For an analysis of Promise Keepers and the race reconciliation movement, see Andrea Smith, "'The One Who Did Not Break His Promises: Native Americans in the Evangelical Race Reconciliation Movement,'" in *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 50 no. 4 (Dec. 2006), 478-509.

ministry leaders from the Assembly of God Native American Fellowship in Albuquerque were threatening to boycott the event and would work to get all the Assemblies of God pastors in New Mexico to also boycott if I was allowed to be a platform speaker.”¹⁶³ The burden of alleviating the situation fell to Richard. They requested he withdraw.¹⁶⁴ Terry reports that others in the ROCM experienced the same treatment.¹⁶⁵ Adrian recalls “a conversation brokered by PK that was inspired by opposition that began with Richard using the words ‘drums,’ ‘regalia,’ and ‘dances’” when he, as the Native American Director of the International Bible Society, wrote “in the dedication page for a commemorative New Testament to be distributed at the second [WCGIP].”¹⁶⁶ This conversation occurred in Colorado Springs at the PK headquarters.¹⁶⁷ In PK convention, two teams had been formed to debate the role of culture. The teams were named Team Claus (after the Claus family, founders of C.H.I.E.F.¹⁶⁸) and Team Twiss. Terry LeBlanc, Adrian Jacobs, and Art Begay filled Team Twiss. Huron Claus, Craig Smith, John Maracle (not musician Jonathon Maracle), Leon Matthews, Roger Cree, Jimmy Anderson, and Tom Claus were on Team Claus. Raleigh Washington, the PK Vice

¹⁶³ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 182. The event was in 2000. He continued, “In 2002 I actually did speak at the Grand Rapids event through the sanctified subversive effort of a Native staff member and close friend of mine, but it was the last time I, or another Native leader from the contextual “camp,” was allowed to speak, though conservative “non-contextual” evangelical leaders were frequent speakers. So, though PK did make room for a segment of the Native community at the table, they did not serve to bring reconciliation to the varying points of view of contextualization, and even fostered greater division.” Richard joked that he quit going to PK events as it was costing too much money for pedicures given someone always wanted to wash his feet.

¹⁶⁴ “In the ‘spirit of unity’ they asked me to voluntarily withdraw from participating as a result of the hostile threat.” Twiss, Native-led Contextualization,” 182.

¹⁶⁵ For example, he names Art Begay and Rita Beargray. Terry LeBlanc, Personal correspondence, Feb. 26, 2018.

¹⁶⁶ Adrian Jacobs, e-mail correspondence, February 26, 2018.

¹⁶⁷ The WCGIP was in 1998. Terry LeBlanc dates the conversation in 1997.

¹⁶⁸ C.H.I.E.F or CHIEF, stands for Christian Hope Indian Eskimo Fellowship.

President, moderated. Several observers contributed their theological conclusions after the debate: John Dawson (YWAM), Leonard Rascher (Moody Bible Institute), Douglas Pennoyer (Biola University), and Danny Glover (Denver Baptist). Terry states, “[T]he observers agreed there was a strong disagreement about the place or role of culture before, during and after coming to faith, but that the motives of both groups were similar: to see Indigenous peoples come to faith and be disciplined. The method and context was the issue.”¹⁶⁹ They mutually agreed, however, that the meeting would be kept confidential and that another conversation would be scheduled. Terry adds,

Team Claus and Team Twiss agreed to meet again that year. Within a few months, Team Claus had withdrawn, claiming, “We have no agreement on these issues and therefore have nothing to talk about.” It was at this time we were first hit with the challenge to our authority to speak theologically and missiologically since, at that time, the only one with completed post-secondary education was me – and that was a degree in Religious studies.¹⁷⁰

However, the triad of position papers by C.H.I.E.F., by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and by the Assemblies of God which are previously referenced and are in the first NAIITS Journal, were produced and distributed. In the words of Adrian Jacobs, “therefore these men violated the agreement we had made in the presence of Promise Keepers!”¹⁷¹

Another opponent, Dan Fredericks, described Wiconi as “heavy on culture and light on Biblical doctrine.”¹⁷² He wrote the opinion piece “Prayer’s Perversion, Perplexity

¹⁶⁹ Terry LeBlanc, e-mail correspondence, Feb. 26, 2018.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Adrian Jacobs, interview by author, Tyndale University, Toronto, February 24, 2018. Terry adds, “Someone mysteriously mailed all the documents to me—the only existing copy I know of—and I have kept them.” Terry LeBlanc, e-mail correspondence, February 26, 2018.

¹⁷² Dan Fredericks, “Prayer’s Perversion, Perplexity & Pleasure,” in IFCA International, (Mar/Apr 2011), accessed Jan. 29, 2018, http://www.ifca.org/home/140007594/140006917/docs/PrayersPerversionPerplexity-and-Pleasure-Fredericks-2011Mar-Apr.pdf?sec_id=140006917.

& Pleasure” opposing Dancing Our Prayers: “[C]ultural syncretism is a cause for great concern which requires great discernment and biblical discipline. This is a dangerous and potentially misleading, if not deceptive, way of teaching Native Americans how to communicate with God.”¹⁷³ In the same year, Richard emailed an advertisement he saw online to a number of us. The following excerpt captures the tone:

An extraordinary and ground-breaking event for Christian Native Americans and First Nations People, will take place on the evening of October 6th, 2011. ...

The Christ and Culture Forum will feature a “live” discussion with prominent Christian Native leaders on the **dangers of mixing native culture**, spirituality, instruments of worship, beliefs and practices with the Gospel message of Jesus Christ! ... the **extreme contextual message** of blending forms of “Indian religion” with true Christianity. This **trend or “fad”** is being promoted by groups and individuals who believe they are trying to advance their evangelism efforts by reaching out through **unbiblical** contextual practices. Many of these **“false teachers”** who believe wholeheartedly in their message are **leading many of our native people away** from sound doctrines of the Christian faith, **adopting many idolatrous practices**, all for the sake of evangelism.¹⁷⁴

When utilizing a search engine to locate WCGIP information, often the first site displayed is “wcgip—Deception in the Church.” The deceptions listed include: “the false teachings of the WCGIP [and] ... the proposition [*sic*] that men from Gentile cultures have always been seeking God and that Gentile cultures were already worshipping the true God”¹⁷⁵ Twiss and “The Indigenous People’s Movement” are frequent topics.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Fredericks, “Prayer’s Perversion, Perplexity & Pleasure.”

¹⁷⁴ Richard Twiss, e-mail correspondence, Sept. 28, 2011 re AIC-TV broadcast. Emphasis added by Richard. AICTV.org describes itself on its Facebook page as “The first 24/7 Christian Web Broadcast.” Its website consists of a single page, under construction, but describes AIC as American Indian Crusade, Inc. located in Oklahoma, accessed Jan. 29, 2018, <https://www.aictv.org/>.

¹⁷⁵ Google search done Dec. 3, 2017. See Deception in the Church’s website article on WCGIP at <http://www.deceptioninthechurch.com/wcgip.html>. Terry adds, “The lead up to the 1998 gathering inaugurated the appearance of this website – Sandy Simpson is – or was – the curator of it. Richard and I and a few others had the dubious distinction of being the site’s first targets. I have screen shots of the first postings in my archives” Terry LeBlanc, e-mail correspondence, Feb. 26, 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Sandy Simpson, Deception in the Church, (05/02), accessed Dec. 3, 2017, <http://www.deceptioninthechurch.com/wcgip.html>. See also “More False IPM Teachings,” Pacific Waves Newsletter 3, no. 5 (July 2006) accessed Feb. 25, 2018, <http://op.50megs.com/pw/.../pwv3i5/pwv3i5.pdf>.

In July 2017, Casey Church, Pastor A, and I attended the “United in Christ Conference” advertised as a Native Christian leaders’ conference in an Evangelical Free Church, Bemidji, Minnesota. It was co-hosted by CHIEF Ministries of Phoenix, Arizona, and Oak Hills Christian College.¹⁷⁷ CHIEF (led at the time by Tom Claus) published the initial opposition documents as referenced earlier. I assumed by this time, and given the conference title, there would be a more accepting position on contextualization. I was wrong. Casey had been invited by Huron Claus, now the leader of CHIEF, not as a presenter, but to be available for those who want to know more about contextual approaches to Native American ministries. An organizer told Casey to take down the books he had on display on his friend’s ministry table—he would be permitted to “mingle” but not to sell anything. We realized “United in Christ” did not include Wiconi and other contextual ministries. Craig Smith, as a workshop presenter, mentioned Richard Twiss by name and stated his opposition to contextualization because “God has never redeemed a sacred object.” The stage was lined with seven guitars in stands, a keyboard, a drum set, and other western instruments. There was not one object or decoration to represent local Indigenous cultures or those of attendees. Special music featured a large family (non-Indigenous) and blue grass music. Smith stated his opposition to “Native drums” without any mention of the Asian manufactured drums used by invited bands. One of the Indigenous speakers was applauded as the pastor of a multi-cultural church. He spoke as a preacher in words and mannerisms contextualized to Black Americans—complete with a folded white hanky in hand, with which he repeatedly wiped his brow. A mannerism I have never witnessed by any Indigenous preacher. Craig Smith and others promoted a

¹⁷⁷ Disclosure, I am a member of an Evangelical Free Church. I once taught a course at this college. See invitation at “United in Christ 2017 Conference,” accessed June 1, 2017, <http://chief.org/2017/05/12/united-in-christ-2017-conference/>.

“new approach” to evangelism and discipleship referencing statistics of on-going low conversion rates in Native America. The chosen methodology is a non-Indigenous program Smith had available for sale; the package includes a video, a book (*4 Chair Discipling*), and other merchandise.¹⁷⁸ As someone who has taught an Evangelism and Apologetics course at a seminary for many years, I was disappointed with the material.

The early ROCM documents, websites, and other records clearly demonstrate a Pentecostal and/or Charismatic ethos in terminology (for example, “third wave”), in worship expressions, and in ordination granting denominations for the main innovators. Although this will not be developed further here, I suspect the freedom of physical worship in the 1990s Charismatic Movement will prove to have been instrumental in permitting and encouraging the pursuit of a greater physicality of worship that is compatible with the reclamation of Indigenous dance and ceremony. My hunch is that another major factor behind opposition stems from suspicion of the physicality aspects of worship combined with the fear of demonic activity in many opponents to ROCM.

Opponents to ROCM typically argue that it is sufficient to find one’s identity in Christ. Aldred responds:

The statement “my identity is in Christ”—what does it really mean? Does it recognize that the sound of the wind and the smell of pine are a part of who I am, or are these throwaway things, not important to the essence of who I am? Does it mean that when I feel the beat of the drum resonate right to the middle of my soul that is a part of who I am? Or just a throwaway part ...? Can I be Indian anymore, or is that something I can throw away?¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Dann Spader, *4 Chair Discipling: Growing a Movement of Disciple-Makers* (Chicago, IL: Moody Publishers, 2014). The four chairs which the evangelist is to move the convert along are called: the lost (Come and See), the believer (Follow me), the worker (Become a Fisher of People), and the disciple-maker (Go and Bear Fruit).

¹⁷⁹ Raymond C. Aldred, “Freedom,” Bruce Ellis Benson, Malinda Elizabeth Berry, and Peter Goodwin Heltzel, eds., *Prophetic Evangelicals: Envisioning a Just and Peaceable Kingdom*, Prophetic Christianity (William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2012), 152; accessed Dec. 8, 2017, <https://books.google.com/books?id=rC8S3IL7OfAC&pg=PA165&lpg=PA165&dq=%22Evangelical+Fellowship+of+Canada%22+aboriginal+task+force&source=bl&ots=3S5WPCDHSs&sig=no2tBPVYZ3cgkbFuB1p1aNiPkZM&hl=en&sa=X&v>

Analysis of Innovations, Innovators, and Change Agents in ROCM

This study has demonstrated ways and means that colonization produced multiple change points for First Peoples. Some colonizers desired a speedy demise of an inconvenient and “vanishing race.”¹⁸⁰ Others sincerely sought to cushion or channel the inevitable changes, assuming the role of advocate. Individual Indigenous leaders served as heroic resisters and prophetic voices, thereby functioning as change agents. Innovative Native-led sociopolitical movements such as AIM and Idle No More have achieved similar change agent roles. Authors such as Kehoe serve as change agents when they sway opinions by providing a new narrative and demonstrating the diffusion of revitalization initiatives. This chapter has focused on the innovators and innovations which mark the emergence, development, and diffusion of the Reclamation of Culture Movement through Indigenous followers of Jesus.

The Māori concept of regensis parallels the self-determination and self-theologizing of the ROCM in North America. With the organizations and individuals highlighted here, the ROCM is seen to gather momentum through conversations and networking. I view this as providential. It remains to be shown how this has impacted leaders in Winnipeg. In naming key individuals and organizations, it is important to acknowledge they are not the first to promote contextualization or reclamation—although they may not have used those words. Richard Twiss’s and Casey Church’s doctoral works trace the winding road and introduce many early innovators who have most often worked in isolation. “I know of Native ministry leaders who gathered to discuss these innovations before 1989 but they never gained the wider acceptance. ... In fact several

ed=0ahUKEwj31JTfx_rXAhVBTd8KHa14Bg4Q6AEIOTAD#v=onepage&q=%22Evangelical%20Fellows hip%20of%20Canada%22%20aboriginal%20task%20force&f=false.

¹⁸⁰ Kehoe, *The Ghost Dance*, 147.

were painfully marginalized by their respective denominations or Native ministry peers and even ostracized”¹⁸¹ Notwithstanding these efforts, Richard dates the emergence of a movement to the inaugural WCGIP in 1996, the tipping point, where “Fifty-two native North Americans attended and participated.”¹⁸² The 1998 gathering in South Dakota furthered the movement. “It brought together hundreds of like-minded people for the first time to declare publicly that the gospel can, and will be contextualized among Native North Americans! It was here that many early adopters met for the first time.”¹⁸³

The Ghost Dance and other pan-indigeneity innovations helped Indigenous people survive with a semblance of cohesion and hope “when being Indian was treated as if it were a crime.”¹⁸⁴ Contemporary dancing at powwows plays a similar role. Powwows are often pan-Indigenous (at times with global participants), providing a sense of cohesion, hope, pride in ethnicity, a connection to the past, and a way of saying to the majority culture “we have not gone away and we have no intention of being assimilated.” These are not new innovations, albeit there are changes.

Contextualization and reclamation began at the local and then regional and global levels. The WCGIP created the momentum to empower regional and local groups to contextualize the gospel through examination of Indigenous teachings, values, and modes of worship such as ceremonies and music, that add depth and meaning to living as Jesus followers. Thus, reclamation continued to diffuse from the global level back to the local communities—a process still ongoing. While the founding of organizations such as

¹⁸¹ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 129.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Kehoe, *The Ghost Dance*, 52.

Wiconi International and My People International were not dependent upon one another, they did influence each other. Pan-indigeneity is unavoidable since any human interaction creates an atmosphere to transfer information and customs.¹⁸⁵ The question remains: Has the Reclamation of Culture Movement impacted the Inner City of Winnipeg?

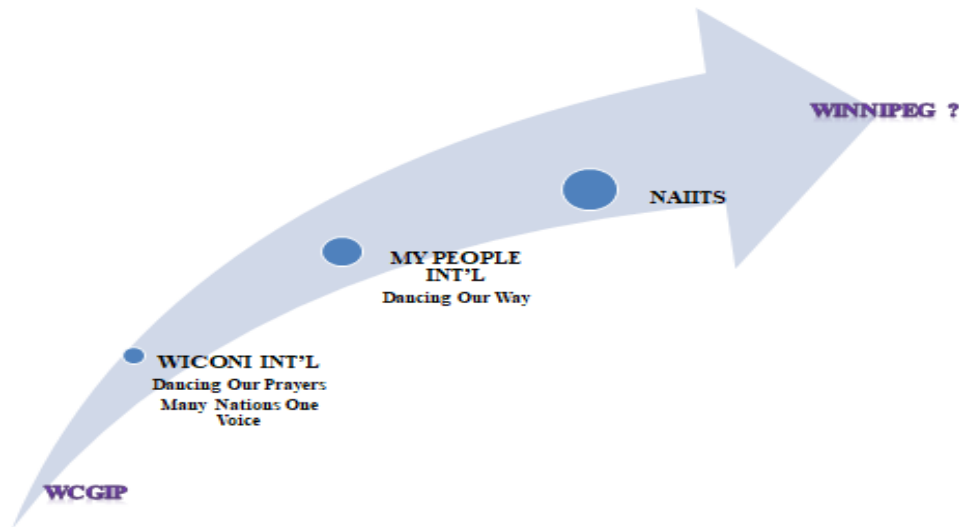


Figure 4.4. Diffusion of ROCM from Global to Regional and Local level.

One consideration in any diffusion study is that the adoption of an innovation is not necessarily tied to its inherent value due to the limitations, real or imagined, in the innovation. “Individual innovations do not become a part of cultural change until they are integrated into the patterned way of life of the group.”¹⁸⁶ There may be social dynamics or inbuilt biases that create an ethos for hesitation, fear, or rejection. There may also be practices or items that are deemed to be incompatible with biblical adherence. (The discernment belongs to IFJs, not those who are outsiders to the culture.) The history of

¹⁸⁵ For example, bannock is considered “traditional” food, yet in its present form, this particular type of bread originated from trading for flour from Europeans. See “Bannock,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed March 30, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/bannock/>.

¹⁸⁶ Michael Rynkiewich, Class Notes, MB700 Introduction to Anthropology (Fall 2007), Asbury Theological Seminary.

discipling converts through teachings on the fear of demonic possession via their sacred objects fashioned emotional and theological hurdles for ROCM.

Justo L. González, a change agent for missions, in addressing the Hispanic context, critiqued the “three selfs” missionary objective for new churches since the concept “did not envision self-interpretation or self-theologizing. The surprise of our generation has been that the younger churches have provided insights into the meaning of the gospel and the mission of the church that the older churches sorely needed.”¹⁸⁷ The North American IFJ are about their Father’s business, applying the gospel to their individual communities, following the example set by the Apostle Paul. Rynkiewich, Asbury Theological Seminary, introduced his students to the idea that the Apostle Paul was in fact an innovator. Citing Acts 22:1-6 and 6-16, Rynkiewich states,

It is not an initial experience of faith, and not exactly a change from one faith to another faith. Paul was involved in innovation. Note that he was not immediately accepted, nor did he immediately fit in. All of his life he had to struggle both against the Jews and the Christians to get his innovations accepted.

His conversion experience introduced a new set of data and demanded a recombination of elements and relationships. He made a conscious decision that changed his life, from a particularized Jewish faith to a more universal Jewish-Christian faith.¹⁸⁸

Twiss argues that the innovations he participated in were “New, not in the sense of never heard of before, but new as being considered an appropriate cultural expression of biblical faith.”¹⁸⁹ Through adapting Rynkiewich’s words, it is clear that the leaders in NAIITS are also innovators, not responding to the Jewish faith, but to the deeply enculturated Westernized gospel.

¹⁸⁷ Justo L. González, *Mañana: Christian Theology from a Hispanic Perspective* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1990), 49.

¹⁸⁸ Rynkiewich, Class Notes for MB700 Introduction to Anthropology, Fall semester, 2007.

¹⁸⁹ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 197.

