Silas T. Rand, Nineteenth Century Anthropologist Among the Micmac[1]

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente la vie et l'œuvre de Silas T. Rand parmi les Micmacs des provinces maritimes au dix-neuvième siècle. Même s'il était officiellement un missionnaire chez les Indiens, Rand a aussi apporté une grande contribution comme pionnier de l'Anthropologie. Il appartient à ce groupe de gens qui ont contribué à la "proto-anthropologie" canadienne et qui méritent une place dans l'histoire de la discipline.

The *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces,* published in 1902, gives short shrift to Silas Tertius Rand, one of the Baptists' nineteenth century ministers. In a brief biographical sketch of Rand, the *History* states merely that he was born in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, in 1810, was ordained a preacher in 1834, and died at Hantsport in 1889. Three sentences then sum up Rand's life and work:

> In 1853 he removed to Hantsport [from Charlottetown], where as preacher, author, and missionary, especially to the Micmacs, he spent the rest of his life. He had remarkable aptitude for languages and had a reading knowledge of seven or eight. He was devoutly pious (Saunders 1902: 497).

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of the Atlantic Association of Sociology and Anthropology, in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, in March, 1974. I would like to thank Richard Miller for his helpful comments on this paper.

The text of the book proper enlarges on this only slightly by mentioning the formation of a religious mission among the Micmac in 1849 and the appointment of Silas Rand as missionary to these Indians.

What the Baptist *History* does not mention is the subsequent functioning of the mission or the lack of proselytizing success enjoyed by Rand among the Micmac. It does not mention that during Rand's lifetime, he was openly condemned by some church members for wasting his time among Indians, whom it was thought there was no hope of converting, much less civilizing. Nor does it mention that Rand was criticized for spending so much time learning an Indian language which could only be regarded as a vanishing one. The *History* also neglects to mention Rand's excommunication from the Baptist Church in 1873. The Baptists in 1902, then, clearly did not regard Rand as one of their more illustrious figures.

On the other hand, anthropologists looking at Rand and his work among the Micmac tend to dismiss him as just another missionary. Wallis and Wallis in their 1955 ethnography of the Micmac admit that Rand "mastered the language, and familiarized himself with [the Micmacs'] customs and with many of their beliefs" (1955: 14), but in a summary of significant work on the Micmac prior to 1900, they mention only that of the Jesuit priests and a few other standard sources such as Lescarbot, Denys, LeClercq, Dièreville, and Maillard.[2] Bock cites two Rand sources in the bibliography of his 1966 study of the Micmac of Restigouche, Quebec, but makes only a general reference to each in the text (1966: 36, 73).

While the Baptists may fell free to disown Rand, anthropologists should not dismiss lightly the products of his work, for without Rand, we would be lacking a great deal of information on Micmac life in the latter half of the nineteenth century. We would have very little recorded Micmac linguistic data and few recorded legends. Rand's selfless and objective observing and recording of information make it impossible for anyone to carry out any study of the Micmac today without consulting his publications for perspective and background. In addition, during his lifetime, Rand was well known, liked, and respected by the Micmac and in his efforts to help them gain fair

[2] Ironically, the Wallises then go on to cite Rand's work liberally throughout their book.

treatment from the Whites, he showed himself to be a humanitarian and an applied anthropologist. He was a remarkable individual living in a time when most people considered the Indians a vanishing race of indigents who simply didn't know enough to appreciate the benefits of European civilization. And so it is worth our time to take a look at Rand's own background and his work, and to assess the latter in the light of anthropological efforts of the time.

As previously mentioned, Rand was born in 1810 and, as his mother died before he was two and his father remarried a woman who apparently didn't want the boy, he was sent to live with his grandparents for several years. The grand-parents were very religious people who impressed on young Silas "the reality of eternal things," as Rand later put it ([1847]: MS.). Rand's father had had little education, but wanting better things for his children, the father taught them to read; beyond that, Silas' formal education was almost nonexistent. As a young child, he was sent to stay with several different women teachers for a few weeks at a time, from whom presumably he was to acquire additional knowledge, but he profited little from this since the women knew scarcely more than he did. One of them readily admitted that while she could read, she did not know how to write at all. Somehow during these early years, Rand managed to spend four winters at school, but in later years, he confessed that he had generally dislike school and had no desire to study until, at the age of thirteen, he was impressed by another boy using words Silas could not understand.

