

“TO CHRISTIANIZE AND CIVILIZE”

Settler Motives and Residential Schools



Transcribed and Curated by Chris Willmore

Curator's Preface

For decades, the Canadian government engaged in the deliberate, systematic *cultural genocide* of Indigenous people. Through the Residential School system, Canada's government kidnapped Indigenous children and attempted to brainwash them – to erase and replace their traditional culture – and to do so in the cheapest way possible. This led to lasting, intergenerational trauma. It also led to death, pestilence and other atrocities and tragedies, as recently discovered mass child graves at the sites of former Residential Schools amply illustrate.

The present sourcebook collects predominantly *settler* (and predominantly white) views of the Residential School system. The reason is a practical one: these are the views that were most frequently recorded and preserved by Canadian journalists and archivists.

This *biased* collection of often racist material is intended as a *companion* to the stories of Residential School survivors, their families and communities. These readings are meant to show how a system of cultural genocide, family separation and mass child death, disease and malnutrition could be created, supported, funded, encouraged and even occasionally celebrated in a country that prides itself on its international reputation for being “good”.

This sourcebook is not in any way meant as a substitute for the stories of survivors, and should not be the only source you read on this topic. I encourage all of those who are starting their journey in learning about this topic to read the reports of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: <https://nctr.ca/records/reports/>

-Chris Willmore

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Victoria, B.C., 2022

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Cover image: Necklace excavated from a midden at the former site of the Lac St. Anne mission, prior to its flooding. Collection of, photographed and edited by Chris Willmore.

“Ô Canada! Terre de nos aïeux,
Ton front est ceint de fleurons glorieux!
Car ton bras sait porter l'épée,
Il sait porter la croix!
Ton histoire est une épopée
Des plus brillants exploits.
Et ta valeur, de foi trempée,
Protégera nos foyers et nos droits.”

-National Anthem of Canada

“It has been strongly pressed on myself, as the head of the Department, that the Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men”.

-Sir John A. Macdonald, 1883.

“Laid before us in their speeches, what we ought to be”¹ (1846)

In the Summer of 1846, a Council was held at Orillia, Ontario, between the government of the province of Canada and various Indigenous groups. The topics were the removal of Indians to new reserves, and the creation of “manual labour schools” for Indian students.

The Indians have been gathering during several days. The Council was opened on Thursday, the 30th July, 1846, by Capt. Thos. G. Anderson, Visiting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who took his seat at Eleven o’clock A. M.

Captain Anderson called for the Chiefs and Principal Men assembled, according to their Villages, or the Communities which they represent.

There were found to be

PRESENT

George Vardon, Esq. *Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs*,

Captain T. G. Anderson, *Visiting Superintendent Indian Affairs*,

The Rev. Mr. McIntyre, *of Orillia*,

“ Peter Jones², *of Port Credit*,

“ William Case, *of Alderville, Alnwick*,

“ Horace Dean, *of Rama*, - besides

“ John Sunday, (mentioned in his place as a Chief.)

Mr. John Hill, *Interpreter to the Mohawks*,

Mr. Allan Salt [&] Mr. Francis Godarr, *Interpreters to the Chippeways*.

MOHAWKS³

From the Bay of Quinté, Chief Paulus Claus,

Warrior, Seth Powles.

(Besides the Interpreter above named.)

CHIPPEWAYS, – otherwise called *Missesaugas*

From Alderville, in Alnwick,

Chief Shahwundais, (or Rev. John Sunday)

Mr. John Pigeon,

Mr. Jacob Sunday,

Mr. Joseph Skunk.

(Besides the interpreter, Mr. Allan Salt, above named.)

From Rice Lake

Chief George Pahdaush,

Chief John Crow,

¹ From Baldwin, H. (Transcriber). (1846). *MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF INDIAN CHIEFS AND PRINCIPAL MEN, HELD AT ORILLIA, LAKE SIMCOE NARROWS, On Thursday, the 30th, and Friday, the 31st July, 1846, ON THE PROPOSED REMOVAL OF THE SMALLER COMMUNITIES, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MANUAL LABOUR SCHOOLS*. Montreal: Canada Gazette. The original text wrote most names of persons in capitals.

² For more on Peter Jones, see the Appendix.

³ For more on the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté, see the Appendix.

Chief John Taunshey.

From Mud Lake

Chief Peter Noogie,
Mr. Thomas Jacobs.

From Skugog Lake

Chief Jacob Crane,
Mr. William Johnson,
Mr. John Johnson.

From River Credit,

Chief Joseph Sawyer,
Mr. James Young,
Mr. William Johns.

From Snake Island

Chief Joseph Snake,
Mr. John Snake, (*the Chief's Orator.*)
Mr. Thomas Shilling.

From Rama

Chief Yellow Head
Chief Naaningishkung,
(Besides Mr. Francis Godard, Interpreter above mentioned.)

From Beau-Soleil Island

Chief John Aisaans, (formerly of Coldwater.)
Unootahgawenene, (*Chief's Orator.*)

From Owen's Sound

Chief Waubutik.

From Sahgeeng

None.

From River Severn

Chief Thomas Aisaans, (formerly of Coldwater.)

POOTAAWAUTUMEEES

None, – (as finally established; though one had been understood to report himself such. He was afterwards found to be an *Otahwau.*)

OTAHWAUS

Two were present.

HEATHEN

From Bahjewunaung

Chief Meshukwutoo.

And the Secretary to the Council.

With about Eighty or a Hundred of the Young Men, accompanying the several Chiefs.

OPENING OF THE COUNCIL

The Indians being seated, and ready for their reception, Captain Anderson and Mr. Vardon shook the Chiefs severally by the hand. After which Captain Anderson

announced the number of Chiefs and Principal Men, from the several Communities respectively, there assembled, and then addressed the Council as follows: Mr. Allan Salt⁴ interpreting in Chippeway.

SPEECH

delivered by Captain Thomas G. Anderson, Visiting Superintendent Indian Affairs, to the Chiefs and Principal Men of the several Tribes under his Superintendence, in Council, convened at Orillia, the 30th July, 1846, for the purpose of taking their sentiments on the subject of establishing Manual Labour Schools for the Education of their Children, and other matters connected with their Temporal and Religious Advancement in Civilized Life.

“Brethren, I am happy to meet you all in good health to day. Many years have passed since so many different Tribes were assembled in Council in one place. I have often met each band in their respective villages, and delivered to them the words which I have been commanded by the Government from time to time to communicate to them.

Brethren – As great changes are taking place in your condition, and your Great Mother, the Queen, having directed the Indian Department to make arrangements for your future guidance, I have obtained permission of His Lordship the Governor General, to assemble the Chiefs and Principal Men, under my Superintendence, in General Council, to deliberate on the following subjects.

Brethren – For many years past the Government has used every means in its power to raise you upon a level with your white brethren, and your Missionaries have laboured with unceasing care to Christianize you, and instruct you in a knowledge of God’s Word; but your unsettled state, and wandering habits, have rendered all their efforts insufficient for the full attainment of the great object in view.

It is therefore proposed, as I informed each of you last autumn,

First. – That the Tribes shall use every means in their power to abandon their present detached little villages, and unite, as far as practicable, in forming large settlements – where

Secondly. – Manual Labour Schools will be established for the education of your children: and the land, to which you may now, with the consent of the Government, remove, the Government will secure, by written documents to you and your posterity for ever.

Thirdly. – That you shall devote one fourth of your annuities, which many of you promised last fall to do, for a period of from twenty to twenty-five years, to assist in the support of your children of both sexes, while remaining at the schools. It is to be hoped that in time, some of your youth will be sufficiently enlightened to carry on

⁴ “Rev. Allan Salt [(1818 – 1911)] was a full-blooded Indian of the Ojibway tribe, born at Mississauga in 1818. He was adopted and educated by Rev. Mr. Case, father of Indian missions, and graduated from Toronto Normal School in 1848, and five years later entered the ministry of the Methodist Church. He continued in active work for 48 years, serving many stations in Ontario and one term in the Northwest. He was missionary for many years at Parry Island, where he settled when superannuated in 1901.” Rev. Allan Salt. (1911, February 1). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2.

a system of instruction among yourselves, and this proportion of your funds will no longer be required.

Fourthly. – It is proposed that you shall give up your hunting practices, and abandon your roving habits. To enforce which, the Government will not approve of your spending your money in the purchase of provisions; but you must cultivate the soil, and, as your white brethren do, raise produce for the support of your families, and have some to sell.

Fifthly. – It is proposed that the custom of giving your money to your white brethren to build houses, &c., for you, shall cease as far as practicable, and that each man shall put up his own buildings, and be paid a reasonable price for them, out of the funds of the Tribe, and thus, to keep the money among yourselves. By these means you will be encouraged in habits of industry, and you will become a more healthy, and ere long an independent people.

Brethren – I have now given you the heads of the subjects intended for your serious reflection; and I beg that you will deliberate upon them with that weighty consideration which they deserve, and which wise and good men would attach to them.

Brethren – I will now make a few observations on each head, that you may better understand the object in view; – and

First. – The British Government adopted you as her children, before any of you who are now present had seen the rising sun. And from that time to the present moment, as you all know, she has continued her parental care over you, watching over your best interests with more forethought than your own mothers have watched over you. It is the sentiment of this great and good parent which I now deliver to you. It is, as I have before told you, the wish of the British Government to do even more for you now than ever it has done before. It wishes to raise you to the same rank in social life as your white brethren, and to make you an independent and happy people. But to accomplish this, you must assist in the great work by laying aside indolence, vie with each other in habits of industry, and be obedient and kind to those who are appointed to instruct you.

Brethren – For more than twenty years past, large sums of money have been spent by the Government, and your Missionaries have used their endeavours to divest you of Indian customs, and instruct you in the arts of civilized life, but it has not proved effectual. Though favourable alterations have taken place, and your condition has greatly improved, yet much remains to be done. And that you are not a better and happier people, and your civilization more advanced, is not the fault of the Government; neither can it be attributed to neglect on the part of your Missionaries; but it is because you do not feel, or know the value of education; you would not give up your idle roving habits, to enable your children to receive instruction. Therefore you remain poor, ignorant and miserable. It is found that you cannot govern yourselves. And if left to be guided by your own judgment, you will never be better off than you are at present; and your children will ever remain in ignorance. It has therefore been determined, that your children shall be sent to Schools, where they will forget their Indian habits, and be instructed in all the necessary arts of civilized

life, and become one with your white brethren. In these Schools they will be well taken care of, be comfortably dressed, kept clean, and get plenty to eat. The adults will not be forced from their present locations. They may remove, or remain, as they please; but their children must go.

Brethren – I wish seriously to impress upon your minds, that if you do not avail yourselves of this favourable opportunity of bringing you from darkness to light, it may be the last time you will have so good an offer. Remember that disgrace will attach to your character; and how justly future generations may reflect upon your names, if you at present neglect their best interest.

Brethren – For some years past, you have had the management of your own funds. Your money is gone; and you have nothing to shew for it. This is not satisfactory. Your money must in future be applied to purposes that will be of permanent benefit to your Tribes respectively.

Brethren – The management of the Manual Labour Schools will be entrusted to your Missionaries, under the direction of your Great Father the Governor, who takes a deep interest in your prosperity. But here is an Officer, (Assit. Superintendent General Vardon,) who has been sent expressly by your Great Father to attend this Council, and to carry our words to his ears. He will explain to you any thing I may have omitted on the subject, and tell you, if I have used words which are not correct. And the Missionaries will perhaps explain to you in what manner they intend to conduct the schools.

Brethren – There is another subject which I propose to admit for the consideration of your Great Father. It is one which I consider of importance in conducting the affaris of your people, and one which you are requested to consider with attention. It is respecting Chiefs.

Brethren – You know that in former times, there were very few Chiefs. And in those days, the young men were obedient to their Head Men. But abuses have crept in. Medals have been given, and Chief[s] created, without regard to the hereditary lines of their Fathers; and in many instances, without regard to merit, or capability of conduct. This I have long considered as a great evil. And I would now propose to remedy it, by selecting, from each of your Tribes, one, two, or three, of those who have the best claim to Chieftainship, and doing away with the Medals altogether. The Chiefs so appointed must be obeyed by the people of their Tribe, but will, as white Officers are, be subject to dismissal by your Great Father, for improper conduct.

Brethren – It only remains for me to repeat what I have often told you, that we cannot accomplish anything without the assistance of the Great Spirit, in whose hands are all our ways. Therefore, pray earnestly for His Holy Spirit to direct you. Love each other with all your hearts; and do to others as you would they should do to you. and may the Great Spirit bless you all! – I have done.”

Captain Anderson having concluded his Speech, the Chiefs received it with the usual complimentary assent; exclaiming – *A – aà! – A – aà!*

George Vardon, Esquire, A. S. G. I. A. then rose, and addressed the Council as follows:

“Chiefs and friends, I have listened attentively to what your Superintendent has said, and there is but little for me to add further than to assure you that what has been told to you are the wishes of the Governor General, who takes great interest in your welfare. I saw him the day previous to my departure from Montreal, and he talked a long time about the Indians, and their affairs; but he added: ‘I see no hope of succeeding, unless the Indians themselves feel the importance, indeed the absolute necessity, of their Children being educated, and that they lend their assistance to us.’

I wish to call to your minds, that if the opportunity is lost, it may never again occur. Every person connected with the Department, and the Missionaries, who have so long presided and watched over you, are all equally anxious to see the Manual Labour Schools established. And to derive full benefit from them, I am convinced you ought to live together. There are numerous benefits that would arise from so doing; for instance, the parents would have the pleasure of seeing their children, and of watching their improvements. I do hope, that the difference of Religion will not be made a cause of dispute. In the Schools, a general education, connected with learning Trades and Farming, will be given. Your children of every persuasion will enjoy equal advantages. But your own Missionaries will take charge of your religious instruction. Each Missionary will overlook his own flock.

It has been considered, that *Owen’s Sound, Alnwick and Muncey Town*, will be the best places to establish the Schools at.

I have only a few words more to say. I have already remarked, that the decision you may come to at this Council may be of inestimable importance to yourself and your children. And my being here is a proof that it is considered so by the Governor General. In ordinary cases, it would not be necessary; but His Excellency desired me to be present at this Council, in order that I might repeat his views and his wishes to you, which I have now done, and that I may carry to his ear the words which you shall speak.

One thing alone now remains for me to say. The subject is not new. Your Missionaries have long preached to you against drinking and ardent spirits, and I am happy to hear, and to see, that they have succeeded to a considerable extent. I congratulate you on this. But the Governor General desired me most particularly to express his hope, that you would listen attentively to what your Missionaries say to you on this point. I shall have great pleasure in repeating to His Excellency what I have seen; and I hope to carry to him your promises of steady and progressive improvement.”

On the conclusion of this address, the Chiefs, and all the Indians present, responded heartily and aloud – *A – aà! – A – aà!*

The Missionaries present being then invited to address the Council, if they should have any thing to say:

The Revd. Peter Jones rose, and spoke in the Chippeway language.

It is regretted that it was found impracticable to take notes, or procure any particulars of this speech. The following brief expressions, however, of Mr. Jones’ cordial assent, were written down by the Secretary, on the spot.

"Oô su ween, azhenesetootumaun, Ragait keche ónezheshin; indahekedo." Which is, in English:- *"On this, as I understand it, I should say:- 'Truly it is very good.'"* Mr. Jones also, in pointing out the advantages to be derived from the course recommended by the Government, shewed the Council that such and such benefits would not be partial, or altogether in reserve for future generations, but will accrue, he said, "to all you that are Chiefs, to your wives, and to your children."

The Rev. Wm. Case then addressed the Council. His speech, as taken down in shorthand by the Secretary, and afterwards examined and corrected by himself, was as follows:

"Brothers – I feel great pleasure in meeting with you on a great and interesting occasion like this, and especially, as the representatives of the Government are present, who take so deep an interest, and have expressed themselves so appropriately on the subject of your temporal and spiritual welfare.

Brothers – I know no period at which the subject could have presented itself so favourably for your consideration as the present; and we have never seen a time, when the Government was so much at leisure to consider this great matter, and to form and mature their plans for the welfare of the Indian Tribes. We listen, and we hear no sound of cannon. We look, and we see no armies marching to the field of blood. The Queen, and the great men of her Government, are contemplating the welfare of two hundred millions of human beings. Their great ships, no longer engaged in war, are now employed in carrying lumber for building houses, and in transporting provisions to the starving poor of Ireland. They have considered, too, the wrongs of the Black Man; have removed his burdens, and set him free. Such acts are noble, and worthy of a great and enlightened nation. They will never be forgotten. And the good men, who have taken part in this great work, will be looked upon by posterity, as the benefactors of Mankind. The attention of the Government has been directed, especially to the Provinces of North America; and they have said – 'What can we do for our Red Children?' And they have come to the conclusion which you have heard. Your venerable friend[s] have communicated to you the wishes of the Queen and her Government. It is this: that you congregate in larger communities; abandon your roving habits; engage in the business of farming; consent to the establishment of Boarding Schools on the system of Manual Labour, and, with the Government grants, apply a portion of your annuities, for a term of years, to carry this important plan into effect. They wish you to be religious, industrious and happy.

Brothers – These are words of wisdom. They are drawn from the sacred book of Heaven; and we are glad to see that your ears are open, and listening to words so wise and useful.

Brothers – We see no reason why the Red Man should not be as comfortable, respectable and happy as the white man. We know not why your young men should not be so educated as to be able to transact your affairs as well as your white brothers. You may, indeed, live to see some of your sons doctors, attorneys and magistrates. This is a thing not at all improbable. You have already lived to see your warriors become Ministers of the Gospel, Interpreters, and Teachers of your Schools. These you now see standing before you. Such important and useful stations are not to be filled by the rude and ignorant but by those who have been made wise by industrious habits and a religious education. From such the Lord makes His selections, as Teachers of His people.

Brothers – There was one sentiment expressed by the Agents of the Government which impressed my mind forcibly. It was this, that the present affords you a favourable opportunity to embrace the benevolent plans of the Government, for the temporal and educational interests of your people, and that should you allow this opportunity to pass, you may never have another offered you.

Brothers – As one who has seen many years, who was acquainted with you before you received the Gospel; before any religious change had come over your hearts; who has witnessed the favourable influence religion has had upon your hearts, your life, and your temporal condition; as one who has seen the unhappy effects of your wandering habits, it is my most mature opinion that the benevolent plans of the Government are suited to your wants, and I hope you will come to a favourable decision, and act upon their advice.”

Mr. Allan Salt interpreted this speech in Chippeway.

The usual response of assent was given on this as on other occasions, in general. All speeches and addresses made in full Council were interpreted, except the speeches of the Rev. Peter Jones, who spoke in Chippeway.

The Rev. Mr. McIntyre, of *Orillia*, then addressed the Council. Some few words of his speech were lost; but very nearly the whole was taken down, as follows:

“Brothers – As one who takes an interest in the welfare of the Indians, I am very happy to see so many of you here assembled to hear the words of our Great Mother the Queen. Of this, the benevolent intention of the Government, and their earnest desire for your welfare and improvement, you must all be satisfied; when the Governor General has sent two persons to deliver his words before you, and since the delivery of those very excellent speeches, which have been made before you.

I myself see very plainly that something must be done for the welfare spiritual and temporal of the Indians. First, in respect to their temporal affairs. For I see no reason why the Indians, living on the opposite side of the Lake, should not live as well, and as comfortably as the white people on this side. You have certainly very excellent land on that side, much better than we have here. About a fortnight ago, traveling with one of your brethren, and observing a fine field of wheat, I asked him: what is the reason that your people could not have as fine a field as this? He replied, that their land is not as well cultivated as this. I told him I was perfectly convinced that the Indians might cultivate their land as well as their white brethren, &c. &c.

The Assistant Superintendent General has said, and very wisely, that the Indians should give up drinking ardent spirits altogether. And I have scarcely ever gone to an Indian Village without telling them that they should give up drinking altogether. And I heartily hope that the advice given to you this day will be followed.

And I can say here this day, that the Church of which I am a Minister, the Church of England, will be very happy to do every thing in her power for the benefit of the Indians. I am very happy to see here to day the Chief of a Tribe that some time ago promised me to give up Paganism. The Bishop of Toronto has given me his word that he is very anxious to do every thing in his power for the Indians. And I therefore consider this a very favourable opportunity, &c. &c. And I hope that you will agree, and decide on congregating together. It is the only way in which you can expect God to bless you.”

Captain Anderson then again briefly addressed the Council by interpreter; thus:

“I have now told you all that I have to tell you. I leave these papers with you until to-morrow; and to-morrow you will make known your answers. I hope that by your deliberations you will come to be of one mind.

I am happy to see you all assembled together from different places and different Tribes; and I hope that we may never hear of any more hard words among yourselves against each other.

I leave you these papers. There are some of your Missionaries here. Mr. Case, Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Jones, have had a great deal of experience, and they may talk over the matter with you, &c.

And if there should be any thing that you do not understand, Mr. Vardon and myself are here to explain.

There is also an Address which the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté have sent to be delivered to the assemblage.”

The Mohawk Address was then read to the Council by Mr. John Hill, one of the Deputation, in the following words:

“To the Chiefs and People of the several Indian Tribes assembled in General Council at *Orillia*; The Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté send salutation.

Brethren – We were glad when we heard that a General Council, to consult about the best means of improving our common race, had been called, and that we were invited to send Delegates to it. This is another proof that the hearts of our Fathers of the Indian Department are still warm towards us, and active in doing us good.

Brothers – We send as our representatives Chief Paulus Claus, Catechist John Hill, and Warrior Seth Powles. In commending them to your favour, we do not give them a string of wampum, but we charge them with this Address, in which we desire to write a few words of advice to our Western Brethren.

Brothers – We have too long been children; the time has come for us to stand up and be men. We must all join hands like one family, and help one another in the great cause of Indian improvement: this is our only hope to prevent our race from perishing, and to enable us to stand on the same ground as the white man.

Let us then sound the shell, and summon every red man from the woods; let us give up the chase of the deer and the beaver; it is unprofitable: the white man’s labour is fast eating away the forest, whilst the sound of his axe and his bells is driving the game far away from their old haunts; it will soon all be gone. Let us then leave the bush to the wolves and the bears, and come forth and build our wigwams in the open fields: let us exchange the gun and the spear for the axe and the plough, and learn to get our living out of the ground, like our white brethren.

Brothers – Many summers have passed since our forefathers forsook a wandering life and built settled homes in cleared places; we may therefore, as elder brothers, testify to you how great are the advantages of changing your mode of life. We confess, with sorrow, that we have not improved, as we ought, the advantages we have enjoyed; we are desirous, therefore, that you should profit by our faults, and not neglect your opportunities.

Brothers – There is no reason why we should not become an intelligent, industrious, and religious people. Experience has proved the Great Spirit has given us powers of mind

and body, not inferior to those of our white neighbours: then, why should we be inferior to them? Besides, Government has given us sufficient land to cultivate which is carefully protected from encroachment; we are supplied with clothing, as presents from our Good Mother the Queen, whilst our other wants are relieved by the sale of our lands as we do not want to use. Good and careful Fathers are appointed to watch over our interests and attend to all our wants; they are anxious to do every thing in their power to improve our people, and it is for this purpose that they have called this Council.

Brothers – Let us listen to all they have to say, with attention, and thankfulness. In all their dealings with us, though they are strong and we are weak, they never command us, they always treat us like equals and brethren. In all they propose they have our good at heart; let us then meet their suggestions with generous confidence.

Brothers – We understand one of the chief objects they have in view at present, is to improve our young people by means of Boarding Schools, at which they will not only be taught book and head knowledge, but also learn to work with their hands; in fact, to make our boys useful and industrious farmers and mechanics, and our girls good housekeepers. This seems to us very necessary, for most of our young people are both ignorant and indolent, and they must be taught and accustomed to work when young, or they will never learn it, nor like it, after they have been taught.

Feeling the great importance of this, we have authorized our Delegates to concur in any good plan for the purpose that may be settled on in the Council.

Brothers – In conclusion, we congratulate you all (we hope all) that you, like ourselves, have been led by the good Spirit of God, out of the darkness of heathenism into the light and knowledge of the true religion, and that, in addition to the ties of blood and colour, we are still more closely bound together by one Faith and one Hope, as believers in our Lord Jesus Christ. We must not forget that we are yet babes in Christ, and have tasted but slightly of the benefits of Christianity; greater blessings are in store for our race, if we only diligently seek them.

Religion and civilization must go hand in hand, and then they will greatly assist each other in raising our respective Tribes to a safe and honorable position in the scale of society. If we are only faithful to our responsibilities and to ourselves, our Tribes will soon be raised from their present degraded and helpless condition, and be alike useful and respected, both as Members of society and as Christians.

Brothers – We offer you the right hand of fellowship, and bid you farewell.

(Signed) Brant Brant, Joseph Penn, Joseph Smart, his mark } *Chiefs.*

In Council, *Tyendenaaga*, 21st July, 1846.”

The Mohawk address was then interpreted into the Chippeway by Mr. Allan Salt. It was received with a hearty response:- – *A – aà! – A – aà! – A – aà!*

Chief Paulus Claus, of the Mohawk Deputation, then addressed the Council in the Mohawk language. His speech was then interpreted into English, or probably the substance of it, for the interpretation seemed very brief, by Mr. John Hill, of the Deputation; and from the English into the Chippeway by Mr. Allan Salt. The English interpretation having been made in a very low voice, the Secretary afterwards took notes from the Chippeway Interpreter’s recollection, and corrected those notes by reference to the Chief himself, and to his satisfaction. The following is the substance of the Speech.

“My brother Chiefs, I am very thankful to meet so many of my Brothers, from different Tribes. We have assembled here to talk about the future welfare of our children.

The Superintendents are sent here to propose plans, which will, if we concur in them, be a source of great advantage to our children.

We, your mohawk Brethren, hope that the Chiefs here assembled in Council will consent to conform to the wishes of the Government, abandon the old habit of hunting, lay aside the gun and spear, and take in their stead the Plough.

We see the woods are fast being cleared. Very soon there will be no place at all left for the game. Formerly, the Indians were settled on the shores of the Great Waters; all along the sea-coast. When the white people came, the Indians were driven back. And so, if we now omit to take the course recommended to us, and to concur in the wise and benevolent plans proposed to us by the Government, we are Indians, and would not be able to buy land. There will be nothing left for us, by and bye, to betake ourselves to, but the bare rocks, where nothing will grow; and after that, we shall be obliged to retire to the Great Waters, in the west, to the sea-shore. And then, we shall have no place beyond again to move to.

It is, therefore, highly important that we should not let this opportunity slip, but concur in the wise and benevolent plans of the Government for collecting us in larger settlements; and there affording our children good instruction, enabling them to become industrious farmers and mechanics. This is all I have to say.”

After the usual response, there was a minute or two’s conversation; and then Chief Claus rose again; and Chief Joseph Sawyer, of the *Credit*, being called upon, rose also; when Chief Claus, addressing the latter, spoke a few minutes, on handing him the written address.

Mr. Hill interpreted in English, and Mr. Godar, above named in Chippeway. No notes were taken, the English interpretation ont being audible, except to the Chippeway Interpreter, and those close by.

Captain Anderson then, at about 2 P. M., adjourned the Council until after dinner, having finished his business for the day.

After dinner, the Council reassembled. The Officers of the Government were now present.

Captain Anderson’s Speech was read over to the Council by Rev. Peter Jones. The sense of certain passages was discussed, and the whole explained anew by Mr. Jones, in the Chippeway language.

It being settled to the satisfaction of all, that it is not “Republican Independence” that is being spoken of by the Visiting Superintendent, in the words, “a more healthy, and ere long an independent people”; and again, in the words, “an independent and happy people,” (v. [...]⁵ *supra*,) – the consideration of the first three propositions in the plans of the Government, was then entered upon.