It is not an initial experience of faith, and not exactly a change from one faith to another faith. NAIITS people are involved in innovation. They did not immediately accept contextualization, nor did they immediately fit in. All of this life they have had to struggle both against Indigenous Christians and non-Indigenous Christians to get their innovations accepted.

Their conversion to the possibilities of contextualization introduced a new set of data and demanded a recombination of elements and relationships. They have made a conscious decision that changed their lives, from a particularized Euro-Christian faith to a more universal Christian faith.¹⁹⁰

Conclusion

The founders of ROCM organizations have learned hard lessons from systems which excluded. WCGIP, Wiconi International, and NAIITS have been intentionally inclusive and thus have functioned as points for reconciliation, developing small and large circles of relationships across ethnicities. Mark Buchanan, a non-Indigenous scholar, challenges churches and fellow believers to consider how they may respond to the TRC call for reconciliation. “‘Jesus, tell my white brother to divide the inheritance with me.’ ... [T]hat’s not quite what First Nations people, at least the ones I talk with and listen to, are asking. ... Almost every First Nations person I know wants something else, something deeper. ‘Jesus, tell my white brother to reconcile with me.’”¹⁹¹

The ROCM is an example of Indigenous agency exercised for the good of both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous follower of Jesus. IFJ are frequently asked, “Is there still a role for White church leaders, denominations, and missionaries in ministry to First Peoples?” My response is affirmative, assuming those who minister do so alongside and are submissive to First Peoples (not over) while respecting the culture with its lines of authority—and they do not hinder the power of the gospel to transform.

¹⁹⁰ Rynkiewich, Class Notes for MB700 Introduction to Anthropology, Fall semester, 2007.

¹⁹¹ Mark Buchanan, “Let the Sermon be Interrupted,” in *Faith Today*, January/February (2018), 31.

Is the reclamation of culture which is incorporated into an Indigenous Jesus-follower's life to be considered an innovation? I began this study with the presupposition that reclamation of culture is in itself an innovation, and I sought to trace its diffusion. Bronwyn Elsmore would argue, no it is not. In her analysis of the Māhori Kohiti faith and its founder, she writes “[t]hat Matenga was not an innovator can be seen from the doctrine and concepts of the religion. Few new elements were introduced as most of the beliefs and practices had their basis in either the Maori system or the Old Testament scriptures.”¹⁹² Following her lead, I would argue that reclamation itself may not be an innovation; reclamation by any of its synonymous terms, has frequently risen as a form of resistance with varying degrees and measures of success. Yet, reclamation of culture combined with self-theologizing at Indigenous-led conferences and formal partnership agreements (treaties) for post-secondary education is indeed something new. The intent of indigenizing the academy is a whole new initiative. I end this section with enhanced clarity that NAIITS meets the definition of an innovation. Michael Rynkiewich wrote, “we have organizations, we have people doing theology, we have theologians, and we have Native Americans. But, we have never had Native American theologians organized into a seminar for doing on-going theology. So, it is an Innovation.”¹⁹³ Furthermore, we have never had IFJ in partnerships where they use the “bricks and mortar” of accredited institutions to create curriculum and programs, determine delivery systems, and appoint faculty while insisting NAIITS retains ultimate control. Is this something more? An

¹⁹² Elsmore, *Te Kohititanga Marama*, 91.

¹⁹³ Michael Rynkiewich, e-mail correspondence, May 22, 2016.

invention? Definitions of invention extend to new processes. NAIITS is certainly a new process.¹⁹⁴

In Chapter Five, the analysis of ROCM seeks to discern a tipping point towards contextualization without the ever-present fear-based charge of syncretism. This is not an easy task. In contemplating the U.S. situation, Richard Twiss realized its complexity:

So then I would question whether or not [a] critical mass has been reached for the whole of the native Christian world community, or whether it is a primarily urban Indian phenomenon or if critical mass can be reached in one community and not another. It is possible there needs to be two critical masses or perhaps as many as there are communities. One for the reservation and one for the urban context and then one for the Apache, Navajo, Lakota, Hopi, etc. However, because the native Christian community is so small there is always interaction between people living on the reservation and those in the cities. . . . Neither location exists in isolation from the other.¹⁹⁵

My remaining task is twofold: to explore the extent of the ROCM at the local level of Winnipeg and to trace the influence of NAIITS there. Interviews and participation observations will inform the research in the next chapter.

In the concluding chapter to his doctoral dissertation, Richard Twiss expressed his coming-to-terms struggle with IFJ opposition rejecting contextualization in favor of westernized worship songs and forms.

Yet, this has to be okay for me at some level, if I am going to love my neighbor and not be perpetually disappointed or judgmental of their experience. There are untold numbers of Native people in those churches who would testify how Jesus genuinely saved them from enslavement to alcohol, violence, and drug abuse and has set them free to be a better human being. That being said, it is a view of Christianity that is waning, but will nonetheless still outlive me. The hope for this

¹⁹⁴ Definitions: 1. “something that has never been made before, or the process of creating something that has never been made before,” in “Invention,” Cambridge Dictionary, online, accessed Feb. 27, 2018, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/invention>. 2. “a device, contrivance, or process originated after study and experiment,” in “Definition of invention,” Merriam-Webster, online, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/invention>.

¹⁹⁵ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 222. See also pp. 224f for Twiss’s discussion of a 1970s-1980s attempt at contextualization.

project is that it will encourage and empower the next generation(s) of native followers of Jesus who are growing disillusioned with that old wineskin.¹⁹⁶

This is my hope also. But, I would expand on that hope. I hope those described in the above quotation will be equally generous with those who find that Westernized Christianity creates a void in their soul that the ROCM helps to fill;

Around the globe Christians from every quarter are learning to read the gospel from and to their own communities. ... As the Peruvian theologian Samuel Escobar said, "All theology is contextual." Church historian and theologian Justo González adds that new and deeper understandings of the faith are emerging from these communities who are now "self-theologizing." Theologian Lamin Sanneh argues that the translation of Scripture into the varied languages of humanity implies the translatability of the faith into the varied cultures of the world. For Christians there is no one culture "to rule them all." Missiologist Andrew Walls regards this global movement of self-theologizing as nothing less than a New Reformation. NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community [*Une Communauté Autochtone D'apprentissage*] is a participant of this new global work of God. For centuries Indigenous peoples had been told that in order to be faithful followers of Christ they must succumb to the dictates of Western culture. NAIITS is writing back to this engrained perspective by affirming that Indigenous Christians can and should contextualize the gospel into their own communities, remaining faithful to Scripture and relevant to their peoples. In doing this, the NAIITS community offers faithful and fresh insights of the gospel for Native peoples but also presents these as a gift for the whole church. They, as churches through history and around the globe, are making substantive contributions to a truly catholic (universal) theology. We understand Creator's person and work more profoundly because of their theological labors.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 230. In fact, Twiss struggled with the word "contextualization." "Over the past twenty years as I have read about, observed, taught, practiced and now researched contextualization as a missiological innovation, I am compelled to use the term less and less to describe what we are doing because it does not adequately capture for me a cultural sense of gospel-telling that must occur for the story of Jesus to take root in soil and soul of our indigenous people." Ibid., 234. See also Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys*, 216.

¹⁹⁷ Gene Green, e-mail correspondence, February 25, 2018. Gene Green has resigned from Wheaton to join the NAIITS team as of summer 2018. I asked him to write a paragraph reflecting on NAIITS.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPERIALISM TO INDIGENEITY: IMPACT OF THE RECLAMATION OF CULTURE MOVEMENT ON LOCAL LEVEL

To be able to share, to have something worth sharing, gives dignity to the giver. To accept a gift and to reciprocate gives dignity to the receiver. To create something new through the process of sharing is to recreate the old, to reconnect relationships and to recreate humanness.

–Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Innovators and change agents in the Reclamation of Culture Movement [ROCM] offer each other strategies, insights, methodologies, epistemologies, theologies, and literature. They share resources including financial, host one another, and issue invitations to speak or teach in anticipation of effecting change in their local communities—thus, diffusion follows. While it has been demonstrated why and how Indigenous peoples have found ways to connect and create a global community “based on commonality of lived experiences,”¹ it needs now to be shown how the local Winnipeg community of Indigenous followers of Jesus [IFJ] is adopting or rejecting the ROCM. The previous chapter establishes that it is not until the mid-1990s that IFJ have networked consistently while intentionally engaging in self-theologizing. NAIITS leaders have exercised influence on the city in a number of ways: 1). Those who have lived in or near the city are: Terry LeBlanc (now P.E.I.), Ray Aldred (now B.C.), Cornelius Buller, Adrian Jacobs (now rural MB), Shari Russell (now ON), and Wendy Peterson; 2). Others who have accepted invitations to speak and/or teach are: Cheryl Bear, Richard Twiss, and Casey Church; 3). Those who have organized conferences and events are: Terry LeBlanc,

¹ Andy Ponce, Personal communication, Dec. 10, 2016.

Ray Aldred, Cornelius Buller, Adrian Jacobs, and Wendy Peterson. Those who now live out of province are still receiving speaking and teaching invitations in the city.

In order to assess the impact of the ROCM and NAIITS in Winnipeg, this chapter will present a short study of Winnipeg followed by information gleaned from five leaders in the community and will then introduce a conference initiated in 2017. The intent is to answer the primary question in this study: *Has the contemporary reclamation of culture movement by Indigenous followers of Jesus positioned Indigenous peoples to do self-theologizing at the local level in Canada?*

An Anthropological View of Winnipeg

Who am I in the middle of this city? My world has changed, but the things that anchor my identity are sometimes the small and mundane things, almost throwaway things that hardly even make it into the anthropology books. ... Can I be an Indian anymore, or is that something I can throw away?

—Ray Aldred²

The city of Winnipeg hangs on the edge of the Canadian Prairies just a few miles west of the longitudinal center of Canada, and 108 kilometers (70 miles) from the U.S. border. It is considered one of the coldest cities in the world. The Trans Canada Highway connects the city to both Atlantic and Pacific oceans, passing along Portage Avenue, Winnipeg's most famous street. It stretches 85 kilometers (53 miles) from the Forks Market, downtown Winnipeg, all the way to Portage La Prairie, following a centuries old trade route. The historic intersection of Portage and Main originates from when Winnipeg served as the railroad hub and financial center of western Canada. The international film industry utilizes the historic sites from that era. The 1920 "Manitoba Legislative Building

² Raymond C. Aldred, "Freedom," in Bruce Ellis Benson, Malinda Elizabeth Berry, and Peter Goodwin Heltzel, eds., *Prophetic Evangelicals: Envisioning a Just and Peaceable Kingdom*, Prophetic Christianity (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2012), 150-167, 151f. Personal copy of article received from Aldred, Feb. 15, 2018.

is the undisputed architectural gem of Canada.”³ In 2008, the distinctive architecture of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights was added to the city’s skyline creating numerous controversies over design and content, especially the limited space given to Indigenous history.⁴ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC] archives are housed at the University of Manitoba. This adds to Winnipeg’s reputation as “the cultural cradle of Canada.”⁵ Culture, as it applies to the music scene, provides unique opportunities for Indigenous musicians.⁶

Winnipeg also has an excellent water delivery system which provides an inexpensive and unlimited supply. An aqueduct built in 1914 delivers the water from Shoal Lake. However, it required expropriating First Nations land, dispossessing and displacing the people so that some are living on an island with no connection to the mainland and with a contaminated water supply. They are reduced to importing bottled water and living with a boil-water-advisory. Steve Bell and Steve Heinrichs, both non-Indigenous followers of Jesus and allies of NAIITS, along with others, championed the Shoal Lake 40 situation. The federal and provincial governments eventually agreed in

³ The quotation continues, “Yet few people know of its occult secrets,” Carolin Vesley and Buzz Curie, *The Hermetic Code: Unlocking One of Manitoba’s Greatest Secrets* (Winnipeg, MB: Winnipeg Free Press, 2007), promotion quotation. “The Hermetic Code by the Winnipeg Free Press, Are You Game?” accessed Dec. 19, 2018, <http://www.mcnallyrobinson.com/articleshome/48/newsletter?page=40>.

⁴ Vicky Gan, “What’s the Conflict over the Museum of Conflict?” *Smithsonian.com*, accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/whats-conflict-over-museum-conflict-180948009/>. This is a controversy which places it in good company with the Eiffel Tower. See Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower: The Thrilling Story behind Paris’s Beloved Monument and the Extraordinary World’s Fair that Introduced It* (New York, NY: Viking, 2009), a book I happened to be reading at the time of the controversy.

⁵ “Arts & Culture—Spring/Summer,” Winnipeg, accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <https://www.tourismwinnipeg.com/plan/itineraries/display,iterinary/24/arts-culture-spring-summer>.

⁶ Disclosure: I serve in a newly created advisory capacity to musician Don Amero, Metis.

2016 to construct Freedom Road.⁷ It is under construction. I include this story to illustrate the challenge for Indigenous concerns to capture the attention of the non-Indigenous population.

Following Canadian Confederation in 1867, 19 percent of the population lived in towns of 1,000 plus or in cities. By 2016, societal shifts flipped the statistics to 19 percent rural and 81 percent urban.⁸ The City of Winnipeg is on Treaty One land and is the home of the Métis Nation (Red River Métis). This is land that the British arbitrarily took control of, gave to the Hudson's Bay Company, and bought back for the new country of Canada. Once entirely populated by Indigenous and then joined by mostly Métis people, together they are now a much smaller minority. The 2016 Census calculated a total city population of 778,489 (over 50,000 immigrants were added from 2011-2016). Filipinos are the highest percentage of immigrants at 8.7 percent. The city has an Indigenous population of 11.7 percent including the highest percentage of "registered Indians" of any city (3.6 percent); there are more Métis than First Nations.⁹ Only 3,660 speak an Aboriginal language—mainly various Cree and Ojibway-Potawatomi languages, while a

⁷ For example, "The price of Water: Shoal Lake 40," The Council of Canadians, accessed Mar. 3, 2018, <https://canadians.org/blog/price-water-shoal-lake-40>. Steve Bell, "Road to Reconciliation: Shoal Lake 40 First Nation (Jul. 2, 2015), accessed Mar. 3, 2017, <https://stevebell.com/road-to-reconciliation-shoal-lake-40-first-nation/>.

⁸ Statistics Canada, 2017, *Winnipeg, CY [Census subdivision], Manitoba and Canada (table), Census Profile, 2016 Census*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001; released Nov. 29, 2017, accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>.

⁹ First Nations (American Indian) are 43,005 while Metis are over 47,085 by Ethnic origin. Note: people who self-identify as Metis do not necessarily understand what the word means. This is especially true of the urban Indigenous population since they are "non-registered Indians," or non-status, because of government policies; therefore, there is a confusion of identity. Statistics Canada does not delineate who has one or two parents or one great grandparent who is "Native" and those who are legally Red River Métis. Thus, there are "pigmentally-challenged" full status and yet dark skinned non-status Metis.

mere 25 Métis speak Michif.¹⁰ Many First Nations people have connections with their traditional band or reserve; most have lost “status” (treaty rights).

In the early years of the city, Settlers were primarily White Europeans. The Louis Riel Rebellion/Resistance provided justification to push Indians and Métis out of the city. Indigenous peoples were barely tolerated.¹¹ In spite of Winnipeg being the only Canadian city on National Geographic’s Best Trip 2016 list,¹² Indigenous people have not fared well. Their legacy is the marginalization the previous chapters have presented. *Maclean’s* magazine published an article in 2015 entitled “Canada’s Race Problem? It’s Even Worse than America’s.”¹³ A few days earlier it named Winnipeg as the most racist city in Canada.¹⁴ Indigenous women and girls too frequently “go missing” and are assumed to be involved with the sex trade, receiving a lower profile from law enforcement than other women when missing and/or murdered. Two recent changes that are helping to mitigate

¹⁰ Michif is a mixture of Algonquin and French. See Census Profile, 2016; Statistics Canada, Government of Canada, Aboriginal Fact Sheet for Manitoba, accessed Feb. 14, 2018, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-656-x/89-656-x2016008-eng.htm>. A 1898 book stated “The prairie tribes are the Goths and Huns of the New World.” John McLean, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892), 312, in the Forgotten Books’ Classic Reprint Series. See chapter, “Christianity and the Red Race.” In the next chapter, see subtitles: Do Indian Missions Pay? and The Red Aliens.

¹¹ “The little-known legacy of Rooster Town—a long-since displaced community of shanties bulldozed to make way for Grant Park Shopping Mall in the late 1950s—remains ingrained in the city’s character. ... Winnipeg Mayor Brian Bowman, on the anniversary of a *Maclean’s* magazine article declaring Winnipeg the most racist city in Canada—held a public forum to pledge aboriginal accord. This would be the year of reconciliation, he said. Bowman, it should be noted, is the first mayor of Métis heritage in the city’s history. This is not of little significance, given the fractious and often violent relationship between Métis and European settlers dating back to the deadly conflict of the Riel Rebellion that began in 1869, and has permeated the city’s psyche for generations hence.” Randy Turner, “The Outsiders: The Story of Rooster Town,” *Winnipeg Free Press* (01/29/2016, modified 01/31/2016), accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/The-outsiders-366764871.html>.

¹² “Winnipeg makes National Geographic’s list of best trips on earth 2016,” (Nov. 19, 2015), *CBC News, Manitoba*, accessed Feb. 14, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/winnipeg-makes-national-geographic-s-list-of-best-trips-on-earth-2016-1.3326474>.

¹³ Scott Gilmore, “Canada’s Race Problem? It’s Even Worse than America’s,” *Maclean’s* (Jan. 25, 2015), accessed Feb. 2018, <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/out-of-sight-out-of-mind-2/>.

¹⁴ Nancy Macdonald, “‘Welcome to Winnipeg’ Where Canada’s Racism Problem is at its Worst,” *Maclean’s* (Jan. 22, 2015), accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/welcome-to-winnipeg-where-canadas-racism-problem-is-at-its-worst/>.

this, in addition to local embarrassment over the *Maclean's* articles, are the formation of the Bear Clan Patrol¹⁵ and the public outcry over the murder of fifteen year old Tina Fontaine.¹⁶ The Bear Clan has gained admiration in part because they participate in searches for non-Indigenous missing persons.

Another consideration is the extremely high rate of Indigenous children in the foster care system (over 10,000 children or 5.7 percent of Indigenous population of Manitoba; cf. 0.3 percent of non-Indigenous population).¹⁷ To outsiders, the North End is best known for the crime rate. The reality of communities in crisis often leads to a higher rate of consumption of alcohol and drugs. On a related issue, two young innovative Winnipeg brothers created the first Indigenous gang in the country (1978-'79): the notorious Indian Posse, which spread nationally. They were 12 and 13 years of age.¹⁸

The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls [MMIWG] is a formal inquiry—a potential change point. It is the Liberal government's response (in 2016) to a long-standing request for an inquiry into the high rate of Indigenous women missing and/or murdered. The rate of young Indigenous girls and women being murdered has risen—“(9 percent) of all female homicide victims in 1980 to

¹⁵ See Bear Clan Patrol Inc., accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <https://www.bearclanpatrolinc.com/>.

¹⁶ Cameron MacLean, “Police, hospital, child welfare workers all saw Tina Fontaine in 12 hours before disappearance,” CBC News, Manitoba; accessed Feb. 10, 2018; <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/tina-fontaine-last-day-timeline-1.4529490>. Update: Tina's alleged murderer, a much older White man who admitted to sexual relations with the 15-year old, was declared not guilty in Feb. 2018. Hundreds of people are protesting across the country as I write this section.