Young Rand then began to read on his own. His autobiographical notes tell us that throughout childhood and adolescence, he led a very sheltered and religious life, and that he spent his adolescence obsessed with thoughts of death and feelings of guilt at not spending all of his time on his knees in prayer.

Rand did manage to become involved in life somewhat, as at age 18, he learned a trade, that of building chimneys, and he comments that "...my labor was in great demand and I determined to become rich" (*Ibid.*), hardly a statement one would expect from a prospective religious ascetic. His diversions included wrestling and playing the flute, with a fair degree of success at both. Despite shyness and his strong religious feelings, he agreed on several occasions to play the flute at dances, although he says he regarded this as "serving the

devil," and he was so distressed at this "that I would turn away my eyes and not look at [the dancers]" (*Ibid*).

At the age of 21, Rand taught school himself briefly. Then, at 23, he spent four weeks at Horton Academy, then connected with Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Here he began to study Latin; this stimulated an interest in languages in general which continued through the rest of his life as Rand taught himself to read French, Spanish, Italian, German, Hebrew, and ancient and modern Greek, all in addition to perfecting his Latin and studying at least three North American Indian languages (Webster 1894: xvii). Rand planned for a career in the church and was ordained a Baptist minister in 1834, at the age of 24. church missions to Asia were prominent in the nineteenth century and Rand even contemplated becoming a missionary to India or Burma.

But any decision on missionary work was postponed by his marriage in 1838. After that, Rand was assigned various Baptist parishes in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. During the early 1840's, the idea of a mission to serve the Micmac Indians was discussed by the Baptists, including Rand, but the main problem in establishing such a mission lay in no one's knowing the Micmac language, and the missionaries of the day considered it important that whoever served as a missionary should be able to speak to native peoples "in their own tongue." There were no books available in Micmac or any available teachers, so plans for the mission were always shelved.

Then, in the summer of 1846, Rand was appointed to a parish in Charlottetown. He later said of this:

> On my way [to Charlottetown], I took my first lesson in Micmac. It was about twenty words, down with great difficulty from the mouth of an old Indian in Windsor. In Charlottetown I found... the outlines of a Micmac Grammar. It was published some years ago by a Mr. Irvin, who died shortly after my arrival in Prince Edward Island. Meagre as this Grammar was, it was of incalculable service. I cannot help thinking now, when I recal [sic] to mind how eagerly I transcribed it, lest the precious boon might slip out of my hands.
>
> I soon found a greater prize than this. It was a man who had been thirty years among the Indians, who spoke their tongue well, and understood it better than he spoke it; and who spoke English as correctly as tho' he had never been among the Indians... He was also both able and willing to render me all the assistance I could possibly expect in the case.
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> One more thing was needful. I could not pay my teacher nor meet other incidental expenses, without money; this was supplied from a quarter I had little

> dreamed of. Several officers of Her Majesty's Navy, were engaged in surveying and making charts of the coast... they had often been brought in contact with the Indians, they had pitied their condition, and... they had long desired to see some plan in operation for their spiritual good... No sooner was the whisper conveyed to their ears... that I was giving some of my time and attention to the poor Indians, then they sought me out... and... gave me all the money I needed for the object (Rand 1850: 36).

So Rand was now learning Micmac. In order to facilitate his studies, he sought out old Micmac story tellers and recorded legends from them in Micmac, then from his teacher got literal translations of the legends and compared the two versions to understand the structure of Micmac better.

But it was still several years before he became firmly committed to Micmac studies. In his autobiographical notes of October 27, 1847, he tells us that "I have just been requested by the Baptist Board of Missions, in Nova Scotia, to undertake a foreign mission to Burmah... the longer I think of going among the heathen, the stronger my desires to become... Much will depend upon the decision of my dear wife" ([1847]: MS.)

We have Mrs. Rand to thank, then, for Rand's decision to devote his life to the heathen at home. While Rand remained at his Charlottetown parish, he pushed his Micmac studies forward with vigour. He says that his most pressing concerns were "to reduce the language to writing; to collect words into something that might be called a dictionary; to reduce it to grammatical rules... then to translate portions of the Bible and to compose a few prayers in Micmac" (Rand 1850: 37). And he made progress. January 6, 1849, he wrote in his diary that:

> I can converse with [the Indians] to some extent, read the Scriptures to them, — having translated about a dozen chapters — and am compiling quite a full vocabulary of their words (*in* Clark 1899: 11).