Remarks were addressed to the Council by several Chiefs, who spoke briefly.

And first-

Chief *Shahwundais*, (the Rev. John Sunday,) spoke to this effect.

⁵ The original here cites page numbers which are not accurate in the current transcription. I’ve kept the ‘see above’ (v. *supra*) notes, but omitted the page numbers to avoid confusion.

“My Brothers, – We have now had a long time to consider this subject; every Tribe has heard the proposition and question now laid before us.

Now you want to know who it was that answered this question, and agreed to this proposition.

It was I and my brother Chief of Rice Lake that answered this question, and agreed to this proposition last year.

This is all I say.”

This avowal (to understand which turn back to the speech, *supra*,) being received with the usual complimentary response, several Chiefs, and one of the principal men, addressed the Council in the following order, all very briefly, except the Rev. Peter Jones.

Chief Joseph Sawyer, of the Credit.

Chief John Aisaans, of the R. Severn.

Chief Kahkewaquonaby, (Rev. Peter Jones) who at this time presided.

Chief George Pahdaush, of Rice Lake, spoke with warmth and nervous earnestness.

The Rev. Peter Jones here again spoke; commended what his brother Pahdaush had just said, and continued speaking some minutes.

Mr. Thomas Shilling, of Snake Island, spoke next. He is son of a subordinate Chief of Rama.

No interpretation was used at this afternoon sitting, and no notes of any interest, beyond the preceding, were taken. Of what the Rev. Peter Jones said this afternoon, or at any time during the Council, the Secretary was unable to procure any note whatever.

At about 7 o'clock P. M. the Council adjourned until to-morrow.

The next day, Friday, the 31st July, 1846, the Council re-opened at 10 o'clock A. M. The Officers of the Government were not now present. Further discussion took place among the Chiefs.

And first, Chief Yellow Head, of Rama, rose and spoke a few minutes.

Unootahgawenene, the Orator above named, from Beau-Soleil Island, then spoke a few words.

The Secretary, who took these notes, having now been engaged by the Chiefs, took his seat at the table.

Chief Sahwundais, (Rev. John Sunday) made a few desultory remarks, and was followed by others in the same way.

Rev. Peter Jones, and some others.

Orator Unootahgawenene spoke again.

Capt. Anderson being sent for, now came to the Council. He enquired whether any Poôtaawautumees were really present. One had been understood to report himself as such, but it was now denied that any were present.

Chief Meshukwutoo, of *Bahjewunaung*, Lake Huron, was called to enquire respecting his place; that is, as to whence he came.

Capt. Anderson remarked, “he is not a Christian, at all events.”

Capt. Anderson then put some questions to Chief *Meshukwutoo*, in the Chippeway, to which the Chief replied: “*Kahween' indahunumeahsee,*” &c. &c. “I don't need to pray, (that is, to be a Christian,)” &c. &c. After further conversation,

Capt. Anderson questioned him as to that Being “by whom we live”; (“*wainjebemahdezeyung*.”) To which *Meshukwutoo* replied with indifference: “*Mees u tebishko*,” “it’s all one;” and that his people pray to the Great Spirit, &c.

At 11h. 30m. A. M. Capt. Anderson was requested by the Council to take the chair, and still to preside. He complied.

At 11h. 45m. A. M., Capt. Anderson having taken the Chair, informed the Council: Mr. Vardon being also present.

“We have now come to listen to your answers with regard to the first three propositions in the speech delivered yesterday. The Chiefs will be called upon by name.

And the first question is on the proposition 1st. (*supra*) that the Tribes shall use every means in their power to abandon their present detached little villages, and unite, as far as practicable, in forming large settlements: where, secondly, (*supra*) Manual Labour Schools will be established for the education of your children; and the land to which you may now (with the consent of the Government) remove, the Government will secure, by written documents, to you and your posterity for ever.”

Mr. Allan Salt having interpreted, the Chiefs were then severally called by name, and took their seats, to answer in the following order:

1. Chief Joseph Sawyer, of the River Credit.
2. [Chief] Shahwundais, (Rev. John Sunday) of Alderville.
3. [Chief] George Pahdaush, of Rice Lake.
4. [Chief] Peter Noogie, of Mud Lake.
5. [Chief] Jacob Crane, of Skugog Lake.
6. [Chief] Yellow Head, of Rama.
7. [Chief] John Aisaans, of Beau-Soleil Island, formerly of Coldwater.
8. [Chief] Joseph Snake, of Snake Island.
9. [Chief] Waubutik, of Owen’s Sound.
10. The Mohawk Deputation, from the Bay of Quinté.
11. Chief Naaningishkung, a subordinate Chief of Rama.
12. [Chief] Thomas Aisaans, a subordinate Chief of the River Severn, formerly of Coldwater.

Capt. Anderson here said, (Mr. Allan Salt interpreting) “each one will answer in his turn to this question.” The Chiefs being all asked, in general, whether they understood the question: Chief Waubutik was asked in particular, “do you understand the question?” – and he replied, “*Ahneesh, nenesetootum*”: “certainly, I understand.”

All being now prepared, the several Chiefs delivered speeches in answer to the first question.

At noon, Chief Joseph Sawyer rose, and spoke as follows:

“My Chiefs, I have not much to say on this subject; what I have to say will be done in a very few words. I have seriously considered the matter brought before the

Chiefs, and plainly see the propriety of receiving the advice proffered by our Fathers the Officers of the Government, who have treated us kindly ever since we had existence; and this I say with both my hands.

With regard to the removal of the Indians, I have been anxious to ascertain one point on that subject. If the Government would point out a tract of land that should be secured to the Indians and their posterity for ever, I and my people are ready to go and settle on such a tract, so that I and my people, and our descendants, may always call that tract our own.

I have taken into consideration the state of the small Tribes of Indians scattered through the country, and as respects my own people, on my own tract of land at the Credit, I see that we shall never do well, on so small a tract, hemmed round with white people, and that in the course of ten years we shall have scarcely any firewood to burn.

I think it will be proper for the young men to give up the former practice of hunting and carrying the fun; and I should prefer seeing them working in the fields, to seeing them pursuing the game; and for this reason, because I had come to these conclusions. I was very glad to hear the words which I heard yesterday; I quite coincide with the advice given to us by our Fathers.

I see that the white man obtains his wealth by industry; and from this I see, that in order that the Indian may attain to wealth, he must adopt the same course that the white man does; must lay aside indolence and a wandering habit of life, and must adopt an industrious course; and in that way alone we become people of property. The white man does not get his riches from the wind, or by going about with his arms folded.

I do not like to see our Indian women carrying their children on their backs, but would far prefer seeing them in wagons, when they go any where abroad, and carrying their children with them in wagons, as the white women do, – their young men driving, as the whites do.

I am in favor of concentrating the Tribes, if possible. We have been living twenty years in the same place, and now the wood is all gone; we cannot get black stones to make fire, as the white people do. There are four little villages of the whites now in sight of our place, which shows the necessity of removal. All that remains now, is to point out the Tract to which our young men should remove, and we are ready to go.

It is my wish that one large settlement should be made of all the Indians, where they would not be so near the whites, (and where we should not be so much annoyed by them as we are now.) This is about all I have to say.”

The last sentence, in brackets, “And where we should not be so much annoyed by them as we are now,” the Chief spoke in English, as here written.

After the usual response and the interpretation, Chief Shahwundais (the Rev. John Sunday) rose to address the Superintendents.

Captain Anderson told him, – “All that you said last year in answer to the Speech went to the Governor – all. But here is an Officer of the Government, sent up to hear with his own ears, and tell the Governor all that is here said.”

On this, the Chief declared the same thing in full Council, the Superintendents being both now present, as he had told the Chief in his short Speech, [*supra*,] during their discussions the preceding afternoon.

“My Chiefs, again I too rise to-day to declare my mind. I have nothing, however, to add, different from what I have already said.

I have been called upon to speak; but I am afraid of those people that are sitting over there – (laughter.) They lay all this to me. They have demanded who it was that gave consent to this project last year? It was I and our brother Pahdaush that answered this question, and agreed to this plan last year.

My Chiefs – I will now tell you, in respect to leaving our locations, just how it is:

Before I heard the good word, I was in my wigwaum, covered and shut up in darkness. When I came to my senses, I found myself at the east end of all the Indian country, that is of the Chippeways, our forefathers having wandered in that direction. I was like a little lamb bereaved of its mother, that had no father, no mother, so wandered about; and when my eyes were opened, (the great Word of God first opened my eyes,) and when they began to open, I saw that we had but a very small piece of land to stand on. My mind was such that I could not take in many objects, could not see far around me.

At that time we were brought up in the midst of marshes, where there were vast numbers of muskrats and catfish, sturgeon, beavers and otters, and lived on these animals.

I was living in that state of darkness when my eyes began to open. I then left all those animals; and though it was so good a place for a hunter to live in, yet I would not stay; not even the bones of my ancestors, of my relatives could detain me when I wanted to live in a larger tract of land.

I will tell you one thing which proves how much better it is to live here than in that hunting place. There was one of my brothers, our brother Pigeon, in that good hunting ground; and what had he when he was there? (Then turning to his companions, he asked first one and then another,) – ‘How many kettles had our brother Pigeon when he came to Grape Island?’ Answer, ‘One.’ ‘He had one small kettle – a soldier’s kettle.’ ‘And was that kettle a whole one?’ Answer, ‘No!’ ‘No, it was but half a kettle; a piece of it was broken off.’ – (laughter, all round.)

(It was here enquired by one of the Missionaries, ‘Had he any hat, any shirt, any pantaloons?’ ‘He had no hat,’ was the answer given by the same voice, ‘no pantaloons, nothing but the *Aûzeaiun*.’)

But see how he is now. I will tell you what property he has now; since he went to live in a larger tract, leaving that good hunting ground, where there were plenty of deer, bears, fish, eels, otters, muskrats, racoons, young cranes, and everything; he

now possesses *cattle, horses, house and barn*, and property worth about *two hundred pounds*.

The white people have both their eyes wide open. We have only one open as yet. This is the reason why I gave that answer to the speech that was delivered by the Superintendent last fall, and this is what makes me feel happy when he extends his hand to me, saying, 'Come along, and walk in the same path with me.'

In coming to the Council, I opened my eye, (the one eye that I have open) and looked upon the white men's houses, their beautiful fields, their cattle, their flocks in every direction. Between Toronto and this place, both sides of the road are filled with crops of articles of food.

But when I come to the Indian settlement, every thing is different. I see no such houses; no such beautiful fields; no such flocks; no such rich crops – nothing but poverty.

From these considerations, these things alone in my view, I might approve of the contemplated change. But moreover, it is for our benefit. It is for our good – for our own prosperity. On this ground I approve of it.

The Government have seen our present situation, and what our future condition may be; and therefore they take this trouble more permanently to provide for us and our children. I declare myself willing and delighted to accept such an offer. These are my thoughts."

The Chief spoke just half an hour by the watch. While he was speaking, Capt. Anderson, turning to the Rev. Peter Jones, who sat by him, expressed a wish (as he was understood) that such a speech could be taken down at the time, in the Orator's own exact expressions; adding, "It's so beautiful." When it was concluded, and after the usual response, Capt. Anderson again remarked, "A beautiful speech; a pity it should not be taken down correctly." It was the Secretary's determination to procure, if possible, the whole living words, from the Chief himself; but on his visit to Alderville for that purpose, the Orator and his Secretary were both too much oppressed with colds for such an exertion. The report prepared was, however, then corrected and approved. In its present state it is probably all that could be expected through the medium of ordinary interpretation.

Chief George Pahdaush rose next, and said – Allan Salt and others interpreting:

"My Chiefs – I will tell you what we think of the question which our Great Father asks us; what he wishes to know from us. I hear his sentiments; what he wishes to do for the Indians. I now see that our Great Father is still anxious to benefit the Indians, and is not tired in this work by his again bringing before us the subject of our removal. I thank our Great Father, for letting us to walk with him, and for his words, which we have now heard, on the subject of bringing us together to one place.

Now I will tell him my sentiments, and the sentiments of my subordinate Chiefs.

Land was given to us to work upon. And we received something to enable us to hold the land permanently: that is a Deed. But I know nothing about it. The Deed, or Instrument, is in the hands of the *Minister* somewhere. But I intend to go down to make enquiries about the matter. And I defer giving the answer on the part of my people, until such time.

I do not say this, as not approving of what is going on. On the contrary, I am very much pleased with the plan. My land is cleared. The stumps are rotted out of it. I have good fences made. But still, notwithstanding all this, I am ready to remove, if our Great Father wishes it. I would not interpose any obstacle to the wishes of our Great Father. I should not think it to my advantage to oppose, but rather that it would be for the benefit of my people to comply with the wishes of our Great Father, if he would take so much care of us. This is about what I have to say.”

Chief Peter Noogie then spoke as follows:

“My Chiefs – I shall not say much on this subject. I came to this Council, by invitation, to listen. And I have now heard the wishes of our Great Father, for our good, the good of the Indians. And I am glad to hear what I have heard. With regard to leaving my present location, I say but little. It was not the Governor that settled us on the tract of land which we now occupy. If indeed I had applied to him for land to settle on, I know that I should have obtained it; but the tract that we occupy, is in the hands of the Rev. J. Gilmour, and others, *the New England Company*, and I cannot precisely answer the question, at present, until I hear what that Company shall say respecting the land. When I shall understand the matter well, then I can easily answer, and know what to do. And I shall do whatever that Company may wish me to do. There is nothing here that would hinder me from leaving this present location. What I have said is enough to give an idea of my situation. This is all I say.”

Chief Jacob Crane then rose, and spoke as follows:

“My Chiefs – I will say a little to you, my Chiefs. I was very glad to hear that steps were being taken for the establishment of Schools for the education of our children; and also that advice is given to our young men to abandon their guns and hunting practices, and their spears, and to take hold of the axe, the hoe, the plough, and other farming implements. When I heard the words of our Great Father, and the words of our Great Mother, and their desire to do good to the Indians, I felt very happy to hear such sentiments from them, that so much good was designed for our children. And these words I look upon as words of truth. The land that I now occupy, I purchased. It is very good. We have commenced farming, have built houses, and my young men have said: ‘this is the place where we will become farmers.’ There are only three of us here, and we cannot decide with regard to removing from our present location. We looked out for land and selected this tract, and we have found it very good. This is all I have to say at present in answer.”

Chief Yellow head then rose, and spoke as follows:

“My Chiefs – I have risen, and stand up to speak, but have very little to say on what our Great Father advises us for our good. I admire it very much, this speech, which we have heard. My mind has been engaged in considering the subject brought before me; and the events that have occurred before me, especially in respect to the removal of my own people from this village before me where we were once before advised to remain settled as a religious people, and from which we were afterwards asked to remove to another place, where we now reside. And now I do not see what my young men are to subsist upon, not continuing to work the land; striving to settle here, in *Orillia*, and to be religious, and then required to remove; and now, when we are settled at *Rama*, before my young men have had time to make a fair trial there, being again required to remove to another place. I have been pleased to hear what I have heard from my Brother Chiefs, who have spoken before me. I will now speak a little with regard to what has already been settled on the subject of our removal. I am not willing to leave my village, the place where my Forefathers lived, and where they made a great encampment; where they lived many generations; where they wished their children to live while the world should stand, and which the white man pointed out to me, and gave me for my settlement. This is about all.”

Chief John Aisaans then rose, and spoke as follows:

“My Chief, – You wish to hear the sentiments of the Indians. I will tell you a little of my sentiments. Your message was brought to me to meet you here at a time when I was busily engaged in cutting food for my cattle. When I got the letter, I immediately rose up to come here. I considered what could be the occasion of this Council, of assembling all the Indians and the Whites together. Yesterday, about this time, I heard the cause, the object for which you assembled us. I thought, when I had heard the speeches yesterday, this is not the first time I have heard the same thing. I have heard it often; for many years past I have heard the same recommendation, my Chiefs, as in that part of the speech delivered yesterday, in which is discussed the prosperity of the Indians, the happiness of the Red Skins, my Chiefs. I have repeatedly answered the same questions, and acted accordingly, have always complied with the wishes of our Great Father. After I have made such replies, and complied with his wishes, it has never continued so for any length of time. You see this road here, my Chiefs, the Portage Road; the land on half of that road was given to me and my Tribe to live upon. We remained there scarcely seven years when our white Father asked us to give it back. Yet a little more I tell you, my Chiefs; you advised me to put up a Grist Mill. You told me it would be a good thing for my Tribe. And you said to me, ‘you will derive a blessing from it.’ We are no longer owners of that Mill. You, the white people, have it in use. But we do not know what use is made of it. This is all, my chiefs.”

On Mr. Vardon's suggestion, Captain Anderson here asked *Aisaûns*: "Have you not been receiving a hundred pounds a year for it?" Mr. Vardon proceeded: "The accounts were settled yesterday. You acknowledged it, and you have received Four Thousand Dollars for the Mill."

Chief Aisaans was here also told by Captain Anderson: "The question now before the Council is, respecting the proposed abandoning of the smaller villages and forming large settlements, the establishment of Manual Labour Schools, and the proper education of the children."

Chief Aisaans proceeded: "What I have already stated are the causes that hinder me from favourably answering the question proposed. I do not wish to remove. I have already removed four times, and I am too old to remove again. You always credit me with too little in the account; when I ask for anything, you answer, 'where shall I get it.' You have not the means of purchasing such articles. That is the reason why I object to devoting any portion of my annuity to the Schools. The Scripture says, we are told it says, we must love one another; but now, if we give up our money for the benefit of the young, who will take care of the old people? This is all I have to say."

Chief Joseph Snake then rose, and addressed the Superintendents in these words: "My Chiefs – You will now hear what I have to say, through my Orator."

The Orator, Mr. John Snake, standing by the Chief, then spoke as follows:

"Fathers – You wish to hear the sentiments of the Indians, with regard to the speech sent by our Great Father. We have reflected on the subject, and I am now prepared to give an answer with regard to the wishes of our Great Father, for the future prosperity of the Indians. With regard to forming large settlements, I do not see any reasonable obstacle, any reason why we should object to such a plan, and I should like to see the thing established on a sure foundation. I have often considered the future welfare of my children, and when I see them before me, I think seriously on their future condition. I am glad to hear that our Great Father is anxious to assist us, by putting us in the way, and promoting our welfare. A little more; I have not much more to say. We will attend to this subject, and observe how the matter proceeds in the Council; and see whether what is designed will come to pass. This is all I say. Yet a little more; I wish to say, with regard to our Islands, that in case of our removal, we desire to have them firmly secured to us. I have said enough."

Chief Waubutik then rose, and said: "My Chiefs, I have nothing to say at present."

It was here remarked, by several Chiefs, that Waubutik is the owner of that place, (*Owen's Sound*), to which it is proposed to move other Tribes, and that therefore, it's no use for him to say any thing.

Chief Waubutik proceeded: "I am not going to remove; you point the Indians to the place where I live, as the place of their future residence. It shall be free to them. They are welcome to it."

This was the amount of all he said. The Chiefs in Council were here informed that at a General Council last summer, the Indians of Owen's Sound and of Sahgeeng, invited all Indians who should be so disposed to come and settle here.

Chief Paulus Claus, of the Mohawk Deputation, then rose, and thus addressed the Council:

"My Brother Chiefs, I have not, at present, a great deal to say. The sentiments of the people from whom I come, are already delivered. I have rejoiced very greatly to see my Brothers so willing to embrace the offers made to them by the Government. I have heard all your words which you have spoken in this General Council, and I shall be very happy to tell all these words to my nation when I return home.

My Brothers, we ought now to be convinced, that we cannot be a people, unless we conform ourselves to the ways of the white people. As there was a time when the Indians owned the whole of this continent, from the salt waters; but no sooner did the white men come, than the Indians were driven from their homes, into the woods. I cannot see the end of this, removing from one place to another, going still farther into the woods, unless we exert ourselves to conform to the ways of the white man. Then we shall remain permanently where we are, if not, we shall continually be driven from the fertile lands, until the white people shall bring us to the rocks where nothing grows. And how can we live there?

I should rejoice very much to see all my brethren accept the offers of the government for our good. I think it would be a great benefit if they could be gathered with their children, all into one place, where they might ever remain. I think, at the present time, it is still easy for the government to remove them. Their property is not very great to impede their removal.

There is much good to be derived from their being all in one place, in a large settlement, where they might assist each other in various ways; as in large Schools, where the children might attend.

There are a few questions to which we are expected to give an answer to the Superintendent and Officer here present; but I cannot give it now, as one of these officers is coming to our place to visit, on his way down to Montreal; he will receive our answer on that occasion. Or, I can say: that I think my people are not willing to leave their homes, as they have now been living there upwards of sixty years, and own a good tract of land there. As far as I can say, I think they are very willing to give some of their means for educational purposes. This is all I have to say."

Mr. Hill, of course, interpreted the above. The notes were taken on the spot. These notes were afterwards examined, and where necessary slightly corrected, on reference to Chief Claus himself, and to his satisfaction. (*v. supra.*)

Chief Naaningishkung, a subordinate Chief of Rama, being next called upon, rose and spoke as follows:

"My Chiefs, I will tell you my mind, I am very thankful to our Great Father, for telling us in what way our children shall live. I have the same opinion as my

Brother Chiefs, consenting to the views and wishes of our Great Father for our good. I have women and children too; and I accept the offers made by our Great Father. I shall be guided by the Snake Tribe living on the island over there. If they remove, we shall go with them. This then is all. Just what I have said.”

Here some conversation took place. Chief Shadwandais made some remarks on what Naaningishkung had been saying. Rev. Peter Jones explains. All that Mr. Sunday has to say, is: ‘that this Speech of Naaningishkung’s is not a final answer; that is not authorized.’

Capt. Anderson then addressing, the Rev. Mr. Sunday, observed:

“Naaningishkung wants to know – whether in case of the removal of half his village, the half of the annuity would go with them.”

And Capt. Anderson then thus answered the enquiry. “It will. If a part remove, their proportion will go with them.”

Chief Thomas Aisaans, a subordinate Chief of the River Severn, being next called upon, rose, and merely replied: “My Chiefs, I do not wish to say any thing.”

At about 2h. 30m. P. M. the Council was adjourned until 5 o’clock.

AFTERNOON SITTING

At about 5 o’clock P. M. the Chiefs being reassembled, Capt. Anderson addressed them; Mr. Allan Salt interpreting.

“The next question for your consideration is on the proposal that you shall devote one-fourth of your annuities⁶, for the term of twenty-five years, towards the support of the Schools to be established among you; it being hoped that by that time, some of the Indian youth will be capable of managing the Schools. If any do not understand this question, or want further information, let them ask.

The Government want to see Indian Doctors, they want to see Indian Lawyers, and Justices of the Peace; Indians of all Professions and Trades; and that you should be like white people. This is what the Government wish to see among the Indians.

You must reflect that the white people take great pains, and are at great expense, to procure a good education for their children. For my own part, I have had two sons at the College at Toronto, and I can tell you it has cost me a hundred pounds a year for the two. And for what did I go to such expence? Because I want to make men of them, and not to see them running about, vagabonds, in the streets. You are not requested to give as much as the white people do, in sending their children to the High Schools. Very little is requested of you in comparison. You are requested to give only a very small proportion of your annuities to pay for the education of your children. Now just consider how great is the amount we give, and what the Government gives us. We give three-fourths to the one-fourth that is given by the Government, while you are requested to give but one-fourth to the other three-fourths.”

⁶ For details of some of these annuities as of 1837, see the Appendix.

The Rev. Peter Jones then addressed the Council. All that could be taken down of his speech consists of the first sentence, in these words: "I have long desired to see such Schools established, which the Government now proposes."

Mr. Jones having closed his address in favour of the proposed Schools, Capt. Anderson called on Chief Joseph Sawyer, previously admonishing all that the hour was growing late, and that it was not necessary to make long speeches, but merely, as they had heard the proposal, for each to tell in a few words, whether he approved it.

Chief Joseph Sawyer then rose and said in substance:

"My Chiefs – I am master only of my own money. I said before, that I take the words of our Great Father with my two hands. The other people will speak for themselves; but I give the money that is proposed to be given."

Chief Chahwundais, (the Rev. John Sunday,) then rose and spoke as follows:

"My Chiefs, I will tell you what my reflections have been, ever since we heard the Speeches of the Government Officers, delivered on this subject. I have been reflecting on the matter, and have thought of Moses, as we was marching through the wilderness.

Moses, when he knew that he should not enter the promised land, called all his people together, old men, young men, women and children; showed them the way in which they should walk – the Law of God; exhorted them to obedience, and laid before them the blessings and the curses that should come upon them, according to their obedience or their disobedience; as we read in the 29th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*: 'All these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God. Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shalt thou be in the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commands and statutes, which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shalt thou be in thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption and with a fever; and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.' And so it was, that while they walked in the way of God's commandments, they prospered, increased in numbers and were happy; blessed and helped of God in every thing. But after they had grown so prosperous, they forgot the Lord, and followed the ways of the idolatrous nations

around them. Then the cures which Moses had foretold, came upon them. They were conquered, and taken into captivity, and now they are dispersed over the whole world; they have no country, no place of their own.

Just so it is with us at this present time, as when Moses laid the blessings and the curses before his people the Children of Israel. We are here assembled in Council, and the Superintendents have laid before us in their speeches, what we ought to be. They have pointed out the advantages and the evils of the two opposite ways of living.

We, the Indians of Alderville, have a little annuity which we consider our own; and now, although when the Indians are assembled in Council, I am generally called the small-eyed Chief, I have notwithstanding been looking with my small eyes, as some have with their bigger eyes, to see what we should do, and this is what I think:

Suppose I have four dollars in my hand, I willingly give one dollar for the good of my children. This one dollar is for the good of my child, whom I love. It is like four bushels of wheat; suppose I should call my children and say, 'let us eat it all up,' then, when I should get old there would be nothing left to feed the children. But I say to my children, – 'let us eat only three bushels and save one, and when I die, that one bushel will do you good. I know that I shall not live long – it will not be long before I am gone; then this will do you good for ever; you will never eat it all up.'

Let the big-eyes think over this. But the big-eyes think this way: they have got four bushels, they are before them; so they eat them all up, and then when they have eaten up the four bushels, there is no further benefit from it; all is gone – nothing left for future generations.

As to what little we have, we are all willing. My Superintendent Chiefs, we are all willing. Of what we have we are willing to give one-fourth for the benefit of our children.

Before I close, I say to you, my Chiefs, when this change takes place, and these Schools shall be established, I want you to place a good honest man there, who will teach the children good things. This is all I say."

The report of this speech was also corrected at Alderville. [*v. supra.*] It was impossible to ascertain the questions precisely; but the Secretary was distinctly told, both at the Council and afterwards, by an ear-witness, that the Chief quoted both the blessings and curses quite at large, and in Moses' words, as contained in the chapter referred to; and, that this report is correct. In his pleasantries, he alluded to some Chiefs who had that same day spoken in the way described.

Chief George Pahdaush next spoke as follows:

"My Chiefs, I have heard what my Brother Chiefs have said respecting the kind wishes of the Government for the improvement of the Indians. I am very thankful to the Government for the kind proposals we have received for the good of our children, that they shall be educated, and for making so liberal offers of assistance; and I think we should do the same, and lend our assistance for the benefit of our children.

I do not know what to offer; I am not alone. There are three houses, three divisions of the school children, and I cannot make an offer of myself, until the others shall have decided what they will do.”

Capt. Anderson here observed to the Chief, Mr. Godarr interpreting, “But you can answer for yourself and the people at Rice Lake, whether you will be willing to do so.” The Chief proceeded:

“From the payments given to us by our Great Father, (for I know it is not for myself, but for the benefit of my children, and therefore I agree to the same as has been assented to by the other Chiefs), I give one-fourth for the Schools, and I am thankful to the Government for their assistance. This is all I say.”