¹⁷ Pamela Palmater, “Foster Care System One of the Paths to Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women,” CBC News (Feb. 27, 2018), accessed Mar. 1, 2018. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/opinion-foster-care-system-path-to-mmiwg-1.4552407>. See also “Aboriginal Peoples: Fact Sheet for Manitoba,” Statistics Canada, Government of Canada, accessed Feb. 15, 2018, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-656-x/89-656-x2016008-eng.htm>.

¹⁸ Joe Friesen, *The Ballad of Danny Wolfe: Life of a Modern Outlaw* (Toronto, ON: Signal, McClelland & Stewart, 2008).

one-quarter (24 percent) in 2015.”¹⁹ Indigenous women and girls in U.S. are not any safer as “on some reservations [2011], Native women are murdered at more than 10 times the national average.”²⁰ Tina Fontaine may, in death, serve as a change agent in that government agencies have played pivotal roles in her vulnerability to be murdered.

The world has come to the little city of Winnipeg. It has come in its migrating peoples who hope for a fresh start in the North End. They join increasing numbers of First Nations from the north even as foreign nations buy “rights” to the land and waters, and other water systems are polluted from the extraction of resources. It has been said correctly, “only people with the capital resources to own fishing gear get to fish in other folk’s ponds.”²¹ In response to the inner city / North End poverty, others are drawn to the core area—a variety of charitable initiatives and churches.²² Few have Indigenous staff; fewer have Indigenous leaders, but this is very slowly improving.

The North End is located near the convergence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, within the Downtown district adjacent to Inkster—the district where Pastor A’s church is located. (See map below.)

¹⁹ “Study: Women in Canada: Women and the Criminal Justice System,” Statistics Canada, (2017-06-06), accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/dailyquotidien/170606/dq170606a-eng.htm>.

²⁰ Mary Annette Pember, “Missing and Murdered: No One Knows How Many Native Women Have Disappeared,” *Indian Country Today*, accessed Dec. 7, 2017, <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/native-news/missing-and-murdered-no-one-knows-how-many-native-women-have-disappeared/>.

²¹ Brian J Walsh and Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Colossians Remixed: Subverting the Empire* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 28.

²² E.g., North End Family Centre, Inner City Youth Alive, Indigenous Family Centre, Union Gospel Mission, Siloam Mission, Winnipeg Harvest, Salvation Army, North End Stella Mission, Lighthouse Mission, and Teen Challenge. Churches in the area include Vineyard Church, Bethlehem Aboriginal Fellowship, Turtle Island Community Church, First Nations Family Worship Center, and Calvary Temple.



Figure 5.1. Map of central Winnipeg city districts.²³

I have selected five people to interview including Pastor A (who serves as Interview E) with the goal of assessing diffusion of ROCM through NAIITS. I emailed survey forms (see Appendix 8), conducted phone interviews, and sought clarification when required. Websites and literature provided additional biographical information. These five are individuals who impact the inner city of Winnipeg. The results of my interviews are braided into their stories as in the following table:

²³ Map created by Matt LeBlanc.

Table 5.1. Individuals in Chapter Five

ELEMENT and CHAPTER	TRIAD III Winnipeg INTERVIEWEES	MINISTRY or OCCUPATION of INTERVIEWEES	TRIAD III Winnipeg INDIVIDUAL 5
INTERVIEW A Diffusion Test CHAPTER 5	KENT DUECK Non-Indigenous <i>Permission to quote</i>	Executive Director Inner City Youth Alive	
INTERVIEW B Diffusion Test CHAPTER 5	MIRIAM Oji-Cree <i>Permission to quote</i> <i>Withhold surname</i>		
INTERVIEW C Diffusion Test CHAPTER 5	ANDY WOOD Non-Indigenous <i>Permission to quote</i>	Senior Pastor Vineyard Fellowship	
INTERVIEW D Diffusion Test CHAPTER 5	KYLE MASON Indigenous	Founder North End Family Centre	
INTERVIEW E Diffusion Test CHAPTER 5	PASTOR A <i>Permission to name</i> <i>Permission to quote</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pastor, Christian & Missionary Alliance • Director of First Nations Alliance Churches of Canada • Lead Vocals, Rising Above Band 	PASTOR A HOWARD JOLLY James Bay Cree

Diffusion Gleaned through Research at the Local Level

Interview A: Kent Dueck, Non-Indigenous²⁴

Kent Dueck is a co-founder of Inner City Youth Alive [ICYA], a ministry in the heart of the inner-city/North End. I first met Kent at Providence College when I was giving a presentation around 1993. He and Mark Friesen had launched ICYA in 1986, serving as volunteers for the first period, with Kent assigned the role of Executive Director. Their original mission statement was brief and to the point: “Do Stuff.” And

²⁴ Disclosure: Kent invited me to join the ICYA board. I am honoured to join as of Sept. 2018.

stuff they did, including reviving their statement; “To bring hope and a future through Christ to youth and their families in the inner city.” This they are doing along with the stuff, impacting thousands of lives.

Kent and Mark and those they pulled into their circle of influence purchased a building seven years after founding the ministry. In time, they opened a drop-in facility, developed programs for building work skills including repairing and racing bicycles and cars, established a fellowship night, and met community needs in a multiplicity of ways. An Alliance church gifted them with a wilderness camp. An expansion to the building allowed for the development of a school in partnership with an Anglican church in 2004. Four years later, an arsonist caused the loss of one third of the building.²⁵ Rebuilding the structure and creating new programs followed. In 2006, they launched their Community Ministry Initiative that has now grown from one person to five. The leaders and staff of ICYA are intimately involved in human tragedies—gang related drama, murders, suicides, threats, drug overdoses, people hospitalized by violence, and in conducting funerals. They are also deeply involved in giving and receiving hope—new births, marriages, community pastoring, innovating programs that change lives, and friendships outside the norm of Christian church experience. Many of the leaders and staff live in the community; they are there to deal with “the sadness of lateral violence”²⁶ created by Canada’s version of colonization. Increasingly staff and leaders are drawn from the community, increasingly intentionally choosing Indigenous members, beneficiaries of

²⁵ *NewsFlash*, A Newsletter of Inner City Youth Alive, Summer (2016).

²⁶ Kent Dueck, *NewsFlash*, A Newsletter of Inner City Youth Alive, Summer (2016). This issue has a particularly poignant and vulnerable article by Kent where he shares his struggle with understanding how Indigenous people arrived at such a marginalized state. “If there is some specific evil genius who single handedly designed the situation and could be blamed for the whole mess it would make sense...you could hardly have designed a plan that would have been more effective at destroying a people group.”

ICYA programs. In 2014, Kent wrote the story of his reconnection with a man who answers to the name Porkchop. He recalls the events the man participated in as a youth at ICYA, and the providential re-connection when Porkchop visited to thank him: “Kent, if it wasn’t for you, I wouldn’t be breathing.”²⁷

The newsletters distributed by ICYA include lead articles by Kent. They reveal a man with a pastoral heart, a deep love and growing understanding for the Indigenous community he serves, and a social activist on issues that will improve the life of inner-city residents. In 2016, Kent’s team added the Indigenous Leadership Initiative to their already full slate of programs. The intent is to support and develop local Indigenous leaders in Winnipeg. It commenced with hiring four leaders. “It is amazing to see the children and youth look up to these leaders and connect on an inspirational level.”²⁸

Inner City Youth Alive is the major sponsor, along with Indigenous Pathways, of a new initiative, *Ma’wa’chi’hi’to’tan* Journeying in a Good Way [JGW] Conference. Kent serves on the committee, as do I. It is chaired by an ICYA community minister.

In response to the formal interview (see Appendix 8 for sample form), Kent indicated he has attended two NAIITS related events. He names Terry Leblanc (from whom he took a course in 2013), Wendy Peterson, and Ray Aldred as being the most influential in the area of practising (participating in) contextualized traditions/ceremonies. There are some ceremonies he considers incompatible with following Jesus. In a follow-up telephone conversation,²⁹ I asked Kent, How has NAIITS impacted your ministry? He responded that ICYA is “taking our lead from NAIITS.” They are using the Journal

²⁷ Kent Dueck, “Porkchop,” *NewsFlash*, Newsletter of Inner City Youth Alive, Summer (2014).

²⁸ Indigenous Leadership Initiative,” *The Urban Edge*, A Newsletter of Inner City Youth Alive, Winter (2017).

²⁹ Kent Dueck, telephone conversation, Mar. 1, 2018.

articles, and the writings of Richard Twiss, Terry LeBlanc, and Ray Aldred. These writings “have become a part of our circle discussions in setting our directions,” Kent replied. He seemed surprised when I asked what he saw as a weakness in NAIITS. He responded with some hesitation, “I don’t understand why NAIITS wiggles on some questions.” Two examples of us doing just that immediately came to mind, which Kent affirmed: direct questions requesting us to name specific ceremonies that people should not participate in; and, a question related to spiritual warfare and/or demonic possession that had been raised at a conference the previous year.³⁰

Interview B: Miriam, Indigenous

Miriam is from a northern First Nation in Ontario—a fly-in community. Her position is Co-ordinator of the Indigenous Neighbours Program for Mennonite Church of Canada [MCC]. She resides in downtown Winnipeg. She requested I withhold her surname and community name, but granted permission to use other identifying information. Recently, Miriam posted a Word Press blog sharing her grief and anguish over the murder and “not guilty” decision in Tina Fontaine’s court case,³¹ noting the parallels in her and Tina’s lives. Both are from remote reserves. Both ended up in urban areas separated from family at 15 years of age. Miriam was sent away as the only recourse for continuing her education. “I could be Tina. As a young Indigenous woman in Canadian society, I quickly learned my worth is devalued and my voice is suppressed,”

³⁰ From my perspective, I hesitate to fall into supplying a list of “Do’s and Don’ts” that short-circuits someone else’s struggle with these issues. Also, I have experienced non-Indigenous people jump to the conclusion of “demonic possession” with an Indigenous child, where the same situation with a non-Indigenous child would be written off as the child being over-tired.

³¹ Miriam, “We are Still Here,” MCC Ottawa Office Notebook, accessed Feb. 28, 2018, mccottawaoffice.wordpress.com.

she writes. “Colonization is costing the lives of Indigenous peoples, my community and my people. What price must we pay? What price must young Indigenous women pay?”

I first met Miriam when she attended Providence College, an Evangelical institution, in 2002. She audited a course I taught on Indigenous issues. She and sixteen other northern Indigenous students attended at the same time. This remains the largest number of Indigenous students at one time at Providence. I invited them to form a casual group for mutual support. We held a student chapel (with Terry LeBlanc as guest speaker); we invited Manitoba Lieutenant Governor Dumont, Métis (the first and only Indigenous person to hold the office) to campus; and he invited us to Government house—both events conformed with royal protocol, except he also took us into his living quarters. Miriam and I, and many of the others, have remained steadfast friends.

I introduced Miriam to Terry LeBlanc and invited her to NAIITS events where she met Richard Twiss and others who made her feel welcome. She has attended two symposiums and two other NAIITS related events. Since she left Providence, she has been involved in her own journey of healing her identity and participating in ceremonies; she does not identify as a follower of Jesus. There was some reluctance in speaking about her beliefs in detail. Miriam’s community retains traditions such as Sundance,³² sweat lodge, and shaking tent. Miriam attributes the Sundance community as the most

³² Inquiries as to explanations and purposes of Indigenous ceremonies are met with a variety of responses, depending on the person you ask and the tradition he or she comes from, and their bias for or against the practise. All ceremonies are considered sacred. In general terms: Sundance ceremonies stretch from the U.S. northern Plains to northern Quebec (but may not be limited to them). One man calls it “the ceremony of ceremonies.” It is a man offering his body to Creator through piercing the skin of his chest, drawing leather straps or thongs through, being attached to a center pole and dancing until they rip out--the ultimate prayer dance. See one example at Jennifer Ashawasegai, “Sundance is the ceremony of ceremonies,” *Windspeaker*, 30, no. 6 (September, 2012), 18, accessed Mar. 3, 2018, <http://www.ammsa.com/publications/windspeaker/sundance-ceremony-ceremonies>. See also “The Sundance Ceremony, Part 1,” *aptn National News* (Aug. 14, 2013), accessed Mar. 3, 2018; <http://aptnnews.ca/2013/08/14/the-sun-dance-ceremony/>. The comments on this 2013 site are revealing regarding the strong feelings people have about non-Indigenous exploitation of their ceremonies.

influential on her beliefs. She self-identifies as Oji-Cree and “spiritual” with an emphasis on the land. In a telephone interview she spoke about her understanding of being Indigenous. She compared it to being a follower of Jesus. “[It is] more like understanding Indigenous people as being people of the land and caretakers to protect the environment—to be able to stand up for justice [for the earth] and understand earth takes care of us too.”³³ When I inquired about influences on the way she worships, she responded, “meeting different people along the way who helped me understand traditional practises—not worshipping the land, but being a conduit for healing the land and the people around us.” How has NAIITS impacted her life? She stated, “It has definitely helped me shift my understanding of Christianity through an Indigenous lens—helping me deconstruct some of the Christian teachings—seeing them in light of my own culture. And in building relationships; and in being able to have difficult conversations in a safe place.” My final question was: What do you see as weaknesses of NAIITS? Her immediate response was that NAIITS needs to be more open to LBGT issues, since there are “definitely Native Christians who identify as queer.” She also felt NAIITS needs to be more open to Sundance, shaking tent, and sweat lodge. (We had a sweat lodge on the shore of the Sea of Galilee at the WCGIP in Israel and at the Powwow at a Salvation Army camp in Alberta, 2017. I am not aware of anyone in NAIITS whose traditions include the shaking tent.³⁴) We have never had a sweat lodge at a NAIITS event largely due to time factors.

³³ Miriam, telephone conversation, Mar. 1, 2018.

³⁴ There are a number of online sites that give different versions of the shaking tent, which seems to be the northern Ojibway, Cree, Innu and others. An anthropological view is at “Shaking Tent,” Historic Canada, Canadian Encyclopedia, accessed Mar. 3, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/shaking-tent/>.

Miriam recently went to the Philippines (Fall 2017) for iEmergence events led by Matt LeBlanc and Terry. From this I am left to believe she is comfortable with our faith in Jesus, and/or our relationships which override her hesitancy.

Miriam ended her Word Press blog with these thoughts: “We attend universities, drink our cappuccinos like you and go to ceremonies. We work constantly to make our daily lives better. We are resilient. We are the people our ancestors prayed and hoped for [in] the future. We are still here.”

Interview C: Andy Wood, Metis and Canadian

Andy Wood is part of the Pastoral Executive of the Winnipeg Centre Vineyard Christian Fellowship [Vineyard Fellowship] in the North End. He has been a pastor and leader for over twenty years. Vineyard Fellowship is more than a typical church. The older renovated commercial building contains a number of ministries in addition to space for a sanctuary: a communal living space called Flatlanders Inn, the Flatlanders Studio (“a creative space used for making, practising, and performing art”³⁵), drop-in facilities, and a School of Justice (a seven month long program). The 2017 JGW Conference used the facilities and Andy served on the planning committee and as host.

Andy identifies as “Metis-Canadian,” but indicated his group had adopted the ways of Western Christianity. He has attended ten NAIITS related events and names both Terry and Richard as persons who influenced him in the area of practising contextualized traditions/ceremonies in the past eighteen years and served with me on the JGW initiatives. On the interview form, he wrote:

³⁵ Flatlanders Studio, Winnipeg Centre Vineyard, accessed Mar. 1, 2018, <https://winnipegcentrevineyard.com/flatlanders-studio/>.

My discovery is currently unfolding. I did not grow up with the experience of being indigenous; however I did grow up with stories of indigenous ancestors. There was shame associated with that side of my family, so the Scottish heritage was more fully acknowledged until my Grandfather came around. My Grandmother was mocked because she was “Marrying an Indian.”³⁶ My mother carried this but she still told the stories. I started to explore more fully a number of years ago. I’m still finding my way. It’s an important part of who I am, but it’s not the only part of who I am.

Interview D: Kyle Mason, Indigenous

Kyle Mason agreed to be interviewed to replace an individual who required hospitalization.³⁷ Kyle is known as the founder and was the Executive Director of the North End Family Center [NEFC], which opened its doors in 2009. Responding to a lack of services in a certain section of the North End, a few blocks from where Kyle grew up, “Kyle decided to meet with community members and leaders to determine what gaps in service existed. As a result, programs were created to meet needs ..., rather than duplicating existing programs offered by other organizations and churches.”³⁸ The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada [PAOC] helped fulfill his vision with financial and other assistance. Kyle explains his background which fed his concern for the area by sending me an excerpt from his biography. "The son of two Indian Residential School survivors, Kyle grew up in the North End of Winnipeg in a single parent family. Kyle's family often struggled to make ends meet, at times struggled with secure housing, and had to make use of food banks and other social programs. Determined to succeed in life, Kyle avoided unhealthy life options, stayed in school, and earned a post-secondary

³⁶ This is typical, unfortunately. Our family has a few of these stories. One of my aunts relates that our family’s Roman Catholic priest, when she had catechism classes with him to convert and marry my uncle, had said to her, "Why are you marrying an Indian, Jean? You can do better than the scum of the earth." Our family had been RC for 3 generations at that time.

³⁷ Anita Keith, who self-identifies as Mohawk/British, is an instructor in Indigenous Education at Red River College. She submitted the interview form late so I have scanned it, but will not include here.

³⁸ A write-up forwarded to me by Kyle Mason, e-mail correspondence, Mar. 2, 2018.

degree.”³⁹ In a telephone interview, Kyle explained that he had been raised in a United Pentecostal Church, but was sent to the Zion Apostolic private school at the age of twelve. Since he desired to attend the youth meetings at that church, he switched denominations. He made another switch to the PAOC denomination at the age of 26 when he completed a B.B.S. He was ordained through them. Each transition represented “a slight move to the center.”⁴⁰ Kyle resigned from NEFC at the end of 2017. He currently is the Director of Development for the Manitoba Lung Association with responsibility for improving Indigenous relationships in light of the society having operated notorious sanatoriums for Indigenous peoples inflicted with tuberculosis.⁴¹

Kyle received his first introduction to NAIITS through our journals and the writings of Richard Twiss via Cornelius Buller. He contacted Richard which led to developing a digital relationship. In December 2012, Richard accepted Kyle’s invitation to speak at the NEFC banquet. It would be the one time Kyle met Richard in person, and the last time Richard came to Winnipeg.

As I had disclosed in Chapter 1, I served on the NEFC board of directors (as treasurer) until the fall of 2017. The first time I entered the NEFC facilities, I was struck by the fact that only the people were Indigenous (friends of the centre, as they are called, rather than “clients,” include many non-Indigenous as well). Last year, Kyle replaced the dated donated picture of an English countryside home and the “Home Sweet Home” embroidery with framed prints of the Seven Sacred Teachings. He explains that at a time when he was rethinking his theology NAIITS “showed me others who were well along

³⁹ A write-up forwarded to me by Kyle Mason in email correspondence, Mar. 2, 2018.

⁴⁰ Kyle Mason, telephone conversation, Mar. 2, 2018.

⁴¹ See Maureen K. Lux, *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s-1980s* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

the path and [were] self-theologizing.” At this point, it has been a seven year journey, especially for the “last four years as I have been speaking and facilitating.”⁴² Kyle, his wife (non-Indigenous), and son are looking for a new church home where they can engage more fully as an Indigenous family. Kyle has served on the planning committee for both JGW conferences.