During this time he was busy visiting with the Micmac in their "camps", as he called them, sometimes staying all night with sick Indians. His being able to speak their language immeasurably speeded his acceptance by the Indians. They began to trust him and to seek him out for advice.

As Rand learned more about the Indians and how to help them, he urged on Whites the necessity of teaching the Indians to read and write, and generally of elevating them to "civilization." He thought

this could be accomplished by establishing a Baptist Mission among them, and although the church was interested, it was not able to provide continuing financial support for such a venture and so Rand was directed to lay his case before the Christian public at large. He did this in the form of two public lectures on the Micmac Indians that he presented in Halifax in November of 1849. In these lectures, Rand considered the state of the Micmac at the time, as well as describing the traditional culture in standard ethnographic categories of history, material culture, social organization, religious beliefs, literature, and language. Public interest was high and Protestants of all denominations joined in the formation of the Micmac Mission Society. It wasn't long before a sectarian quarrel almost dissolved the fledgling society, when the non-Baptist members insisted that in any Bible translations Rand did for the Indians, he never use the word "Baptist," but instead leave the term in the original Greek. The Baptists reacted strongly to this proposal and the ensuing controversy left lifelong enemies and slanderers of Rand and everything he did.

But this controversy was only the first of a series of headaches over Mission affairs to plague Rand. A constant concern was money, not only to support Mission activities, but to pay his own salary as well. At the outset, the Micmac Mission Society voted Rand an annual salary of £160 with an expense account of another £40; however, the Society made no provision for raising this money. Rand was thus forced to spend much of his time traveling around the province giving public lectures on the Indians, and relying on contributions from this to obtain his salary and expense money.

Internal Mission affairs were only one source of problems. From outside the Mission came jealous competition for the Indians' souls from the Roman Catholic priests whose church had labored among the Micmac for almost 250 years and who claimed the Indians' religious allegiance. Rand found in several instances where he had gained acceptance from Indians and given them copies of his Bible translations to study, that priests had forcibly confiscated and burned the offending pamphlets. Rand also had the experience that friendly Micmac would suddenly and inexplicably become hostile toward him and turn him out of their camps, apparently at the instigation of the priests.

Despite attacks from within and without the Mission, Rand persisted in both his religious and his ethnographic efforts. In 1850,

the two lectures he had given in Halifax in 1849 to get support to found the Mission were printed. This pamphlet (Rand 1850) remains the best mid-nineteenth century account of Micmac traditional culture of changes in this culture brought about by contact with Europeans. But most of Rand's publications which appeared during the first fifteen years of the Mission were in the area of linguistics as Rand laboured to perfect his knowledge of Micmac, to reduce it to writing using the Pitman phonetics system, and then to translate the Bible and other religious material into it. As early as 1850, Rand published the Ten Commandments and parts of the New Testament in Micmac. Over the next few years, the Books of Matthew, John, and Luke appeared; Genesis, the Psalms, Exodus, and the rest of the New Testament followed. Additionally, Rand prepared and published a series of religious tracts in phonetic symbols for the Indians. The series title, "Bread Cast Upon the Waters," reflects Rand's hopes for his efforts. Finally, Rand's translations of Christian hymns into the Micmac language rounded out his proselytizing efforts on behalf of the Micmac Mission.

To enable the Micmac to read and understand all of this religious material, Rand prepared a remarkable little book titled *First Reading Book in Micmac.* It was an overnight success. The 40-page first edition, appearing in 1854, contained an explanation of the structure of the Micmac language, a Micmac alphabet with appropriate phonetic symbols for each sound, and grammar and reading lessons. By 1875, the current edition of the *First Reading Book* had grown to 108 pages, with expanded grammar lessons and information on the Micmac numerary system, terms in Micmac for flora and fauna, and definitions of Micmac place names in Nova Scotia. Rand's intentions for the book, as given in the preface to the 1875 edition, of aiding the Indians in learning to read both Micmac and English and of acquainting the English with the Micmac language, may not have been entirely achieved since it is doubtful how many English actually did become acquainted with the Micmac language, but the Indians were certainly enthused about the effort. Their acceptance and study of the book allowed Rand to claim that "...many of the Micmac Indians have during the last fifteen years learned to read... A determination to learn to read has been aroused among the Indians everywhere" (Rand 1875: iii-iv). Rand's statement is corroborated by correspondence surviving today from Micmac as

far away as New Brunswick and Quebec, to Rand requesting copies of the *Reading Book*.[3]