Chief Peter Noogie then spoke in substance as follows: “My Chiefs – I give one-fourth, and I beg that an excellent man, a first-rate man, may be appointed to instruct our children. This is all I say.”

Chief Jacob Crane then spoke in substance as follows: “My Chiefs – I consent to the plan; but I am not determined to what place I shall send my children; I am at a loss to know.”

It was here explained to him that that was a point to be decided on afterwards.

Chief Yellow Head then rose and spoke as follows: “My Chiefs – You have heard what I have said to-day. I do not think I shall join in raising the great Schools. If the Great Chief himself, (the Governor General,) should come and deliver the same speech with his own mouth, I might perhaps attend to it; but not for my brethren who are here present. This is all I have to say.”

Being asked an explanation as to what brethren he meant, he said he meant Mr. Vardon and Capt. Anderson.

Chief John Aisaans rose next, and the question being explained to him, spoke as follows:

“My Chiefs and Brethren – You have heard what I said once to-day, before this time, and all the people about me have heard me; and I hope no one will think hard of it. I have told you to-day, that our annuity is very small. The reason why I said so to-day was, that I thought I might probably have money enough to have a little School at my own place where I live.

Another reason why I said so; if the Governor himself should come and open his own mouth and talk to me with it, I might consent to the proposed arrangement. I consider it a very good thing; but so many different Agents and Members of the Indian Department have thought differently, and when they have proposed one plan it has not continued long. This is another reason why I cannot consent. I have done, I have nothing more to say.”⁷

⁷ At this point the original document reads, “In respect to the last two Chiefs, See note on p. 62 (Memorandum).” Presumably they mean the note below, on ‘Two Chiefs alone’, on p. 29 of the original.

Chief Joseph Snake next addressed the Superintendents as follows, by his orator, Mr. John Snake:

“My Chiefs, we have for a long time heard of these High Schools, and the more we hear of the plan the better we like it. We had a Council about it. The one of the Superintendents who passed, mentioning the subject; we were very much pleased with the plan; so we held a Council and agreed to give Two hundred Dollars a-year (£50).

I will tell you the sentiments of the Chiefs of my people. They are rather disposed to wish that the High School should be on Lake Simcoe. In the event of any disturbance among the Whites, the High School at a distance might be destroyed; whereas, if it is back in the central parts of the Country, it would be safer.

This is the opinion of the Scugog Chiefs, and this is the reason why I said that I did not know where my children would be sent. This is all I have to say.”

Chief Naaningishkung, a subordinate Chief of Rama, then spoke as follows:

“My Chiefs, I will say a little. I have told you before that I have no power; if I had the power I would readily comply with what the other Chiefs have agreed to, for this is the sense of my people. This is all I have to say.”

This is because he is not head Chief, Yellow Head being the head Chief, who has opposed the Government plan, as his speech shows. Naaningishkung had liberty to speak, in order to shew the sentiments of the majority of his people.

Chief Thomas Aisaans, a subordinate Chief, of the River Severn, then rose and said: “My Chiefs, I entertain the same sentiments as those expressed by my brother, John Aisaans. If I had my money separate, I would then say what I would do; but, as I have no control over it, I say no more.”

This, it was remarked by the Government Officer, is what we wish to know, the sentiments of your half of the Village, since you are divided.

The Coldwater community being now divided; a part at Beau-Soleil Island, under Chief John Aisaans, the rest on an Island in the River Severn, with Thomas Aisaans, a subordinate Chief.

Before the close of the Council, Capt. Anderson read the following Memorandum, the substance of which had already been several times declared by him to the Council.

MEMORANDUM

Orillia, 31st July, 1846.

It is to be understood that Indians removing from their present localities to their new lands, where the Schools are to be established, will receive their proportions of the annuities of their respective Tribes.

The Chiefs interested in the plans before the Council, having all spoken to each question, Capt. Anderson made a minute of their votes, in substance as follows.

1 River Credit

Yes. —

2	Alderville, in Alnwick	Yes.	—
3	Rice Lake	Yes.	—
4	Mud Lake	Yes.	—
5	Scugog Lake	Yes.	—
6	Rama	—	No.
7	Beau-Soleil Island; Chief John Aisaans, formerly of the Village of Coldwater, — he is head Chief	—	No.
8	Snake Island	£50	—
9	Owen's Sound (gave consent last year)	—	—
10	The Mohawks	—	—
	Bahjewunaung Mezhukwutoo, a Pagan Chief, positively refuses to become a Christian.	—	—
11	Naaningishkung, of Rama	Yes.	—
12	Thomas Aisaans (now of the River Severn). No vote on money	—	—

At 8 o'clock, P. M., George Vardon, Esquire, Assitant Superintendent General I. A., pronounced the closing Address in the following words:

“Chiefs and friends, I have a few words to say to you in reply to what I have heard this day.

First. I wish to assure you that the Government will secure, by writings, such Lands as the Indians repair to, with the consent of the Government.

Any land they wish to leave now, will be sold, and the money vested for their benefit. They can receive the interest yearly; and this would increase their present revenues, so that they shall suffer no loss.

If the Tribe wish any particular spot to be reserved, it can be done.

Moreover, if any individual Indian, who has improvements, wishes to sell them, it can be done. And he will be paid for the same, when they can be sold. He can get his payment as soon as the money shall be received.

The project of removal did not originate with the Government. The idea was first suggested by some of the wisest and most intelligent of the Indian Chiefs.

It must be clearly understood, that the Government will not force any Band or Tribe to remove; but those who do must not complain, when hereafter they find they are not as well off as those who have gone hand in hand with the Government, and who, I am convinced, will shortly be a subject of envy to those who shall not avail themselves of this plan, but prefer following the advice of interested individuals instead of that of the Government.

If you require any proof of the bad effects of the present method of living, look around from where we stand, I refer to the Chippeways of Lakes Huron and Simcoe; divided into three wretched little settlements, who are obliged to expend a part fo their annuity yearly in the purchase of provisions.

It is very likely, it may not be agreeable to some of the Chiefs to remove from their present habitations; but they should bear in mind that it is for the good of their children.

Do you not see the White Man every year emigrating from his home, and coming to this country to settle? He plunges into the wood, with his axe in his hand, and works and toils. Do you think it is for himself alone? – No, certainly. He could get on during his life. But he wishes to do something for his children; and to see them better off than he himself has been. And he succeeds. Do you not see the Man who commences with nothing, by his industry obtain land, oxen, and cows, every comfort about him?

Why cannot you imitate this? You are too ready to imitate what he does that is wrong; commence now, and emulate him in his work, exert yourselves, and lend all your assistance to the Government now. Let your sons learn to farm, and your daughters to take care of their houses and their dairies, that they may hereafter lead creditable lives, and take their places in society, on an equal level with their white brethren.

It is with real pleasure that I have listened to the speeches of some of the Chiefs, assembled on this ground, who have this day addressed the Council, whose sentiments and expressions do honor to them as Chiefs and Christians. And it is clear that they have the real interest of their Tribes at heart. I hope what they have said will have its due effect. Those who have consented to grant a portion of their annuities to assist in the education of their children, will be well repaid by seeing their improvement, and in after days will receive the thanks and the blessings of their children. I do not envy the feelings of those either now, or in future days, who have refused to aid in this great and good work.

Two speeches alone have been marked with disrespect. Two⁸ Chiefs alone have presumed to put themselves on an equality with the Governor General, who is the Queen's representative. When the Governor General takes so much interest, as to send an officer here, to explain his meaning, I should certainly suppose it would be sufficient. I ought to tell you that previously to coming here, I presided at a Council of all the Indians in Lower Canada, where this subject was discussed as it has been here. Soon after the Council, I had occasion to visit some of their villages, and the Chiefs came, one, and all, and expressed their happiness at the prospect of establishing schools for them; for they felt its importance and would do every thing in their power to aid the Government in its plans.

With respect to this Council, let it be clearly understood, that I shall repeat to the Governor General every thing that has passed. He takes the deepest interest in the affairs of the Indians, and will lend every assistance in his power to aid in their efforts at improvement, not only as to their temporal, but also, what is of far more inestimable importance, as to their religious condition, and to place them, in every way, on an equal footing with the other good subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

In dismissing this Council, I wish to thank them for the kind attention with which they have listened to every thing that has been said.”

⁸ Note in the original: “Two Chiefs alone.” – Chiefs William Yellow Head and John Aisance. – It is only due to these Two Chiefs who are ignorant, and credulous to say, that great pains were taken to persuade them, that Mr. Vardon, the Assistant Superintendent General, and Capt. Anderson, the Visiting Superintendent, were acting without authority from the Governor General.

The press of business having occasioned the deferring of the consideration of the Address of the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté, an answer was now agreed on, to be signed by all Chiefs who should be present when it should be prepared. It was accordingly drawn up and signed, in the following words, and was duly presented to the Mohawk Deputation by the Rev. John Sunday and other Chiefs.

TO THE MOHAWKS OF THE BAY OF QUINTÉ

The Chiefs and Principal Men of the various Tribes assembled at the General Council at Orillia, being from River Credit, Owen's Sound, Snake Island, Scugog Lake, Alderville, Rice Lake and Mud Lake.

“Brothers, we experienced great pleasure in receiving your kind salutation addressed to us on this interesting occasion, and in seeing among us your respected Delegates, Chief Paulus Claus, Catechist John Hill and Warrior Seth Powles. In bidding them farewell, we make them the bearers of our thanks for your kind remembrance of us and of a few words expressive of our own feelings.

Brothers – Your representatives have well sustained your high character for Christian civilization, and we have received material assistance from them in our deliberations.

Brothers – We heartily concur in the sentiments which you express on the subject of the great change in the condition of the Red Man effected by the Gospel. We duly appreciate the benevolence which now invites us to receive still greater benefits, following up a long series of kindness, from which we ourselves are to reap solid advantages and which will place our children on the only permanent foundation for complete civilization and progressive improvement; we therefore unite with you in calling the hunter home; we place in his hands the plough, the hoe, the scythe; we will henceforth respond to the feelings of our White Brethren and rejoice to see the forest fall before the untiring axe, that the wilderness may blossom as the rose.

We too, Brethren, feelingly acknowledge the advantages already conferred upon us, even by the more limited opportunities which we have hitherto enjoyed.

Brothers – We assure you we are deeply sensible, that the present plans of the Government, in making provision for the instruction of our youth in agriculture and in the mechanic arts, and for the timely and constant care of our children, promise us precisely what we have so long needed.

The absence of this early fostering care is precisely the cause of our inferiority; this great want supplied, the minds of our children and youth expanding as they grow in years, habits of industry will be easily formed, and will indeed be the necessary consequence upon increase of intelligence, and the obtaining more correct views of our situation, and a right appreciation of the respective advantages of the two opposite courses.

Brothers – We are happy to be able to say, as your representatives will be able to fully illustrate the subject, that the deliberation of the Council have been marked with unanimity, and with the most serious sense of the great importance of the subjects submitted for our consideration.

Had we not been very much pressed with multiplicity of business, and therefore left without sufficient time, we should have expressed our sentiments more at large on such an occasion, but you will perceive how naturally this has happened.

Brothers, we shake hands with you in our hearts. Farewell.

Council Fire, Orillia, 31st July, 1846.

(Signed,)	John Sunday,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	Principal Chief of the Alderville Chippeways.
	Jacob Sunday,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	
	John Pigeon,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	Principal Men of Alderville.
	Joseph Skunk,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	
	Allen Salt,		Interpeter, Same place.
	Geo. Pahdaush,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	Principal Chief of the Chippeways of Rice Lake.
	John Crow,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	A Chief of Rice Lake.
	Peter Noogie,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	Principal Chief of the Mud Lake Chippeways.
	Thomas Jacobs,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	One of the Mud Lake Chippeways.
	Jacob Crane,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	Principal Chief of the Skugog Lake Chippeways.
	James Young,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	One of the Chippeways of River Credit.
	William Johns,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	A Chippeway of River Credit.
	John Snake,	(<i>Totem.</i>)	One of the Chippeways of Snake Island.

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY

After the close of the Council some of the Chiefs remained on the ground during the next day. On the return of the Superintendents from viewing the state of the improvements at Rama, Chief Yellow Head had an interview with one or both of them, and then, with assurances of his regret, explained that his answer had been given under a misapprehension, and on learning his mistake, he now gave his full consent. Of this the Secretary was distinctly informed by a Chief who had remained at the place. He has since been told, that Chief John Aisaans made the same explanation, and also gave in his consent; whence it appears that all opposition was withdrawn before the Chiefs had all left the Council ground. [...]

The Rev. Peter Jones also supplies the following brief note of his remarks at the Council, which the Secretary here copies from the original note, in Mr. Jones's handwriting, received from him for the purpose.

Substance of P. J.'s speech at Orillia Council:

"That having been an eye-witness, for more than 20 years past, of their conversion to Christianity, and the progress being made in civilization, I had long been convinced that in order to bring about the entire civilization of the Indian Tribes, Manual Labour Schools must be established. That I was glad to see the Gov. lending their aid in the work. That I had lately visited Great Britain for the purpose of raising funds for this object, and had collected upwards of one thousand pounds. That all the good and wise men in that country highly approved of the proposed Schools. That a

great deal had already been done for them, and great improvement had taken place in their condition; but that they had not made that progress which they ought to have made; and this arose from keeping up their hunting and wandering practices. That so long as they continued to live in this way, I saw no prospect of their rising into usefulness and comfort. That our proposed plans were, to take and board the children, and teach the boys Farming and useful Trades, such as Blacksmithing, Carpentering, Shoemaking, &c. and the girls house-keeping, spinning, knitting, sewing, &c. I could therefore say the proposed plans are good.”

“Dr. Ryerson on Industrial Schools”⁹ (1847)

Sir – I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter¹⁰ of the 18th March, requesting such suggestions as I might be able to offer as to the best method of establishing and conducting Industrial Schools for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian Tribes, and after a longer delay than I had at first anticipated, I find myself at length able to command the time from necessary official duties to comply with your request. I shall have great pleasure in stating to you, in as few words as possible, what occurs to me on this most important subject.

The first thing to be considered, is the precise objects and designation of such establishments, secondly, the extent and manner of Government control respecting them; and then the general regulations under which they should be conducted.

I

In regard to the designation and objects of such establishments, I would suggest that they be called Industrial Schools; they are more than schools of manual labour: they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these. I should, therefore, prefer the designation of industrial school to that of manual labour school.

As to the object of these establishments, I understand them not to contemplate anything more in respect to intellectual training than to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic. In this their object is identical with that of every good common school; but in addition to this pupils of the industrial schools are to be taught agriculture, kitchen gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements. It is, therefore, necessary that the pupils should reside together. Hence the necessity of providing for their domestic education, and for every part of their religious instruction.

This last, I conceive to be absolutely essential, not merely upon general Christian principles, but also upon the ground of what I may term Indian economics, as it is a fact established by numerous experiments, that the North American Indian

⁹ From Ryerson, E. et al. (1898). *Statistics respecting Indian Schools with Dr. Ryerson's Report of 1847 attached*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. The portion quoted was written by Egerton Ryerson (1803 – 1882).

¹⁰ The present extract is from a letter from E. Ryerson to “GEORGE VARDON, Esquire, Assistant Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, Montreal” dated “Education Office, Toronto, 26th May, 1847.”

cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization (including habits of industry and sobriety) except in connection with, if not by the influence of, not only religious instruction and sentiment but of religious feelings.

Even in ordinary civilized life, the mass of the labouring classes are controlled by their feelings as almost the only rule of action, in proportion to the absence or partial character of their intellectual development. The theory of a certain kind of educational philosophy is falsified in respect to the Indian: with him nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character and condition without the aid of religious feeling. This influence must be superadded to all others to make the Indian a sober and industrious man. Even a knowledge of the doctrines and moral precepts of orthodox Christianity, with all the appliances of prudential example and instruction, is inadequate to produce in the heart and life of the Indian, the spirit and habits of an industrial civilization, without the additional energy and impulsive activity of religious feeling. The animating and controlling spirit of each industrial school establishment should, therefore, in my opinion, be a religious one. The religious culture in daily exercises and instruction should be a prominent object of attention; and besides vocal music, generally, sacred vocal music should form an important branch of their education.

Then in respect to secular learning, I conceive there is, and ought to be, a wide difference between the objects of these schools, and what are usually termed manual labour schools. In the latter, learning is the end proposed; manual labour is the means to that end, and subordinate to it. The chief prominence is, therefore, given to learning, and labour is pursued only two or three hours a day, and more as a recreation than as employment, as a means of aiding the pupil to support himself, by reducing the ordinary charges of the school or of providing additional resources for its support. In the contemplated industrial schools, I understand the end proposed to be the making of the pupils industrious farmers, and that learning is provided for and pursued only so far as it will contribute to that end.

I believe the educating of the pupils as mechanics as well as farmers has been spoken of; but however imposing such a proposal may be in theory, however pleasing may be the thought of thus training up the Indian youth as carpenters, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, tailors, &c., I think it is neither expedient nor practicable with the probable resources available for educating them in the industrial schools to any other pursuit than that of agriculture. The following are my reasons for this opinion:-

1. To employ tradesmen in order to give instruction in each of those branches of labour will require a large expenditure, besides the heavy expense of erecting buildings for their accommodation and stock of tools for them to work with.

2. The management of schools including so many departments and so many agents, in connection with each establishment, will be very difficult at best, and will often be attended with perplexing embarrassments.

3. I do not think a sufficient number of tradesmen will be required or find continuous employment among the Indians to justify the expense of thus providing for the teaching of trades in the industrial schools. In any instance in which an Indian youth may evince an inclination and genius for a particular branch of mechanics, I

think it will be better to apprentice him to some competent and trustworthy tradesman than to incur the expense and difficulty of teaching various trades in the industrial schools.

Agriculture being the chief interest, and probably the most suitable employment of the civilized Indians, I think the great object of industrial schools should be to fit the pupils for becoming better farmers and agricultural laborers, fortified of course by Christian principles, feelings and habits.

II

Such being, as it appears to me, the appropriate objects of the industrial schools, it now becomes a question of great practical importance, how far Government can advantageously interfere in their management and control. I think that any attempt to carry on these establishments by providing merely for secular instruction, will prove a failure; and that any attempt on the part of the Government to provide religious instruction will be found to be equally impracticable. I think, therefore, the interference or control of the Government should be confined to that which the Government can do with most effect and least trouble, namely, to the right of inspecting the schools from time to time by an agent or agents of its own, to the right of having detailed reports of the schools as often as it shall think proper to require them, at least once or twice a year, and the right of continuing or withholding the grant made in aid of these schools. It is [in] this power over the grant, the exercise of which will be determined by the inspections made and the reports given, that the paramount authority of the Government, in respect to these schools, will be secured, while the endless difficulties and embarrassments arising from fruitless attempts to manage the schools in detail will be avoided.

I think there should be mutual understanding, and, on the following points, concurrence between the Government and the religious denomination through the agency of which each of these schools is to be conducted:

1. The appointment of superintendent.
2. The buildings to be erected.
3. The conditions on which pupils shall be received into the schools.

The appointment and dismissal of the other assistants and labourers at the industrial school establishment, can be most beneficially left with the authorities of the religious persuasion having charge of the majority of the Indians where each school may be established. Such religious persuasion contributing part of the funds necessary to support the school and being the spiritual instructor of the Indians concerned, will have a direct interest in the most economical management of it, and in the employment of the best agents, and will have much better opportunities of doing so than the Government. Even in the common schools in England, the Government lays down general principles and regulations and claims the right of inspection in granting aid to religious denominations complying with those regulations in the establishment and support of such schools, but does not otherwise interfere with the local management of them.

III

As to the general regulations on which the Government should insist in the management of these industrial schools, the following remarks and suggestions are respectfully submitted:-

1. The religious character of these contemplated schools and the religious influences which must pervade all departments of their immediate management, in order to their efficiency and permanent success, have been sufficiently remarked upon in the former part of this communication.

2. It follows as a necessary consequence, that everything as to human agency in regard to the success of these schools, depends upon the character and qualifications of the superintendent and agents employed to conduct them. It was the piety and judgment and example of the late excellent Mr. de Fellenberg, more than any code of rules, that rendered his agricultural school for the poor, at Hofwyl, near Berne in Switzerland, a blessing to hundreds of peasant youth, and a model of all similar establishments as it still continues to be under the direction of his sons and son-in-law. I visited that establishment in the autumn of 1845, and found it the *beau ideal* of what I would wish our Indian industrial schools to be. On my visiting the celebrated Normal School at Haarlem, and after conversing a long time with the head master, the venerable Prinsen (who for more than twenty years has stood at the head of the school teaching system of Holland, and whose system is adopted in Belgium), I asked him for the printed rules and regulations of his establishment; he replied (pointing to himself) "I am the rules of the school. If the master of a school has not the rules in his head and heart (pointing to his head and heart) they will be of little use on paper." But I do not think we can altogether dispense with rules in our Indian industrial schools, yet the rules, however carefully prepared and excellent, will be of little advantage unless they are exemplified in the character, example and spirit of the instructors and assistants, and the task of selecting and overseeing such agents can be much more effectually performed by the authorities of a religious body than by the Government.

3. As to the number of agents to be employed in each establishment, that must depend on circumstances. I do not think any rule can be laid down at this point. As labour and instruction must be carried on together, under a paternal discipline, it would be desirable that the master of the school should also be the farmer and the pupils be members of his family. But it is seldom that such a variety of rare qualifications is found in one person. Mr. de Fellenberg could, during his whole life, meet with but one such person; his son-in-law now sustains this three fold office with great piety, and zeal and efficiency. But I think in general, it will be found necessary to employ at each of the establishments, a superintendent who ought to be the spiritual pastor and father of the family; a farmer and a schoolmaster.

Perhaps a person may be found for each of these establishments who will combine in himself the qualification of farmer and school teacher. I think it will also be found necessary to employ occasionally a mechanic and one or more labourers.

4. In regard to the pupils, I think the time occupied in labour should be from 8 to 12 hours a day during the summer, and instruction from 2 to 4 hours, and that

during the winter the amount of labour should be lessened, and that of study increased. During two or three weeks of planting in the spring, of harvest in the summer, and of seed-sowing, &c., in the autumn, it may, perhaps, be well to omit instruction altogether. Gymnastic exercises in the winter may replace the agricultural labour of summer, but the time and kinds of recreation must depend upon circumstances.

5. In respect to the division of time, perhaps something like the following may be advisable. To rise at five in the summer, attend to the police of the house, and have prayers and lessons in the school until seven, breakfast at seven, labour from eight until noon, dinner and intermission from twelve until one, labour from one until six, supper at six, lessons until eight, have prayers and retire to bed between eight and nine. On Sunday the hours of rising, prayers, meals and retiring to bed the same as on other days. The pupils belonging to the religious persuasion by whom the school is managed should attend to its public services, pupils of any other religious persuasion should attend their own place of worship, if there be any in the neighbourhood, otherwise attend the worship of the school. In the intervals of public service, both in the morning and in the afternoon, they should have lessons in sacred music, the catechism, &c. The hours of rising might be made an hour later in winter than in summer.

6. The course of instruction should include reading and the principles of the English language, arithmetic, elementary geometry, or knowledge of forms, geography and the elements of general history, natural history and agricultural chemistry, writing, drawing and vocal music, book-keeping (especially in reference to farmers' accounts), religion and morals. The instruction during the summer should, I think, be connected with the agricultural employments of the pupils, including exercises in reading and vocal music, natural history of the plants, vegetables, &c.

Each pupil should be taught and required to keep a cash, a real, and after a time a personal account, the first including the little money he may receive and spend, the second, the clothes as well as money and any other articles that he may receive, his boarding and lodging, school teaching, school books, &c., at a fixed price; then crediting himself with his work at a certain valuation, entering it daily or weekly into his waste book or journal. He should be required to post and balance his accounts monthly. After a time he might be taught to adopt the form of personal accounts with the superintendent, schoolmaster, farmer, &c.

I think it would be beneficial to allow each pupil, say a penny or so a day, for work, allowing twelve hours' labour for a day's work; and paying him the sum thus earned at his leaving the school to set up for himself. This gratuity might be increased during the last year or two of his remaining in the school. His receiving it should be made dependent upon two conditions, his good conduct and correctness in keeping and posting his accounts from time to time according to the system laid down.

In this way the head master of Hofwyl Agricultural School requires each of his agricultural pupils to keep accounts: he devotes half an hour each day during the summer, immediately after dinner, to teaching his pupils how to enter into their waste books or journals the items above referred to, and how, from time to time, to

post and balance their accounts; and he informed me that he considered all his labour fruitless if he did not teach these young farmers to keep correct, detailed accounts.

7. In connection with the above methods of teaching book-keeping and farmers' accounts, I think the superintendent of each industrial school should be required to keep a journal, a cash, a real and a personal account, together with the proper ledgers. The journal should include the transactions of every day. The cash account, the money that he receives and pays out. In the real account, there should be an account opened for clearing land, for each field, each kind of grain, each kind of stock, for farming implements, for the boarding hall, the school, fuel, &c. There should be also an account for capital or stock, and an inventory of it made once or twice a year, and the superintendent should be held personally responsible for every article not accounted for by being worn out, broken, &c. Thus the expense, the profit and loss, not only of the whole establishment could be ascertained from time to time, but also the expense of every department of it, of every kind of grain, stock, &c.

The keeping and posting of these several accounts might after a time be assigned to the more advanced pupils, and should in due course be taught to them all, so that they might thus advance from keeping accounts involving a few pence or a few shillings and few articles, to keeping accounts embracing every branch of agriculture and to the amount of hundreds of pounds. The Government Inspector would, of course, examine these accounts and the proper vouchers with the greatest care, and the Government might require an abstract of them from time to time.

This system of accounts, it appears to me, will be one of the most effectual means of securing correctness and economy in the management of these industrial schools, of checking extravagance, preventing injudicious expenditures, and of suggesting from time to time the means and subjects of retrenchment and improvement, while it will train up the pupils to habits of order and business, that will render them objects of desire by proprietors, as overseers of farms, should they not settle on farms of their own, as many of the pupils of the Irish National Agricultural School, near Dublin, are to proprietors in different parts of Ireland. It would be a gratifying result to see graduates of our Indian industrial schools become overseers of some of the largest farms in Canada, nor will it be less gratifying to see them industrious and prosperous farmers on their own account.

8. Of course no age can be prescribed at present for the admission of pupils into the industrial schools. In general, I think they should remain there from four to eight years, according to the age of entering and according to attainments and capacity to manage for themselves.

I think with judicious management, these establishments will be able in the course of a few years very nearly to support themselves, besides enabling the industrious and prudent pupils to accumulate considerable sums for their assistance in commencing business for themselves. But, of course, considerable outlays will be necessary in establishing these schools.

I make no remark on plans of buildings, systems of agriculture, nor on numerous details as to modes of transacting business and teaching. I fear, indeed, I have entered too much into details already. But I submit these observations,

suggestions and hints, such as they are, to the indulgent consideration of His Excellency an the Indian Department.

If I have omitted to notice any points which you think of importance, I will readily supply such omissions, and will be ready at any time to do what I can to promote the objects of these contemplated industrial schools.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

E. RYERSON

“Must be ascribed to the Deity”¹¹ (1829)

We visited the Indian Village [near Windsor, Upper Canada], and were astonished at the orderly conduct of the inhabitants, and the neatness and regularity of its buildings. Much has been effected by man; but the great change that has taken place in the manners and habits of the Indians, must be ascribed to the Deity. The Indian children attend the Seminary, not as a matter of duty, but apparently as an object of pleasure. At the head of the female branch is Miss —, a young lady of high accomplishments, who has, in order to instruct the children of the forest, abandoned the world, with its pomp and vanity. A half-pay officer superintends the male branch. The children do honor to the teachers. Several of them spell and read well – their melodious notes when singing praise to the Deity are delightful.