Interview E: Howard Jolly, Indigenous, is Individual 5 - Pastor A

Howard Jolly, Cree, is best known as the lead vocals and guitarist in The Rising Above Band which was formed in 2002. Howard’s birth occurred in Waskaganish, northern Quebec, but he was raised in Moose Factory near James Bay, Ontario. He is married to Karen, Métis, from northern Alberta. They live in a rural town in Manitoba. Howard pastors at First Nations Community Church (Christian and Missionary Alliance) in north-west Winnipeg (bordering the inner city, but connected to the Indigenous population). He is also the Director of First Nations Alliance Churches of Canada. The Rising Above conferences began as a 1992 First Nations initiative, now known as Rising Above Abuse Counselling. They exist to offer “hope and healing from a biblical perspective through teaching, counselling, music, support groups and resources.”⁴³ Karen as well as Linda (Cree) and Rick Martin (non-Indigenous) are involved with the conferences. The Martins are staff with My People ministry (Indigenous Pathways). Howard and Karen volunteer in various inner city missions.

⁴² Kyle Mason, telephone conversation, Mar. 2, 2018.

⁴³ Rising Above: “First Peoples, Helping First Peoples, Bringing God and Healing to Our Land,” accessed Feb. 16, 2018, http://www.risingabove.ca/about_us/history. “The name Rising Above was chosen because they believed that with God’s help First Nations people could rise above the hurt and pain to enjoy the fullness of life intended by God. The motto, ‘First Peoples helping First Peoples’ conveyed the strong unanimous resolve that First Nations people need to take the lead in providing help to those who are suffering from the damaging effects of abuse and stopping the cycle of abuse ... destroy[ing] our people.”

I first met Howard and Karen at Providence College in the same year I met Miriam, 2002. Howard and Karen went on to complete master's degrees from Providence Theological Seminary, where I also taught. We are friends and have served together in planning the JGW conferences. Howard attended part of the 2002 NAIITS Symposium in Winnipeg. Until this point, I have identified Howard as Pastor A. Previously I described my project to him and solicited his involvement. I chose not to identify him until he granted permission to use his name after the interview, which he has now permitted.

I have attended Howard's church, which is a 90 minute drive away, on numerous occasions through the past two decades. First Nations Community Church [FNCC] is located at 44 Tentler Street in the district of Inkster (see Figure 5.1). Tentler is a short J-shaped street in a small residential area framed by four major thoroughfares hurrying people elsewhere. Both Larry Wilson and Ray Aldred had filled the pastoral and director's role for the Indigenous churches prior to Howard.⁴⁴ I wrote an unpublished paper called "What Constitutes a Healthy Aboriginal Church?" using Howard's and Karen's church, as my focus in late 2009. My purpose was to assess the church's health and potential for growth for an Asbury Theological Seminary assignment by George Hunter, III, on applying western principles of church growth. The church had been founded in 1969 and moved into its present location in 1997. My earliest visits to the church were likely around 2000 when Larry Wilson pastored. It is only in the past few years that Indigenous posters and décor have been evident. I believe this is a result of Howard and Karen growing into a healthier version of their Indigenous identity.

The selection of Howard as Individual 5, Pastor A, in the initial proposal for this study, was based on his tentative position on cultural reclamation and contextualization at

⁴⁴ Both men are Cree and are referenced previously in this chapter four.

that time. He first met Terry in 2003. The Indigenous students and I had planned a student chapel. I had suggested Terry as speaker. Terry brought his drum and sang a prayer song. I happened to be sitting behind Howard and Karen and was astonished to see them visibly shake. In conversation later, I realized both of their Christian traditions had taught them to fear the Native drum. Howard credits Ray Aldred as the most influential person in helping him to think through reclamation and traditional practises. There are some ceremonies such as the Sundance he would not participate in as piercing his body “is not something I should be doing.”⁴⁵ He also named practices he doesn’t participate in (shaking tent and smudging), “but I don’t see them as wrong, I am not comfortable [with them] right now—they are not a part of my people’s culture.” He said he is not familiar with the sweat lodge, but “it seems okay.” When I inquired about his style of worship, he agreed his people had been assimilated into Western Christianity. “I have been assimilated—feel kind’ of lost in it—I wonder why we don’t have any other musical styles. [I am] saddened by that.” Howard’s community of Moose Factory “hosted” one of the earliest Hudson Bay forts. Howard shared that he understood cultural biases, but “We were considered inferior, heathen, and depraved. There was no understanding or wanting to share wisdom. [It] has caused a real identity crisis and I grieve over that.... We seem to believe the lie that everything about us needs to be redeemed or destroyed. .. We have been ostracized; misunderstood, rejected...My own people think our culture is wrong too. I connect the suicides to the breakdown of our peopleWe have a long way to go. It has been tough.” The Jollys and Martins are frequently called into communities in crisis.

Howard has been taking courageous steps to change his understanding—slowly. I say courageous, because it may cause him to lose his place in his community. A few

⁴⁵ Howard Jolly, telephone interview, Feb. 15, 2018.

years back, Howard dropped over one afternoon. He was excited about a new song he was writing. I brought a guitar to him and he sang his song. I had tears in my eyes. He was playing it on my father's guitar, a man who had paid a heavy price for being "Indian." Howard describes the song this way:

The title track, Redeemed Redman's Cry, was inspired by a longing to reclaim my Cree heritage. I would attribute the stirring of this passion to the renewing work of the Holy Spirit in my life. As a part of my healing journey in Christ I realized that the accepting [of] my Cree identity and the expressing of myself from within that framework was a necessary part of this new pilgrimage. This song has Aboriginal musical flavor that may have its roots in the plains peoples of Turtle Island. The distinct 'chorus' cries from the beginning to the end of the song move from the mourning of losses, into a warrior's battle cry (warring against the lies that say we are second class, voices that say our culture is lost and that we need to assimilate into a multi-nation identity, shaming or being ashamed of our Aboriginal identity and dignity) and they crescendo with a victory cry of thanksgiving to Jesus Christ for loving me as I am, affirming my uniqueness, redeeming me and calling me to worship him from my Cree heart. I pray this song would encourage my people to rise up to see and take their place in humanity.⁴⁶

At the 2017 JGW Conference, Howard was invited for the first time to sit at the big drum—an invitation is an honor. He accepted. When Howard approached the mike at the United in Christ Conference in Bemidji last summer, he gently challenged Craig Smith's assertion that the Indigenous followers of Jesus must not play a drum—that action required a whole other level of courage. He had publically challenged, in a good way, one of the primary opponents to both reclaiming culture and to contextualization.

Ma'wa'chi'hi'to'tan Journeying in a Good Way [JGW]

Andrew Reimer (non-Indigenous), a community minister with Inner City Youth Alive, contacted me in 2016 about the possibility of holding a conference with Indigenous Pathways speakers in the North End. Its purpose would be to help those who minister in the inner city to come to an understanding of Indigenous culture and how

⁴⁶ The Rising Above Band, Resources, accessed Mar. 2, 2018, <http://www.risingabove.ca/resources/>.

Christians would or should relate to traditional practises and ceremonies. Months of meeting and planning ensued. The organizers consisted of Andrew, Kent, Howard, Karen, Andy, Kyle, Cornelius Buller, Suhail Stephen (non-Indigenous) and Kristen Hicks (ICYA staff, non-Indigenous).

Vineyard Fellowship was selected as the venue with registration capped at 100 due to space limitations. The unanticipated response encouraged us to forgo the comforts of space and accept a total of 230 people. While ICYA committed as the financial sponsor, Indigenous Pathways/NAIITS was named as the second major sponsor. Plenary speakers and workshop leaders included: Terry LeBlanc, Ray Aldred (now with Vancouver School of Theology), Cheryl Bear, Howard Jolly, and Wendy Peterson. The conference was held in March 2017. Almost immediately a committee formed for the next year's conference based on the positive feedback and desire for a follow-up. In April 2018, Casey Church, Terry LeBlanc, Shari Russell, Howard Jolly, Larry Wilson, and Anita Keith are scheduled as plenary speakers and workshop presenters. We are anticipating 250 people from a number of provinces. Similar events are requested by attendees in their home cities.

This new initiative provides NAIITS with an unanticipated opportunity to spread understanding of the reasons for the Reclamation of Culture Movement and expressions of self-theologizing, even if these innovations are not adopted by all attendees. However, there is more to this. The people present at the first JGW were overwhelmingly young adults. The older generation had met with NAIITS' earliest attempts in the city with suspicion or outright rejection almost two decades previously. Now this younger generation seems ready to hear and implement change.

Analysis of Local Level Diffusion

The formation of NAIITS is traced in Chapter Four. In the interviews I conducted with NAIITS board members, I asked questions to tease out the early ties and connecting points between the founding board members and consequent loops of social networking. The earliest connection is Cornelius Buller (non-Indigenous) and Terry LeBlanc in 1980. Cornelius proved instrumental in the expertise needed in 2000 as the framework for NAIITS was developed. Adrian Jacobs had previously met Richard Twiss in 1989. Terry met Ray Minniecon in 1991 (both with World Vision at the time), foreshadowing the 2017 launch of NAIITS “Down Under.”⁴⁷ Richard and Terry met in 1993. The cluster point comes in 1994. Terry, working for World Vision, joined with Brian Stiller (non-Indigenous) of Evangelical Fellowship of Canada [EFC] to hold a consultation on Aboriginal issues in Winnipeg. I had just met Terry and he invited me to attend, but I was available only on the final day. Terry and I met Adrian at the event. Wally McKay, co-chair with me of the Aboriginal Task Force-EFC, also attended. That same year Terry and Ray Aldred and I connected—four future founding board members had now met. The second cluster occurs in the years 2000 to 2002.⁴⁸ Richard had invited Cheryl Bear to the first NAIITS symposium; Cornelius invited Shari Russell to the second one. (I had met Shari earlier as a student at Providence.) My analysis leads me to conclude that Terry LeBlanc has been the primary key to the networking that has grown the NAIITS community. Each of us, in turn, introduced Terry and Richard to others in the Indigenous community. My research also shows the networking impact Richard wielded on

⁴⁷ Hannah Chapman (Māori), who has registered for the program, in personal communication called this a “10 years in the making” conversation. Terry met Hannah’s family in 1996.

⁴⁸ The early years of NAIITS overlapped with Terry’s initiative, *Dancing Our Way* (a team of twelve dancers), the launch of *My People International*, and *Wiconi International* receiving charitable status.

Winnipeg, first through his writings. These relationships morphed into life-long friendships. At the Winnipeg meeting just referenced, Indigenous and non-Indigenous stood and held hands, joining in prayer as the meeting adjourned. Unexpectedly, the Holy Spirit intervened. In what Adrian called “spontaneous reconciliation,”⁴⁹ participants apologized to one another, confessing to racism in attitudes and actions. Everyone wept.

I posed a question to a few NAIITS board members: “What has NAIITS contributed to your life’s journey?”

Shari, a Major in the Salvation Army, a product of the ‘60’s Scoop, fostered numerous times and adopted out twice, responded, “NAIITS has given me a family—my NAIITS family, plus the strength and courage to connect with my birth family; an integrated self and identity; a voice and a fight to say what has happened is wrong, and a way through it; and I can show it to others.”⁵⁰ She continued, “a vocabulary [to articulate] my experience; a validity to who I am.” It has also helped her to understand why she thinks and acts differently from the majority culture. When asked about NAIITS’ weaknesses, she expressed her concern that the symposiums can be too academic, perhaps making some attendees feel “I am not smart enough to join this conversation.” In response to the same question, Cheryl Bear talked about her role in NAIITS: “I want to be pastoral—hosting, welcoming. [I] feel called to do what Richard did to me—[he] called me out, spoke in an old-school way. I want to change [peoples’] lives.”⁵¹

For this section of the study where I selected five individuals who minister in the inner city of Winnipeg, I did not deliberately seek out opponents to ROCM since this is

⁴⁹ Adrian Jacobs, interview with author, Steinbach, Manitoba, Feb. 24, 2018.

⁵⁰ Shari Russell, interview with author, Tyndale University, Toronto, February 20, 2018. The write-up in this paragraph is based on the same conversation.

⁵¹ Cheryl Bear, telephone conversation, Feb. 21, 2018.

not a quantitative study. Rather, I was seeking to understand in what manner the Reclamation of Culture Movement has diffused and if that has positioned Indigenous people to self-theologize.

Since all but one of the Interviewees had worked on a committee for the JGW Conferences, I expected they were unlikely to be steadfastly opposed to contextualization. However, due to questions raised at meetings around the issue of smudging, for example, I sensed angst by two of the five. In the discovery phase, a few unanticipated results emerged. My analysis at the local level reveals:

- Miriam has clearly stepped away from following Jesus. She is the one interviewee who has not participated in JGW. She is the most comfortable with her people's traditions and has been exposed to traditional practises for a greater part of her life than the other interviewees. In this sense, she is not an adopter, but simply returned to what makes her the most comfortable—in part as a reaction against the harm Christians have done to her people.
- Kent expressed more reservation about participation than I anticipated. He is open and supportive to what NAIITS is doing. As a non-Indigenous person, he is being cautious not to overstep. These are not his traditions to reclaim; however, he is a person of influence. There are people in the community to whom he ministers who are opposed to all things traditional, but there are others who desire to have the freedom to be fully Indigenous. He has chosen not to be a stumbling block.
- Andy expressed less reservation than I anticipated. Perhaps because he has attended the most NAIITS related events, but also, as he stated, he is on a road of discovery.
- Kyle has changed his viewpoint greatly in the five years I have known him and is clearly engaged in self-theologizing.
- Howard, while expressing more specific reservations, grieves over the damage done to his people. He desires change, but is hesitant. He is a cautious and careful person by nature. I would describe Howard as a late adopter, based on the 16 years he has been exposed to NAIITS and has friendships with some of us. Howard has expressed interest in further education (he has an M.Div), in the field of Indigenous theology within a NAIITS program.
- In the 2009 study I conducted of Howard's church, I suggested "If it has not been done, leadership could dialogue about the value of more intentionality in Aboriginal cultural symbols, art, and music." Art and symbolism have increased measurably. Howard seems to be moving towards inclusion of a more traditional Indigenous music style. (Although it must be said, country Western music and guitar, have been adopted widely and owned as an Indigenous music style.)
- The *Ma'wa'chi'hi'to'tan* Journeying in a Good Way Conferences are the most surprising development during my research phase. The non-Indigenous leadership

of ICYA are clearly well-positioned in the community to initiate this conference. Kent and his team have invested over thirty years there. They are trusted by both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and organizations. Others, mostly IFJ, readily joined in the task of planning not just one, but two events. It has been an honor to work with each of them and the others who labour for the love of the people, because of the love of Jesus.

- Clearly the literature produced by the community of NAIITS is functioning as a form of resistance to the negative impact of colonialism and as a means of diffusion for ROCM.
- Self-theologizing is happening, albeit, slowly. Howard's song, Redeemed Redman's Cry, is an expression of self-theologizing.
- The JGW conferences are spontaneous expressions of diffusion. This seems like a tipping point, but may be premature to label it as such.
- Perhaps Miriam's move away from Jesus is a negative result of ROCM, but that is inconclusive. It does serve as a caution to be very clear about the foundation of our beliefs and why NAIITS is committed to the task of reclaiming culture, contextualizing ceremonies and practises, and self-theologizing.

This study had demonstrated diffusion of the innovations inherent in the ROCM and that NAIITS is the primary influencer on Indigenous and non-Indigenous followers of Jesus in Winnipeg. NAIITS has impacted First Nations Community Church [FNCC] through Pastor A—Howard Jolly. Kyle Mason, founder of North End Family Centre [NEFC] first encountered NAIITS through literature which resists assimilation. The founder and staff of Inner City Youth Alive [ICYA] reached out to NAIITS to enable community education and discussion on contextualization. Vineyard Fellowship served as the venue for the first JGW Conference due to Pastor Andy Wood's connections with NAIITS' events. The initiative taken by ICYA to contact Terry and me as representatives of Indigenous Pathways, both My People (their Nestooiak program) and NAIITS, in order to pursue a path to contextualization, indicates the influence and reputation of the executive director and board members. In turn, the interviewees serve as change agents by influencing others in their organizations to attend JGW, leading to more late adopters (or, in Miriam's case, for Mennonite Church of Canada [MCC] staff to gain

understanding of her Sundance Community traditions). The diffusion from NAIITS to the local level is illustrated below:



Figure 5.2. Diffusion at the Local level: Inner City Winnipeg.

Furthermore, the concept and model of Journeying in a Good Way has been adopted by InterVarsity leaders from the University of Regina who are now planning a similar conference in that city in November 2018 and have invited Indigenous Pathways/NAIITS to consult and speak.⁵² Does this indicate a critical mass point for diffusion? My analysis tends towards a conservative “perhaps,” but it is too early to give a definitive “yes.”

Another aspect of diffusion is uncovering the change agents who influence others to adopt an innovation. These have been uncovered through interviews and conversation.

⁵² They requested permission to use the same conference name, but our committee decided against it.

For example, although I was the first person to meet Howard, to teach him a class on Indigenous issues, and to introduce him to Terry LeBlanc, it is Ray Aldred he names as his primary influencer. What we think we see is not always what is.⁵³ The following chart lists the interviewees and the ties to persons they named as influencers in rethinking their biases against Indigenous practices and ceremonies and/or contextualization.

Table 5.2. Influence of Change Agents at Local level

Change Agents	Ray Aldred	Cornelius Buller	Terry LeBlanc	Wendy Peterson	Richard Twiss	Sundance Community
Interviewees						
Kent Dueck ICYA			✓	✓	✓	
Andy Wood Vineyard			✓		✓	
Miriam MCC						✓
Kyle Mason NEFC		✓			✓	
Howard Jolly FNCC	✓					

Going Forward in a Good Way

For NAIITS and others involved in ROCM, self-theologizing has often required a defensive attitude, much like the stance of the early church apologists. The U.S. Native Ministries arm of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship captures this in the name of their ongoing conference, “Would Jesus Eat Frybread?”⁵⁴ This apologia-expectation, indeed requirement, is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. One obvious next step for NAIITS is an Indigenous theology textbook. The tension is to do theology without simply replacing one rigid system with another or pitting theologians against one other so that

⁵³ See Gabriel B. Tait, “‘Sight Beyond My Sight’: A Missiological Study of Liberian Identity and Renewal through the Lens of Photography” (PhD Diss., Asbury Theological Seminary, Aug. 2011), 73.

IFJ are pressured to declare “I am of Paul,” or “I am of Calvin,” or “I am of LeBlanc.”

Community-centric and community-owned theologies can help to avoid those pitfalls.