The fruits of Rand's linguistic labours appeared in non-religious publications as well. His material on both the Micmac and Malecite languages may be found in Henry Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, which appeared between 1851 and 1857. His fame as a Micmac authority is also demonstrated by his being asked to complete the Micmac and Malecite kinship terminology schedules which appeared in Lewis Henry Morgan's 1871 *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Rand also contributed articles on Micmac language and culture to periodicals of the day, including the *Canadian Science Monthly* and the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, the latter a Chicago-based periodical. The *Christian Messenger*, official paper of the Baptist Church in the Maritimes in the latter half of the nineteenth century, contains contributions on the Micmac and on the progress of the Micmac Mission Society as well.

While publications and translations appeared in rapid succession after 1849, Rand was of course continuing to spend as much time among the Micmac as possible. His sincere, solicitous nature won their confidence; they trusted him and brought their problems to him. Land claims were as important to the Micmac in the mid-nineteenth century as now, and in 1853, the Indians approached Rand with a request to write a petition about their land problems to Queen Victoria. Rand agreed, and although the resulting petition did apparently spur some investigation of White encroachment on Indian land in the province, no significant results were achieved for the Indians. However, Rand seized on the situation to acquaint the general Nova Scotia public with the problem when he made "The Claims of the Indians" the subject of a public lecture in Halifax in 1854.

In this address, besides championing the rights of the Micmac to the land, Rand urged seven measures that the government should adopt with regard to the Indians. These included:

1. "cease to treat the Indians as idiots or *children* because they speak broken English"

[3] A number of these letters are contained among the Rand papers in the Special Collections of the Vaughan Library. Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

2. investigate Indian claims and admit them if they are just
3. if the claims are just, pay the Indians for the land
4. make "liberal provision" for the care of old and sick Indians
5. "encourage schools and industry" among the Indians; pay White people a bounty for teaching an Indian to read and write
6. "pension their superanuated [sic] chiefs" instead of forcing them to spend their last days in poverty
7. "encourage [the Indians] to take up lands, to build houses, to till the ground, to become industrious" (Rand [1854]: MS).[4]

In short, Rand was urging that the Indians be treated in what he called a "Christian manner." He proposed settling them on land provided by the Whites and encouraging them to cultivate it, then having them pay a small amount of money and become the owners.

And this was one of the things he persuaded the Protestant denominations supporting the Mission to do. In 1854, following consultation with some Micmac, they purchased about 400 acres of land at Hantsport. Rand moved there and took the responsibility of gathering in Indians to settle. While the project initially seemed a success, Rand soon found the Indians' pattern of seasonal moves around the country frustrating to his plans. Undaunted, he pursued other ambitious projects to help civilize the Micmac. Especially impressed with education as a means to civilization, he persistently but unsuccessfully attempted to establish a boarding school for Micmac children; he also planned a "Micmac scholarship" at Acadia University.[5]

The mid-1850's marked the zenith of the Micmac Mission Society. In 1856, Rand made his most prominent convert to Protestantism. One Ben Christmas became a Baptist in April of that year and subsequently led such an exemplary Christian life that he was hired in 1858 to be Assistant Missionary to Rand. This meant that he, too, preached to the Indians, helped translate the Bible into Mic-

[4] The entire text of this lecture has been printed in *The Christian Messenger*, XV: 11, 12, 13, 19. March – May 1855.

[5] Additional information on Rand's plans for Indian education in the latter half of the 1850's may be found in Rand's Annual Reports to the Micmac Mission Society for these years.

mac, and did his share of fund raising by lecturing to the public on the customs of the Micmac. Rand said of Christmas' success:

> We had a lecture here (at Annapolis) last evening that would have passed muster at Exeter Hall... The Hall was crammed, many not being able to get in... At Yarmouth hundreds came to hear him... We got large houses at Liverpool, and Mr. Christmas was pronounced a great man. And he is all that. He is great at his lectures, and is a first-rate fellow every way... The Indians at Liverpool gathered round him — and he lectured, and preached to them. On a second visit, as soon as it was known that he was there they came from all directions (Rand 1859: 8)

Unfortunately for the Society, Christmas resigned within the year to go on a lecture tour in the United States and Eastern Canada, this time raising funds for his own pocket.