Indian Affairs in Upper and Lower Canada¹² (1858)

The number of the Indians in the two Provinces, as far as could be ascertained, was about 8,500 in the Eastern, and 11,500 in the Western, showing a total of nearly 20,000, exclusive of wandering tribes to the north, of whom no correct information could be procured. A majority of the tribes are steadily, though slowly, increasing in numbers, and in nearly all some approaches to civilization have been made, and in a majority of the tribes a part, at least, are converted to Christianity. In the language of the Report [of the Special Commissioners appointed to investigate Indian affairs], “the attentive eye will observe a progress, slow it is true, but not the less steady towards improvement; they have all a greater or less appreciation for the blessings of civilization, and even those who prefer for themselves the wild freedom of a savage life, are anxious that their children should be educated like the white man. There is a growing desire for a settled interest in their land, and confirmed titles to their respective clearings are beginning to be sought for.” But the Commissioners, with sorrow, confess that any hope of raising the Indians as a body to the social or political level of their white neighbors must be the result of long and patient labor, and the development of many years.

¹¹ From Editor of the York Observer. (1829, August 24). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2.

¹² From REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE INDIAN AFFAIRS. (1858, July 5). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2.

One point, to which their attention has been most particularly directed, was the practicability of making the Indian Department self-paying, as has been so strongly insisted on by the Colonial Office. The Commissioners acknowledge the justice of this arrangement, but are of [the] opinion that, if put in force immediately, it would be a great hardship to the Indians. The annual liabilities of the Department are now \$17,316, irrespective of contingencies, and the revenue, irrespective of the grant of the Imperial Parliament, which is to be withdrawn, only \$8,106. [...] With all the reduction practicable, the expenditure cannot be safely estimated at less than \$16,000. [...] To provide for this, they respectfully argue that the resolution of the Home Government shall be reconsidered, and the Imperial grant to be given for ten years, instead of two, trusting that by that time the proceeds of the land sales will enable the Indian funds to meet all the expenses, and that the improvement in the condition of many of the tribes will enable them to take their place among the ordinary population of the country.

If the English Government refuse, they then recommend that that Provincial Government should engage to meet, for ten years, all the expenses of the department not covered by land sales, and should also guarantee a sum of \$2,000 annually, for the same period, to be devoted to the improvement and civilization of the Indians and assume the payment of a few pensions to old officers of the department. [...] The Indians [are] to cede at once to the Province, at a fair valuation, such land as not necessary for their own use. [...] The Indians by these means would gain a settled income, the Superintendents relieved from much of the trouble of the care of the waste lands and enabled to devote far more time to actual supervision of the Indians, [leading] the jealousies between the native tribes and their white neighbours [to] disappear, and [allowing] the Province [to] gain a large accession of valuable land.

Should this proposal be acceded to by the Government, the Commissioners recommend the appointment of a permanent head to the department, able to give his undivided attention to Indian interests, [...] the appointment of two Inspectors, one for each section of the Province; local Agents also to be appointed, to reside among each of the considerable bands in the Upper Province, such agents to be respectable yeomen able to give the Indians instructions in farming, their salaries in no case to exceed \$400, one-half to be paid by the tribe, except in the North Western districts. In these last they recommend the establishment of suitable stores, under license, for supplying the Indians with goods at such fixed profit as shall be agreed upon, and the publication from time to time of prices current for Indian produce in barter, as will be approved by the department, to secure the Indians from loss and imposition; a balance sheet showing every Indian's account to be furnished to the inspecting visiting Superintendent, and the license to trade revocable on proof of dishonesty. Constables under the superintendence of the Agent to be appointed to maintain the strict performance of the law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to Indians. The Commissioners recommend a better system of book-keeping for the Indian Department, and accurate census returns to be furnished annually by the Local Superintendents, with returns of the land under cultivation, &c., the attendance at the schools, and the progress in Christianity. The Report closes with extracts from

letters from a number of Indian Missionaries, all of whom with one exception recommend the establishment of Industrial Schools and Model Farms among the Indians.

“Church and State”¹³ (1860)

Some short time ago we received an intimation that a movement was on the *tapis* to induct the clergymen of the Church of England into the office of spiritual and temporal guides to the Indians. Whilst waiting for a development of the scheme, we find the first public notice of putting it in operation appeared in the last number of the *Gazette*. It states:

“The Rev. Mr. Garrett has assumed the care of the Indian school on the Reservation across the bridge. The Rev. gentleman has been appointed by the Bishop as missionary to the Indians, *and sanctioned by the Governor to carry out all measures for the improvement, social and spiritual, of the aboriginal races in the colony.*”

Taking it for granted that this is a semi-official intimation of the design of the Government, we cannot but ask whence does His Excellency derive his authority to sanction any such proceeding? It cannot be in Bulwer Lytton’s dispatches; for he distinctly denies the existence of an established church in the colonies. The voluntary principle – and the voluntary principle only – is all that is authorized by the Colonial Office or the Colony. But the appointment has been “sanctioned by the Governor.”

Are we to understand that the sanction of the Governor is a mere parade of words to add importance to the mission? Are we to believe that it is not Governor Douglas who has “sanctioned” the Rev. Mr. Garrett’s appointment; but that Mr. James Douglas, in his private capacity as a member of the Church of England, has consented that Mr. Garrett shall be an Indian missionary, and that his consent has been magnified into sanction for ulterior purposes?

If such were the real state of the question, there would be no more ground for alarm than if we were to consent. We believe, however, there is a deep design to give undue preponderance to the ministers of the Church of England; and that the extract in question may be urged in proof.

An Earl of Peterborough once said, in an eloquent speech in the House of Lords, that he would accept a parliamentary King; but he was opposed to a parliamentary God and a parliamentary religion. We also are willing to accept parliamentary appointments; but we are distinctly opposed to the appointment of a gubernatorial God and a gubernatorial religion for the Indians. Were we not to deny the right as well as oppose the Governor’s sanction of the appointment of Mr. Garrett “to carry out all measures for the improvement, social and spiritual, of the aboriginal races in the colony,” we know not how soon we would have in the Rev. Dr. Hills, Bishop of Columbia, a Church of England Pope. We have almost a Pope now. Does not the

¹³ From Church and State. (1860, September 14). *The Daily British Colonist*, p. 2.

extract say that the Bishop appointed and the Governor sanctioned? Here is the spiritual first; the temporal last.

If the government intends to aid the Indians, let the aid be given without holding a blanket in one hand and the “thirty-nine articles” in the other. Let religion work its way among the Indians on a voluntary principle, as it does among us. Do whatever is possible to elevate their temporal condition. But never allow a Governor nor any one else in authority to dictate Protestantism, Catholicism, or any religious belief to the Indians. Let missionary enterprises have the sanction of the church; not the state. Let them depend for support on the charities of the benevolent and the free gifts of the Indians; and for success on the zeal, example, and labor of its propagandists. We certainly are not disposed to cut off the connection between the church of England and the colony as represented by the white inhabitants to renew it among the Indians?

“Better than could have been expected”¹⁴ (1860)

We were much gratified on Saturday last to see so great an interest taken in the welfare of the Indian children, by the number of visitors at the examination of the school under the care of Rev. Mr. Garrett. His Excellency the Governor, Judge Begbie, Bishop Hills and a number of other gentlemen being in attendance, while the fineness of the day had tempted several ladies to walk to the school-house. There were about 150 Indians present, varying in size from infants in arms to full grown men and women, and all behaved themselves in a becoming manner; indeed, they conformed to the discipline of the school, much better than could have been expected, when we consider the wild life led by them.

The Rev. Mr. Garrett, the principal of the school, examined them in the Chinook language; in the Lord’s Prayer, the Liturgy, the Church of England Catechism, and several Bible stories which have been translated into the Chinook. The children answered with accuracy all his questions and many of them evinced an eagerness and an aptitude to obtain knowledge.

The boys appear to have acquired more advantage than the girls from the instruction of the teachers; many of the boys read aloud with accuracy short sentences from their books, and others repeated the alphabet with ease.

The copy-books of all show to advantage the great tact for imitation possessed by the Indians – as many of them contain specimens of writing equal to that seen generally among white children after 12 months’ instruction; this is, however, not a fair method for judging their improvement, as it merely proves talent for copying.

The children at the commencement and close of the proceedings sang very sweetly a verse from the psalms, and the Dismissal Hymn, following with accuracy the notes of the leader.

His Excellency having examined a few of them, expressed his approbation at their advancement. He trusted that by the means of the school the Indians might

¹⁴ From Indian School. (1860, December 25). *The Weekly Colonist*, p. 1.

eventually be raised from their present degraded state, and become beneficial members of society. The question of Indian education had always been looked upon as an important one by him, and he had already addressed the Imperial Government on the subject. The examples just witnessed of the mental capabilities of the Indians was an assurance to him that there was still hope for the race, and in the name of the Government and of Christianity at large he would thank Mr. Garrett for his unwearied care of and attention to the school.

Mr. Garrett then distributed the prizes, consisting of substantial clothing, and afterwards explained that the school was at present supported by the “Dorcas Benevolent Society,” and that all the gifts distributed by him had been made by the ladies of that society. He also stated that the great difficulty with which he had to contend was the want of a common medium of imparting instruction, as there were children from three different tribes who attended the school, and also to having no power to cause the regular attendance of children at the schools. At the present time there are 250 names on the book, while 50 was about the average attendance. Anything was sufficient to keep them from attending school – on the day of the races, 13 was all that came. On the Sabbath the attendance was generally very good – 150 being about the average number, and all seemingly taking delight in the worship and praise, which was always held in their own language.

Mr. Garrett felt the great need of having the school put upon a different footing; of not only teaching the children to read and write, but also teaching them trades and occupations, so that they might perhaps be enabled to earn for themselves a better living than they now do; but the limited state of the funds at present forbade any steps of the kind being taken. He felt much gratified at seeing so great an interest taken in the success of the school, and thanked all present for the countenance and support they had shown him.

The Indians were then regaled with a supply of rice, syrup and buns, thus closing a very interesting scene.

“An absence of schools and other facilities of improvement”¹⁵ (1876)

[D. POMEROY, MISSIONARY, TO D. LAIRD, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR]

In compliance with a resolution adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Board of Canada, Bishop Carman D. D. on the 8th of Sept. late appointed me as missionary to this Province, with instructions to reside at Emerson, and to labor, principally, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the South Part of Manitoba.

In the performance of duty I am compelled to consider the educational condition of this part of the country. An absence of schools and other facilities of improvement exists here. At the same time there are many young men without

¹⁵ From Pomeroy, D. (1876). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE - REVEREND DANIEL POMEROY REQUESTING PERMISSION TO BUILD A MISSION HOUSE AND SCHOOL. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-11063, C-11063, File number: 5853. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Daniel Webster Pomeroy (1828 – 1879). Date of death is from a burial record at Fairview Cemetery in Manitoba.

employment during the winter season, which probably will be the case for several years to come. Their living in small companies in temporary buildings, petty taverns or saloons, will not improve mentally or morally – But – the reverse.

To meet this demand I have adopted a plan to build a Seminary or College at the Rosseau [sic.] River, where students can live and obtain an education as cheaply as they can live elsewhere without instruction. Which plan I here submit for your favorable consideration.

Section Twenty Nine – Township Two – Range Three East is a reserve for school purposes. If you will grant said section or allow it to be used for said purposes, I will proceed, forthwith, at my own risk, to erect such buildings and employ such teachers from time to time as circumstances may demand.

In order that the school site may extend to the River, your permission is asked, to allow one to purchase a few acres of the parties who have taken the adjoining section as Homesteads.

There are also many families of the Chippawa [sic.] Tribe of Indians, settled on the Reserve at the mouth of the Rosseau River. I ask your Honorable permission to build a Mission House and School on this Reserve – Known here as the Indian Reserve; that we may assist and instruct these Pagans how to obtain salvation through the Saviour, and also, how to put forth some effort for self support.

Your Answer to these proposals will be anxiously expected before I can proceed further in incurring [such] great responsibilities as will be necessary if I prosecute my proposed plan.

“Merely on account of their state of life”¹⁶ (1875)

[J. A. N. PROVENCHER TO D. LAIRD, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR]

In accordance with the instructions conveyed to me by your letter of the 20th of January last No. 5763, requesting me to report on the advisability of establishing a School at the Rosseau River Reserve, I have the honor to inform you that the Indians of that Band have repeatedly expressed the desire of having a School established amongst them; I did not insist upon their demand being granted before, merely on account of their state of life – still too nomadic to make me believe that they could, notwithstanding their best desires, insure the attendance of a significant number of children. But their condition in that respect has been constantly improving, and I have reason to believe that their demand ought not to be longer denied.

There [are] now seventeen houses built near the banks of the Red River, over a distance of about a mile each side of the Rosseau River; not less than one hundred and seventy people have spent all the winter there, including over forty children in age to attend the school.

¹⁶ From Provencher, J. A. N. (1875). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING MONEY FOR A SCHOOL AND TEACHER AT THE ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-10109, C-10109, File number: 5763. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Joseph Alfred Norbert Provencher (1843 – 1887), then Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

The Indians of that Band promised me to do all they could to build the school house, if only some provisions were supplied them [and delivered to] where at that work [they are] employed, and I have the honor to recommend that this proposition should be accepted, and that a sum of two hundred dollars (\$200) be supplied for such expenses as have to be necessarily incurred in the way of iron fittings, windows, glass, &c. &c., which the Indians are altogether unable to bear.

“Not to be less than 25”¹⁷ (1876)

[J. A. N. PROVENCHER TO J. SCOTT, MISSIONARY]

In answer to your demand concerning the establishment of a school at Roseau River, for the benefit of the Indians of the Reserve, I am now in a position to give you the following information.

In view of the facts stated by me to the Indian Department, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs is ready to grant a sum of \$250 per annum in aid to the teacher's salary, as the average daily attendance is not to be less than 25, such payment to commence from the opening of the school with a fair attendance.

If the proposed school house is to be erected on the Reserve, and to be property of the Indians, and if the teacher is to be appointed by the Government a small sum might be granted in aid to the erection of a house.

If, on the other hand, the school house is to be the property of the Mission, and if the teacher is to be appointed by the Missionary, no such aid could be granted for the building.

If this last step was taken by you, a sum of \$250 would be paid in aid to the teacher's salary, provided there is an attendance of [25] children daily.

If you desire to have the house erected by the Mission on the Reserve, a site could likely be obtained from the Indians, or from the Dominion Lands if you would wish to build it outside of the Reserve.

“He will consent to reduce the number”¹⁸ (1876)

[E. MEREDITH TO J. BLACK, MISSIONARY]

I am directed by the Supt. General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter¹⁹ of the 21st ult. on the subject of the proposed Indian school on the Roseau reserve and

¹⁷ From Provencher, J. A. N. (1875). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING MONEY FOR A SCHOOL AND TEACHER AT THE ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-10109, C-10109, File number: 5763. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Joseph Alfred Norbert Provencher (1843 – 1887), then Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

¹⁸ From Meredith, E. (1876). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING MONEY FOR A SCHOOL AND TEACHER AT THE ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-10109, C-10109, File number: 5763. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Edmund Allen Meredith (1817 – 1899).

¹⁹ The letter survives in manuscript, but John Black's handwriting makes it challenging to transcribe.

beg to enclose a copy of a letter addressed to the Acting Superintendent, Mr. Provencher, on this subject under date the 1st May last, the contents of which, it would appear, have not yet been communicated to the Rev. Mr. Scott.

In view of the facts stated in your letter, the Supt. General desires me to inform you that he will consent to reduce the number of the average of Indian pupils necessary to secure the Government allowance from 25, as proposed in this letter, to 15²⁰.

As regards a site for the school, the Supt. General is advised that the only suitable site for a school would be one on the main reserve, and that on your indicating the exact locality desired for that purpose, he will endeavour to obtain from the Indians a surrender of the necessary land.

He suggests, however, that this step would probably be facilitated if, before communicating with him, you would informally consult with the Indians on the subject and ascertain that they would not object to the locality desired for the school or to the quantity of land asked for.

So far as the Supt. General is concerned he would have no objection to forty acres being granted, should the Indians consent.

“We have succeeded”²¹ (1877)

[J. SCOTT, MISSIONARY TO D. MILLS, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR]

With the consent + sanction of the Dominion Gov. we have succeeded in establishing a Mission School for the Indians settled on the Roseau River Reserve, Southern Manitoba, and as you must be aware it will require great tact and ingenuity on the part of the teacher in order to interest those who have never been accustomed to any kind of educational training, and at the same time to impart to them the desired instructions.

In order to aid the teacher in his important work we have thought that it would be very desirable to secure a set of Object Lessons²², feeling assured that by their use such valuable + practical information could be imparted.

²⁰ A clarification by Lawrence Vankoughnet (d. 1898) is included in a brief memorandum later in the same file: “I say that so long as the required daily average of 15 is maintained, payment will be made at the rate of \$250 per annum. Should the number in attendance any quarter fall behind the average, the account payable for that quarter will be at the rate of \$12.00 per annum for each pupil in daily attendance.”

²¹ From Meredith, E. (1877). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING MONEY FOR A SCHOOL AND TEACHER AT THE ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-10109, C-10109, File number: 5763. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Rev. John Scott (1824 – 1900).

²² This request was denied. In the same file, a short note from the Department of the Interior reads: “I have the honor by direction of the Supt. General to ask the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., reporting the establishment of a School on the Rousseau River Reserve, & requesting that, with a view to assist the teacher in instructing the children attending the School, the Dept. furnish a set of object lessons. The Supt. General regrets that he cannot comply with your request, the appropriation for Indian Affairs in Manitoba not being available for such purposes.”

I write, then, to ask if you can kindly secure and donate them to us. The School house has been erected by voluntary contributions and, excepting \$250 a year promised by your Gov. towards the teacher's salary, will in fact be so sustained. In asking your aid in this particular we do so simply with the desire to benefit the poor loyal Indians in this part of the great Dominion of Canada.

I am happy to say that the school is in operation, that the teacher can speak the language of the Indians, that 22 young Indians are in attendance, that some of these show a great aptitude to learn, that the Indians are delighted and say "that now [the] Government has fulfilled the promises made in time past to them" [regarding education in Treaty 1].

"The Indian Mission School on the Roseau River Reserve"²³ (1877)

In reference to the Indian mission school on the Roseau River reserve, [...] we have no doubt that [an] extended notice would be of interest. The schoolhouse, which is situated on the south bank of the Roseau, about half a mile from its mouth, is a frame building 18 by 24 feet, well and comfortably furnished, and provided with seats for about forty pupils.

The number of pupils on the roll is now twenty-three, with an average attendance of about twenty, all of whom seem anxious to learn. We believe all, with the exception of three, have mastered the A. B. C., while several are now reading in the first book (English). It of course could not be expected that they should master the English language in so short a time (three weeks), but they manage to spell out and pronounce the words, while their meaning is explained by the teacher, who thoroughly understands the two languages.

Forty acres have been granted to the promoters of this mission, for school purposes, and it is the intention to secure the services of some competent persons during the coming season, or as soon thereafter as possible, who will give the Indians some practical lessons in gardening, the whole object being to raise them, socially and morally, to the condition of the white man.

The cost of buildings and running expenses, with the exception of \$250 per annum from the Dominion Government towards the teacher's salary, is to be defrayed by voluntary contributions, and the success which has attended the work during the three weeks in which it has been in operation, will amply justify the committee in calling for help, either in the shape of money or parcels of clothing, as many of the Indian children are prevented from attending school on account of being thinly clad, or anything that can be used in school work – any of which sent to the Rev. John Scott, West Lynne, will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

In this connection, we have to thank Mr. A. W. Stiles, post trader, Fort Pembina, for a quantity of colored picture books, to be used as rewards, and also some pencils, penholders, paper, etc., kindly donated, and would say to others interested in the work of the Indian mission school, "Go thou and do likewise."

²³ From A. McP. (1877, January 19). Indian Mission School. *The Daily Free Press*, p. 3.

Early Attendance at the Roseau Mission School²⁴ (1877)

[December]	New Scholars	Attendance Morning	Attendance Afternoon	No. on Roll	January	New Scholars	Attendance Morning	Attendance Afternoon	No. on Roll	February	New Scholars	Attendance Morning	Attendance Afternoon	No. on Roll
7	11	11	11	11	9	2	14	14	23	1		24	24	29
8	3	13	13	14	10		10	11	23	2		21	21	29
11	2	16	16	16	11		11	10	23	5		21	20	29
12	3	19	18	19	12		16	16	23	6		18	18	29
13		18	19	19	15		14	13	23	7		20	18	29
14	1	18	18	20	16		16	15	23	8		22	20	29
15	No Record				17		16	16	24	9		22	23	29
18		20	20	20	18		18	18	24	12		16	16	29
19		19	20	20	19		15	16	24	13		19	19	29
20	2	19	19	22	22		15	14	24	14		21	21	29
Vacation two weeks					23	3	17	16	24	15	1	23	23	30
					24	1	20	20	28	16		26	26	30
					25	1	20	19	29	19	3	25	25	33
					26		19	19	29	20		23	23	33
					29	5	24	25	34	21	1	21	19	34
					30		23	23	34	22		14	11	34
					31	1	24	23	25	23		12	15	34
										26		18	18	34
										27	1	21	21	35
										28	1	21	23	36

²⁴ From McKay, C. J. (1877). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING MONEY FOR A SCHOOL AND TEACHER AT THE ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-10109, C-10109, File number: 5763. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. The table is signed 'C. J. McKay, Teacher'. I believe this to be Christina Jane McKay (1833 – 1923), a Presbyterian.

“Only twelve and a half”²⁵ (1878)

[J. BLACK, MISSIONARY, TO D. MILLS, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR]

I am instructed by the Mission Committee of the Presbytery of Manitoba to present for your consideration the case of the Indian School on the Roseau Reserve in this Province. [...] The Report of the average attendance of the School for the year has recently come in, a copy having, I believe, [having] been also sent to your department. From this it appears that the attendance at the School has been smaller than we had hoped and fully expected, the average for the year being only twelve and a half (12½).

Various causes have contributed to this result – among others, the wet Summer flooding the plains and making it necessary for both teacher and scholars to wade through water for long distances in order to reach the School.

In addition to this were the more ordinary causes of sparse attendance in all Indian Schools – the wandering habits of the people and their indifference about their Children’s Education.

A good deal was done to encourage them to attend by giving them articles of clothing and providing biscuits for lunch at noon and visiting them in their lodges – the result, however, is as stated above. We are therefore in difficulty how to meet the expenses of the school. The teacher’s salary is \$400.00 and we cannot expect to get one whom we can trust for a smaller [sum]. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church agreed to give \$100 and the department \$250, provided there were an average of fifteen pupils in attendance.

Two disappointments have since then come in our way – first, the attendance has fallen below the required average, and second, the Department has changed the principle on which its assistance is to be rendered – instead of a lump sum [payment], as we are given to understand, \$12 per Scholar, which affords only \$150 for 12½ pupils instead of \$250 for fifteen²⁶ and leaving \$100 of the teacher’s salary unprovided for whether by the Church or State. Now, as we have failed to bring up the attendance to the required average of fifteen, it is clear enough that if the department is determined to adhere to the letter of the agreement we can not [make] any legal claims, and there will be no alternative but to clear off the indebtedness out of our own pockets, which we think, we should not be left to do. And further, if either the School cannot increase its attendance or the department its grant, there will be no course left but to abandon the enterprise. This, however, we should be exceedingly reluctant to do, and therefore have to appeal to the department’s generosity to come to our relief.

²⁵ From From Black, J. (1877). PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE AGENCY - CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING MONEY FOR A SCHOOL AND TEACHER AT THE ROSEAU RIVER RESERVE. RG10, Volume number: 3626, Microfilm reel number: C-10109, C-10109, File number: 5763. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Rev. John Black (1818 – 1882). The letter is dated January 25th, just a few months before the next article in this collection.

²⁶ 15 pupils @ \$16⅔ = \$250 [Marginal note in the original.]

In support of this appeal we have to request you to consider the following points:

1. That by private subscription and without any assistance from [the] Government we have erected a good school house on the reserve at a cost of \$329.50, which the Indians say the Government was bound by treaty to do²⁷. If that is the case, we have relieved the government of that burden. At all events the school house is built, at that cost.

2. We have kept open the school for more than a year, supplying School books and other requisites in addition to paying the \$150.00 for Salary, the department having paid \$126.33 up to Dec. 26th.

3. The terms on which the School was originally undertaken, were as stated above, for evidence of which see letter of department to myself dated Aug. 1st 1876 and numbered 5763, second paragraph²⁸. This, you will observe further, for the minimum of 15 pupils gives \$16.66 each, instead of \$12 as now proposed.

4. Although the average is only 12½, fifty-three pupils have been in attendance at different times.

I trust that on considering these facts the department will see its way to give the \$250²⁹ agreed on for the past year, and also to put us in such a position that we may be able to carry on the School for the future – we on our part doing whatever we can to increase the attendance and to make the School satisfactory to both the parties from whom it derives its support. One must not be discouraged for the first year.

We have thought it best thus to lay the case plainly before you, believing that the School is as much a matter of interest to you as to ourselves.

As the school is going on and [costs] are being incurred in connection with it, you will see that it is a matter of consequence to use to get an answer³⁰ as early as the convenience of the department will allow.

“Highly delighted with the advancement”³¹ (1878)

A social was held at the Roseau River reserve Indian mission school on the 1st inst. The school was so well filled with the Indians and their white friends that an adjournment to the open air was thought necessary, and a regular open air picnic was held among the Indians, while the “pale-faces” and the children attending the school were served with refreshments inside.

²⁷ ? [Marginal note in the original, as are the underlines in the main text. The Roseau River Anishinaabe First Nation signed Treaty 1 in 1871. A sentence in that treaty reads: “And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.”]

²⁸ ‘Paragraph Second’ in the original. Changed for ease of reading. The second paragraph reads in full: “In view of the facts stated in your letter, the Supt. General desires me to inform you that he will consent to reduce the number of the average of Indian pupils necessary to secure the Government allowance from 25, as proposed in this letter, to 15.”

²⁹ 12½ pupils @ \$20 = \$250.00 [Marginal note in the original.]

³⁰ This is the last letter in the file. No response is recorded.

³¹ From Piquawanusko-sipi. (1878, February 6). *The Daily Free Press*, p. 1.

Several of the pupils were examined as to their progress, with satisfaction, those present expressing themselves highly delighted with the advancement they were making in their studies. [...]

After the Indians had done ample justice to the good things provided for them by the ladies of Emerson and Red River, they united in the performance of their war dance, the drum used for the occasion being a washtub with a skin drawn tightly across its mouth; this concluded, speeches were delivered by Rev. J. Scott, Kiwitayash (the chief), Rat Liver, and the teacher, after which the meeting was brought to a close, a very enjoyable time having been spent by all.

“Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half Breeds”³² (1879)

[N.F. DAVIN TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR]

I have the honour to submit the following report of Industrial Schools for the education of Indians and mixed bloods in the United States, and on the advisability of establishing similar institutions in the North West Territories of the Dominion. [...] The industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as that of “aggressive civilization”. This policy was inaugurated by President Grant in 1869, but as will be seen, the utility of industrial schools had long ere that time been amply tested. Acting on the suggestion of the President, Congress passed a law early in 1869, providing for the appointment of the Peace Commission. This Commission recommended that the Indians should so far as practicable be consolidated on few reservations, and provided with “permanent individual houses,” that the tribal relations should be abolished, that lands should be allocated in severalty and not in common, that the Indian should speedily become a citizen of the United States, enjoy the protection of the law and be made amenable thereto, that finally, it was the duty of the Government to afford the Indians all reasonable aid in their preparation for citizenship by educating them in industry and in the arts of civilization.