In September 2017, through the influence of Indigenous Pathways board member Shari Russel, the territorial Indigenous ministries consultant for the Salvation Army, the Army held their first Powwow.⁵⁵ The appointment of Shari as consultant and sponsoring the Powwow are unprecedented evidence of ROCM diffusion. Nevertheless, pursuing answers to some remaining questions may help advance self-theologizing:

- What does a healthy Indigenous church with fully contextualized and reclaimed traditions look like?
- Is there a role for denominationalism? Will denominations engage in culture in a healthy way? Is it possible to reject contextualization and avoid paternalism?
- What role if any is there for long established White-led mission organizations? For example, is the recently announced initiative by Ethnos Canada [New Tribes Missions] to begin missions to First Nations, comparing the bravery of their famous-five martyrs to the determination needed for missions to “Canada’s unreached First Peoples”—where the “conditions are going to be dangerous”—is this wise, harmful, or exploitive?⁵⁶
- Is there a role for White-led urban ministries? How can they move from no Indigenous leadership, past a ‘token Indian’ on the board, to Indigenous leadership being front and center in the planning and execution of mission strategy, in a truly indigenous style?
- How can bible-centric educational institutions best serve Indigenous students?
- How can/should Christian organizations help adults who were raised apart from their cultures reclaim their identities lost in foster homes?
- Is reclamation of culture only an urban initiative or is it happening on reserves as well? If the latter, does it parallel the movement described here?
- What role has social media played in advancing or hindering the ROCM?
- What impact has the ethos of Pentecostalism and the Charismatic Movement had on the development and sustainability of the ROCM? Have the singular features

⁵⁴ See WJEF 2017, Native Ministries, InterVarsity, <http://native.intervarsity.org/wjef-2017>. Mark Charles (Navajo), who has attended a number of World Christian Gathering of Indigenous Peoples events and NAIITS symposiums, has been featured as a speaker, as has Donnie Begay, NAIITS graduate.

⁵⁵ Pamela Richardson, “Salvation Army Sponsors Public Pow Wow at Pine Lake Camp: Indigenous celebration of culture makes history in Alberta,” *Salvationist* (Sept. 11, 2017), accessed Mar. 5, 2018, <https://salvationist.ca/articles/salvation-army-sponsors-public-pow-wow-at-pine-lake-camp/>.

⁵⁶ Tim Whatley, “Ethnos Canada,” *Ethnos*, Issue 4 (Dec. 3, 2017), 1.

of these theologies positioned IFJ to initiate innovations and others to be early adopters? How so, in light of demonization of culture by some in those traditions?

- What evidence is there that Evangelical churches are supportive of or hindering ROCM?

Richard Twiss noted two characteristics of early ROCM innovators in his study:

all who created sustainable initiatives shared an urban background (those born on reservations/ reserves had moved to cities), and, most are of mixed heritage. He concluded, “I do not know these contextualization innovations could have occurred any other way, in light of several centuries of Christian mission, and the state of the Indian church being nearly completely Eurocentric.”⁵⁷ An additional reason may be attributed to their having learned to communicate through two worldviews which positioned them to choose integration over assimilation. Yet, there is one more factor I uncovered, but have not analyzed: most of the innovators shared roots, often ordination, in Pentecostalism or churches associated with the Charismatic Movement. Has this uniquely positioned their initiatives for sustainability? Did all these leaders remain committed to their roots?

The research has revealed three primary clusters of elements that propelled the ROCM forward as illustrated below.

⁵⁷ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 223.

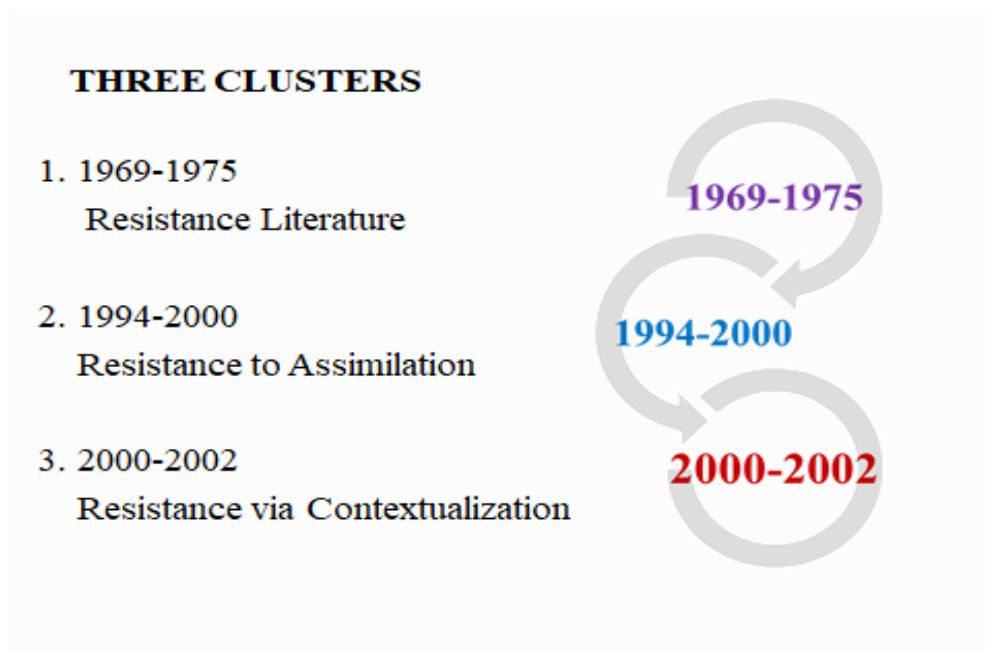
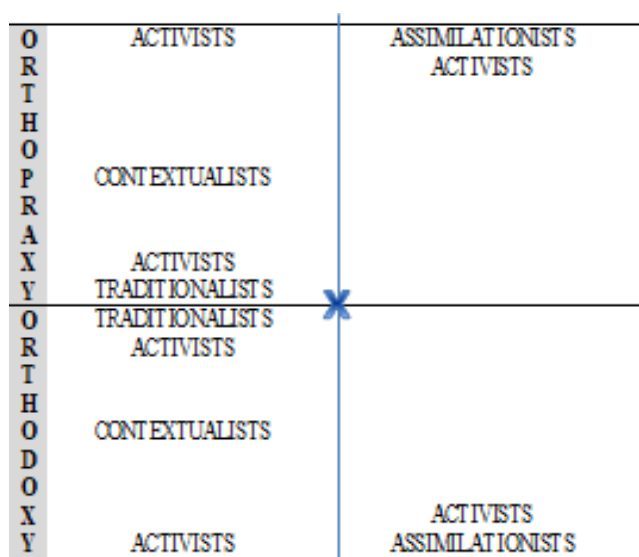


Figure 5.3. Three primary clusters as change points in the ROCM.

As noted previously, some Indigenous people have rejected Christianity altogether, seeking to maintain or re-establish/re-create pre-European Native Traditionalism. Indigenous Jesus-followers have been pressured to respond to this retraditionalization, sometimes being challenged to reject Christianity as “White man’s religion.” Others have rejected anything “Indian” and are therefore regarded as assimilated. The subjects of this study, with the exception of Miriam, are seeking a more moderate road, a way that is more incarnational through contextualization in the hope of influencing a deeper experience of the abundant life Jesus offers—with identity and dignity restored. This study has presented the ROCM as a way forward. Sociopolitical activism paved the path, in part by modelling ways to resist and by producing resistance literature. Indigenous activism has steadily increased. Activists include both Indigenous peoples resisting government actions and non-Indigenous peoples empathetic to their issues. Traditionalists are Indigenous peoples who fight to retain both traditional practices

and teachings. IFJ, represented as contextualists below, reside in a mid-point area of the left hand column in the illustration below. They wish to retain both Indigenous orthopraxy and orthodoxy, but interpreted through the lens of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The following illustration demonstrates that those who choose, or have been forced into, assimilating into Western Christianity are the furthest removed from traditional practices and teachings. X indicates traditional orthopraxy and orthodoxy.

Figure 5.4. Traditionalists, IFJ Assimilationists, and IFJ Contextualists



Brian Walsh and Sylvia Keesmaat look to Paul’s letter to the Colossians for a way forward in general church culture, but they offer sound advice to IJF. “Colossians is a subversive tract for subversive living, and it insists that such an alternative imagination and alternative way of life is formed and sustained in the context of community.”⁵⁸ IFJ do well to hold tightly to community values of leadership and consensus. Linda Smith

⁵⁸ Walsh & Keesmaat, *Colossians Remixed*, 9.

reinforces that idea, in spite of the stark challenges marginalization presents. “Many indigenous communities are spaces of hope and possibilities, despite enormous odds aligned against them.”⁵⁹

This study acknowledges it presents a braid too thin since it fails to incorporate all of the available strands which may be braided into the story of reclaiming identity through culture and contextualization. They include:

- Analyzing the extent and ramifications of the Protestant Work Ethic on the missionary imagination as applied to both Christianization and civilization of Indigenous peoples;
- Analyzing the influence of Red-Letter Christians, Sojourners, Brian McLaren *et al.* on individual innovators and change agents within ROCM;
- Placing ROCM within historic re-traditionalization and in majority culture in what Phyllis Tickle calls *The Great Emergence*,⁶⁰
- Unravelling traditional gender roles and comparing those to gender roles in ROCM; for example, Māori women initiate the welcome call and precede the men; both do the haka; Six Nations is matrilineal, etc.;
- Comparing the ROCM in diverse locales such as urban Canada, remote First Nations, the northern isolated Inuit peoples, and Métis communities;⁶¹

“It is especially important to remember that no standing form of organized Christian faith has ever been destroyed by one of our semi-millennial eruptions. Instead, each simply has lost hegemony or pride of place to the new and not-yet organized form that was birthing.”⁶² Tickle asserts that just as Eastern Orthodoxy survived the Great Schism, each form of Christianity will be “freed to become fully itself and fully an expression of

⁵⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 1999), 98.

⁶⁰ Phyllis Tickle, *The Great Emergence: How Christianity is Changing and Why* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2008), 28. Tickle attributes the term to Diana Butler Bass. See also pp. 58 and 141f.

⁶¹ Does the work of J. Paul Pennington, *Christian Barriers to Jesus: Conversations and Questions from the Indian Context* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2017) have helpful paradigms?

⁶² Tickle, *The Great Emergence*, 27.

its own experience of living out the Christian faith in its own circumstances.”⁶³ If she is right, the outcome for IFJ is a more Indigenous way of being Indigenous *and* Christian. In which case, the reclamation of culture movement will have achieved its primary goal.

Where does the Canadian Evangelical non-Indigenous community sit on the matter of reconciliation with Indigenous marginalization? The juxtaposition of two recent articles by evangelical scholars and a NAIITS letter in response are revealing. The authors of both articles are esteemed educators and authors. One is Mark Buchanan, who teaches at Ambrose Seminary in Calgary. He is a former colleague of Ray Aldred and a close friend of Cheryl Bear. His article, “Let the Sermon be Interrupted” clearly reflects a person who has developed deep relationships in the Indigenous community. The other is John Stackhouse, professor at Crandall University. His connection to the Winnipeg community is as former Professor of Religion at the University of Manitoba and columnist on the Faith Page of the Winnipeg Free Press. He has also written for the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and *Faith Today* magazine. Furthermore, Cheryl Bear was his student when he was a professor at Regent in Vancouver. His article “In Search of Reconciliation,”⁶⁴ is the antithesis of Buchanan’s. I first read it when Brian Stiller (formerly referenced under Sacred Assembly in Chapter Four) shared it on Facebook. I passed it along to some NAIITS board members for their reactions. The response and the articles are in Appendix 7. Together they paint a picture of the evangelical divide over reconciliation. Ray Aldred’s written words speak to this divide:

We wanted to provide a forum and develop a mentored approach to doing theological education in concert with existing theological institutions. ... I know I am talking about racism and political realities, but evangelicals have a tendency to

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ John Stackhouse, “In Search of Reconciliation,” Context with Lorna Dueck, accessed Feb. 26, 2018; <http://www.contextwithlornadueck.com/2018/02/23/in-search-of-truth-and-reconciliation/>.

want to run away from resisting injustice and engaging social issues right here. I have seen many Christian organizations struggle to engage the issues of our aboriginal people, because they are part of the problem. Many Canadians, and Americans I would imagine, do not realize that the plight of our aboriginal people will not change unless we change. Jan Elliot, who does antiracism workshops, said, “Indians cannot solve the racism problem. It is not their problem to solve. They are not the racists.”⁶⁵

Bagele Chilisa wrote, “The challenge for [Indigenous] researchers is how to manage the literature that informs our research studies, where the literature that is available on the colonized Other is written by outsiders and the literature by the colonized Other is predominantly oral.”⁶⁶ This study has demonstrated this is changing. Indigenous people are adding written words to their own traditions to effectively confront racism and marginalization. There are Indigenous people who resonate with the words of Richard Twiss who frequently said in his final years, “I am tired of quoting dead White men. I am now quoting my people.” While recognizing the caution the academy has towards unscholarly works, the church is impoverished itself when it dismisses the words of those who lived/live the experiences of life under colonialism.

I had chosen the term Reclamation of Culture Movement to describe what has been happening in Indigenous lands where the dominant culture is one that has been imported during colonization.⁶⁷ I felt neither the term contextualization nor retraditionalization captured the significance of the movement as it applies to Indigenous

⁶⁵ Raymond C. Aldred, “Freedom,” Bruce Ellis Benson, Malinda Elizabeth Berry, and Peter Goodwin Heltzel, eds., *Prophetic Evangelicals: Envisioning a Just and Peaceable Kingdom*, Prophetic Christianity (William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2012), 150-167, 165, accessed Dec. 8, 2017, https://books.google.com/books?id=rC8S3IL7OfAC&pg=PA165&lpg=PA165&dq=%22Evangelical+Fellowship+of+Canada%22+a+aboriginal+task+force&source=bl&ots=3S5WPCDHSs&sig=no2tBPVYZ3cgkbFuBlp1aNiPkZM&hl=en&a=X&ved=0ahUKEwj31JTfx_rXAhVBTd8KHAl4Bg4Q6AEIOTAD#v=onepage&q=%22Evangelical%20Fellowship%20of%20Canada%22%20aboriginal%20task%20force&f=false.

⁶⁶ Bagele Chilisa, *Indigenous research Methodologies* (Botswana: University of Botswana, Sage Publications, 2012), 59.

⁶⁷ This is not to suggest dominant culture has been or is stagnant.

followers of Jesus. Richard Twiss expressed the same uncertainties in his dissertation. He wrote in his concluding chapter, “I think a legitimate reflection of what contextualization means suggests we stop using the term ‘contextualization movement’ to describe what we are attempting to do in our desire to simply tell Jesus’ story in a way that fits into a simple narrative framework of a sacred story.”⁶⁸ Going forward, I anticipate someone will find a more precise term.

Conclusion

The right words come today in their right order
And every word spells freedom and release
Today the gospel crosses every border
All tongues are loosened by the Prince of Peace
Today the lost are found in His translation.
Whose mother-tongue is Love, in every nation.

—Malcolm Guite⁶⁹

This study began by posing questions. Answers have been sought by researching the history of First Contact at the Global, Regional, and Local levels, seeking commonalities and differences in experiences and consequences. It has demonstrated both the agency and the resistance exercised by First Peoples. It moved through various crises as the roles of Indigenous peoples spiraled downward to marginalization in their ancestral lands. Their worldview mystified those who were the product of European Enlightenment—particularly in viewing land as something other than a commodity. “It

⁶⁸ Richard Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization Efforts in North America 1989-2009,” (D.Miss. Diss., Asbury Theological Seminary, 2011), 234.

⁶⁹ I choose this portion of “Pentecost” by Malcolm Guite, whom I have met through Steve Bell, because he is a non-Indigenous British Anglican priest and academic. He was born in Nigeria to a Methodist father, lived in Canada for a few years, and has lately come in contact with the marginalization of Indigenous peoples here in Winnipeg. Thus, his poem while looking back to the first Pentecost, inadvertently expresses an eschatological hope which appropriately brings European missions full circle.

might be safely admitted that the Maori mind is more sensitive on the subject of losing his land than on any other [matter]. . . . It can hardly be expected that the noblest principles of colonization [could be comprehended]—of peopling the waste places of the earth, of improving an unformed race till it be amalgamated with the most refined portions of mankind.”⁷⁰ Culture clashes have prevailed for over five centuries. While some advances have been achieved, Indigenous peoples have not yet experienced the ideal as stated in the above excerpt from Guite’s pen. By highlighting negative attitudes of missionaries and colonizers in this work, I am seeking to flip the coin to examine the writing on the other side that reveals the experience of the colonized. I acknowledge that this is uncomfortable to those who have only had the opportunity of reading and experiencing the positive aspects of North American history.

The first chapter introduced the community of Pikangikum with its spiralling suicide rates of a decade ago. These rates are unabated in the midst of deplorable poverty in one of the richest countries on earth.⁷¹ The problems which plague the reserves follow First Peoples into the inner cities at all three levels, creating new challenges. Loss of dignity and identity through attempts at assimilation are not merely additional challenges—they are the penultimate result of attempted cultural genocide.⁷²

⁷⁰ Robert Ward *et al.*, *Life among the Maories of New Zealand: Being a Description of Missionary, Colonial, and Military Achievements* (Breinigsville, PA: N.P., 2009), 460.

⁷¹ Globe editorial, “The Unspoken Problem in Pikangikum,” *Globe and Mail* (July 25, 2017), accessed Oct. 9, 2017, <https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/editorials/globe-editorial-the-unspoken-problem-in-pikangikum/article35798480/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&>.

⁷² *Cultural genocide* is a term Justice Murry Sinclair uses to speak of his conclusions from chairing the TRC. Paul Hiebert explains the use of the term *culture*: “Historical particularists rejected the arrogance and ethnocentrism associated with the word *civilization* and replaced it with the word *culture*. This shift in language reflected profound changes in the way anthropologists were beginning to view other peoples.” Emphasis in original. Paul Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts: Anthropological Explorations for Contemporary Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2009), 94.

Since the mid-1970s Indigenous peoples have taken up pen, placard, and public media to inform and more insistently rail against the power brokers in governments. At all three levels, Indigenous peoples seem to have awakened, to somehow have regained the strength and tenacity to say “No More.” Leanne Simpson uses the term “radical resurgence.”⁷³ This resistance is ongoing at the sociopolitical level and creates angst for the dominant culture. Story-telling through resistance literature is but one strategy that has increased and kept the fires of resistance stoked. “Books and literature have served as key diffusion and communication channels for the widespread introduction of contextualization.”⁷⁴

For aboriginal people, story continues to be a prime carrier of identity. ... This includes the appropriation of the gospel story by Aboriginal communities because if Aboriginal people cannot see themselves in the gospel story, then the gospel story has become a “myth” Thus, an examination of the way Aboriginal story works will prove fruitful for the theological enterprise because it may produce “free” space in which collaboration is possible for a more inclusive Western theology.⁷⁵ This free space being the distance between Aboriginal spirituality contained in an aboriginal approach to story and academic theology.⁷⁶

Indigenous peoples have also resisted assimilation into a full-orbed capitalist consumerism. This finds support in the book of Revelation. In addition to the book’s caution about losing faith, two eschatological warnings revolve around the willingness to:

⁷³ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We have always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017). See Chapter 1.

⁷⁴ Twiss, “Native-led Contextualization,” 182.

⁷⁵ Referencing Sophie McCall, “What the map cuts up, the story cuts across’: Translating Oral Traditions and Aboriginal land title,” *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no. 80 (2003): 318.

⁷⁶ Ray Aldred, unpublished paper shared with me (Aug. 6, 2011).

(1) assimilate into culture in order to survive economically; and, (2) seek acceptance at any price and thereby gain an easier life.⁷⁷

At the local level of Winnipeg, the past decade has been a tumultuous one with the city being classified as Canada's most racist, the activism over the city's water supply negatively impacting Shoal Lake 40 First Nation, the murder of Tina Fontaine, and numerous other stress factors. It has also been a coming-of-age-awareness season for Settlers,⁷⁸ many of whom have participated as allies in activism.