At any rate, Silas Rand was totally absorbed in the Micmac Mission, in his linguistic work, and in championing various Micmac causes from 1849 to 1864. As the years passed, financial support became more and more of a problem as the initial enthusiasm of Protestants for the Mission waned and Rand found himself spending increasing amounts of his time "entertaining," as he called giving lectures, in order to raise money. He became increasingly critical of the church after 1860, with statements detailing "the grievous backsliding of the times," and adding, "surely there are no churches that at all come up to the requirements of the New Testament" (*in* Clark 1899: 9). Such criticisms were made not only because of the lukewarm financial support Rand received from the church, but also because some of the church members were starting to insinuate that Rand wasn't mentally sound, basing their insinuations on Rand's frequent and fervent harangues on behalf of the Indians.

Finally in 1864, Rand took his first step toward independence of the churches and the never-ending soliciting of funds. Having read accounts of David Brainerd, an English minister who trusted to God alone to provide for him, Rand decided to follow Brainerd's example. He ceased soliciting funds for the Micmac Mission and, instead, prayed to God. Rand claimed that this brought him more money than he ever had before. Rand continued to maintain the Micmac Mission in Hantsport until the early 1870's, by which time his disgust with what he termed the "lax morality" of the Baptist Church caused him to withdraw entirely from the church and join the Plymouth Brethren, another Protestant group. He remained at Hantsport for

the rest of his life, working among the Indians and at his various linguistic projects. What might be called his *magnum opus* was published in two parts: in 1888, a year before he died, the English-Micmac section of his dictionary, a project he had pored over for more than 40 years, was published (Rand 1888). The larger, Micmac-English section, was published posthumously (Clark 1902), as were collections of the hundreds of Micmac legends he had recorded during all his years among the Indians (Webster 1894).

While the Baptists and most other Protestant churches wrote off Rand and his Micmac Mission as a failure, their judgements were based on the number of converts he baptized in the Protestant faith, and this number happened to be one.[6] Rand, on the other hand, insisted from the beginning of his work that he was not out to discredit the Catholic priests who had held a firm grip on Micmac people for over 250 years, nor did he intend to promote Protestant factionalism among the Indians. Instead, he was satisfied with teaching them the gospel as it came straight from the Bible and with trying to improve the quality of the Indians' lives.

Toward the end of his life, Rand summed up his accomplishments among the Micmac. Admitting some disappointments about backsliding among professed Protestant Indians, Rand made it clear that he valued their social changes above all. He said:

> A comparison of the condition of the Indians generally at the present time with what it was thirty years ago, will prove to any one that a wonderful change for the better has taken place among them. And we may boldy ask, if this improvement has not been mainly owing, under God, the author of all good, to the Micmac Mission, to what other great work has it been due? What other agency has been at work in their special behalf? I know of none... Thirty years ago an Indian that could read, was, in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and P. E. Island... an almost unheard of thing. As for the Bible, they knew not that there was such a book, and had they known there was... there was no possibility of their knowing what was in it. Their knowledge of English even now scarcely allows one in a hundred to understand a book in that language, although the most of them speak the language much better than they did thirty years ago. *Now* the whole New Testament and several books of the Old, are translated into Micmac, are circulated freely among them, multitudes of Indians everywhere can

[6] The single Indian whom Rand baptized was the wife of Ben Christmas, Rand's assistant. While Christmas was never baptized and fell away from the church after only a few years, his wife was still leading a Protestant Christian life in 1880 (Rand 1880: 9).

> read them, and they receive them and retain them despite all the efforts made to prevent it... It is pleasing to be able to add, that in all directions now, Indian children attend the schools, which are now open to them as to all classes, and they are cultivating a better acquaintance with the English language, as well as with the customs of civilization (Rand 1880: 7-11).

He continued in this vein several years later:

> And mark the change which has taken place in the condition of the tribe in respect to *civilization* since we began our labours, and as the direct result of our labours... The old dress both of men and women has been discarded, and that of the white people adopted very generally; you can no longer tell an Indian by his dress. Comfortable houses and all the appearance of civilization, are continually to be met with. Everywhere there is a determination to obtain learning, and to learn the English language... many adults have mastered the mysteries of reading Micmac, one at least now living, after forty years of age who never went to school at all (*in* Clark 1899: 35).