After eight years’ experience of the parties’ carrying out of these recommendations the Board pressed for a still more thorough policy; they urged among other things that title to land should be inalienable from the family of the holder for at least three generations.

From 1869, rigorous efforts in an education direction were put forward. But it was found that the day school did not work because the influence of the Wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school. Industrial boarding schools were therefore established, and these are now [numerous] and will soon be universal. [...]

The experience of the United States is the same as our own so far as the adult Indian is concerned. Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little stock

³² From Davin, N. F. (1879). NORTHWEST TERRITORIES - STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN SCHOOL AND SUBSEQUENT REPORT BY E. MCCOLL WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CANADIAN INDIAN SCHOOLS. RG10, Volume number: 3674, Microfilm reel number: C-10118, C-10118, File number: 11422. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Nicholas Flood Davin (1840 – 1901), founder of the *Regina Leader* newspaper and Member of Parliament for Assiniboia West.

raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all. The child, again, who goes to a day school learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited [aversion] to toil is in no way combated.

There are two ways of conducting the industrial boarding schools. [In] one, the government carries out the school through the agency, in the other, by contracts. A contract is made, for instance, with the Episcopal Church authorities, or the Roman Catholic Church authorities, or with the authorities of any other body of Christians, to carry on an industrial boarding school, among the Indians. One hundred + twenty five dollars (\$125) a year is paid for each pupil boarder, where the attendance at the school does not exceed thirty; in larger schools one hundred dollars (\$100) [per pupil], and even less when the school is of considerable size.

The Honourable the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is not in favour of the contract system, because the [...] schools under contract do not, as a rule, get a sufficient quantity of food. The Contractor, in addition to supplying the food, prepares the clothing, the raw material of which is found by the government.

The Commissioner was emphatic in his testimony as to the happy results which had attended the industrial schools wherever established. Experience has demonstrated that it is better to have the dormitory separated from the school. The school is now therefore always erected about ten (10) [yards?] from the dormitory. Then the children are kept from spoiling the building. The accompanying [diagrams] are a design for one of the schools of the cheapest kind. The cost of erecting such a structure does not exceed \$1,000. In Canada, where as a rule we have plenty of timber, a building of the same class can be created for eight hundred dollars (\$800) or thereabouts.

At the industrial school, in addition to the elements of an English education, the boys are instructed in cattle ranching + in agriculture; the girls in sewing, breadmaking and other employments suitable for a farmer's wife. In the case of the boys, agriculture is principally aimed at, cattle raising required but few hands. Very many of the schools raise herds of cattle. Thus at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency there is a large herd belonging to the school. [...] Of the 359 head of stock of all kinds, 53 head belong to individual school children. The balance is common property. It is confidently expected that this school will be self supporting in a few years. It is obvious that with such a stock, the yearly increase must be considerable, with commensurate profits.

The Industrial Boarding School is conducted by a principal who has one or more assistants in proportion to the number of scholars. What religion [...] shall be taught in the schools, is generally easily settled as the rule is to permit but one sect in an Agency. There is an exception to this rule, as will be seen, and the wisdom of it may be questioned.

The Friends, the Orthodox Friends, Methodists, the Roman Catholics, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the United Presbyterians, the Congregationists, the

Protestant Episcopalians, the Reformed Episcopalians, the Unitarians [...] ³³ + the Evangelical Lutherans, have one or more of the seventy four agencies allotted to them.

When an agent is to be appointed, the candidate is chosen on the recommendation of a representative of one or other of these religious bodies. This, I was assured, worked well + secured a superior class of Agents. Appointing [agents] for political services had proved a failure.

At Hampton (Virginia) there are fifty (50) government pupils, for each of whom one hundred sixty seven dollars (\$167) yearly is paid for board and tuition. This school is of a high grade and the pupils sent there are intended for interpreters. The present Indian interpreter, as a rule, belongs to a degraded class, and translates the dialects very inefficiently.

At the ordinary industrial boarding school, managed by the government, through the Agency, each pupil costs on an average one hundred dollars (\$100) a year. The yearly outlay on an industrial school for fifty children would, therefore, be about five thousand dollars (\$5,000) a year, but for the first year certainly the expense could be more. The aim, however, would be to make these schools self-supporting, and when the school property chargeable to [the] capital account had been spread over a number of years, the school meanwhile being conducted on economical and profitable principles, even less than five thousand dollars (\$5,000) might be found to meet every demand.

There are, as a rule, blacksmith's and carpenter's and even shoe maker's shops on each Agency, where boys are taught a trade, but these are charged to the Agency.

Butter, eggs, milk, garden vegetables, raised and produced on the farm may be used in addition to [purchased food]. The ration is a maximum, which the agent is directed to reduce where practicable.

On the Agencies, it may be remarked in passing Indian Police are employed with excellent results. These are, [...] for the most part, of mixed blood. The Indians submit to their surveillance with more readiness than they would to that of Whites. These police are paid \$5 a month, and their rations and clothes.

The happy results of Industrial Schools are strikingly shown in the case of the five "civilized" nations, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, the Creeks and the Seminoles, who are all making undoubted progress in agriculture and in education. They number in all about sixty thousand (60,000) and occupy reservations, on what is known as the "Indian Territory," where it is the policy of the United States to settle as many Indian tribes as possible. [...] A large proportion of the [income] of these nations is devoted to educational purposes. They have their own schools, a code of their own, a judiciary, a national Council which enacts laws, newspapers in the nation's dialect and in English, and they are, in effect, five little Republics within the Republic, but of course without the higher functions of empire.

³³ I've omitted a group whose name is challenging to read in the manuscript. What is written looks like 'Christian Uiser'.

The Honourable the Commissioner arranged that I should meet some of the principal men of these nations. Colonel Pleasant Porter³⁴ & Fr. D. M. Hodge³⁵ (Creek Nation), Colonel W. P. Ross³⁶ and his brother, Mr. D. H. Ross³⁷ (Cherokee), Mr. Charles Thompson³⁸, the chief of the Cherokees, ex-Judge Stedham (late of the Supreme Court of the Cherokee Nations) and Colonel Adais, also Colonel Brown of the Seminoles. They had all come up to Washington to watch the Indian Bills which were before Congress. They made a remarkable group. But I am bound to say, there was not one of them of pure Indian blood. Even the Chief, Mr. Charles Thompson, who looked the Indian, had a very slight Scotch strain in him. Colonel Pleasant Porter was in fact of Irish descent and looked like a Spanish grandee, or as the Commissioner said, like a Bank Director with a deep olive complexion. Colonel H. P. Ross had in his features scarcely a hint of Indian blood. Indeed, he might have passed for a clever Scotchman.

Col. Pleasant Porter had been educated at what he called the Manual Labour School, and gave the following account of the progress of education in his Nation, an account which on verification proved to be correct.

“Up to twenty two (22) years ago,” said Mr. Porter, “the schools of the Creek Nation were under the management of the United States Government. The Government contracted with either the Presbyterians or Methodists to carry on Manual Labour schools as far back as thirty two (32) years ago. I am thirty eight (38) years of age and was educated at one of these schools. About twenty (20) years ago the control of the schools was transferred entirely to the Creek Nation. The schools were still carried on by teachers appointed by the religious boards, but under contract with the nation (that is, the Creek Nation). Since then we have established what is called the neighbourhood schools system – day schools, in fact – among the five civilized nations. Day schools carry no disadvantage because the child’s house is a civilized house.”

Mr. Porter here assured me that the five “civilized” nations were accurately so described, but Colonel Brown of the Seminoles stated that they never could, in his opinion, cope with the white man in either cunning or industry.

The Principal of the school, Mr. Porter added, was always a white man. The children made good progress in the ordinary branches of an English Education, but not in the higher branches of study. It was impossible to show the Indian the utility of advanced studies.

“What,” repeated Col. Porter several times, “the Indian needs most is to be taught to work + to apprehend values. When the Indians settle down + farm they accumulate property, cattle, hogs, cereals. Our people are a farming people, but they never farmed until they were educated. When first the Indian is set to work, he takes

³⁴ Pleasant Porter (1840 – 1907).

³⁵ Probably David McKellop Hodge (1841 – 1920). His father was white, and his mother was a member of the Creek nation.

³⁶ Probably William Potter Ross (1820 – 1891), a graduate of Princeton.

³⁷ Probably Daniel H. Ross, who in a few years would become editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* newspaper.

³⁸ Charles Thompson, also called Utselata (d. 1891).

best to raising Stock + then he gradually passes on to agriculture. The first animal he wants, is a horse, then cattle, after a time he wants hogs + sheep. It is hard to get him to raise wheat. But he comes to it after a time. He likes to work with his hands. It is hard for him to understand machinery. Cotton is becoming quite an industry with us. Last year we raised \$40,000 worth. The Creeks do not hunt save for pastime.”

Colonel H. P. Ross (Cherokee) spoke as follows.

“I was President of the Board of Education last year. We had in operation about seventy (70) [or] seventy eight (78) primary schools (that is, neighbourhood or day schools) where the children are taught the ordinary elements of an English education. We have ten high schools taught by white teachers. [...] Last year we had an aggregate attendance at all our schools of 2,800 children + an average of something less than 2,000. We have a Board of Education consisting of three executives who have charge of all the schools in the country. They examine teachers + pay them – or rather, they give them certificates upon which they draw their pay from the treasury thru the Chief. We support our schools out + out, + the majority of our teachers are Indian teachers. About \$75,000 a year is expended for educational purposes. The first public schools the Cherokee had west of the Mississippi were established in 1842. There were schools amongst them previously to that time, but they were partially or entirely supported by missionary visitations. But since 1842 we have had our own system of public schools under the control + management of the Cherokee Nation. We pay the Principal \$700 a year + board. [...] He is generally white. High school assistant teachers are paid \$600 and board for the school year of ten months + we pay our common school teachers, one class \$50 a month, the next class \$40, the next \$20, or \$500, \$400 + \$200 for ten months of a school year. As to the costs of the schools, the primary [schools] are as a rule put up by the neighbourhood. The Boarding schools are generally solid brick buildings + cost about \$2,500. We have a regularly organized government + we elect our chiefs + judges who used to be hereditary. Our population is about 19,000 + we are increasing. We live by agriculture + stock-raising. We have \$3,000,000 in trust with the Government.”

Judge Stedham said the cost of Boarding a child among the Cherokees was \$7 a month, or \$70 for ten months: He added that the children were made to work two hours a day, and half the day on Saturday.

All the representatives of the five civilized nations declared their belief that the chief thing to attend to [with] the less civilized or wholly barbarous tribes, was to separate the children from the parents. As I have said the Indian Department at Washington have not much hope in regard to the adult Indian. But sanguine anticipations are cherished respecting the children. The five nations are themselves a proof that a certain degree of civilization is within the reach of the Red Man, while illustrating his deficiencies.

At the suggestion of the Commissioner I visited the White Earth Agency, Minnesota. I found the school well attended, and the answering of the children creditable. But the quickest and brightest were mixed bloods.

The Principal of the School is a mixed blood. His assistant is an Indian. The Dormitory was plainly but comfortably furnished and the children, whom I saw at

dinner, were evidently well fed. The Episcopalian clergyman is a full blood Ottawa, and is an able preacher. On the Reserve there is also a Roman Catholic church, and two Roman Catholic clergymen, and everything goes harmoniously forward. Mr. Ruffee³⁹, the agent, who is an able man, and who knows the Indian character well, made a memorandum regarding agencies, the gist of which may be given, as bring, not remotely, on the subject of my inquiry.

Mr. Ruffee deemed it necessary, first of all, that an Indian Reservation should have manual labour schools, or in other words boarding industrial schools, mills both saw and grist, blacksmith and carpenter's shops, that all the young men of a tribe or tribes, who desired it, should be taught some trade, that missionaries of all denominations should have equal advantage, that a first class physician should be employed, that as soon as possible tribal relations should be abolished, that Chiefs should be recognized, if at all, for meritorious conduct and industry, that the Indians should be dealt with in severalty, that money on goods should be disbursed only for an equivalent in labour, that in the first year farming implements, cattle, hogs, sheep + the like should be supplied, [and] finally that Indian (that is with some more or less Indian blood) police should be employed. They work admirably and cannot be dispensed with, is his emphatic opinion.

There were on this reserve some excellent farms cultivated by pure blood Indians. One would be struck by the progress made in ten years by a full blood Indian pair – Mo-che-ge-we-ce and his wife, who had come to the agency wild, + whose [...] wigwam where they first lived, was within a stone's throw of their [current] comfortable home. Passing thro' a kitchen, where stood a good cooking stove, you entered a large room – at once a sitting and sleeping apartment – and you noticed around the walls little chromos in tasteful frames, made by the squaw. The room was well furnished. The Indian said he had twenty acres cleared over which he had grown wheat last year. He had had no help. His stock consisted of one yoke of oxen and one yoke of steer, two milk cows [and] one pony. He has built the house himself. The rule is to give the Indians the tools, and let them build their own dwellings, in fact to make them do as much as possible for themselves. Mo-che-ge-we-ce can neither read nor write. He is a member of the Episcopal Church. In a wigwam he used to inhabit some five years before, were found, amid the dirt + smoke + closeness of the lodge, a few Indians lately come to the Reservation. In ten years an immense stride had been made. The stables were good. There was the Indian pony, comfortable and clean. The stable which was fair in size also contained [...] stalls for oxen. There was another building – the store room full of seed wheat and flour, ground in the mill of the Reservation from wheat of this prudent Indian's own growth. He also had an ice house. He had a quantity of reeds and birch bark to aid him in making maple sugar in the summer.

“This man – this farmer,” said Mr. Ruffee, is a fair sample and not the best. He is a zealous Churchman. He had distinguished visitors here last Sunday, a Sioux Chief and part of the Chief's following, and when the collection was being taken up he put half a dollar on the plate.”

³⁹ Charles A. Ruffee.

This man, like all those in the Reservation, belong to the Chippewa Nation – a large branch of which we have in Canada. White Cloud – the great orator of the Reservation – expressed the high esteem his nation had for the government of the Queen, recalled the kind treatment the Indians, and more especially, his nation, had always received at the hands of the British, and bade the Canadian visitor give his people in Canada this message – to travel along the white man’s way, and educate their children.

The zeal and enthusiasm and life on this Reservation is due to Mr. Ruffee’s energy and his determination to surround himself with half-breed assistants. Every employé on the Reserve is of mixed blood. A mixed blood family named Beaulieu, two generations of which took a deep + warm interest in the Indians, must be of the greatest assistance to him.

At Winnipeg I met most of the leading men, clerical and lay, who could speak with authority on the subject of the enquiry, and to the Experience, Knowledge + Courtesy of Msgr. Taché⁴⁰, Pere Lacombe⁴¹, Hon. Jas. McKay⁴² and many others, this report is much indebted.

Among the Indians there is some discontent, but as a rule it amounts to no more than the chronic querulousness of the Indian character, and his uneasiness about food at this time of year, will unfortunately leave no trace in his improvident mind, when spring opens, and fish are plentiful. The exceptions are furnished by one or two Chiefs whose bands are starving, that is in the Indian use of that word, without a certain prospect of food in the future. Distress will always exist among improvident people, and undoubtedly distress and misery exist in many bands. The attitude of the Chiefs referred to, and the language held by the Chief on the occasion of a visit to the St. Peter’s Reservation – language which showed that he was in communication with the unsettled lands – open up, in the event of the disappearance of the Buffalo, (a disappearance no protective legislation can long retard), a prospect which demands the serious consideration of the Department. No race of men can be suddenly turned from one set of pursuits to another, [a] set of a wholly different nature, without great attendant distress. But suddenly to make men, long accustomed to a wild unsettled life, with its freedom from restraint, its excitement and charm, take to the colourless monotony of daily toil, the reward of which is prospective, is impossible.

The half breeds or mixed bloods are thoughtful, if not anxious, regarding the Government’s intentions respecting them. But the problem before the Department cannot be settled by the issue of scrip. That problem can be solve only by gradually educating Indians + mixed-bloods in self reliance + industry.

Col’l Porter’s testimony given above, that of Mr. Ross, the position of these gentlemen + the position of the other leading men of the five “civilized” nations are instructive. Not merely is the only effective means of educating the Indian in self reliance and self-support pointed out, the inference is not far-fetched, that the mixed-

⁴⁰ Alexandre-Antonin Taché (1823 – 1894).

⁴¹ Albert Lacombe (1827 – 1916).

⁴² Probably James McKay (1828 – 1879), once president of the Executive Council of Manitoba.

blood is the natural mediator between the Government + the Red Man, and also his natural instructor.

The lesson would also be taught, were that lesson necessary, that the mixed-blood or half-breed, is a man of intelligence and power. But that lesson does not need to be taught in the Dominion, where we have leading barristers, + competent statesmen, from that interesting and useful class of our fellow citizens. The Indian himself is a noble type of man, in a very early stage of development. His temperament is for the most part lymphatic. That temperament might – or might not – be modified by advances in civilization in the course of generations. This temperament united with the nervous or nervo-sanguine temperament of [the] Saxon or Celt, a type is produced of great staying power, often highly intellectual, vigorous, of quick perceptions and large resource.

There is now barely time to inaugurate a system of education by means of which the native population of the North West shall be gradually prepared to meet the necessities of the not distant future, to welcome and facilitate, it may be hoped, the settlement of the country, + to render its government easy and not expensive.

I would respectfully warn the Department, against listening to alarmists, who would press them to act in a manner which would develop, with typical rapidity, in every chief, the pestilent character of the demagogue. But so far as we can judge from approximate returns, there are some twenty eight thousand Indians in the seven territorial divisions covered by Treaty. There are about twelve hundred half-breed families – Chief Beardy, Big Bear (of the Red River Band) – these are malcontents. Beardy's band does not number, however, more than thirty nine. We have warlike and excited refugees within our territory. A large statesmanlike policy, with bearings on immediate and remote issues, cannot be entered on too earnestly or too soon.

The Indian character, about which some persons fling such a mystery, is not difficult to understand. The Indian is sometimes spoken of as a child. But he is very far from being a child. The race is in its childhood. So far as the childhood analogy is applicable, what it suggests is a policy that shall look patiently for fruit, not after five or ten years, but after a generation or two. The analogy is misleading, when we come to deal with the adult, and is of course a mere [...] figure of speech when we take charge of the Indian in the period of infancy. There is, is it true, in the adult the helplessness of mind of the child, as well as the practical helplessness, there is too the child's want of perspective, but there is little of the child's receptivity, nor is the child's tractableness always found. One of the prime conditions of childhood is absent – the abeyance of the passions. Anybody who has tried to educate grown-up civilized men, with untrained minds, as are the minds of most civilized men, will understand the disturbing and dwarfing influence of the complex interests which crowd in on the adult. The Indian is a man with traditions of his own, which make civilization a puzzle of despair. He has the suspicion, distrust, fault-finding tendency, the insincerity + flattery, produced in all subpar races. He is crafty, but conscious [of] how weak his craft is, when opposed to the superior cunning of the white man. Not to

speak of him⁴³ – even some of the half breeds of high intelligence are incapable of embracing the idea of a nation – of a national type of man – in which it should be their ambition to be merged and lost. Yet he realizes that he must disappear, and realizing this + unable to associate himself with the larger + nobler idea, the native honor which inspired a Pontiac + a Tecumseh is absent. The Indian's Nobility is in part assumed, in part the stupor produced by external novel + distasteful conditions, + in both respects has been manifested in white races at periods of helplessness and penance, of subjugation to, + daily contact with, the power and superior skill and refinement of more advanced races, or even more advanced branches of the same race. We need not, therefore, recall the names of Indian heroes, to make us respect the latent capacities of the red man. We have only to look to the rock whence we were hewn. The Indian, I repeat, is not a child, and he is the last person that should be dealt with in a childish way. He requires firm, bold, kindly handling and boundless patience. He exacts, and [expects] not unreasonably, scrupulous honesty. There ought to be a special exemplary punishment provided for those persons who, when employed by the Government to supply the Indian with stores, cheat him.

It would be traveling beyond the record to comment on our Indian policy + our treaties with the Indians, tho' I have formed very decided opinions respecting both. But this remark is pertinent. Guaranteeing schools as one of the considerations for our rendering the title to land, was in my opinion, trifling with a great duty + placing the Government in no dignified attitude. It should have been assumed that the Government would attend to its proper and pressing business, in this important particular. Such a guarantee, moreover, betrays a want of knowledge of the Indian character. It might easily have been realized (it is at least thinkable) that one of the results would be to make the Chiefs believe they had some right to a voice regarding the character and management of the schools, as well as regarding the initiatory step of their establishment. [...] ⁴⁴ There are cases where a denominational would be more suitable than a secular school + vice-versa; there are other cases where no government school would be needed, + where the policy is to utilize the Mission schools. The establishment + conduct of schools are matters which should have been left in the position to be considered apart from the disturbing + [...] designing predilections of a chief; the needs + aptitude of the settlements are alone worthy of being weighed. The moment there exists a settlement, which has any permanent character, then education in some form or other should be brought within reach of the children. This is not merely a matter of policy. It is that, of course, in the highest degree. It is a sacred duty.

One [consequence] of the Government providing the Indians schools, is that the Church Missionary Society is withdrawing its aid to the Mission schools – a step which adds to conditions already sufficiently imperative, calling for a prudent, far-seeing & vigorous educational policy.

⁴³ This poorly structured sentence is clearly legible in the manuscript original. Despite appearances, I do not believe there to be an error in transcription.

⁴⁴ I suspect that as the writer became more excited, their handwriting worsened and became less legible. This accounts for the larger number of [...] (omissions) in the later part of the text.

The first and greatest tome in the foundation of the [...] civilization of Indians [...] was laid by missionaries, men who had a supreme object + who did not count their lives dear unto them. Schools are scattered over the whole continent wherever he [traveled,] monuments of religious zeal [and] heroic self-sacrifice. These schools should be utilized as much as possible, both on the grounds of efficiency + economy. The missionaries' experience is only surpassed by their patient heroism, + their testimony, like that of the school teachers, like that of the Indian Department authorities of Washington is, that if anything is to be done with the Indian, he must catch him very young. The children must be kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions. Mgr. Taché in his work – “Sketch of the North West of America,” – points out that the influence of civilized women has issued in superior characteristics in one portion of the native population. This influence [and] that of the school must be constantly present in the early years. “Hitherto,” says Wm. Mueller [?], a man who could speak with authority of a large portion of the Indians of the United States, “young men have been boarded and clothed and instructed, but in time they were off to the hunting ground. The plan now is to take young children, give them the care of a mother and have them constantly in hand.” Such care must go *pari passu* with religious training.

There are, or have been, some twelve hundred families of half breeds or mixed-bloods in the North West. Some of these are men of education and settled pursuits. But the great majority of them, live under conditions which turn as the vanishing apple-tree of the buffalo's existence. It is no reproach to these men and their children, to say, that they will require training, whether supplied from within, or without, before they can happily + effectively settle down as farmers. Archbishop Taché's sketch of the virtues + vices of the mixed bloods (Sketch of the North West of America, pp. 98 – 110⁴⁵), a sketch drawn at once by a masterly + loving hand, can leave no doubt on the mind, that training will be needed. Nor, as I have said, is this a reproach. The same thing has been true of men belonging to the best white races + in modern times. The mixed blood has already in high development many of those virtues which would make him a useful official, where activity, intelligence, horsemanship + fidelity were required. But if the mixed-blood is to hold his own in the race for existence, which will soon be exigent, in lands which even yet for the greater part of the year are wrapped in primeval silence, it is not enough that he should know all the arts of the voyageur + trader, not enough even that he should be able to do a little farming: he must be educated and become susceptible to the bracing influences of complex wants + varied ambitions.

⁴⁵ This text reads in part, on pp. 102-103: “The most striking fault of the Half-breeds appears to me to be the ease with which they resign themselves to the allurements of pleasure. Of lively disposition, ardent and playful, gratification is a necessity to them, and if a source of pleasure presents itself they sacrifice everything for its enjoyment. Hence a great waste of time, and a disregard, often too easy, of important duties; hence frivolity and unsteadiness of character which appear to be the natural index of graver vices than those which they can truly be charged. [...] [T]hey are free and will not suffer restraint. We may add that their poor home education, due principally to the mother's want of firmness, is far from counter-acting this unfortunate disposition. [...] It is this same disposition that explains why mechanical arts are so little cultivated by our Half-breeds.”

I should recommend at once an extensive application of the principle of industrial boarding schools in the North West, were it not that the population both of Indian + half breed, is so largely migratory, that any great outlay at present would be merely thrown away.

The recommendations I venture to submit are as follow:-

1. Wherever the missionaries have schools, those schools should be utilized by the government, if possible, that is to say, a contract should be made with the religious body controlling the school, to board and educate + train industrially a certain number of pupils. This should be done without interfering with the small assistances at present given to the day mission schools.

2. Not more than four industrial boarding schools should be [started] at first. [...]

3. An industrial boarding school should be established somewhere in the fork of the North + South Saskatchewan, near Prince Albert, in connection with the Episcopalian Church. The land is wonderfully fertile. There are a good many Indians in the neighbourhood. There are bands of Indians near Carlton House, [and] Duck Lake. There is plenty of fish and timber.

4. In no place could an industrial boarding school in connection with the Methodist body be more properly placed than near Red Bow Fort. The Blackfeet + Stonies, wild but noble types of Indians, would thus be reached. There are numbers of good places between the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca Rivers, but the need in those quarters are not so pressing. The Methodist [...] fathers have here been very successful, and the boarding school principle has been tried with great success by the Roman Catholics in at least one instance. The want in Blackfeet country is pressing, + a Wesleyan Mission exists to the East of Red Bow Fort. Timber and fish are at hand and a vast tract of the finest grazing land in the world. There ought to be no difficulty here, in a few years, in rivalling the Cheyenne + Arapaho agency with its promising herd.

5. At Qu'Appelle it might well be thought we should find an appropriate site for an industrial boarding school to be conducted by Roman Catholics. The soil, it is true, is generally poor. But where the river narrows it leaves a good deal of fine land. To the north is Touchwood, a Trading post of the Hudson's Bay Co. Around are lakes in which much fish is found, and when the buffalo is gone the Indians will flock thither to fish. A good many half breeds are there now. It is a Central point. Roads run south + west + north. The Blackfeet Country, or that covered by Treaty 7, is sure to be a great grazing country, in the not distant future. The advantages of the route thence to Qu'Appelle, on + along [the] river, are unmistakable. There is a permanent settlement. There is also a Roman Catholic mission. But there is no timber, and it is said that pests menace the crops, but this is true of a good many other places where men, not with bad results, take the risks, and, notwithstanding these last drawbacks, I should have recommended Qu'Appelle as a site for a Roman Catholic Industrial Boarding School, were it not that these considerations of a weighty nature point to Buffalo Lake or some shore of the Red Deere River running by it. The advantage of Qu'Appelle should, however, be utilized in the near future, either on the contract

system, or by means of a boarding school immediately contracted by the Government on a denominational or a secular basis. On the shores of Buffalo Lake, the school would have the advantage of being removed far from possible contact with the whites, for many years, at least. Timber is sufficiently near along the river to the east + west. The land, I am assured, is good. The most pressing considerations of workableness point to those [...] as the site for a Roman Catholic Boarding Industrial School.

6. An Industrial Boarding School in connection with the Presbyterian Church should be established in Riding Mountain. The Presbyterians have already been very successful here. There is plenty of timber + the land is excellent. There is, it is true, no abundant supply of fish in the little Saskatchewan. In all other respects, however, the locality is everything that could be desired. The Indians here are represented as intelligent, and the children eager to acquire [an education].