My research has been undertaken primarily through participant-observation from an insider perspective, engaging in conversations, and conducting interviews. The participant observer joins in day-to-day activities of the community and has the advantage of gaining deeper insight. The disadvantage is a bias that may miss facets of the community that outsiders perceive, whereas an outsider's bias may lead to misinterpretation or demeaning what is not understood. The scope of this study leaves it prone to generalizations that require discernment as to their veracity within individual communities. While I acknowledge differences between individuals and eras, I sought information which facilitated insight into similar attitudes and consequences that live on in this generation, supporting the status quo of marginalization.

In the first chapter of this study (see page 157), I noted that Indigenous storytelling is circular with ideas repeating and yet building upon one another and that self-theologizing follows a similar pattern, leaving it vulnerable to be judged as "other," thus incompatible with Western standards or categories. Another difference is that

⁷⁷ See Craig R. Koester, *Revelation and the End of All Things* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2001), 141-143 and 197-205.

⁷⁸ Emma Battell Lowman and Adam J Barker, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (Halifax, NB & Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing, 2015).

Indigenous stories and teachings do not insert an interpretive element, such as “the moral of the story is” To interpret a story for the listener is to presume upon Creator’s intent for her life. Each person is on his own journey. It is considered presumptuous and interfering to “know” what another needs to learn. However, moving forward in relationship may require a more direct approach, and thus, I would suggest the following issues and questions that arise from this story (in addition to those previously stated on p. 244) as relevant to the ongoing mission of the church:

- The past centuries of history told from an Indigenous perspective will test the patience of descendants of both missionaries and colonizers. It is difficult to hear one’s beloved stories reinterpreted and critiqued, let alone, on many occasions, shown to be false.
- Founding myths of nations and Christian organizations will benefit from a fuller story told through the voices of both colonizer and colonized, the bearer and the receiver of the gospel, with the latter freed to tell their stories in their own ways.
- While many of the quotations referenced herein are deemed to be racist by today’s standards, and given that the Holy Spirit teaches and guides into all truth in all ages, mission studies must struggle with the tension between the claims inherent in the built-in justification of the doctrine of discovery and manifest destiny and the resultant harm that has befallen Indigenous peoples. What does it mean to be “a product of one’s time?” In what ways do we, in our times, need to protect ourselves and our mission endeavours from being the “product” of our time?
- Students of missions must discern if a “church planting” emphasis is the most beneficial approach to mitigating the harm done to Indigenous peoples. What do we intend by church planting? How can we avoid the snare of importing and imposing our own vision of church structure, leadership expectations, and/or Saint Paul’s culture into communities where they do harm? Are we able to acknowledge the existence of “church” which bears little resemblance to our concept?
- In light of the Western value and interpretation of “work” and given the charges of laziness directed towards Indigenous peoples, in what ways does that interpretation (the “Protestant work ethic” for example, and resulting materialism used as an measurement of work performed) inform our judgements of other cultures? An analysis of Hebraic understandings of work may prove helpful here, given the similarities of Old Testament values with Indigenous ones.
- Regarding leadership, is it possible for westerners to raise-up church leadership that does not reflect Western styles and values of leadership? What does discipleship look like when it is divested of Western culture? Are Western leaders willing and able to withdraw from dominant control of the answers?
- History is now. History is who we are, encoded into the DNA of both individuals and institutions. Mission organizations, Christian educational institutes, and denominations must wrestle with the issue of prosperity built upon stolen lands

and stolen labour. Does this require examination of institutional history? Is there cause for repentance?

- While missions studies are increasingly cognizant of global theology in the sense of Asian and Southern theologies, is there a place for First Peoples theologies—those whose lands never cast off colonial rule? What is required to make room for the gifts the Spirit has entrusted to First Peoples for the benefit of the global church?

My experience with protocol informs my choice of the metaphor “a gifting of sweetgrass.” Ceremony is an omnipresent feature of traditional Indigenous life. In both actions and significance “it encompasses all of life.”⁷⁹

In a braid of sweetgrass, just below the tie off point, all the strands have lost their individuality. They are not easily traced back to the triad in which the individuality of the journey began; rather each now is transformed as a part of a collective, similar to an Indigenous concept of community. When the flame ignites the braid, it is quickly blown out, creating the cleansing smoke—the substance of the smudging ceremony. All the strands now identified in the singular rise as holy or sacred smoke, which is cupped into the recipient’s hand and gently directed to prepare the mind, the eyes, the ears, the mouth, the heart, the feet—the whole of the individual—to prepare the smudged person to walk with Creator in the new day.

⁷⁹ One example is of a chief “drinking White man’s ‘firewater’.” Hugh Dempsey quotes a 1897 reference regarding the manner in which a head Blackfoot Chief “dips his finger into the liquor and lets a few drops fall to the ground; then a few drops are offered above; but he drinks the rest without further delay.” Hugh Dempsey, *Firewater: The Impact of the Whiskey Trade on the Blackfoot Nation* (Calgary, AB Fifth House Ltd., 2002), 8. Also, Alexander Henry *et al.*, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur Trader of the Northwest Company, and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the Same Company, 1799-1814* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), 723; as quoted in Dempsey, *Firewater*, 9.



Figure 5.5. A Gifting of Sweetgrass.

Robert Frost used the term “walling out” in his poem addressing the thoughtless constructions of walls.⁸⁰ Elijah Harper had a dream to break down the dehumanizing walls constructed through colonization: “In unity, there is strength. In unity, there is power. In unity, there is hope. It is a feeling I know our people felt every day hundreds of years ago and is a feeling I want all Aboriginal people to feel again.”⁸¹ To amend a previous quote by Nelson Mandela, “The RCMP grew out of the idea that Indigenous peoples must first liberate themselves from the sense of psychological inferiority bred by five centuries of white rule. Only then could the people rise up in confidence and truly liberate themselves from repression.”⁸²

To a different people in a different era, Jeremiah counseled “Stand at the crossroads and look; ask for the ancient paths, ask where the good way lies, and walk in it, and you will find rest for your souls.” (Jer 6:16.) Globally, Indigenous followers of

⁸⁰ Robert Frost, *Mending Wall*. The reference I allude to reads “before I built a wall I’d ask to know/What I was walling in or walling out/And to whom I was like to give offense.”

⁸¹ Hon. Andrew Swan, ‘Orders of the Day – Government Business; Motions of Condolence, Elijah Harper.’ Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (Monday, May 12, 2014), Hansard, accessed Dec. 6, 2017, http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/40th_3rd/vol_53/h53.html.

⁸² Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 486. See page 122 in this study.

Jesus through reclamation of culture and contextualization of the gospel of Jesus the Christ have sought the ancient paths, looking for the “good way” that will provide a sense of hope and rest for their souls. The debate over the reclamation of culture will not fade away anytime soon. There will likely be extremes on both sides of the issue. Whether or not the diffusion of the innovation demonstrated in this dissertation is irreversible remains to be seen. The resilience of Indigenous peoples suggests new forms of resistance to assimilation will emerge if needed. Meanwhile, those who reject reclamation of culture and its accompanying contextualization will try to protect the gospel from any hint of syncretism. Contextualizers will seek to release their people from bondage that God never intended and to restore their dignity on the new-ancient paths. By this means they will seek to function as change agents active in society and in the church. Under God’s grace, may the Holy Spirit provide the same direction he gave those who wrestled with problems of ethnic conformity to Judaism in the early years of church history as recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Acts.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Elements in this Study

Table A.1. Events, Organizations, and Individuals in this Study

ELEMENT and CHAPTER	TRIAD I GLOBAL New Zealand & North America	TRIAD II REGIONAL North America	TRIAD III LOCAL Canada & Winnipeg
EVENT 1 Colonization CHAPTER 2	<i>First Contact</i> England	<i>First Contact</i> Spain/Portugal France, England	<i>First Contact</i> France England
EVENT 2 Colonization / Decolonization CHAPTER 3	<i>Consequences → Crisis</i> Treaty of Waitangi 1840 Treaty of Waitangi 1975 1970s Political scene	<i>Consequences → Crisis</i> Wounded Knee: AIM Occupation (1973)	<i>Consequences → Crisis</i> Political: The White Paper (1969)
EVENT 3 Retraditionalization CHAPTER 3			<i>Resistance Literature</i> (1969 –Present)
EVENT 4 Retraditionalization Reclamation CHAPTER 4			<i>Sacred Assembly</i> (1995)
EVENT 5 Decolonization CHAPTER 4			<i>The Apology</i> (2010)
ORGANIZATION 1 Colonization CHAPTER 2	[Jesuits] Represent: Anglican, Methodists Missions Etc.	[Jesuits] Represent: Anglicans/Episcopalian Methodists, Puritans, Quakers, Etc.	<i>Jesuits</i> (Canada) Represent: Anglican, Oblates Methodists, Presbyterians,
ORGANIZATION 2 Reclamation CHAPTER 4	<i>World Christian Gathering of Indigenous People</i>	<i>World Christian Gathering of Indigenous People</i>	<i>World Christian Gathering of Indigenous People</i>
ORGANIZATION 3 Reclamation CHAPTER 4		<i>Wiconi International</i>	<i>Wiconi International</i>
ORGANIZATION 4 Reclamation CHAPTER 4			<i>Aboriginal Task Force –Evangelical Fellowship of Canada</i>
ORGANIZATION 5 Reclamation CHAPTER 4	[NAIITS (2017)]	<i>NAIITS</i>	<i>NAIITS</i>
INDIVIDUAL 1 Colonization CHAPTER 2	[Pauline]	Pauline]	<i>Pauline</i>
INDIVIDUAL 2 Reclamation CHAPTER 4	<i>Richard and Katherine Twiss</i>	<i>Richard and Katherine Twiss</i>	<i>Richard and Katherine Twiss</i>
INDIVIDUAL 3 Reclamation CHAPTER 4	<i>Terry LeBlanc</i>	<i>Terry LeBlanc</i>	<i>Terry LeBlanc</i>
INDIVIDUAL 4 Reclamation CHAPTER 4	[Cheryl Bear]	<i>Cheryl Bear</i>	<i>Cheryl Bear</i>
INDIVIDUAL 5 Self-theologizing ? CHAPTER 5			<i>Five Interviews, including Pastor A</i> (Winnipeg)

Appendix 2: Archival Photographs

Figure A.1. Louis Riel Council with Josef Jean Baptiste Beauchemin, ca. 1869.

[Baptiste Beauchemin is my Great Grandfather –Back row, standing, second from right. Lois Riel is seated, center. Public domain.]



Figure A.2. Beauchemin School (Pre-1914)

[A number of the students are my aunts and uncles. My Grandfather, Patrice Beauchemin, was on the school board. Personal collection.]



Figure A.3. Elijah Harper, Manitoba Legislature, saying “No” to Meech Lake Accord (June 19, 1990). [Used with permission from Elijah Harper Scholarship Fund (2016), NAIITS: *An Indigenous Learning Community*]



Figure A.4. Local to Regional to Global Conversations (2000). [Left to Right: Terry LeBlanc (Local Level), Monté Ohia (Global Level), Richard Twiss (Regional Level). World Christian Gathering on Indigenous People, Australia. Used with permission.]

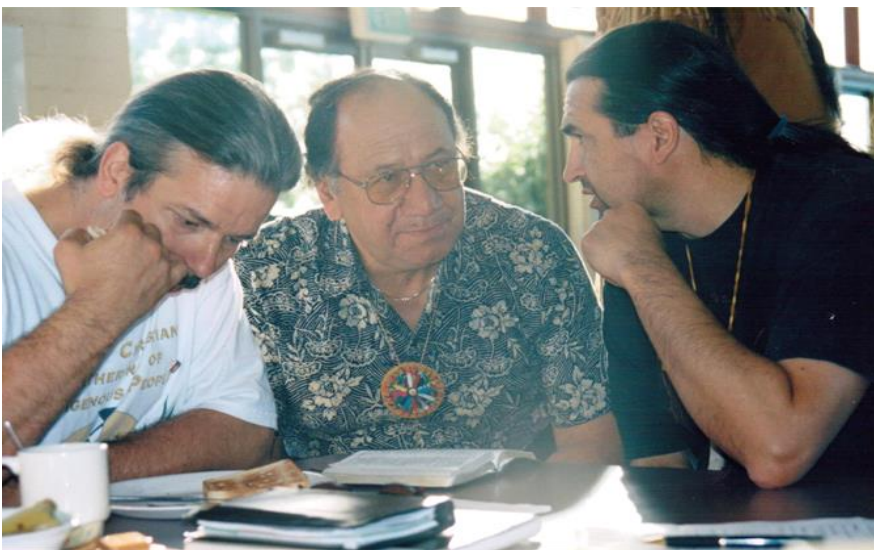


Figure A.5. NAIITS Founding Board of Directors (2001).
[Left to Right: Randy Woodley, Ray Aldred, Terry LeBlanc, Wendy Peterson, Richard Twiss, Cheryl Bear, Adrian Jacobs, Cornelius Buller, Steve Cheramie-rising-son. Terry, Cornelius, and Wendy acted as signatories of first documents. Photographer: Sue Careless. Used with permission.]



Figure A.6. NAIITS Board participating in Idle No More event in Portland Oregon. (January 2013). [Last photo with Richard Twiss. Left to right: Shari Russell, Wendy Peterson, Adrian Jacobs, Terry LeBlanc, Richard Twiss. Missing: Cheryl Bear, Ray Aldred, Andrea Smith, and Randy Woodley. Personal collection.]



**Appendix 3: Métis Land Scrip from "Ancestors of Wendy Beauchemin Peterson."
[La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface/St. Boniface Historical Society]**

DOMINION OF CANADA. I, *Baptiste Beauchemin*
PROVINCE OF MANITOBA of the Parish of *St Charles*
 County of *Selkirk* in said Province.

Parish of *St Charles* make oath and say as follows :

1. I am a Half breed head of a family resident in the Parish of *St Charles*
 in the said Province, on the 15th day of July, A.D. 1870, and consisting
 of myself ~~and~~ *Wife & Children*
 and I claim to be entitled as such head of family to receive a grant of one hundred and sixty acres
 of land or to receive Scrip for one hundred and sixty dollars pursuant to the Statute in that behalf.

2. I was born on or about the *3rd* day of *November* A.D. 1838 in the
 Parish of *St Norbert* in said Province.

3. *Sergis Beauchemin*, half brother, my father;
 and *Marc Thériault*, - do -, is my mother.

4. I have not made or caused to be made any claim of land or Scrip other than the above in
 this or any other Parish in said Province, nor have I claimed or received, as an Indian, any
 annuity moneys, from the Government of said Dominion.

Baptiste Beauchemin
 mark

Sworn before me at the Parish and County aforesaid on the
15th day of *August* A.D. 1875 having
 been first read over and explained in the *French*
 language to said deponent who seemed perfectly to under-
 stand the same and *affixed his*
mark in my presence.

John J. ...

Commissioner.

Claim 571 Scrip issued 12th Oct, 1876
2/1/86
[Signature]

Appendix 4: *Relations des Jésuites/ Relations*

Every student of Canadian history is indebted to *Relations des Jésuites* otherwise known as the *Relations*. For over forty years, the French literate public could read the accounts of Jesuit life and “the Savages” usually within a year after they were written. “Invaluable as ethnographic and documentary sources, the *Jesuit Relations* were avidly and widely read in the 18th century, along with the works of Cartier and Champlain, as exciting travel literature.”¹ The value of these documents is further enhanced by the readily available translation and editing work of Reuben Gold Thwaites. He edited seventy-three volumes in 1896-1901. He entitled the resulting texts as: *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*. These include “annotated parallel versions of his translations and the French, Latin and Italian original texts.”²

The *Canadian Encyclopedia* describes the *Relations* in these words:

Jesuit Relations (*Relations des Jésuites*), the voluminous annual documents sent from the Canadian mission of the Society of Jesus to its Paris office, 1632-72, compiled by missionaries in the field, edited by their Québec superior, and printed in France by Sébastien Cramoisy. As a result of Cardinal Richelieu's decision to enlist the Jesuits in colonizing French North America, the early history of settlement was systematically and colourfully (*sic.*) documented by priests attempting to convert the Indians and also to attract support at home for their project.³

¹ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1690-1791*, vol. XLIX (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers/The Imperial Press, MDCCCXCVIII), Jan. 16, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/jesuitrelations85jesugoog>.

² *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Jesuit Relations” (originally accessed Oct. 29, 2008), accessed January 16, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jesuit-relations/>.

³ *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Jesuit Relations” (originally accessed Oct. 29, 2008), accessed January 16, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jesuit-relations/>.

In the words of Mealing, “the *Relations* show that even the saints were entirely human and therefore entirely interesting.”⁴ Yet they reveal more, as they helped inform the lasting mythologies and misunderstandings that frame Euro-Canadian concepts of the “other” that Aboriginal peoples still must navigate. For example, that the Jesuits “had left the most highly civilized country of their times, to plunge at once into the heart of the American wilderness, and attempt to win to the Christian faith the fiercest savages known to history....”⁵ We cannot know how much the intended audience affected the reports or how they were edited by the French Superior.

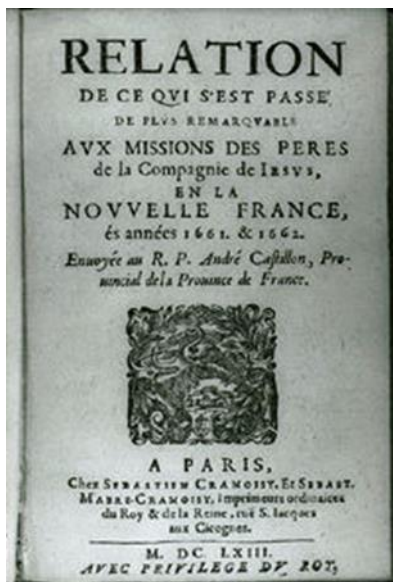


Figure A.7. An example of *Relations des Jésuites*/ Relations : The title page of a report by Jesuit Jérôme Lalemant, "Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions," 1663.⁶

⁴ S. R. Mealing, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Carleton Library, no. 7 (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969), xi.

⁵ Reuben Gold Thwaites ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1690-1792* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers/The Imperial Press, MDCCCXCVIII), 37, 40; as quoted in LeBlanc, “*Mi'kmaq* and French/Jesuit Understandings of the Spiritual and Spirituality,” 93.

⁶ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 21. My translation, “Relation to what has happened through the most remarkable missions;” see also, *Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. Jesuit Relations, accessed January 16, 2018, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jesuit-relations/>.

Appendix 5: Pauline’s Story: The Prayer God Could Not Answer⁷

The following is reconstructed from my notes recorded the day an elderly woman told her story at Sacred Assembly, 1995. Her experiences reference the Roman Catholic Church, but other children fell under care and abuse from other churches. The general public often reinforced the attitudes and supported government actions that led to this story.

She was seven, almost eight, when her father told her it was her decision. For the last two years she had run away and hidden in the bush each time the man came to take her away. Unlike some of the children, she had not been tricked by his offer of candy, so that he could grab them, forcing them onto the plane. Once the plane left, she would come out of hiding and make her way home.

This time she had heard the man yell angrily at her father. Later her father spoke to her in his quiet way, telling her it was her decision. But, if she didn’t go with the man, her father would be jailed. She had never seen a jail, but her father’s tone told her it was a bad place. Who then would hunt and trap to feed her mother, grandmother and little brothers and sisters?