Silas Rand, then, considered his most important contribution as that of helping the Indians to achieve "civilization." While such a statement might seem to align Rand with that group of nineteenth century theorists who espoused the notion of social evolution, and certainly from Rand's contacts with such prominent theorists as Lewis Henry Morgan one must assume his familiarity with this theoretical school, nonetheless it is apparent from Rand's writings that he possessed none of the ethnocentrism common to the social evolutionists. In fact, for his time, Rand displayed a remarkably relative point of view with regard to native people, native cultures, and native languages. His pleas to "cease to treat the Indians as idiots," his realization of the inherent value of traditional Micmac culture and the need to record it before all memory of it vanished, and his repeated favourable comparisons of the Micmac language with Indo-European languages all demonstrate this relative point of view, most unusual for a nineteenth century cleric.

In the course of his work among the Micmac, Rand had occasion to record a good amount of data of both their traditional culture and on the culture as it changed in response to the presence of Europeans. Rand assigned credit for the increasing acculturation to the influence of his Micmac Mission. While this may be partially true, probably some of the changes in Micmac life style which occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century were inevitable as the Indians came into increasingly frequent and extended contact with the expanding white population around the Province. Nonetheless,

Rand was present to encourage and to set an example for the Micmac people in learning English, in accepting education, and in acquiring at least the outward trappings of European material culture. Most important for our purposes today, of course, are Rand's recorded observations and comparisons of the changing Micmac culture during this time, some of which have been cited in this paper. While formal acculturation and ethnohistorical studies had not yet been thought of, Rand's work served to preserve an objective view of the Indians' culture for future workers in anthropology.

And finally, the value of Rand's linguistic work should be equally apparent; he had reduced the language to writing and produced a grammar book and a dictionary of it. Rand's dictionary still is used by linguists and scholars today as one of the very few published sources available for the study of the Micmac language.

In the study of the history of anthropology, when we deal with the nineteenth century, we read and think only of those individuals who somehow anticipated ideas set forth by recognized anthropological workers in the twentieth century. We tend to neglect those non-theoretical workers who were for the most part self-educated and of course completely without training in the study of people in the sense in which we think of it today, but without whose traveling, observing, and recording of data on non-literate peoples, the discipline of anthropology would never have gotten off the ground. The valuable legacy of data these individuals have left certainly entitles them to a place in the history of anthropology.

Silas Rand falls comfortably into this class of workers for North America. Their primary expressed purpose at the time may not have been to record data on Indians, but somehow in the course of their work they did record a lot of good data which is usable today. Admittedly, they sometimes leave us some not-so-usable data, such as Rand's list of word comparisons of Micmac with ancient and modern European languages which supports Rand's contention that the North American Indians were descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes (Clark 1902: XIII). Others who belong to the same category for the nineteenth century would be, in Great Britain, the teams of Spencer and Gillen, and Fison and Howitt, all working in Australia, and on whose efforts Durkheim, Mauss, and a host of later workers have relied; in the United States, people such as Lewis and Clark,

Zeisberger and Heckewelder, Schoolcraft, Gibbs, Hale, and even Powell. In Canada, with the exception of Trigger's studies of Sir John William Dawson and Sir Daniel Wilson (1966b; 1966a), such nineteenth century collectors have been largely neglected.[7]

There are at least two reasons for their neglect: first, a general neglect of the study of the history of the discipline until recently in all countries, and second, the fact that Canadian anthropology has been closely allied with anthropology in the United States and in England, resulting in a lack of examination of the roots of the study of people in Canada. But it would seem that with the current wave of Canadian nationalism that Canadian anthropologists would want to become more introspective and retrospective and recognize some of their own heroes of proto-anthropology. Silas Rand is one of these. Others about whom we are sure to hear more as study of the history of the discipline progresses are at least Fraser Tolmie and George Dawson, and some of the Catholic fathers such as Lacombe, Petitat, and Morice; undoubtedly other individuals exist as well who deserve recognition for their early ethnographic efforts. Such study, while admittedly modest in itself at this point, will nonetheless help to develop a perspective and an appreciation for the background of the study of people in Canada.

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[7] Cole (1973) briefly reviews the accomplishments of several nineteenth century workers in proto-anthropology in his article on the origins of Canadian anthropology.

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