The importance of denominational schools at the outset for the Indians must be obvious. One of the earliest things an attempt to civilize does is to take away their simple Indian mythology, the central idea of which, to wit, a perfect spirit, can hardly be improved on. The Indians have their own ideas of right + wrong, of “good” Indians and “bad” Indians, and to disturb this faith, without supplying a better, would be a curious process to enlist the sanction of civilized races whose whole civilization, like all the civilizations with which we are acquainted, is based on religion. A civilized sceptic, breathing though he does an atmosphere charged with Christian ideas, and getting strength unconsciously therefrom, is nevertheless, unless in instances of rare intellectual vigour, apt to be a man without ethical backbone. [...] When, however, the poor Indian has been brought face to face with polemics, and settlements are divided, or think they are divided in metaphysical niceties, the school should be, as [at] the White Earth, Minnesota, undenominational.

7. Some distinction should be made between the treatment of parents who send children regularly to the day school + those who are either careless whether their children go to school or not, or who are wholly opposed to their children attending school. [...] In the first, an additional ration of tea + sugar might be given.

8. Where practicable some inducement of a special nature should be held out to the chief.

9. As bands become more amenable to the restraints of civilization, education should be made compulsory.

10. The character of the teacher, morally + intellectually, is a matter of vital importance. If he is morally weak, whatever his intellectual qualifications may be, he is worse than no teacher at all. If he is poorly instructed, or feeble in brain, he only exacts every day an elaborate farce. It must be obvious, that to teach semi-civilized children, is a more difficult task than to teach children with a [civilized] aptitude, whose training is, moreover, carried on at home. If [the] teacher should have force of character, and when he presides of an industrial school should have a knowledge of farming, such a man must be adequately paid. The advantage of calling in the aid of religion is, that there is a chance of getting an enthusiastic person, with therefore a motive power beyond anything pecuniary remuneration could supply. The work requires not only the energy, but the patience of an enthusiast. The teacher's

appointment to an industrial boarding school should be made by the government, after consultation with the religious body immediately interested, and the whole machinery should be carefully guarded against the suspicion of having any character of religious endowment, or any likelihood of issuing therein.

11. In order to secure that the education given would be efficient, there should be a competent inspection. Failing this, when industrial boarding schools come to be widely established, large sums will be thrown into the sea. The education given in Indian schools is as a rule of a very poor sort, mechanical to the last degree.

12. Where boys or girls, whether Indian or half breed, show special aptitude, or exceptional general quickness, special advantages should be offered them, and they should be trained to become teachers + clerks in connection with the Department. [...]

13. The salary of a teacher should be such as will induce good men to offer themselves. The teacher should be paid according to his qualifications. In the future, when the manual labour boarding school is an established institution, those teachers who managed their schools in a manner tending toward self support, should have a percentage on the reduction in the cost of management.

“Indian civilization in British Columbia”⁴⁶ (1879)

SIR, – Having already been indebted to your courtesy for inserting communications of mine relative to our Indian policy, after some years of silence I again crave your indulgence whilst I seek to interest your readers in what has been done on this side of the Rocky Mountains towards civilizing and improving our noble inland races that in many ways contrast so favourably with that of their red brothers on the other side. On the principle that you must first “make the tree good that the fruit may be good,” I have always regarded it as a fundamental principle in dealing with the savage that Christianity should precede civilization; that it is in fact the great nurse of civilization, being alone able to soften and predispose to what is pure and of good report, arousing the conscience, quickening the affections, and implanting a new life. But with the Gospel of Salvation we would preach also the Gospel of Labour, and whilst initiating them into the blessedness of resting one day in seven, with leisure to hear of God and learn the way, we would as strongly inculcate the need and utility of working on the six intervening days, and thus learn to labour and get their own living in the state of life to which Providence has now call them.

Another point of vital importance is to let every man remain in the place that nature assigned him, not transplanting him to some strange soil with which he has no identification, but leaving him to earn his crust of bread where his forefathers sleep, and thus secure to him that liberty so dear to his native spirit of independence and love of freedom, and letting him, to use the current phraseology of these coasts, “have a show” to play the man and prove of what stuff he is made.

⁴⁶ From Good, J. B. (1879, June 4). INDIAN CIVILIZATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA. *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2. Written by John Booth Good (1833 – 1916).

It is an interesting and experimental fact that our Indian population in these parts is growing up side by side with the white race – amenable to the same laws, following the same pursuits, clothed and fed much after the same style and character, and rapidly approximating to the European standard in a degree deeply significant of the aptitude for improvement and their innate capability of advancement and progress. Now, as a stream will not rise higher than its source, the fact that we can point to hundreds of natives all round us who but the other day represented the painted, listless, capricious, and fitful savage, now clothed and in their right minds, quietly and industriously earning their own living and growing in wealth and intelligence, must surely speak well for their native idiosyncrasy and calibre.

In a journey on foot the other day of some one hundred and twenty miles, following the great thoroughfare of this interior, I did not meet with one single Indian; I did not hear of a single case of want – I had not one case of gambling or drink, the Indian's curse and bane, brought under my notice. I heard of no prostitution or syphilitic disease, which to those experienced in such matters will be news indeed. I saw dozens of healthy children playing before the native door, or assisting to plant and mine, and on the Sunday I could count scores of well-dressed, comely, happy worshippers, who, many of them, were content to walk ten and twenty miles to wait on our ministry, and then refreshed and cheered (and after purchase of necessary supplies, such as flour, sugar, tea, dry goods, with the gold they had accumulated by rocker and pan during the week) returning severally to their respective occupations and homes. Thus for the precarious subsistence to which they were indebted to nature that often left them to starve and die, they have exchanged the certain produce of labour and cultivation, and a more contented, well off and well-to-do people I do not believe can be found than our Indian tribes of the Frazer [sic.] and Thompson and Nicola districts.

The contentment, however, it is only fair to say, is of recent achievement, since two years ago a general state of disaffection existed which would, undoubtedly, have grown into open revolt but for the prompt action of the Dominion Government compelling the local Ministry to join in redressing the long standing land grievances that had so long remained unredressed amongst the Indians of the mainland. The Commissioners conjointly appointed by the Provincial and Canadian Governments have done immense service in quieting apprehensions, and righting the state of affairs that was a standing disgrace to all concerned. But now that all these matters of dispute have been satisfactorily settled, the Indian will no longer be distracted from pursuing a useful course of self and family improvement, and he will be found not only to support those dependent upon him, but a positive source of wealth to the country at large.

At least thirty thousand dollars' worth of gold yearly is bought from Indians trading at Lytton, Littooit, Clinton, Kamloops and Yale, and enough flour will be grown by the Indians next year for their own wants, whilst they have besides an abundance of all common things that any white settler would consider sufficient for the requirements of his domestic circle.

Tribal superintendence by efficient local inspectors and instructors with central institutions for the training of the young and the acquiring a knowledge of useful arts such as blacksmithing, carpenting, &c., is the next great desideratum, and then we may confidently look forward, with God's blessing, in a few years to see these tribes lifted completely out of their former degradations and enjoying all the rights and privileges of citizenship with ourselves.

“The indifference of the people at large”⁴⁷ (1882)

In the study of the Indian races, the American Government and people have left us far behind. It is true that three or four of our men of science have by their labours done much to compensate for the general neglect, so that when comparison comes to be instituted between results achieved on either side of the border respectively, we have enough to show to save our national credit. But these individual researches only make more glaring the indifference of the people at large and of their rulers to that most interesting branch of ethnological science, such ample means of throwing light on which, circumstances have placed in our hands. It may be that the proverb about the harvest of familiarity is true no less of the Indians than of other interesting families of mankind. At any rate, it is a fact, that to a very large extent, the impulse to investigate their history and past and present condition has come from across the Atlantic from persons who have never seen an Indian in their lives. A convention for the examination and collection of the evidence or want of evidence as to the origin of those dusky children of the wilderness, can indulge in theories as to their characteristics and kinship with less restraint, perhaps, at Nancy or Luxembourg than at Winnipeg or New Westminster.

Nearness, especially when, as has too often happened, is accompanied by rivalry and consequent distrust, is apt to dull the edge of scientific inquiry and to create rather a desire for long intervals. It is difficult, of course, with missionaries whose object is not to get away from but to get as near as possible to the tribes whom they wish to instruct. The experiences which some of them (such, for instance, as Father Petitot) welcomed, because they gave them an opportunity of doing good to their fellow-men, would certainly shock persons who find their pleasure in living at home at ease. The aim and work of the missionary are, however, distinct from those of the man of science, though they sometimes yield results of great scientific value.

Some of our historical associations have included the Indians among their objects of research, and occasional papers of merit have been written on the subject. But, as far as we know, there is no society in the Dominion which makes the collection of information on the past and present of the Indian races of Canada its special object. We have never heard any of their languages being studied at any of our colleges, either for practical or scientific purposes. Indeed, we once before ventured to express the opinion that out of some 500 or 600 collegiate institutions of this continent, there was not one (as far as we were aware) where that branch of philology, for the study

⁴⁷ From THE ABORIGINES OF CANADA. (1882, March 18). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 4.

of which they had special advantages, formed a part of the course, regular or optional. No philanthropist ever thought of founding a chair of Indian languages. Even in that model of what is best in the teaching of pure as well as practical science, Johns Hopkins University, there is no teacher of Indian languages. Harvard has none either, though it has a chair of Chinese, the occupant of which died lately. When that institution was established, it was intended that Indians should be educated there as teachers. Only one ever graduated. If, instead of being entirely alienated from his kindred and their speech, the convert, while being taught the principles and habits of Christianity had also been encouraged to study the language of his people, he might have reconciled others to the same course and gradually led them to the civilization, without denationalizing of his brethren.

That irrepressible exile, Roger Williams, set about the work of winning the Indian tribes to Christianity and civilization in a way which was justified by its success. The first thing he did was to learn the language. He wrote (on his voyage to England in search of a charter for his colony) what he called “a key into the language of America,” and few of the early settlers had more influence over the wild tribes than he had. Even before he left Massachusetts, he had shown himself their friend, for one of the points in dispute between him and the authorities was, calling in question the right of whites to their land without purchasing it.

Of course, some will say that the study of such barbarous tongues, except by students of philosophy or by missionaries, can be of no practical benefit, and that, as far as the classes are concerned, the duty of aiding them belongs to scientific associations or to churches. But this is not altogether the case. Those who are sent to teach the Indians agriculture or other industries ought to be able to communicate with them fluently in their own language. There are many traders, also, in the Northwest, to whom the knowledge of such tongues could be an advantage. But what is called the practical is not the only point of view from which a subject may be regarded.

It may put nothing into any one’s pocket that Canada should take an honorable rank as the owner of a grand Indian museum, or that some of her sons should make valuable contributions to ethnology and philology. Still, it is by progress in science, as well as in trade, that nations become great.

“You cannot make a deer into an ox”⁴⁸ (1883)

Mr. DAWSON. I desire to offer a few remarks in reference to the item now under consideration⁴⁹. The Indians in my constituency are numerous; we have 5,200 in Algoma proper, 3,800 on the waters of Rainy River, and 2,000 or 3,000 in the

⁴⁸ From Boyce, J. C. (Ed.). (1883). *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, First Session – Fifth Parliament*, Vol. XIV. Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co. This debate took place on May 9, 1883, and was brought to my attention by a reference in *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*, by J. R. Miller.

⁴⁹ “Annual Grants to Supplement the Indian Fund, Ontario and Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces”. From the same page.

northern sections, making over 10,000 altogether. And I would say that within the last eight or ten years the condition of these Indians has been greatly ameliorated throughout Algoma, chiefly or in great part at least, from the enforcement of the laws respecting liquor. They have not been able to get intoxicants to the extent they once did, and the officers of the Government are performing their duty throughout that wide district in a very zealous and praiseworthy manner; I have great satisfaction in saying in this House, that the condition of the Indians is getting greatly better, many of them settled on farms; we have as many as 1,700 settled at one place on the Manitoulin, 300 at another, and so on with other settlements.

At Sault Ste. Marie and on the north coast of Lake Huron, the Indians are well advanced, growing large quantities of agricultural produce, including wheat. Industrial schools are also well established among them; there are industrial schools at Wikwemikon, on Manitoulin Island, where Indians are taught trades of all kinds, to which they take very readily; there is also an industrial school called the Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie, which has done an immense deal of good. These institutions are sending through the country educated young Indians, and the trades they easily learn are much more to their advantage than would be mere scholastic learning. I am happy to say that this system is gradually having a good effect, and that the condition of the Indians in Algoma, a great many of whom have settled down, has been very much improved within the last few years.

I wish to call attention for a moment⁵⁰ to those Indians who ceded their lands under the treaty known as the Robinson Treaty, made in 1850, which was for many years very imperfectly carried out. The real purport of the treaty was, that the Indians should get so much per annum; but unfortunately the payments actually made to them fell very short of what they should have been according to the treaty. They were to get a certain sum then, and if the revenue arising from the lands ever amounted to so much, as to allow them "\$4 a head, or so much more as Her Majesty might be graciously pleased to order," in that case additional payments were to be made.

The lands yielded a very handsome revenue long before Confederation, such a sum as would have enabled the Government without loss – which is the expression in the treaty – to pay the full amount stipulated; but the matter seems to have been neglected, and it was not paid. For a number of years, the Indians on Lake Superior were paid \$1.49½ a head annually only, while the Lake Huron Indians got for a number of years \$1.10 a head annually, instead of the \$4 a head to which under the treaty they were entitled. When Mr. Laird was Minister of the Interior, the matter was brought to his notice, and he, on investigating the subject, found that as much as \$10,484 annually had been kept from the Indians. It was then arranged that they should get the full amount of \$4 per head, but this only occurred in 1875, and they have been paid \$4 per head ever since; but previous to that date, arrears were due them amounting to a very considerable sum. The Government could have paid them

⁵⁰ Though not directly related to education, I decided to keep this section in the transcription, since it provides valuable information on how the Canadian government approached its treaty obligations, some of which are related to schools and education.

the full amount without loss. In making an estimate, I searched through the accounts of Ontario, and looked also through some of the accounts at the Dominion office here; and according to a very moderate estimate a sum of over \$200,000 is due the Indians without reckoning interest. If interest be added, the amount would exceed \$300,000. This is the calculation according to the estimate made by the hon. Minister of the Interior in 1875; but he was in error, as I am informed, in reckoning the actual sum due them annually and kept from them; and I am under the impression that a very much larger sum is due to them.

I would call the attention of the hon. Minister to these arrears. I believe that the payments to the Indians were to be a charge upon the lands according to the treaty, and this applies to all of the lands which they ceded; but while the lands have fallen to the Ontario Government, the Dominion Government has to deal with the Indians. I believe that correspondence has been going on between the two Governments for some eight years or so; but still no decision has been arrived at; and it is most desirable that some understanding should be soon reached with the Ontario Government regarding this important matter, by which the Indians would get their pay in the meantime.

I may say further, that a number of Indians who are entitled to pay, do not get it. They are called non-treaty Indians; but they were as much parties to the treaty as those who were included in it. The land belonged to them as much as to the others, but they happened not to be present when the treaty was made. They are not very numerous, and it will not add a great deal to the annual outlay if they were placed on the same footing as the others. They are an intelligent people; and I may say that a great many of them are not wholly Indians, though treated as such, but descendants of the old French and Indians. There is not in the whole Dominion a more quiet, a more orderly people than the Indians of Algoma.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. It is really true, as my hon. friend says, that this is very important, as it affects the interests of Indians occupying territory under what is called the Robinson Treaty. It is also true that evidently a sum of money is due them. With respect to the arrears up to 1867 there is a debt due by the old Province of Canada. There has been an attempt made to adjust the matter; but we have never hitherto been able to get the two Governments of Ontario and Quebec to settle the account. It was understood, in fact it was promised, that it should be settled in October last; but the representatives of the two Governments met here without coming to any conclusion, and since that time there has been no action taken whatsoever. With respect to the accruing rights of these Indians since 1867, there is certainly a balance due them, and it is hoped that, by an arrangement with the Ontario Government, this balance will be wiped off.

There is a large sum of money due to the Indians, and they have been so far deprived of what is their own. I am not at all sure, however, that it has not been really for the benefit of the Indians, though it was contrary to strict rights that the money was not paid. They are now in an advanced state of civilization, I am glad to learn from my hon. friend, and though they cannot be expected to become thoroughly settled in a generation, still they are taking to the soil, they are making substantial

progress. They understand their rights – they understand the object of their funds, and their money is saved instead of being squandered by the Indians – as formerly was the case – as fast as it was paid or got hold of by designing white men. It will be my duty to take the subject up the moment Parliament prorogues, and I think there is no doubt that we can come to some settlement with the Ontario Government, because it is they who are primarily held by this agreement. Having said so much I would add that this vote is increased by \$5,680, and that addition is made just for the purpose the hon. gentleman has mentioned.

There were certain non-treaty Indians who have not come in – I fancy their representatives were not there at the time the meeting was held and the treaty made. But still the treaty covered their land, and whenever they choose to come in they have a right to claim their share. There are 104 persons in that band who will receive their annual allowance, the same as the others when this vote is carried. Besides these there are eleven stragglers belonging to broken bands and not now attached to any band, though they have always been, and their ancestors have always been on the soil, so they have a claim; that makes 115 additional Indians who have a right to these allowances. There is no doubt when that matter is disposed of there will be ample funds to meet the just claims of the Indians – in fact those belonging to the bands covered by the treaty will eventually be wealthy. [...]

Mr. CHARLTON. I see there is an expenditure for education [for the Indians of Nova Scotia]; what progress are the Indians making in learning the art of agriculture?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The reports are favorable rather than otherwise; but they are very slow, and I do not understand why the Indians down there do not take so well to the soil as they do in other parts of the country. The Micmac Indian is rather a nomad; he prefers the water, as we see in the Maritime Provinces. But still they are improving by slow degrees. I fear, however, that in a few generations they will have disappeared altogether or [they will] be absorbed by the white population.

Mr. CHARLTON. I should infer that the efforts to educate and Christianize the Indians, and make them good members of society, are not being attended with marked success.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I believe they are very good Christians; they go to church regularly, and are getting a fair education, but they are nomadic in their habits, and will not settle down. The fact of the matter is, that it takes generations for the Indians to get an aptitude for the cultivation of the soil. According to the principle of development, that must be of slow growth, not in one generation. As Tyendinaga once told me: “There is no use talking about it, we are still animal, and you cannot make a deer into an ox.”

Mr. CHARLTON. The evolution, I understand, is a very gradual one. Has the hon. gentleman any information as to the number of generations it will take?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I am not sufficiently Darwinian to tell that. [...]

Mr. CHARLTON. I see, last year, about \$2,000 were expended for medical attendance [in British Columbia]. What course does the Government take to furnish medical attendance for the Indians?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Fortunately for the Indians there, the Superintendent for British Columbia, Dr. Powell, is a medical man himself. In some places there are allowances made for medical men; in others, medical men are employed, and paid for their services. The Indian there does not require so much medical attendance as our Indians on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and through Old Canada – whether it is because they are of a different race altogether, or whether, from their being supposed to be mingled with Mongol blood, coming across Behring's Straits, I do not know. But they are strong and hale men; they work like white men, and some are rich and own farms. Except in a few places, where they have been corrupted by being too near the towns, they support themselves a good deal.

As the hon. gentleman may know, the Indians had hardly any special reserves in British Columbia before it was joined to Canada. Under the system that was carried on by Sir James Douglas – a very good system it appears to have been – the Indian was treated very kindly, but no right to the soil was practically ever admitted by the Government. Now, however, as the country is becoming settled by white population, it has been found necessary to have special reserves set aside for the Indians. [...] I am happy to say there has not been any material difference of opinion between the two Governments. British Columbia has always been willing to grant a reasonable amount of land for reserve for the Indians.

On the question of education, I fear we must admit, on behalf of both Governments, since 1871⁵¹, that we have been too much in the habit of treating the Indians as minors and acting in too paternal a matter towards them. I understand the Indians there do not require nearly so much care or expense as we have been put to. What they ask for more than anything else is schools. The great difficulty we have is to get proper schoolmasters for them who understand the Indian character, who will not go in there merely for the sake of pay, but who are philanthropists. The Indians say they are willing to defray the expenses if we can only find the schoolmasters, and we are endeavouring to do so.

Mr. FLEMING. There seems to me to be a discrepancy between the condition of the Indians, as just explained by the Minister, and of the large sum for salaries paid out to agents. Of the appropriation of \$23,300 last year, \$11,895 were paid as salaries to agents. Would the hon. Minister explain the duties of these agents?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The hon. gentleman must remember that British Columbia is an enormously large country, and this expenditure has to be scattered over that country down to the boundary line. The Indians are scattered, and from the mountainous nature of that country they are widely scattered. They settle down in the glens, in the valleys, or on the coast. Within a very few years ago, they were savage; they are now becoming quite peaceable, except in the outlying stations, such as Queen Charlotte's Island. This Island was a very formidable place for white men to visit, because the natives dealt most summarily with the crews of any vessel that called there. Along the outside coast of Vancouver Island there are a large number of scattered Indians, who are so scattered that they can scarcely be said to live in

⁵¹ British Columbia joined Canada in 1871.

communities. They are now, I believe, very profitably employed in the canneries and establishments of that kind. Indians are also now employed as miners and they work very well. But it must be remembered that they are not white men, and civilized, and must be strictly watched. They are very suspicious and easily aroused; the white population is sparse, and the Indians feel yet that they are lords of the country in British Columbia, and they are much more numerous than the whites; the officers are not too numerous and are not highly paid, but they are the best preventive police we have.

Mr. CHARLTON. I suppose we must congratulate ourselves at the small vote for British Columbia as compared with the vote for the North-West. [...] I think the vote for destitute Indians in 1881-82 was \$102,000, and the expenditure \$563,000. Will the hon. gentleman give us some information as to the cause of that unusually large increase?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. [...] Formerly the Indians in the North-West, except those tribes which had some little fishing, subsisted on buffalo. Buffalo was their bread, wine and meat, and that supply utterly and totally failed.

I am not at all sorry, as I have said before, that this has happened. So long as there was a hope that buffalo would come into the country, there was no means of inducing the Indians to settle on their reserves. The total failure of the buffalo the years before last, and last year, caused the Indians to be thrown on the mercy of the Government in the North-West. We could not, as Christians and men, allow them to starve, and we were obliged, no matter what the cost might be, to furnish them with food. It was better to feed them than to fight them. At any time we were liable to an attack, and hungry men will, if necessary, help themselves.

Last year we made considerable progress in settling the Indians on their reserves, and we would have made still further progress if it had not been for the rumor that buffalo had crossed the line [between Canada and the United States] and were flocking into the country. The moment the Indians heard the report, all the work had to be gone over again. The buffalo did not come in, in any considerable numbers. Some few Indians having heard that the buffalo had crossed the line, went to hunt, in expectation of obtaining their old description of food, but they found they were mistaken, and would have been much better off had they remained on their reserve. I believe [...] that we will not have any more buffalo in our land. The Indians are satisfied of that, and those who have settled down are proving very fair farmers, that is to say, they are self-sustaining, and the accounts given are most encouraging for the future.

Mr. CHARLTON. I notice among the expenditures in the Public Accounts for the year ending 30th June last, that one firm, Baker & Co., obtained a very large sum. Where is that firm located?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. At Fort Bentou, Montana.

Mr. CHARLTON. I believe they are Americans?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. CHARLTON. [...] Where does the hon. gentleman draw his inspiration from in permitting a Yankee firm to obtain \$462,000 for supplies, which could have been obtained from our own dealers?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The inspiration from which I drew those supplies, through Baker & So., was the greatest of all monarchs, the monarch of necessity. There was nobody else to supply the food on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains for the Blackfeet and the Bloods. There were no means of getting supplies except from Montana. I may say, though the members of the firm are Americans, they are most satisfactory contractors – fair, honest, liberal and trustworthy. They have fairly competed with other traders, because these contracts have always been put up to public competition, but nobody could tender for the supplies in the extreme West. [...] By next year we will have the Pacific Railway finished to Algoma, and the supplies for all these posts can then be tendered for from all the rest of the Dominion, and especially from Ontario, I fancy, it being the nearest, with regard to provisions, bacon, flour and all the other articles to which the Indians have a right under the seven treaties that exist, and will be freely competed for by the people generally.

Mr. CHARLTON. [...] I have been looking through the accounts, and it strikes me that the prices paid are, in many cases, higher than one would suppose was necessary. [...] The firm of I. G. Baker & Co., Fort Benton, supplied 160 pairs of cotton overalls at \$1.75 each. I used to be in the dry goods trade; and I sold such an article at about 60 cts. Freight would be a small matter on these, which weigh 1½ or 2 lbs. each. Such prices seem hardly justifiable. One item shows the humanity of the Government, and I can dwell on it with a considerable degree of pleasure. I see charged on the 18th of February, 1881, by J. J. Clarke, at Fort McLeod, \$10 for material to make a coffin for Little Drum, furnished because his family were too destitute to supply a blanket to wrap him in. Would it not have been cheaper to furnish a blanket?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. We wanted to introduce civilized customs there.

Mr. CHARLTON. I doubt the propriety of going contrary to the traditions and usages of the Indians in matters of this kind. They should be allowed to bury their dead, according to the customs they have hitherto pursued, especially if it is cheaper.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I see you have a fit of coffin⁵² to-night.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am perfectly aware of the important functions of the pipe of peace among the Indians. I see an item, under supplies to sick and destitute Indians, of five gross briar root pipes, charged by J. J. Roos, of Ottawa. Might they not have been furnished with clay pipes?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I suppose that these were for the chiefs?

Mr. FLEMING. The large figures relating to the Indians of the North-West, furnish food for very considerable reflection. The policy of the Canadian Government towards the Indians under their charge, has always been one of the greatest humanity. That policy has been endeavored to be carried out by settling the Indians on reserves, and giving them instruction in the ways of civilized life. The policy, a

⁵² Sic. Sir John was presumably making a joke about a 'fit of coughing', perhaps prompted by an unrecorded cough by Mr. Charlton.

very good one, has been further extended by the present Government, in the appointment of a large number of farm instructors, placed on the various reserves in the North-West.

The result is somewhat startling, if the figures and reports of the Indian Superintendents of the North-West, are indicative of them. I find, on looking at these reports, that this very good policy which I commend the Government for continuing to carry out, has been placed to a very considerable extent in the hands of men who failed to carry out the Government's intentions. During the negotiation of the treaties made with the Indians, promises were made. The Indians were led to believe, that if they forsook their nomadic life and resorted to the reserves, and entered on the cultivation of the land like white people, happiness, and peace and prosperity would result. Some of them were induced by those glowing promises to attempt settlement on the reserves, but these attempts have been to a great extent a failure, not altogether at least, on account of the Indian character, but largely, I think, on account of the character of the instructors, and of the inadequate way in which the policy of the Government has been carried out. When the Indians have so settled, they are promised implements, seed, grain, cattle, &c., but many of the instructors sent up to them were as little capable of entering on farming operations, as the Indians to whom they were sent.