And so it happened. The next fall when the plane arrived, the frightened little girl went with the strange white man. He terrified her, as did being in a plane so far above ground. She did not understand his language and only knew vaguely where he was taking her. She would not see her village or family for two long years and then only briefly every other year.

Finally the plane arrived at its destination. She was led into a large building and handed over to white women, some of whom wore flowing black robes and had their heads covered. She stood frozen in place with fear and shame as one grabbed her long black braids, chopped them off, dropping them to the floor in disgust. Next they peeled off her clothing and rubbed a smelly liquid into her scalp. It hurt. When they were done bathing her, they dressed her in discarded white girls’ clothing. She longed for the beautiful clothes she had watched her grandmother sew. Later she discovered they had been taken outside and burned.

Over the next few months she learned important life lessons. She realized the word “Pauline” meant her. For the remainder of her life she would answer to Pauline rather than her Cree name. She came to understand that the God these people honoured hated her Cree language—he preferred Latin, English or French. Sometimes she whispered in Cree to another girl, or in a moment of excitement simply forgot the new words. And sometimes she was caught. She told us that a nun grabbed her and pulled to a corner of the room where a piece of paper was shoved between her teeth. She stood facing the corner for a very long time. The paper was hard and dry, with pictures of snakes on one side and flames on the other. They were reminders of the dreadful things God would do to her for speaking Cree.

Pauline discovered that God didn’t like the way her people prayed or celebrated or their music; he preferred guitar, fiddle, piano and organ. She studied a history that began

⁷ Originally published as Wendy Peterson, “The Prayer God Could Not Answer,” in Wendy Peterson, ed., “Aboriginal Task Force Report on the Royal Commission for Aboriginal Peoples” (Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2000; “The Prayer” revised 2011). Also see edited version in Jennifer Howe *Peace et al. My Neighbor’s Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012), 68-72.

when white people arrived in the land. The only important things worth learning or worth concerning oneself with involved their people.

Pauline's days were filled with lessons on reading, writing, arithmetic, memorizing prayers, going to church and doing chores. Day after day the lesson was reinforced that Indian people, her people, are savage and uneducated, whose only hope lie in becoming like white people.

But the hardest lesson for Pauline came from studying the mural that decorated a hallway she walked several times a day. It contained three scenes. The bottom scene pictured flames with people screaming in pain—a place they called Hell. She observed that all those in Hell were Indians. The middle picture also depicted people in agony, but with fewer flames. This, they said, was Purgatory where people went after death for as long as it took to purge their sins. Many of the people were white, with a few Indians. The top scene was beautiful, with smiling people, winged creatures and a king on a throne—a scene of peace and happiness. This was Heaven. What troubled Pauline was the absence of any Indians in Heaven.

And so it was that Pauline came to pray a prayer that God could not answer, for to grant her prayer God would have to deny the goodness of his creation and his love for diversity. Many times a day Pauline prayed, "God, please make me a white girl so I can go to Heaven too." Every time she had the opportunity she eagerly looked in a mirror expecting to see that this powerful God had answered her prayer. Each time she was devastated. Her little face remained brown. "God!" she would beg. "How can I go to Heaven if you won't make me white?"

Pauline eventually ran away. She spent the next forty years trying to block out the pain and the shame of being Indian. She said in later years that she came to be the most hated drunken Indian in her town. She said it wasn't until she turned to Native traditional religion (much of which had been outlawed) that she arrived at a measure of peace. Pauline's family had endured five or six generations of children parented by white institutions. Pauline concluded her story by stating, "I do not hate Roman Catholics. God gave them their religion just as he has given the Indian people our religion." I never saw her again. She died two years later.

I sat transfixed that day, but also transformed. More than anything else I have learned on my journey about Euro-style colonization, it is Pauline's story that motivates me to say, "Lord, I will do what you want. I will go where you lead. Help me to make some tiny difference in the lives of the Paulines of this country."

Appendix 6: The Accomplishments and Literature of NAIITS

Educational Programs

In June of 2010 NAIITS entered an historic agreement with George Fox University and Evangelical Seminary to begin delivery of a Masters in Intercultural Studies [MAIS] for Native North American and other Indigenous students. The first cohort of 11 students launched May 31 of 2011 with the first graduates in the spring of 2014. Enrolment has approximately doubled since then, maintaining a complement of roughly 14 students at various stages of completion.

In 2013 NAIITS signed two subsequent agreements: with Tyndale Seminary to begin delivery of a Masters in Theological Studies – Indigenous [MTS (I)]; and, with Providence University College to deliver a Bachelor of Arts in Community Development [BACD]. The first cohort of three MTS (I) students launched in 2014 with a current enrolment of eight; two students began the BACD in the spring of 2015 with a fall 2015.

In the fall of 2014, through its Divinity College, NAIITS entered an agreement with Acadia University and began delivery of its Master of Arts in Indigenous Community Development [MA-INCD] with its first cohort of three students. The total enrolment for 2016 was seven.

These are the first partnerships of their kind, delivered entirely by an Indigenous organization focused on higher theologically framed education.

Since 2003 NAIITS partnerships have graduated seven people with doctoral degrees [four PhD, two D.Miss, one D.Min], two with Masters of Divinity, six with Masters of Arts in Intercultural Studies, and two with research Masters of Arts in Biblical Studies in various program partnerships it established with different theological institutions in Canada and the United States.

Presently, NAIITS partnerships have one individual in a PhD program and one in a Th.D. program, both are at the dissertation stage. One of these students is enrolled in a program partnership created by NAIITS, and one in a single student arrangement.

In the twelve years that NAIITS has been engaged in the delivery of higher education, through its partnerships, we have graduated more students with advanced high-quality degrees than in the previous 140 years from all the traditions of the church from which our membership has been drawn.

In September 2018, NAIITS begins its undergraduate programming at Providence University College in Manitoba.

Student Placement

As of the spring of 2016, all NAIITS graduates have been placed in vocational ministry settings or, in either full-time or adjunct faculty positions in seminaries and universities in Canada, or the United States including:

- George Fox University and Seminary
- Tyndale University College and Seminary
- Sioux Falls Seminary
- Asbury Theological Seminary
- Portland State University
- Acadia University and Divinity College
- Warner Pacific College
- Vancouver School of Theology.

Invitations to teach courses have come from many other institutes including Wheaton College, North Park University, Canadian Mennonite University, and Providence University College.

Research/Writing

1. Annual Journal^[L]_[SEP] Wendy Peterson, ed. and Terry LeBlanc, gen. ed.

- Journal of NAIITS. Volumes 1-14. 2001-2016.
- Journal of NAIITS. Volume 16. 2017 (in editing process.)
- Published annually, it is the only Journal of its kind, at the present time.

2. Faculty and Graduate Publications^[L]_[SEP]

NAIITS faculty and graduates have published extensively. A number of their works are in the attached bibliography.

Appendix 7: Canadian Evangelical Responses to TRC Call for Reconciliation

Example 1: Mark Buchanan, *Let the Sermon Be Interrupted: The Church, First Nations, and Reconciliation*⁸

“Rabbi, tell my brother to divide the inheritance with me.”

Once again Jesus is interrupted. It must happen to Him a dozen times or more. There He is, preaching some jaw-dropping piece of good news, and next thing the roof is coming apart, or a demoniac is shouting Him down, or a teacher of the Law is standing up to test Him, or Sadducees are lining up to trick Him, or Pharisees are cooking up a trap to ensnare Him.

But many people just want something from Him. Most who interrupt Him are simply preoccupied with their own stuff. They’re caught up with some earthy, urgent, agonizing matter that can’t wait for the sermon to end. They want answers to vexing questions, and they want them *now*. “Who is my neighbour?” “Good Teacher, how do I inherit eternal life?” “Son of David, have mercy on me – cleanse me, heal me, restore me!” “Lord, tell my sister to help me in the kitchen.”

That’s the story in Luke. A man crashes into the middle of Jesus’ sermon with his urgent demand. “Rabbi, tell my brother to divide the inheritance with me” (Luke 12:12). Well, that man does have a point. It’s hard to listen attentively to a sermon when your brother just bilked you out of your share of the family estate. A thing like that tends to consume all your energy.

A thing like that is powerfully distracting.

Many of my First Nations friends have difficulty listening to sermons. There are many reasons for this – some personal, some cultural, some historical – but much of it comes down to the issue of justice. *They got bilked out of their share of the family estate.* Land. Language. Children. A way of life. All and more were taken from First Peoples. And sometimes they itch to interrupt all our ethereal business about heaven and love and God and such with a burning request. “Jesus, tell my white brother to divide the inheritance with me.”

Well, they do have a point.

But actually that’s not quite what First Nations people, at least the ones I talk with and listen to, are asking. Dividing the inheritance is not exactly their request, or not the things they ask first. Almost every First Nations person I know wants something else, something deeper. “Jesus, tell my white brother to reconcile with me.”

I suggest this is worth interrupting our sermons.

And yet, is reconciliation even the right word? Many First Nations people don’t think so. Many observe reconciliation implies restoring the relationship to a former level of mutual warmth and trust and affection and intimacy. In most cases no such former relationship ever existed between Indigenous people and European settlers in Canada. In most cases our relationship has been marked by suspicion and distrust. In most cases we were never close.

⁸ Marc Buchanan, “Let the Sermon Be Interrupted: The Church, First Nations, and Reconciliation,” *Faith Today*, January/February (2018), 28-31. Used with permission of Mark Buchanan.

What we need is a new story. A fresh beginning. A do-over. But to get to a new story, all of us must first become keenly aware of – and, I suggest, deeply troubled by – the story we actually have.

That was the hope that launched Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC was established to examine the history and legacy of Canada’s “Indian residential schools” and bring some closure and healing for those who suffered there.

The TRC was struck in 2008, launched in 2009 under the leadership of Justice Murray Sinclair, and wrapped up in 2015. The commission issued a seven-volume report which contained 94 Calls to Action. The work of the commission continues through the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation housed in the University of Manitoba.

In the seven years the TRC was active, the commissioners, along with many participants, heard the testimonies of more than 6,000 residential school survivors. These testimonies, taken together, are devastating, and yet strangely and profoundly inspiring. They narrate a long tale of abuse, neglect and evil, but also tell a story of resilience, courage and grace.

But note this: the TRC was initiated by First Nations people, featured the testimonies, almost exclusively, of First Nations people, and was attended mostly by First Nations people. It was the idea and work of First Nations people from start to finish. All with the aim of reconciliation. Not blame. Not restitution. Not score settling. But reconciliation – of getting the story straight so now, hopefully, we can begin a new story.

Non-Indigenous people in Canada should stand amazed and grateful and humbled by this. After all that’s happened, First Peoples still hold out a hand of friendship to us.

But many of us have just ignored it.

About 14 years ago, I started a small effort to get Christians to start caring about the Church’s relationship with First Peoples, and to inspire Christians to be at the forefront of creating a new story. I’ve talked to hundreds of people about it. I’ve spoken in dozens of churches on it. I’ve lectured at colleges and universities regarding it. I’ve been involved with several conferences dealing with it. I’ve written a number of articles focused on it. I have helped organize local initiatives around it.

One of these initiatives is even called New Story. It’s an all-day teaching event to help Christians understand the history and culture of Indigenous peoples, both nationally and locally, and what we as churches and individuals might do next.

I *am* seeing some things that give me hope. A growing number of churches, for instance, now open their Sunday services with an acknowledgement of the traditional lands on which they are situated. A few churches welcome, at least in small ways, some form of Indigenous worship in their Sunday gatherings.

More and more Christians are learning the beautiful and unique contributions First Peoples bring to the reading of Scripture. Genesis 1, for instance, depicts not humankind’s superiority over everything in creation, but our dependency on everything in it. Humans need air and water and light and fish and flocks and fruit to survive and flourish, and yet none of these things need us. Everything else in creation flourishes independent of our existence.

But I am also seeing in our churches many things that cause me distress. Continuing bigotry. Abysmal apathy. Deep contempt. Condescension. Resentment. Defensiveness. I would love to see all this change. And if you would too, here are a few things that can begin that change – a few steps toward a new story.

Learn the history

I am still astonished how few people in our churches know about the Doctrine of Discovery (the papal bull from 1493 upholding the divine right of Christians to take land from its “savage” inhabitants), Terra Nullius (the legal claim that “empty” territory belongs to the state that occupies it), the history of treaties, the history of colonialization, the history of the *Indian Act*, the history of Indian residential schools, and the current struggles and achievements of Indigenous peoples and communities in Canada.

And still fewer know anything about the local tribes and bands within driving distance of their church and home.

Why not strike up a church study group that, over the next few months, becomes well informed on all these things and then informs others?

Discuss the situation

There are many things the group might read and discuss, but I suggest you start with three things – *Volume One* of the TRC Final Report, the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (which is underneath much of the TRC’s work and recommendations), and the 94 *Calls to Action* that emerged from the TRC. I suggest your group focuses on Calls 58 through 61, which specifically address the Church and its supporting educational institutions. (On a side note, I find it stunning Canada’s First Nations people issue 94 Calls to Action, but ask only four things from the Church.)

Make a strategy and take action

The next step might be to come up with a strategy for your entire church to respond to one or two of the Calls to Action. For example Call # 60:

We call upon leaders of the Church parties to the Settlement Agreement and all other faiths, in collaboration with Indigenous spiritual leaders, Survivors, schools of theology, seminaries, and other religious training centres, to develop and teach curriculum for all student clergy, and all clergy and staff who work in Aboriginal communities, on the need to respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right, the history and legacy of residential schools and the roles of the Church parties in that system, the history and legacy of religious conflict in Aboriginal families and communities, and the responsibility that churches have to mitigate such conflicts and prevent spiritual violence.

One local church I know gathered a group of about ten people who spent several months discussing how their church might respond to this one Call to Action. That led to an evening where the group hosted a Blanket Exercise (www.KairosBlanketExercise.org) for the entire congregation. They also invited several elders from the nearby First Nations community.

This one initiative broadened the conversation, and soon several members of the church were meeting regularly with some of the elders to discuss ways they might work together. That led to several youth from both communities meeting every week, sometimes at the church, sometimes at the community.

That led to real friendships and that led to transformation.

What might your local church do?

Real friendship

That last story brings us to the most important thing – real friendship. It still surprises me how few people in our churches have even one Aboriginal friend.

That was me a few years back. Indeed it was me for most of my life. Until about 15 years ago, I didn't even know a First Nations person.

Then I became good friends with one First Nations man. That opened the way for other friendships. And the more First Nations people I got to know, and the more I learned their stories and came to know their hearts, the richer I became. My First Nations friends are funny and kind and generous and wise. And they are hurt and sad and wary and angry. But they still want to be my friend.

I have gained and grown much from these friendships. I discovered I need my First Nations friends more than they need me. I need my friends to be my teachers and examples and guides. I need them to show me how to live out my faith more fully and authentically – to pray with deeper faith, to share with greater joy, to stand up more bravely under trial. I have learned from them what it means to forgive from the heart. And I have learned from them the true meaning of resilience.

Every new story is rooted in friendship and leads to deeper friendship. That's where the real transformation happens.

Canada's TRC, intended to address the history and legacy of residential schools, was based on South Africa's TRC, intended to address the history and legacy of Apartheid. But there is a significant difference between Canada's TRC and South Africa's. In South Africa the TRC included the testimonies of over 2,000 perpetrators – those who engineered and carried out the policies of Apartheid, those who benefitted from it, but especially those who enforced it, often by brutal and illegal means – police, for instance, who committed extrajudicial murders to silence political dissent.

In Canada, for various reasons, the TRC heard virtually no testimony from anyone who “ran the system” – no government agent who scooped a six-year-old from her home and dragged her away from her wailing mother, no priest who summoned a 12-year-old boy to his study and sexually abused him, no nun who broke a little girl's neck throwing her down the stairs, no teacher who publicly mocked and humiliated a student for peeing his bed, no school administrator who saw all this and turned a blind eye.

None of them said a word.

Which is a problem. Because – well, think about it. What if you suffered deep harm at the hands of another person, told your story publicly, and all the while the person who harmed you seemed neither to notice or care, and just stayed silent?

It would, at the very least, be hard after that to reconcile with that person. And it would be hard to reconcile with anyone associated with the system in which that person operated.

It would be hard to begin a new story. Which is why this all comes down to you and me. Will I too stay silent? Will you?

Let us begin.

Example 2: John Stackhouse, “In Search of Reconciliation”⁹

Albert Einstein is said to have counseled us to “simplify as far as possible—but no farther.”

As a reasonably well-informed Canadian of some years, I confess to being absolutely stymied when it comes to the nest of problems surrounding our First Nations and those of us who came later.

Why? Because here’s what I think I know. And it’s a mess.

Missionaries were bad, and native people were good. That seemed to be what every student “knew” who had taken even one course in Native Studies and then took my course on Religion in Canada when I taught at the University of Manitoba in the 1990s. And this was before we all came to know about the residential schools, those seething dens of physical, sexual, and cultural abuse.

What no one has made clear to me yet, however, was what the alternative was supposed to be, as modernity, in the form of Anglophone power and later globalization, was encroaching on tribal peoples all around the world, as it was in Canada. Of course the abuses were terribly wrong in those schools, as abuse is wrong in any boarding school anywhere. But the project of bringing together kids from remote locations to train them in modern ways and particularly in the lingua franca of English—why was that so bad?

What, realistically, should have been done instead? Just leave native people alone to perpetuate the old ways on rapidly shrinking territorial islands of traditionalism?

Moreover, if the “white man’s religion” was merely an instrument of “cultural genocide,” why do more than 80 per cent of indigenous people in Canada still claim Christianity as their religion—a higher proportion, in fact, than the rest of the country? No one has forced them to be Christians for decades, and yet they still choose this faith.

Here’s what else I think I know. White people brought deceit and death to this continent, making and breaking treaties at will, pressing aboriginal people into service (or slavery) while driving them out of their homes and lands—when they weren’t addicting them to alcohol and trading them blankets full of smallpox. Why couldn’t the invaders have left the native people in peace?

But what peace? There’s plenty of evidence of savage warfare among native peoples that resulted in, yes, slavery, burned-out villages, torture, and death. Those lovely native ceremonies we sometimes see nowadays also included the Sun Dance of Plains tribes that required men to dance around a pole to which they were fastened by rawhide thongs pegged through the skin of their chests. Eventually the dancing would become more frenzied and the thongs ripped out.

The Sun Dance was outlawed by colonial authorities, as was the Potlatch on the west coast, a charming festival of communal gift-giving, a bit like Christmas...except that it became pathological, with whole villages becoming destitute to feed the competition for glory between rival chiefs.

I think I know about white tourists callously shooting bison from train windows, leaving the poor animals to die lingering deaths from wounds and infection. But I also

⁹ Permission pending. John Stackhouse, “In Search of Reconciliation,” Context with Lorna Dueck, accessed February 26, 2018; <http://www.contextwithlornadueck.com/2018/02/23/in-search-of-truth-and-reconciliation/>.

know about First Nations, also impressed by the abundance of bison, who killed them merely for their tongues and hides, leaving the rest of the animal behind to rot.

In our own day, I think I know about police forces and reserves in such a reinforcing spiral of distrust and deceit that criminal investigations are seen by both sides to be hopeless. Indigenous people don't trust the cops to be industrious and fair, so they don't cooperate fully, prompting the cops to despair since they can't get testimony they can trust, and the mutual finger-pointing continues.

Which brings us to Colten Boushie and Gerald Stanley and the rest of us. Here's what I think I know.

Young Mr. Boushie came from the Cree Red Pheasant First Nation and was in the company of young people from the families of chiefs of that nation who are notorious for a long string of assaults, thefts, and corruption. He and his mates had already committed property crime that day, were driving drunk at high speed in an SUV with a tire gone, and when they fetched up at Mr. Stanley's farm, they attempted to steal an ATV while packing a loaded rifle.

Mr. Stanley, for his part, fired a handgun (note: not a farmer's shotgun or hunting rifle) twice into the air, and then got into an altercation while brandishing his gun sufficiently close to Mr. Boushie's head that when it went off again, it killed him. Yet the jury convicted Mr. Stanley of nothing, not even manslaughter.

This is what I know. The Bible says, "There is none that is righteous; no, not one" (Romans 3:10). But to listen to the activists and apologists, Canada today is populated entirely by nothing but innocent, gentle First Nations people, brave, honest police officers, sincere, hardworking politicians, and kind, justice-loving white folk.

We cannot have reconciliation until we have truth—at least, a lot more truth than we've been getting...from every side, and particularly from lawyers, judges, cops, witnesses, activists, politicians, journalists, and professors.

No one has figured out an easy solution. The Australians have at least as much turmoil on their hands as we do. The Americans seem perpetually preoccupied with the historically more recent problems regarding Latinx immigrants and descendants of black slaves, with native Americans kept perpetually at the back of the line. And the New Zealanders had it easier with a single treaty at Waitangi that covered the whole land, instead of the crazy quilt of paper we have across this vast country, and even they wouldn't claim to live in a perpetual Happy Valley.

We cannot have reconciliation until we have truth. The TRC was a welcome start. But as long as we retain simplistic categories of "good guys" and "bad guys" along racial lines, there will always be an "on the other hand" to consider.

And paralyze us.

Response: NAIITS: A Letter to John Stackhouse, February 28, 2018

John Stackhouse
c/o Context with Lorna Dueck

Dear John...

I must admit that has a strange ring to it. Whenever I think of those two words together, "Dear John," I think of brushing somebody off as if they are no longer relevant – unimportant. And, that's precisely the experience I had when I read your article. You brushed off 500 years of history in a matter of moments in the few words you 'penned' on the electronic page. You made it seem as though you were sympathetic, that you were being fair to both sides. After all, human beings are human beings and each of us is as guilty as the next. Right?

The problem with that idea John, is that it's the same thinking that has been used for the last hundred and fifty years or so to justify the existence of an often sociopathic and racist system that has consecutively targeted Indigenous peoples for physical eradication, then death through identity decay, and now, what we experience today, social marginalization.

Perhaps "being in the know" as a well-informed Canadian is not enough. Maybe what it takes is the realization that simply acquiring information about something is not knowledge; that knowledge alone does not confer understanding; that beyond understanding we must sit in quiet so that we might ultimately arrive at the apprehension of wisdom. Perhaps, just perhaps, this is the challenge that, when risen to, prevents us from becoming as Job's counsellors.

Your article cum blog uses simplistic binary summaries of what you claim to know to misstate reality from the start. Either/or thinking, as you appear to be engaged in, sets up a straw man to destroy with your "obvious" logic. Such shallow dichotomous thinking postulates a "clearly right" answer that backs a pejorative perspective. In other words, you appear to ask questions just to set up a put down.

I find it curious that you identify modernity, Anglophone power, and globalization in such a positive light John. Is this a Freudian slip or does it capture what you deemed to be the only appropriate direction of progress - one that is clearly and only European/Euro-Canadian led? Part of the reason I ask is that the use of the phrase "our First Nations" is incredibly racist. It is equivalent to saying, "our black people." We are not your or Canada's property, though the Indian Act may continue to articulate the relationship that way. We established treaty relations with the French and then British Crown as nations. Within the North American Free Trade Agreement you wouldn't refer to the United States of America as "our Americans" or to Mexico as "our Mexicans." Why do so with us? First Nations people are your treaty partners, not your property.

If you are a well-informed Canadian, how is it possible that you can even think to compare Residential Schools with "boarding schools anywhere?" Are you completely inured of the fact that Residential Schools forcibly took our kids whereas Boarding Schools, such as missionary and elite societal schools, were mostly voluntary parental placements – and they were operated according to the cultural norms of the residents? Residential Schools were not our culture – they were someone else's. Try listening to the

stories of the beneficiaries of Indian Residential Schools, <http://wherearethechildren.ca/en/stories/> or read the history, “A Knock on the Door: The essential history of Residential Schools,” from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2016. We don’t need more uninformed voices in the guise of those who would “raise questions of concern” as with Senator Lynn Beyak.

Your desire for truth is admirable. However, if “all truth is God’s truth” is an axiomatic statement of Christian faith for many, its corollary for some, at least, appears to be, “If it’s true, then it is European/Euro-Canadian in origin.” An examination of the countless reports, Canada wide, that fill public agency shelves concerning the ongoing treatment of Indigenous people over the past hundred and fifty years, never mind prior years, should cause you to pause and wonder at Indigenous experiences of what Euro-Canadians have perceived as “truth” – whether God’s or not. This is tragic, given, what you correctly note to be our continued desire to walk in the ways of Jesus.

Just because many of us choose to follow Jesus, however, does not mean that we buy into or support all that Western Christianity has interpreted our faith to mean. Nor does it mean we have not resisted all that we have been subjected to in Jesus’ name that, in our opinion, has been contrary to His teachings. It may simply mean that for a prolonged period of time we have been subject to an oppressive experience of that faith and are just now beginning to make it our own.

Castigating our traditional religious and spiritual reality, as not measuring up to European and Euro-Canadian standards, the like of which I have only just begun to sketch above – and which I could expand on ad infinitum – is beneath you John. You are better than that. And, to imply that we were helpless, hapless, and lacking in intelligence until European salvation and civilization came to us perpetuates the myth of progress vis-à-vis Europeanization as per the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 yet again. Please note, that I make a clear distinction between this and Christ’s salvation though many Europeans/Euro-Canadians continue to confuse or conflate the two.

How quickly Western Christianity forgets its origins, distancing itself from its ancestors. As a Trinitarian follower of Jesus I am conscious that the practices of pre-CE Judaism were not dramatically different than our pre-contact Indigenous practices in many ways. I am also conscious that the demand for blood and sacrifice in Judaism was God’s, not the priests and Levites. Further, I am aware that in Jesus’ sacrifice, one member of the Trinity asked another to be crucified while the third looked on – as was the scene at Jesus’ baptism in the Jordan. Here was a man hung on a cross, flailed with the thongs of a Roman whip, whose brow was pierced by a crown of thorns – all while the Father looked on.

That you could even make such a ridiculous comparison with the propitiatory efforts of the Sundance or the social redress provided for the well-being of the community in the Potlach is patently ignorant of both the Indigenous practices and the scriptures which promoted or described similar practices – particularly, to use your words, “pathological” passages like Acts 2:43-46 and II Corinthians 8. You might have (correctly in my view) simply said, that according to Christian teaching and theology, the Sundance was ultimately as non-efficacious as any other human centred sacrifice. But to suggest it was more barbarous than the practices of our ancestors of the faith or, by extension, the central ceremony of our faith lacks research integrity if not an effective assessment of “truth.”

Then, to bait your argument by suggesting that the backhanded portrayal of First Nations people is only and always “innocent, gentle” across the board is ludicrous in the extreme. Cynical collective Ad hominem argument does not become you. Allow me to quote a discussion between one of my people and a European forbear of Canada to suggest an alternate perspective:

I am greatly astonished that the French have so little cleverness, as they seem to exhibit in the matter of which you have just told me on their behalf, in the effort to persuade us to convert our poles, our barks, and our wigwams into those houses of stone and of wood which are tall and lofty, according to their account, as these trees. Very well! But why now, do men of five to six feet in height need houses, which are sixty to eighty? You say of us also that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, and, in a word, without any rules, like the beasts in our woods and our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which you have in overabundance in Europe. . . . It is true, that we have not always had the use of bread and of wine which your France produces; but, in fact, before the arrival of the French in these parts, did not the Mi'kmaq live much longer than now? And if we have not any longer among us any of those old men of a hundred and thirty to forty years, it is only because we are gradually adopting your manner of living, for experience is making it very plain that those of us live longest who, despising your bread, your wine, and your brandy, are content with their natural food of beaver, of moose, of waterfowl, and fish, in accord with the custom of our ancestors and of all the Mi'kmaq nation. Learn now, my brother, once for all, because I must open to you my heart: there is no Indian who does not consider himself infinitely more happy and more powerful than the French.¹⁰

If, as it appears, you have the temerity to suggest that Indigenous people's conduct toward one another was worse than European's and their wars of the same period, then you either have a bias toward Europe's more sophisticated murder, mayhem, and greed or you are indeed ignorant of the facts of its history. British “drawing and quartering,” family picnics for public hangings, heads left on spikes to rot, child labour in factories, imprisonment for stealing a loaf of bread, the bounty for Indian scalps on our eastern shores, enslavement of Africans – which of these are not “savage”? Perhaps we also need to analyze the Christian church and its posture during WWII, its behaviours in the years of the Crusades, and other such “savage” conduct in global mission ad nauseam.

Further, to suggest that Indigenous life was more barbaric than European given the behaviour of “spiritually enlightened” Christians who engaged in tortures and cruel treatment of its own members to the point of martyrdom lacks integrity and is an indication that your history is deeply Eurocentric. Stop with the one-sided analysis already. Given the cruelty of the European system of “justice” (please note the quotes) of

¹⁰Chrestien Le Clercq, *New Relations of Gaspesia: With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, (Toronto, ON: The Champlain Society, 1920), 103–6. Digital copy available at https://archive.org/stream/newrelationofgas05lecl/newrelationofgas05lecl_djvu.txt.

the same era, give me our “savagery” any time. The following accounts alone should be adequate to correct your “savage” history:

And, in this respect, I consider all these poor savages, whom we commiserate, to be very happy; for pale Envy doth not emaciate them, neither do they feel the inhumanity of those who serve God hypocritically, harassing their fellow-creatures under this mask: nor are they subject to the artifices of those who, lacking virtue and goodness wrap themselves up in a mantle of false piety to nourish their ambition. If they do not know God, at least they do not blaspheme him, as the greater number of Christians do. Nor do they understand the art of poisoning, or of corrupting chastity by devilish artifice.¹¹

The second, from Jesuit missionary, Pierre le Jeune, in what almost seems to be a sense of pride in these “primitive” peoples, describes a character absent from most Europeans of his familiarity. He observes,

Moreover, if it is a great blessing to be free from a great evil, our Savages are happy; for the two tyrants who provide hell and torture for many of our Europeans, do not reign in their great forests – I mean ambition and avarice. As they have neither political organization, nor offices, nor dignities, nor any authority, for they only obey their Chief through good will toward him, therefore they never kill each other to acquire these honors (sic). Also, as they are contented with a mere living, not one of them gives himself to the Devil to acquire wealth.¹²

That you would have the temerity to make such a comparison as you do without a balancing of the reality of life in Europe during the same period mystifies me. This simply perpetuates the myth of a “civilized” Europe and an “uncivilized” other.

What’s more, your comment about alternatives to the “rapidly shrinking islands of traditionalism” reflects a clear bias toward Europeanization as manifest destiny, “discovery” as ownership, westernization as progress, modernization as sophistication. How tragic, since it is this trajectory – ostensibly established through Western Christian replacement eschatology’s, and ideologies of bigger, better, more, faster – that has left creation in its present mess. Dispensability has and continues to drive the machinery of progress – an ideology arguably predicated on a distorted Western Christian theology acted out over the centuries.

“Growing communities of traditional Indigenous cultures” is the reality for many of our Indigenous folk. Disillusionment with Canada’s ongoing colonial efforts to break the bonds of Indigenous connection and support is what is really happening. While espousing reconciliation, Canada continues to fight Indigenous children and impoverished communities in court.

John, you’re better than that. Undertaking an analysis of the situation that you think you know as a scholar when in fact you don’t, is not very good scholarship. What’s

¹¹ Marc Lescarbot, “Conversion of the savages who were baptized in New France” in, *Jesuit Relations*, trans. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896), 1610, vol. 3, 73.

¹² Pierre Le Jeune, *Jesuit Relations*, trans. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896), 1634, Vol. 6, 66.

more, it influences your followers to ignore the TRC's Calls to Action and justifies their prejudices. Furthermore, to portray the young folks with Colton Boushie as being from "the families of chiefs of that nation" is tantamount to saying that we are all corrupt. If you would like to discuss corruption tied to culture and position in society, please, let's do so. I expect we would have much to muster in such a discussion. But do not bait the argument as you have done by casting aspersions on the status of these young people and their families.

What puts the lid on this is the fact that you present "facts" (dare I say, alternate facts) of the case of Gerald Stanley and his killing of Colton Boushie that neither you nor I were present in the courtroom to hear. The only thing that is clear, from your and my distance, is that the jury was not even remotely representative of the present population of Saskatchewan. What would have been the hew [*sic*] and cry had the killing been of a white person by an Indigenous person with an all-Indigenous jury hearing the case? I suspect that you and I both know the answer.

In your analysis of the situation of "motherland" similar countries, you appear to suggest that were we to not have a patchwork "quilt of paper" we might be at least slightly better off. I would suggest that this is erroneous thinking since each of the countries you name has one common issue – European colonial power that has been neither blunted nor fully abated; not even as per the calls of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and its current Canadian research champion, the TRC.

Ultimately, your piece reminds me of a song of my era:

And the sign said "Long-haired freaky people need not apply"
So I tucked my hair up under my hat and I went in to ask him why
He said "You look like a fine upstanding young man, I think you'll do"
So I took off my hat, I said "Imagine that. Huh! Me workin' for you!"

While I agree that this must not be a binary conversation, good versus bad, one unfortunate "truth" – one clearly born out in our joint history, and continuing to weave its insidious tale today – is that for a large number of Canadians, Indigenous peoples continue to be the "bad guys" regardless of what we do unless it mirrors them precisely. So I must ask, "If we meet your expectations, will we be okay?" Somehow, given our history, I am neither encouraged nor confident to believe so. The only thing you said that makes sense is that we need truth – and not simply the Euro-Canadian version of it that you so carelessly, albeit obliquely, offered.

John, you have a wide influence in the evangelical community – a community that we happen to be part of. Unfortunately, this article will also likely have many nodding heads from within that community. Our concern is that you have given racism as a justification in this analysis that those nodding heads will then feel justified in using.

Finally John, I'd like to invite you to our annual NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community symposium, held this year at Acadia University and Divinity College. Our theme is "White Supremacy, Racial Conflict and Indigeneity: Toward Right Relationship." You might find the discussion helpful.

Sincerely in Christ,

Terry LeBlanc, Mi'kmaq/Acadian, PhD.
Executive Director, Indigenous Pathways
Director, NAIITS: An Indigenous Learning Community (NAIITS)

Wendy Beauchemin Peterson, PhD (ABD), Red River Metis
Editor, NAIITS Journal,
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Shari Russell, Saulteaux, M.A.
National Indigenous Liaison, Salvation Army Canada
Board Member, NAIITS

Cheryl Bear, Kinka Dene, D.Min.
Band Counselor, Nad'leh Whuten
Board Member, NAIITS

Adrian Jacobs
Keeper of the Circle, Sandy Saulteaux Spiritual Centre
Former Board Member, NAIITS

Appendix 8: Form -- Interviews conducted in Inner City Winnipeg

Name:

Date:

Position:

Method: [Email, Phone, In-person]

Read to each person: This interview is being conducted in person or via phone as part of an academic study. It is intended as an aid to understanding the reclamation of [or return to] traditional culture/identity by Indigenous followers of Jesus. (The word “Indigenous” here means a descendant from a people group that has the earliest connection to their land.) Identifying information will be kept confidential unless you grant me permission to quote or reference you by name. If you choose, I can give you a pseudonym or not reference you or this interview. I will repeat this and give you an opportunity to reply at the end of interview. *Thank you for your help.*

1. Check each box

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Female | <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Male | <input type="checkbox"/> Not Indigenous |

2. Check each box that applies and fill in number where required:

- I have attended (insert number) _____ WCGIP gatherings.
- I have attended _____ NAIITS Symposiums.
- I have attended _____ events with NAIITS personnel.
- I am an Indigenous leader in my home reserve.
- I am an Indigenous leader, but not in my home reserve.
- I belong to an Indigenous group that still practices its traditions.
- I belong to an Indigenous group who adopted the traditions of Western Christianity.

3. Check each box that applies to you and insert information if applicable:

- I am fluent in (insert number) _____ languages.
- My mother tongue is _____ .

- I am a fully Indigenous person.
- Part of my heritage is Indigenous.
- I am married to an Indigenous person.
- I am not an Indigenous person.
- I am a follower of Jesus Christ.
- I am not a follower of Jesus Christ.

4. Please fill in the appropriate information or write N/A, never, or period of time:

- My self-identity or Indigenous identity is _____
- Spiritually, I self- identify _____
- As a follower of Jesus, I have practiced or participated in Indigenous traditions/ceremonies for _____ (period of time).
- As a follower of Jesus, I have not practiced Indigenous traditions/ ceremonies for _____ (period of time).
- As a follower of Jesus, I have participated in contextualized traditions/ceremonies _____.
- In the area of practicing contextualized traditions/ceremonies, the person(s) who have been most influential is/ are _____
- As a follower of Jesus I do not participate in all traditions/ceremonies as a matter of conviction, such as _____

5. Please circle the phrase that most accurately reflects your response to the following statements. Write N/A if not applicable:

- Being Indigenous and being spiritual belong together:

Strongly agree Agree No opinion Disagree Strongly disagree

- I can be both fully Indigenous and fully a follower of Jesus.

Strongly agree Agree No opinion Disagree Strongly disagree

- I have always believed I could be both fully Indigenous and fully a follower of Jesus.

Strongly agree Agree No opinion Disagree Strongly disagree

- NAIITS has or does help me to be a more faithful follower of Jesus.

Strongly agree Agree No opinion Disagree Strongly disagree

- I practice both Indigenous traditions / ceremonies and Western Christian traditions:

Always Usually Sometimes Occasionally Never

6. Check each box that reflects your beliefs or practices:

- I believe in the Creator.
- I believe in the Creator and his name is _____ .
- I recognize Creator as Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
- My style of worship helps to reinforce my identity as an Indigenous person.
- I practice sacred traditions and participate in ceremonies that were once forbidden.
- There are some traditions/ceremonies I reject as not compatible with following Jesus.
- I regard the Bible as the only word from God.
- God has spoken to and through my culture and/ or my people.

7. Is there a question that should have been asked in this interview? If so. What is it and how would you have answered?

8. What would you like to share about your understanding of being Indigenous and being a follower of Jesus Christ?

9. What or who has the most influence on the way in which you worship the Creator?

Feel free to comment further

Repeat: Identifying information will be kept confidential unless you grant me permission to quote or reference you by name. If you choose, I can give you a pseudonym or not reference you or this interview. I will repeat this and give you an opportunity to reply at the end of interview.

Date if different from above: _____

Do I have permission to quote you? _____

Are there any restrictions on using your name and the info you have provided?

NOTES from Interview Recorded by Wendy on separate page.

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