I observe that a large number of these men have been dismissed by the Government. I do not know for what reason, but I congratulate the Government on having weeded out a number of these inefficient officials; not only that, but those who were in charge of the distribution of the implements and other effects to the Indians under the treaty, have, to a very large extent, failed to carry out their purposes. I have the testimony, at page 131 of the report of Mr. McColl, speaking of the Little Forks Band, as to how the promises which were made to them have been carried out:

“Missinawaypenesse, one of the councillors, represents that they are almost destitute of agricultural implements to cultivate their gardens. Their plough and harrow are broken and they are unable to mend them. This band is composed of seventeen families, and it is presumed that all of them are cultivating the ground, as one axe, one scythe, one spade and two hoes, were only given to such according to treaty; and I find upon referring to the records in the office that they received 20 axes, 32 hoes, 2 ploughs, 1 harrow, 15 scythes, 12 spades, &c., consequently they are still entitled to 2 hoes, 1 harrow, 2 scythes and 5 spades. I also have received more axes than they are entitled to under treaty, and that only two or three bands have received their complement of hoes, spades and scythes, notwithstanding the representations to the contrary made to the Department as well as to the Indians in reference to this matter.”

On pages 134 of the same report, it is stated, with reference to the Indians under the agency of Mr. McPherson:

“The agent informed me that although no potatoes had been requisitioned for this year owing to the Indians having, with few exceptions, an abundance of their own for planting, yet 175 bushels were forwarded to his agency, from Winnipeg, on the 27th of May; but before the Indians could be notified of the arrival of those

supplies, they were generally through planting, hence only eighty-one and a-half bushels were taken by them; forty-nine were lent to other persons to be returned in the fall; twenty-seven and a-half bushels were sold at Rat Portage for \$1.00 per bushel; five bushels given the freighter for taking them to market, and the balance, twelve bushels, rotted.”

Now, if we are paying such large prices for the distribution of these supplies in the North-West, as has been instanced before, it is important that when articles are not required at a particular place they should not be transmitted from Winnipeg at this great expense. On page 142 the same officer says, with reference to the Beren’s band:

“Two years ago 100 garden hoes were forwarded to this band, but the Agent considering them unsuitable for that rocky, timbered country, left them in the storehouse of the Hudson’s Bay Company there, until last summer, when they were ordered to be returned to Winnipeg. The Indians are dissatisfied in not having received any agricultural implements this year, especially the grub-hoes promised to be supplied to replace the garden ones. The only implements delivered by the contractors at date of payment, were six hay forks and six sickles, which the Agent refused to distribute to the Indians, as these articles had not been promised by treaty to them.”

So we find that articles are sent to the Indians which they do not require, and there are other instances of the same kind in the report, and instances in which articles which are required, and which have been engaged to be delivered, are either not supplied at all, only partially supplied, or delivered only when they are too late for use. On page 146 of the same gentleman’s report, I find the following in reference to the Cumberland band:

“Of the 110 grub-hoes shipped from Prince Albert to the agency at Grand Rapids in the spring of 1881, sixteen were distributed to this band last summer, and the balance was distributed to the Pas Indians. John Marcus, one of the councillors, complained that the agricultural implements forwarded by the Department were refused to be given them. Those supplies were generally late in arriving at the different places of payments, but even when they had been delivered on the dates contracted for the Agent objected to giving them to the Indians, and also instructed Mr. Factor Belanger to retain them at the Grand Rapids, until further orders from him, as he was not authorized to hand them over.”

Further on in the same report I find the following:-

“There are also two ploughs, two harrows, two sets harness, and two pairs of whiffletrees lying in the Hudson’s Bay Company’s storehouse since last year.”

So that there appears to be a concurrence of testimony to show that there has been a lamentable failure on the part of the Government towards these Indians, and in keeping that strict faith with them which the Indian nature demands should be kept with them. As the right hon. gentleman has stated to-night, the Indian nature is a very jealous one, and if we fail on our part to carry out the engagements we make with them in strict faith, we need not expect the good results from this policy which it is intended to produce.

I have read the evidence of one of the most reliable of the officers of the North-West – one who seems to do his duty with a great deal of zeal, and now I would direct the hon. gentleman's attention to some testimony from an Indian source. Before doing so, however, I shall endeavor to give a character to my witnesses. In the report of Mr. Wadsworth, page 180, speaking of the Indians under Treaty No. 6, whom I am about to call as witnesses, he says:

“These Indians are Christians, and it was very pleasant to hear, during the long summer evening, the squaws and children singing ‘Shall we gather at the River’ instead of the monotonous drumming of the tom-tom so common to Indian camps. The 21st, 22nd and 23rd I spent with the Cree Indian Bands, Sampson, Bobtail and Ermine Skin, near Battle River.”

I shall quote from a memorial which was published in the *Edmonton Bulletin* on the 3rd of February last, and is said to have been forwarded to the right hon. Minister of the Interior:

“A condition on the part of the Government is to furnish us with a number of farming implements and cattle proportioned to the number of families of each band. Now, during six years that we have been in the treaty, the officers acting for the Government have robbed us of more than one-half of these things on which we were to depend for a living, and they are not punished according to law. They can break their engagements on behalf of the Great Mother with impunity.

“Now, hon. Sir, this is our great complaint. We have never yet been supplied with one-half of what was promised in the treaty. We who send you this letter represent seven different bands. One article promised us was one plough to every three families. Three of the bands have received only one-half the number each – the others less than one-half, and in one case none at all. Harrows, the same way. Axes, hoes, and all other instruments promised have been denied us in the same ratio. Some of us have received all our cattle, some only a portion, and some none at all. Of course, those who have received only a portion or none at all will lose the increase for many years. We were promised, during four years, all the seed we could put in the ground with hoes, yet we have on no occasion received more than one-half of what we could plant.

“Now, we consider this treatment as an outrageous breach of good faith, but, of course, we are Indians. Why does not the head man of the Indians ever appear against us, he whom we call in our language the ‘Whitebeard,’ and by the whites called ‘Dewdney’? He took a rapid run once through our country; some of us had the good or bad luck to catch a flying glimpse of him. He made us all kinds of fine promises, but in disappearing he seems to have tied the hands of the agents so that none of them can fulfil these promises. This is the cause of our dire want now. We are reduced to the lowest stage of poverty. We were once a proud and independent people, and now we are mendicants at the door of every white man in the country; and were it not for the charity of the white settlers who are not bound by treaty to help us, we should all die on Government fare. Our widows and old people are getting the barest pittance, just enough to keep body and soul together, and there have been cases in which body and soul have refused to stay together on such allowance. Our young

women are reduced by starvation to become prostitutes to the white man for a living, a thing unheard of before amongst ourselves and always punishable by Indian law.”

Now, Sir, we have the testimony of the inspector that the engagements of the Government are not fulfilled; we have also the testimony of a number of Indian chiefs. [...] The humane policy of the Government has to a large extent failed, because it has not been carried out. I recognize the difficulty of the Government in regulating this matter at so great a distance; but, in the failure to keep the Indians on their reserves, I think we have a clearer indication for the conduct of the Indians than in the Indian character. If we find that the Government policy has been carried out in the way that I have shown, that faith has not been kept with the Indians, who were induced by the promises of the negotiators of those treaties to look for large benefits from the Government, what will be the natural result?

A number of the Indian bands forsook to some extent their nomadic life, and resorted to the reserves; the Government agents failed to implement the promises that were made to them; and therefore the character of a large class of Indians to-day is less self-reliant than it was when this policy was adopted. I am not finding fault with the policy, which, I believe, is calculated to promote the happiness of the Indians, and to secure the peace and prosperity of the North-West; but what I complain of, is, that those who have been appointed to carry out that policy have defrauded both the Indians and the Government, as proved by the instances I have cited from the report.

What influence may such a state of things be expected to have upon the character of the Indians? They find promises broken on the part of the Government, and they are not likely to fail to break promises also. If they find frauds practiced on them, they are quick enough in learning the ways of the white man, to adopt a policy of fraud towards the Government; and we find, in looking at the report, that this has been to a great extent the case. Mr. McColl, in his report, on page 113, says:

“The chief, Keezickookal, with as many of his followers as he could influence to accompany him, went away in June to visit the Sioux Indians, at Devil’s Lake. The few families remaining on the reserve were most diligently engaged in hoeing an excellent crop of potatoes and corn, estimated at about twenty acres in extent. Mr. David Prince, the local Episcopal Missionary, informed me that he found it utterly impossible to induce parents to send their children to school unless he furnished them with food and clothing. He is about to abandon the situation as a hopeless undertaking, and therefore has tendered his resignation to the Mission. The chief received payment in 1881 for nine of a family, an increase of one daughter by birth over the previous year, according to the Agent’s remark on the pay-sheets, whereas I am credibly informed that no such birth occurred, hence he was overpaid five dollars. In the ensuing fall, his youngest child, aged four years, died, reducing the number of his family to seven, whereas he is represented on the pay-sheet as having received payment for eight in 1882. Punheekeezicknaba, one of the councillors, having two wives, is represented on the pay-sheet as receiving annuity in 1881 for a family of eleven, including two infant children, whereas at the date of payment only one of these children was born.”

Now here we find the natural result of breaking faith with the Indians.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. It is not breaking faith with the Indians. The Indians play these tricks continually in order to get more than they are entitled to.

Mr. FLEMING. That is the result of breaking faith with the Indians, that the Indians are induced to break faith with the Government. We find that the Indians, when the promises that are made to them are not fulfilled, resort to some means to make themselves square. [...] There should be a more strict investigation of the way in which the contractors, or their agents, supply these implements and goods to the Indian tribes. [...] Good faith ought to be kept with the various Indian tribes, [...] the treaties ought to be faithfully carried out, and [...] where promises are made to the Indians the utmost care should be taken that those promises are fulfilled.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I go one step further than my hon. friend who has just spoken.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Take care it is not a *faux pas*.

Mr. CASGRAIN. There have been many *faux pas* made in this matter. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will be glad to know my views. However good may be the policy of the Government and its intentions, they cannot go against the natural law relating to Indians on this continent, and that is, that the Indian race is becoming gradually extinct as the white race advances. That is a broad fact. Another broad fact is, that you have not been able to bring one single Indian to the stage of civilization reached by the white man. The experiment has been tried ever since the beginning of the colony, and I know of only one Indian who ever became thoroughly civilized, and that was a man by the name of Vincent, who has a mixture of white blood in his veins, and counts his descent from three or four generations. He reached such a stage in his education as to go into Orders.

I lay down as a principle, which cannot be controverted, that this race is becoming rapidly extinct, and we are wasting an enormous expenditure to attain an object which will never be attained, that is, to civilize these Indians. I have seen myself, at Garden River, the experiment tried by Catholic and Protestant missionaries. A small plot had been cultivated and set out in garden lots, and small houses had been built near them for the Indians, but instead of living in these houses, they built themselves in front of the houses, small bark wigwams, and there they lived.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Those were their country houses.

Mr. CASGRAIN. As to their plots there was not a root to be found in any of them.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. You might find some briar roots.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I give this as an instance of the inaptitude of the Indians to enter civilized life. Now, Sir, I will make an exception in favor of the British Columbia Indians. They are a self-sustaining race, because they have had [no] large fields in which to hunt buffalo, and have been obliged to resort to fishing in order to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. This gave them sedentary habits, and led them to cultivate the soil. But as to the Indians of the North-West Territory, they are a doomed race, and it is only a question of how soon they will disappear.

This race is extremely jealous, and they do not look to the Government employés that are bound to aid them, but, as they say, they look to the Great Mother

on the other side to protect them. [...] The Indians believe themselves so much neglected that in their own primitive mode of speech, they call the head of the Indian Department, "Old To-morrow," because they never get what they want.

There is no denying the fact that in many of these outposts, agents of the Government speculate on the Indians, and often enormous sums of money voted for their assistance, by no means all goes to the Indians. [...] We are required to expend this year, \$355,000 for the North-West Indians alone, and what this House would very much like to know is, how many Indians will be benefitted by that sum?

Mr. CHARLTON. I find in an account here this item: "On the 28th of June, 1881, Benjamin Warwick, of Fort Ellis, ten days, self and team, ploughing and harrowing, \$7 per day." Is not that rather a high price for a man and team?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I fancy not.

Mr. CHARLTON. I find another item. On the 28th of May, the same year, C. Henderson, Victoria, N.W.T., four days' ploughing and harrowing with his own team, \$1.50 per day.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. It is a different part of the country altogether.

Mr. CHARLTON. If one man is worth \$1.50, the other ought not to be worth \$7. There ought to be a little supervision exercised in these matters. In another account it appears one Whitcher is feeding Indians on turnips instead of flour. Is that considered good economy?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. When flour gives out, they give them turnips, and when the turnips give out, we must give them grass. Food continually runs out there. Hitherto, all the caution of all the agents, cannot prevent an occasional excess at one point or a deficiency of food at another point. The Indians are migrators, and we cannot avoid that. Then the hon. gentleman knows that the great trouble there is transport. [...]

Mr. WATSON. I would like to call the attention of the First Minister to one particular band of Indians, called the Swan Lake band. These Indians have been a great source of annoyance to quite a number of settlers in my county. They are supposed to live on their reserve at Swan Lake, but the chief claims that the Government have not carried out their contract according to treaty and delivered supplies at the reserve, and consequently they have refused to remain there and have come back to the camping ground on the banks of the Assiniboine River at what is called Hamilton's Crossing.

They have been a great source of annoyance to settlers in that locality on account of their habit of turning their ponies loose, breaking down the fences and burning the rails, and allowing their ponies to stray into the fields and destroy the grain. Last summer there was very nearly bloodshed between an Indian and a settler. The Indian claimed the right to live there because it was an old reserve. It was a reserve under the first treaty, but by a subsequent treaty made by Governor Morris, the Swan Lake reserve was set aside.

The chief, Yellow Quill, complains that the farm instructor sent up was not a practical man, and could not show them how to proceed. The chief is anxious to know how to cultivate the soil, and he declared it was because the Government official could

not instruct them at Swan Lake that he went back to the old reserve. He claims the Indian gardens which are on the school section at Hamilton's Crossing.

The Indians of this band are a fine lot of men, although they are a little troublesome, and Chief Yellow Quill is a finely-proportioned man, and is reputed to be an honorable man, although some of his band took possession of supplies that were going out to other Indians some time ago.

Inspector McColl recommends the Government to set aside the school section and give this to the Indians in order to pacify them. On behalf of the settlers in the locality I would strongly protest against this course, because it is a great source of trouble to have Indians settled on a school section. They are rather a nuisance among settlers. I hope the Minister will endeavor to have Yellow Quill and his band placed on their reserve, because, so long as they remain at Hamilton's Crossing they will be an annoyance to settlers. If they should continue to remain there they will quarrel with the white men, and there will be trouble and perhaps bloodshed. I hope the matter will be attended to.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The matter will be attended to. [...] The Indians are well satisfied on the whole, and they should be well satisfied. The only thing the House has specially to consider is the large expenditure made on food for the Indians. Instead of breaking faith with them we have kept faith with them, and they have received large supplies. It is well known that, although the Indians agreed to go on their reserves, they have not gone in many cases. When they go on their reserves they get their cattle, implements and grain; but until they are on their reserves they eat the grain, kill the cattle and sell the ploughs, if supplied with them.

It is quite impossible, from the difficulties of transportation in that country, that you can always have a given quantity of goods delivered on a particular day. The Hudson's Bay Company, which fulfil their contracts as faithfully as they can, have, from the breaking down of their steamer, and from the lowness of the water in the Saskatchewan, been two seasons behind, one season certainly. [...]

The Indians will always grumble; they will never profess to be satisfied. All the Government can do is to see that the provisions of the treaties are carried out in good faith – and if there is any error, it is in an excessive supply being furnished to the Indians. But we cannot help it, of course. When once a band of Indians reach a fort or station, they always want to stay there, and want more as long as they can get any food.

Why, at Fort Walsh, which was a centre near the frontier, and a place of meeting for the Indians from time immemorial, on the first settlement of the country, a fort was built to keep the Indians in good order and peace on the frontier. It has been found, however, that the Indians will go there, and it being closer to the frontier they go to the States, as they did last year, when they were driven back by the United States troops. They returned to Fort Walsh without horses, which they had sold or had been stolen from them by American Indians, and without food or clothing, actually starving.

We could not allow them to starve, and we placed them on quarter rations only; but still, while Indians can get anything to support life, they will not move. We are

obliged – and it was intended to have done this last year, only accidental circumstances prevented – this spring to tear down Fort Walsh, and the whole of the stores will be removed north of the Pacific Railway, and when they find no more food there, they will go north of the railway, and settle on the reserves.

These things must and will happen, and all we can do is to use the most patient perseverance. It is no use to get angry with Indians. They are idlers by nature, and uncivilized. If they eat the cattle you must give them a good scolding and not shoot them down because they shot down the cattle and ate them. You must coax them to go on the reserves and do better next year. It is only by slow and patient coaxing and firmness at the same time alone that you can manage the Indians.

The hon. gentleman read a letter, signed by a number of Indians; some of the names he would not read out – I do not know why – and some he did read. It is evident from the style of this paper that it was written by an uneducated Indian on bark, and in hieroglyphics, and not by a civilized man. It was evidently not written by a white man. It is the plain language of the uncivilized man in which he complains of his troubles.

Well, I know who wrote that letter, and I know that he is one of the curses of the North-West, one of the white men, despised by God and men. He is there living and getting fat upon inciting the Indians to discontent, and I know that he is under the special ban of his own Church for his conduct. He has been again and again excommunicated by his own Church for his un-Christian and improper conduct in inciting Indians, for his own base and sordid purposes, to discontent.

Mr. CHARLTON. What is his name?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I will not give that.

Mr. GUILLET. I would like to make a suggestion. In my locality there are two very worthy and intelligent young Indian men, who are seeking to educate themselves. They are from the North-West, the Cree band, and they are struggling to educate themselves at their own expense, intending to fit themselves to become teachers among their own race. I would suggest that the Government might adopt some means to afford young Indians of intelligence and good character an opportunity to educate themselves and become teachers among their own people. It is well understood that they cannot get this education in the North-West, and they might be encouraged to attend the Normal and Model schools, or Collegiate Institutes in the other Provinces. This is a very important matter, as they will more likely than whites succeed in educating and civilizing their own people. Of course, such candidates should be recommended and selected for this object and be placed under proper supervision while attending these schools; and in this way, I think, they might be of great use in introducing the better phases of our civilized life among the Indians.

I think this is a matter well worthy of consideration, especially in view of our great obligations to the Indians, whose lands we have obtained. We have driven them to reserves, and we should make every effort in the way of promoting their civilization. To carry this suggestion into effect would, I think, materially assist in promoting the wise and humane policy the Government are pursuing in order to ameliorate the condition of our Indian population.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Hear, hear.

Mr. CHARLTON. No doubt the Government experiences very great annoyance in consequence of the improvidence of the Indians, and of their wastefulness; and I can quite understand the difficulty of the situation in this regard; the difficulty of getting them on their reserves, and inducing them to perform any labor, to make use of implements and to work the cattle which the Government gives them with which to put in their crops. I have no doubt that the Government, in managing these matters, does the very best in their power. The last speaker referred to our obligations to the Indians. No man questions the policy; and the duty of the Government is to treat the Indians humanely, to keep them from starving, and doing just what it is doing. The Estimates [of government spending on Indians] are being discussed, not in a spirit of censoriousness.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I recognize that perfectly.

Mr. CHARLTON. Of course, we take some time on them, but I consider there is not a single matter of greater importance, and scarcely of as great importance.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I quite agree with you.

Mr. CHARLTON. I have no intention of wasting the time of the House. I see we have schools under the different treaties, for 1882. Under [Treaty] No. 1, the expenditure was \$79; under No. 2, \$626; under No. 3, \$120, under No. 4, \$160, under No. 5, \$1,239, and under No. 6, \$2,281. What is the result of the efforts to educate the Indians in these schools, so far as the measures of success has been attained? Will they be continued and rendered more efficient, and will a larger appropriation be granted?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. Well, I think I may almost ask the hon. gentleman to look into the report of these schools, where he will find their success more or less alluded to. I believe, however, that these schools are fairly successful, especially those under the charge of religious bodies, Catholic or Protestant. These are, I believe, more successful than merely secular schools, where the schoolmasters, who are honest men and who do their duty, are actuated, of course, by a desire to support themselves and their families.

The moral restraints of the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, are greater. They are actuated by higher motives than any secular instructor can pretend to. Secular education is a good thing among white men, but among Indians the first object is to make them better men, and, if possible, good Christian men by applying proper moral restraints, and appealing to the instinct for worship which is to be found in all nations, whether civilized or uncivilized. A vote will be asked for in the Supplementary Estimates for 1883-1884, for a larger description of schools.

When the school is on the reserve the child lives with lives with its 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.

It has been strongly pressed on myself, as the head of the Department, that the Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training

industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men; so that, after keeping them a number of years away from parental influence until their education is finished, they will be able to go back to their band with the habits of mind, the education, and the industry which they have learned at these schools. That is the system which is largely adopted in the United States.

Of these pupils you will get native teachers, and perhaps native clergymen, and men who will not only be able to read and write, but who will learn trades. The Indians are more apt to take to trades such as carpentering, blacksmithing, &c., than to the cultivation of the soil. They have not the ox-like quality of the Anglo-Saxon; they will not put their neck to the yoke, but they can become mechanics and work at various trades. That is a scheme which I will lay before the House rather later in the week.

Mr. WATSON. I can testify to the good qualities of Mr. Ogilvy, who distributes the supplies at Portage la Prairie. I am sure the Indians there get all that is allowed them by the Government. He takes great care of these Indians, and I believe that under his instruction they are acquiring a great deal of useful information. Some of them are very good farm laborers, though a good many of them will only work when they are hungry.

Mr. CHARLTON. I notice that there are quite a number of farms, some twenty-six in all. At Farm No. 1 at Bird Tail Creek, the expenses for salaries last year were \$1,922. I would like to enquire of the First Minister, whether these farms are still being carried on, and what the results have been so far as the financial aspects are concerned?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I do not think the results have been, on the whole, satisfactory. Some of the farms have done very well, but it is only in cases in which the men are not only good farmers but had a good deal of tact, and had acquired a knowledge of Indian character. In such cases – and there are several – the farms were nearly self-sustaining.

I may say that, though the Government took great care in getting men who were trained to farming, and though some of them were well acquainted with agricultural pursuits, and were strong, healthy and respectable men, others have shown a woeful want of tact, and others of the most valuable would not stay on the reserves but went to work on their account.

We are altering the system very much. We find that we require men who are not only farmers, but who are accustomed to the Indians, and who know the Indian character – in fact it is more important to have a knowledge of the Indian character than that they should be first-rate farmers. What you want is to get the Indians to plant a few turnips, and perhaps in a rough way which would shock a model school alumnus, and raise cattle and roots and perhaps by-and-bye grain, rather than that they should receive the instructions of a first-class farmer. The hon. gentleman will see that this vote has been cut down from \$40,000 to \$8,000. This is one of the economies which experience has shown could be practiced.

Mr. CHARLTON. Are large numbers of these farms being abandoned?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. No; but we find we can get men at small wages who will do better than farm instructors at salaries.

Mr. CHARLTON. I presume some of these men who were sent as instructors were entirely unfit for such duties – men who were school teachers, &c.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. I do not think so. I know that we insisted for recommendations from people who were farmers, and upon whose veracity we had confidence in making selections. In some cases men who were selected, decided not to go at the last moment, and those who were sent in their places, did not in some instances prove so successful as the main body who were sent up.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is quite evident that some of these farms have not been self-sustaining, for I find in the report a number of expenditures charged for supplies, for oats, &c.; and I doubt very much from my knowledge of agriculture, whether the Government will find the experiment of running these farms a self-sustaining one. It might be done, if they could get the right kind of men as instructors, and these men were industrious; but it is very difficult exercise supervision over them. We shall find it a costly experiment, and, I think, the Government will find it profitable to abandon it.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The hon. gentleman will see that it is practically abandoned. There was formerly a farm outside of the reserve, and an instructor was put upon it. This has been broken up, and we will get a man, with an assistant, to work on the reserve with the Indians.

Mr. CASEY. We understood, when this experiment was undertaken, that that was to be done; the instructors were to be practical men, working on the farm and showing the Indians; but we on this side of the House were inclined to think that the experiment would be what it has turned out to be – that after a few sums of money had been spent for the benefit of a few favored individuals, the system would turn out a failure, and have to drop. I am surprised to find so sudden a change in the mind of the Government. Last year the hon. gentleman spoke very hopefully of what he expected to be done; but it now turns out that a large portion of this money which has been paid to farm instructors is simply waste. I notice that nearly all the items in connection with agriculture, such as implements, seed-grain, tools, farm maintenance, &c., are reduced. I suppose that the Indians eat the cattle and make firewood of the agricultural implements, so that there is no more stock for their farms than there was when instructions began.

I regret to see that, while these expenses, which should tend, if properly administered, to the civilization of the Indians, are decreasing, the great item which tends to demoralize the Indians is increasing. There is an increase of \$60,000 in the item for making paupers of them. The hon. gentleman says that the Indians are destitute and that they will not work so long as they get supplies, and he infers that we must feed them so long as they will not work. You must, however, not only deal with the Indian considerately, but firmly. If you supply him with all the means of agriculture, and promise to continue to feed him in idleness, the Indian would be different from the ordinary savage if he did not think it would be better to make his profit out of his cattle and agricultural implements, and allow the Government to feed

him besides. Under these circumstances the vote will continue to grow, and in a few years we shall have the whole Indian population of the North-West on our hands to feed.

Of course you may occasionally starve an Indian who is really destitute; but I think that discrimination should be exercised by the Government agents between those who are destitute and those who are not. I know that a great deal of this talk about destitution on the part of the Indians is pretence. I happened to be present at a pow-wow between an Indian Chief and Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, last summer. The Indians came dressed in the worst possible rags, and complained that they were destitute, and starving, and had no opportunity of killing game; yet these Indians were in possession of the very best Winchester repeating rifles that could be purchased in the United States for cash.

In connection with the same band of Indians, the Pie Pot Indians, I must refer to the misunderstanding which has arisen as to the meaning of these treaties. The band refused to go on the reservations to be paid, and I must say they made a pretty strong case for the refusal. When confronted with the treaty made with them by the then Governor Morris, binding them to go on the reserve, [and] take their pay there, they stated that Governor Morris, at the time, verbally promised that they might get paid at Fort Qu'Appelle; and white men who were present when the treaty was made, confirmed their statements. It seems certain loose verbal promises were made to induce the Indians to sign the treaty, and it is these promises which have given rise to all these troubles.

“It is necessary to have these schools”⁵³ (1883)

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. The intention is to establish three Indian industrial schools in the North-West. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West has sent a memorandum upon this question, in which it is stated that in order to educate the Indian children it is necessary to have these schools. They have succeeded very well in the United States, and it is quite likely that they will succeed here as well.

The fact is, that if you wish to educate these children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being educated. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they still remain savages, whereas by separating them in the way proposed, they acquire the habits and tastes – it is to be hoped only the good tastes – of civilized people.

The intention is to have three of these schools, one at Battleford, another about Qu'Appelle, and a third in another portion of the territory, I believe in Treaty No. 6. The industrial school at Battleford will be a Protestant school, and the two others being amongst Indians belonging to the Roman Catholic faith, will be Roman Catholic

⁵³ From Boyce, J. C. (Ed.). (1883). *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, First Session – Fifth Parliament*, Vol. XIV. Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co. This debate took place on May 22, 1883, and was brought to my attention by a reference in *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*, by J. R. Miller.

schools. Some of the buildings which are now erected in Battleford will be appropriated for the purposes of the industrial school at that point. At Qu'Appelle we think that the sum of \$6,000 will be sufficient for the present for the building to be erected there. Then, at the other place, we think that by putting the school near the river we may get the timber down the river to make the building of logs which would be sufficient for the present until the country is more opened.

There will be a principal to each of these schools who will be paid, say, \$1,200 a year, an assistant \$800, matron \$400, farmer \$60 per month, and a cook \$240, or altogether \$3,360. Food and clothing for say thirty children will be about \$450, and for equipment, &c., there will be from \$1,500 to \$2,000 more. The three schools will cost about \$43,000 or a little more, and it is intended to devote \$1,500 of the balance for the encouragement of the industrial school which has been established by the Bishop of St. Albert, Monseigneur Grandin, who has done a great deal for the civilization of the Indians and who has been left entirely on his own means for the support of an industrial school, some other educational establishments and a hospital. The sum of money that will be given to that industrial school will be at the rate of \$30 or \$40 per pupil.

Mr. BLAKE. Then the permanent establishment of each of the schools will cost about \$9,000 a year?

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. Perhaps a little more – about \$9,500.

Mr. BLAKE. And that is for thirty children?

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. For thirty children, as a beginning; but the same staff would do for forty or fifty. With the three schools, however, together with the Bishop's establishment, 120 children altogether will be provided for. We think that is a good beginning, and if we succeed in educating these, there will be an inducement for others to go to the schools.

Mr. BLAKE. The cost of maintenance seems extraordinarily large – \$150 for each child. It is quite obvious, from their station in life, that it would not be a kindness, but a cruelty to provide for these children for other than the simplest manner, both as to food and clothing.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. That covers everything – food, clothing, light, fuel, and so on.

Mr. BLAKE. But still it seems a very large sum. What is the hon. gentleman's general scheme of education for these children? Is it proposed to educate them in some particular handicraft, or the cultivation of the soil? And are both sexes to be taken into the school?

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. As I understand, the schools will be for male children, and the principal occupation taught them will be the cultivation of the soil. For instance, at Battleford there are 30 acres broken, and 160 acres fenced. The intention is to have a larger reserve for these schools, where the boys will have every opportunity to learn the art of agriculture. They will also be taught the rudiments of education.

Mr. BLAKE. What is the minimum age of admission, and the general length of a course?

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. I cannot state the minimum age. It will be, I suppose, about ten years, and, as in the industrial school of the Bishop, they will remain until they are sixteen or eighteen, perhaps twenty. They are taught then, as in the ordinary schools, to read and write, and arithmetic, as well as a trade of some sort – generally the cultivation of the soil; and when they leave the school, they receive a small sum of money to enable them to buy implements and to engage in agriculture on their own account. I have no doubt that we shall find it proper, when these boys come out of the school, to give them a homestead, and try to settle them and make them good citizens.

The civilization of these Indians will, no doubt, become rapid, as they will see the new settlers establishing themselves around them. If these schools are to succeed, we must not have them too near the bands; in order to educate the children properly we must separate them from their families. Some people may say that this is hard, but if we want to civilize them we must do that.

Mr. BLAKE. Of course, this is a very interesting experiment. I have not read the account of what has been done in the North-West, and I do not happen to know what has been done in the United States. But the hon. gentleman ought to remember that the Indian, as the white man, is likely to have a better half when he becomes an adult. If the hon. gentleman is going to leave the young Indian girl who is to mature into a squaw to have the uncivilized habits of the tribe, the Indian, when he marries such a squaw, will likely be pulled into Indian savagery by her.

If this scheme is going to succeed at all, you will, unless these Indian bucks are to be veritable bachelors all their lives, have to civilize the intended wives as well as husbands. I have known in my early life two Indians who were at the Upper Canada College – the place where I received my early education – for a number of years and were as civilized, apparently, as any of the white people I am now addressing, but the wild blood was in them and both of them ultimately, after a number of years of civilized life in Toronto, went back to the habits of the tribe, showing how difficult it is to eradicate that hereditary taint.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN. No doubt the Government will have to provide for the education of the girls as well as the boys. The experiment of Bishop Grandin's industrial school is complete, because he has also here a large school or convent where girls are educated, so that when the young men come out of the industrial school, say at twenty or so, they marry the girls from the convent and settle on lands in that neighborhood; and the bishop told me these settlements are all thriving, and the success is complete. Having that example and the report of Mr. Dewdney of similar success in the United States, we must expect that, with a little attention, we will succeed in this.

Mr. BLAKE. We ought to have at once a capital and an annual account opened, so as to see how the experiment succeeds; and we should see that this interesting experiment is accompanied by full and detailed reports.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). I recognize the fact, that the Indians have a claim on this continent, and that a Minister dealing with votes of this kind must be treated in a generous manner. In my country there are 3,000 Indians, and they have among

them a large industrial institution and ten or eleven schools. For twenty-five or thirty years the experiment of educating them has been carried on with a varying degree of success; but what I desire to call the attention of the hon. member to is, that according to the experience in my country, after receiving a good education, these boys are taught handicrafts, to till the soil, and some are to be found in the medical profession and among the clergy – their after life on their reservation is not calculated to enable them to take full advantage of their training.

Girls are taught house work, they are taught to sew and knit, and while some have left the reserve and gone out and have taken a very creditable position in society, I dare say a great majority, when they leave the industrial schools, go back to their own lands. Others are settled so thickly in this one township, all the lands being held in common, the tribal relation existing, no man owning his own land in fee simple, that the energies the white people feel, and that the red man would feel if he possessed the same liberties of the white man, become dwarfed. There is no stimulus to energy, there is nothing to incite them to go forward and upward in life under their present condition, and the only way in which they can hope to do that is to strike out for themselves and go out into the world. But our Indian law comes in and entails a penalty upon them for so doing – and I may be allowed perhaps to refer to that point in Indian law.

Our Indian law has been improved⁵⁴, in my judgment, somewhat. It is not so many years ago that the Indian law on the statute book was, that if any Indian woman lived in a state of adultery with a white man and had issue, all her children were upon the pay-roll and received their share of the [Treaty] annuities; whereas, if she married according to the laws of God and man, our law stepped in and cut off her children, and said they should not receive their money. I had occasion to raise my voice in that behalf, and I am glad to say that that law does not exist in its full vigor at present.

Another clause is that an Indian possessed of more energy and educated at these establishments, and wishing to find scope, and development, and better chances of success, if he went to the country to the south of us, as many of our young men do, our Indian law still comes in and entails a penalty upon him for going away, and forfeits his annuity moneys, which are his moneys and belong to the tribe. I am not sure but that even yet, if they leave the reserve and go to another part of Canada, our Indian law cuts them off.

But it still remains that if an Indian woman marries a white man she now can receive her share of the annuity moneys, but the issue are not allowed to participate, our law entails a penalty upon them; and I for one do not hesitate to say that instead of being in favor of keeping the Indians as Indians, of keeping the Indians to themselves, and so framing a law that if an Indian steps outside the reserve or tries to find a white man or a white woman with whom to mate, I for one say the law should throw no obstacle in their way at all. Some of the finest specimens of manhood are what are known as half-breeds. Why, under our Indian law, they should have a penalty entailed upon them, I have been unable to conceive.

⁵⁴ For a case examining an earlier state of Indian law, see the Appendix.

I think the only solution of the Indian problem of this Continent is this: that the sooner you can bring the Indian up to that standard which would warrant you in giving him all the rights and liberties that are enjoyed by his white brethren, and entrust him with the responsibilities of citizenship, the sooner you will solve that problem. I see no solution of it in shutting them up in reserves and maintaining the tribal relation for all time to come.

I am glad to hear the Minister say – I gather that from a remark he made – that he contemplates that the Indian of the North-West, if he proves himself fit, may have a homestead given to him. It seems to me that is the right direction. I am very much inclined, I dare say more than other members of the House, to support the hon. Minister in that step. It is expensive, no doubt, but it is expensive to feed the Indians, it will be expensive to feed them for years to come, and I for one believe that we must not enter upon a policy of the extermination of the Indians. They are here and they must be treated in that way. I believe a step in the direction of relieving ourselves of the support of these Indians is to give them facilities such as they shall not feel themselves forced to go back again into that condition out of which they were taken.

Mr. DAWSON. There are quite a number of Indians in my constituency – as many as 10,000, I believe – but they are not quite so thickly settled as they are in the constituency of the hon. member who has just spoken. We have had some experience with these industrial schools, and they have been successful so far. On Manitoulin Island and at Sault Ste. Marie there are schools both for boys and girls that have been exceedingly successful.

With regard to what my hon. friend says of the tribal system, however badly it may work in his constituency where the Indians are probably further advanced and more thickly settled, its abolition would not certainly work well among the Indians in Algoma, and I do not think it would work well in the North-West. The tribal system is, in my opinion, the true protection the Indians have against the encroachment of the white man. If they had the fee simple in their own hands they would not be able to protect it, and it would be taken from them. I think it would probably help the civilized Indians a great deal if they had the franchise conferred upon them. The Indian, even though he lives upon the reserves, should have his own ground separate from the others, and if he becomes a good citizen and industrious, there is no reason why he should not have the franchise. It would tend to elevate him in his own esteem, at least, and there is a great deal to be said in that respect.

“A hard and tedious work”⁵⁵ (1884)

The bill introduced by Sir John Macdonald for the enfranchisement of such Indians as may desire and may be capable of self-government will be generally accepted as a step in the right direction. Any Indian policy which aims at a less result than the civilization of the Indians must be defective. It is true that the endeavour to place the aborigines on a par with whites has not always – not very often, perhaps –

⁵⁵ From SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S INDIAN BILL. (1884, February 1). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 4.

succeeded. In order to induce the wild son of the forest or prairie to live in a house and till the land and wait patiently for the fruits of his toil, a force of natural predisposition has to be overcome which is even stronger than that which binds the white man to the haunts of civilization. The Indian loves the freedom of his wild life, with its excitement, its perils and its makeshifts, and to preach to him of the delights of civilized existence until he has been gradually trained in the habits of regular industry, is simply to arouse his aversion and contempt.

It is also unhappily true that the dealings with the natives of this content of their civilized brethren have not invariably been such as to recommend the change, of which the benefits are painted for them in glowing colours. Very often, just as the missionary has taught them that Christianity is a religion of mercy, honesty, reverence and truthfulness, they are shocked by displays of conduct which impress them with the notion that it is quite the opposite. Men who have failed to keep faith with them, who have tried in every way to cheat them, who have slighted their appeals and regarded with indifference the privations to which their greed and falsehood had reduced their victims, can hardly look for respect or confidence from those whom they have betrayed and abused. And as we are inclined in ordinary discourse to speak of certain characteristics as common to the whole Indian race, so the Indians have had good reason to consider certain other qualities (and those not the most estimable) as peculiar to the white race.

From these and other causes it has happened that the work of civilizing the Indians has been a hard and tedious work, and that, to-day, after nearly four hundred years of intercourse with their European conquerors, the majority of them are still wild men of the woods, with no desire to be anything else.

But there is another side of the picture. There are quite a number of instances of marked and steady progress towards and along the path of civilization, among the Indians of North America. Even in the United States, where the war between Indian and white man has been so bitter and so continued, there has happily been a parallel movement in which the former has been a willing pupil and the latter an earnest and loving teacher.

There are at this moment Indian communities among which self-government has reached a state of comparative perfection, rivaling anything in the records of civilization. Industry, order, morality, and the aspiration for constant improvement prevail there quite as much as in our own cities and towns. In the second generation, in such cases of conversion to civilized habits, it is found that the young people, as they grow up, are thoroughly manageable, being as bright and teachable as the ordinary run of white children, and even more eager to avail themselves of educational advantages.

The statistics regarding some of the tribes are most encouraging, showing that, wherever they have been assured of permanently enjoying their lands and the result of their labours, they have, after the necessary training, settled down steadily as civilized communities. In the course of time, comes the desire for complete emancipation, when the civilized Indian longs to abandon all tribal trammels and to cultivate his own farm, and bring up his family as the white man does. Of course,

discrimination is necessary to discern between mere dissatisfied restlessness and the sincere desire for freedom in the sense of useful citizenship. But Indians who, at their own request, have obtained grants, with patents, like white men, have seldom disappointed the trust reposed in them, most of them becoming good, industrious and respectable citizens.

Before that final stage is reached, a long and careful apprenticeship, passing over more than one generation, it may be, in some cases, is necessary. But is it not well to keep in view as the ultimate end of all our efforts the breaking down of the wall of partition that separates the Indians from ourselves, to make them, like members of other nationalities, free citizens? It is as moving towards that result that we welcome Sir John Macdonald's measure. It is, indeed, a most important step forward, and from the system of councils for which it provides we may reasonably look for consequences of great moment in the education of the Indian race for the duties of citizenship. It is a system that appeals to their sense of responsibility as men to the calls of conscience and duty, while it also brings into play that honest pride in being thought worthy of confidence which is so efficacious for good in all the walks of life.

“Hearts filled with zeal”⁵⁶ (1884)

TO THE EDITOR. – Would you kindly permit me a few lines in regard to a statement made by the superintendent of Indian affairs in British Columbia[?] [...] He says, in regard to the teachers employed in Indian schools, [that] many of them lack experience and qualification. This is rather hard on the teachers, but is the superintendent acquainted with the persons who teach those schools? Has he superintended their work? Let us see.

The first school on the list is Naas river. That school is taught by Miss Green, a young lady from England, who was employed in the capacity of teacher before coming to this country, and who can produce her certificate to show that she is duly qualified. The next is Port Simpson, taught by Mr. Jennings, who has had a number of years' experience in important schools in Ontario. He was succeeded last year by Mr. Hopkins, from Evanston University, Illinois. His papers need only a glance to refute any such statement. St. Mary's mission school, as also that of Hesquiat, is taught by one of the priests.

Suffice it to say that if these men are not qualified to teach Indian schools, they are not qualified to be priests. The school at Methlakahtla was taught by a highly qualified teacher in the person of Mr. H. D. Chantrell. Last on the list [is] (Alert Bay) teacher, Rev. A. J. Hall, and if that gentleman lacks experience or qualification I would like to know how the Indian superintendent defines those words.

There are other schools. The school at Bella Bella has been supplied with qualified teachers ever since it was opened now nearly four years ago; but not one

⁵⁶ From Tate, C. M. (1884, June 1). The Indian Mission Schools. *The Daily British Colonist*, p. 1. Written by Charles Montgomery Tate (1832 – 1933), a Methodist missionary.

cent of grant has as yet been received from the department towards the teachers' salaries. Mrs. Tate, who is in charge of this school, has had seven years of experience in this country besides three or four years among the Indians of Ontario.

Besides the schools at our mission stations there are both white and native teachers sent to the scattered tribes along the coast, among the islands, and on the banks of the rivers, who ought to be supported entirely by the government. If the civilization and education of these barbarous people means anything to the government, this is little enough to ask; but we are told that these men are not qualified to teach.

The fruits of their labors will show whether they are or not. If they are not, and the government are desirous of doing anything in the way of education for the Indians, why do they not send qualified teachers? If men or women could be found who would go into one of those heathen camps and shut themselves out from communication with the outside world, we venture to say it would be only such as had their hearts filled with zeal for the salvation of those poor, wretched creatures.

Another glance at the [provincial accounts] shows us that \$40,000 was given by the Dominion Government last year for the Indians in B. C. But of this large sum, \$1,800 was granted to the different schools and about \$5,000 more for medicines, implements, charities, etc. Of course this does not include a large grant made for Indian dances to show off their heathenism before the governor-general when visiting B. C. It would have been vastly more creditable to have shown him some of the nice little farms, neat cottages and well clad people at some of the mission stations.

We also notice that each of the local agents receives \$4000 traveling expenses. This seems enormous. Why, some of our missionaries get very little over the above-named sum to cover both salary and traveling expenses, and they travel as much or more than any of them.

C. M. TATE.

The settlement at Whitefish Lake⁵⁷ (1884)

The settlement at this lake is the oldest established and about the only purely Indian settlement in the Upper Saskatchewan country. Its history and present condition show plainly that under favorable circumstances the Indian is neither so shiftless nor so lacking in adaptability to civilization as is generally supposed. Although the settlement is not a pattern for the more progressive and energetic white man, yet it explodes the theory that the only way to civilize the Indian is to kill him, as well as the parallel theory that civilization will of itself cause him to disappear. It shows that there is a possibility of Indians becoming self-supporting, provident and industrious; although only to a limited extent, still sufficiently to leave a wide margin between them and the Indian of the dime novel or the specimens seen around towns and white settlements. [...]

⁵⁷ From WHITEFISH LAKE. (1884, May 24). *The Edmonton Bulletin*, p. 3.

The settlement at Whitefish lake was started about 30 years ago by Rev. Mr. Steinhauer⁵⁸, who is an Ojibway Indian, native of Ontario, and was appointed a missionary of the Methodist church. Shortly after his arrival he was joined by Benjamin Sinclair, an exhorter of the Methodist church [and] a native of Norway House, who had already established a mission at Pigeon lake. They now built a church, and afterwards a house for Peeean, the chief of the Whitefish lake band of Crees. The example set by the chief living in a house was soon followed by members of his band, who erected houses for themselves, cultivated small patches of ground and acquired a few head of cattle.

At present there are 21 houses at Whitefish lake and 12 or 15 at Goodfish lake, the latter being a branch of the Whitefish lake settlement. Every house has a piece of cultivated ground attached from 2 to 25 acres in extent. There are over 100 head of horned stock belonging to the band and between 75 and 100 head of horses. The total population is 350, but this includes some who have not yet built houses. Barley and potatoes are the principal crops grown, with a little wheat and turnips. There has been no failure from any cause for the past five or six years, at least in the wheat, barley or potato crops, and they are seldom or never injured by frost.

The wheat is ground into flour either at Victoria or Edmonton, as also part of the barley, but about half of the latter is roasted whole and eaten with grease. It is prepared by being pounded in a wooden mortar, a little warm water being poured on it, to remove the hull. It is then roasted until the kernels pop open something like pop corn, when it is considered ready for use. Although this does not make the most appetizing dish in the world, it still saves long trips of 50 or 130 miles to the mill and also saves the miller's toll, which is no small consideration to people with but little to grind.

There does not seem to be any great disposition to increase the acreage under crop, except as the population increases and new houses are built, partly, no doubt, because the people yet depend greatly on hunting and fishing for a living, partly because the land, being wooded, is difficult to improve, and partly because they have taken treaty money and are getting into the habit of looking to the government for assistance. They say that when the treaty was made the bargain was that all were to be treated alike. Others receive assistance, therefore they should have it, and of course, as necessity is the great inducement to industry, when the necessity is thus decreased the industry decreases also. It is a fact that since the treaty was made the settlement has not shown the same rate of increase as before.

The stock of cattle is well kept up and increased a little every year, but the increase is not very marked. The temptation to people who have always lived on meat to kill a fat animal when they have it and require food is no doubt difficult to resist, and the sense of dependence upon the government makes them less careful to increase their own stock. Although hay is rather difficult to procure on account of the wooded nature of the country, still the cattle are well attended to and are of good appearance.

⁵⁸ Henry Bird Steinhauer, called Shahwahnegezhik in Ojibwa and Sowengisik in Cree. (1818 – 1884). He would die of influenza on December 29, 1884, a few months after the publication of this article.

Two schools are maintained in the settlement by the Methodist church, one at Whitefish lake mission under Mr. J. A. Voumans, having an average attendance of over 20, and the other at the south end of Whitefish lake for the Goodfish lake settlement, under Mr. E. R. Steinhauer, with an average attendance of about the same number. The children are taught in both Cree and English and learn quickly. They are especially apt at translation, and also sing very nicely.

Religious services are held on Sabbath mornings and evenings in the Methodist church by Rev. Mr. Steinhauer, and are attended by almost the whole settlement. All the people profess Christianity, keep the Sabbath, are honest and moral, take care of their sick and aged and have given up heathenish customs of all kinds. Not the least noticeable feature in their conduct is that the men do their proportion of the labor of the farm and household, not throwing the heaviest work upon the women as is the ordinary Indian custom. There is still, however, a great deal of their old superstition relative to "medicine" amongst them, and considering how much similar superstition there is among well educated and otherwise intelligent white people, this is not to be wondered at. They are passionately fond of music, have a quick ear and good voice and enjoy singing greatly, but do not indulge in the barbarous tum-tum and hi-ya.

Property of all kinds is held separately and very little assistance is required by the band from the government, principally in the way of seed grain and the support of the infirm. Indeed, although these people are entitled to assistance just as others are, there can be no doubt that had no treaty ever been made with them they would have been better off because [they would be] more self reliant, and consequently more energetic, than they are now.

Contrary to the generally received idea concerning civilized Indians, the people are healthy and the number is increasing, while the younger generation, those born in captivity, so to speak, are of larger and stronger build than the older members of the band.

Interview with a missionary⁵⁹ (1886)

FORT PITT, N.W.T., Aug. 18. – I arrived on the eastern bank of the north branch this afternoon at 4 o'clock, and camped opposite all that is left of Fort Pitt. I may remark the Saskatchewan here for about three miles runs almost north and south, the "fort" being situated on the west bank. Shortly after our arrival, the Rev. Chas. Quinney, Church of England missionary, who had been one of Big Bear's captives, paid us a visit from across the river. And here I may tell you that the Fort Pitt of July 1886, is nothing more than the Hudson's Bay Company's store, the little frame residence of Mr. Quinney, close to the river, and a couple of Indian tepees, blackened and discolored with the smoke of years, and bearing the traces of the rebellious insanity movement of 1885. After tea, made of the muddy waters of the

⁵⁹ From VERITAS. (1886, September 25). REBELLION REMINISCENCES. *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 7.

“Kis-sis-saktchewan,” the missionary recrossed the river accompanied by your correspondent.

Mr. Quinney arrived here in October, 1879. A Roman Catholic mission had been previously established at Pitt, but Mr. Quinney believed in the great size of the vineyard and started to labor for the Master amongst the dusky inhabitants of Onion Lake. In five years he had erected a church and mission buildings to the value of \$2,216, a sum collected from the good people of England. The average attendance at his church during the three years previous to the rebellion was about fifty or sixty. The average attendance at his mission school was sixteen.

“What with departures, deaths, etc., the school was never in a flourishing condition,” said Mr. Quinney.

“What might one of those ‘etceteras’ be?” inquired your correspondent.

“Well,” replied the missionary, “I can give you an instance. One evening an old Indian came into my house and said as I had got two coats I might let him have one. I told this Indian a minister required two coats, one for ‘everyday’ and one for Sunday. The Indian thought otherwise, and in revenge not only kept his own children some four months from school, but being somewhat influential amongst his band succeeded in keeping the children of others away also.”

“Then, you would say to the Indian department like Pere Lacombe of Calgary, ‘Make the attendance of Indian children compulsory.’”

“Certainly, I would. If you want to do good work among the Indians, you must, first of all, *begin in the school-room*. This is my conviction.”

“Have you had many Indians baptized?”

“Sixteen in six years. Indians make light of this sacrament, sometimes getting baptized by the Anglican and again by the R. C. priest.”

“What are the chief obstacles in the way of the spread of Christianity amongst your Indians?”

“I can tell you five or six. Their roving, indolent character; their marked instability; their poverty and natural inclination to beg, and two conflicting creeds, pressed into their heads already full of heathenish superstitions. Then you must consider the bad habits and influences of irreligious white men and half-breeds. The latter is the greatest hindrance to mission work generally.”

“They are not yet prepared”⁶⁰ (1887)

Perhaps the most important question with which Parliament will have to deal in the near future is that of providing for the Indians in a manner different from the present mode. The Indians are daily becoming more and more repugnant to the whites and useless to themselves. It is a disgrace to Canada, with her boasted civilization and Christianity, to allow such a state of things as maintains at present to continue. Casual reference was made to this subject during the recent campaign, and Mr. D. W. Davis, M.P., is pledged to support any scheme which has for its object

⁶⁰ From THE INDIAN QUESTION. (1887, April 1) *The Calgary Herald*, p. 4.

the separation of the Indians from the whites and consequent advantage of both. That he will remember his pledge we feel certain; as there are few men in the country who more thoroughly understand the Indian character than he, we look to him for valuable assistance in dealing with this matter. Heretofore the Indian has not received much attention from the press and politicians of Canada, save when an election was pending, and we hope that the question will now be taken [up, and that] everyone who has the interests and honor of Canada at heart will express an honest opinion on the subject. It is not a question for parties but for the "nation." We have studied the question as carefully as our opportunities allowed, and have based our conclusions on the opinions of "old timers" who have had long experience with the Indians and have made a study of their condition, and we hope that some good may come of the discussion.

No doubt the Government, through its officials, the Indian Commissioner and the Indian Agents, has done its utmost under the present policy in this connection to deal with and settle the Indian question – that is to say, to prevail upon and induce the aborigines to change their way of life, and to adopt, as far as practicable, the customs and habits of the whites, with a view to becoming, eventually, self-supporting. It is very much to be regretted that all efforts in this direction have, so far, been attended with little, if any, success, if we except a very few instances – notably among the Crees and Stonies.

Now, after seven years of fruitless effort, despite the energy of the Government, backed by the devoted co-operation of our Christian missionaries in the Territories, would it not be timely and advisable to consider some other means of dealing successfully with the civilization of our Indians, and of realizing the ideas of rendering them self-supporting?

In the first place we, the whites, must not lose sight of the fact that we occupy to-day, the hunting grounds where these tribes were once a happy and contented people. Why is it that they are to-day a wretched community of beggars, wandering aimlessly from place to place without ambition, hope, or purpose? Simply because our advent has been the signal for the disappearance of the buffalo, and other game on which they formerly relied entirely for their sustenance, and because our coming has been the beginning of their general demoralization.

The expression "The best Indian is a dead one" is a saying worthy, perhaps, of a heathen – certainly not of a Christian. The poor child of the prairie has as much right to live in this country as his white brother, and perhaps more, because he was the first occupant, and naturally regards the pale face as an intruder. It is, therefore, wise and praiseworthy on the part of our Government that they should deal kindly and considerately with the Indians, regarding them as their "minor children," and framing their policy in this connection in accordance with the nature and exigency of their peculiar position. We are by no means in favor of the complete enfranchisement of the Indian, nor of placing him, generally, upon an equal footing with the white man. It is the opinion of those who have had long experience among the different tribes of the Territories that they are not yet prepared for a complete change from their nomadic habits and their uncouth notions, to the full comprehension and

practical adoption of complete civilization. It is useless to dream of such a sudden change. True, the Indian of this country, created, as other human beings, in the image of his God, has sufficient intellect and understanding to know God and to serve him, but we are satisfied that he has not sufficient brain power, sufficient will, perseverance, or physical strength, to undergo successfully the sudden change that we have named. There may be a few individual exceptions, but in general no such thing can be thought of. In a future more or less distant the Indians of this country, like the tribes of the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and, already, many of the States, are doomed to disappear as tribes. Unless some policy be adopted for their concentration they will be no more than a few wandering, miserable families, pitching their tents and camping in the suburbs or outskirts of the towns and village of the Territories.

In the meantime let us endeavour to provide against such a state of affairs by offering to these people a home where, as far as consistent with the demands and requirements of an advancing civilization, they may be happy and contented in the enjoyment of that mode of life to which nature appears to have peculiarly adapted them.

It cannot be denied that the existence of three Indian reserves, scattered, as they are, all over the country, is one of the greatest obstacles to the rapid settlement of the Territories. There is scarcely a place in the country where an immigrant can take up land and make a home for himself without being exposed to the unwelcome visits of these people, who are not the most conscientious respecters of civil rights. [...] When the treaties were first entered into between the Government and the different tribes of Indians the latter were, to a certain extent, masters of the situation, and were sharp enough to secure to themselves the right of choosing their reserves, and intelligent enough to choose them from the best and most fertile belts in the country, so that many thousand acres of rich and fertile land are lying utterly useless and unproductive, and will remain so until thrown open for white settlement.

Now, would it not be infinitely better for all concerned if one large reserve could be established which would be known as the Indian Territory and which the Indians might be induced to occupy? Of course such a change would necessitate considerable expenditure at first, and would doubtless be attended by some difficulties, but judicious management with the right men, and with good and efficient agents, the obstacles would soon be removed and the expense would soon be repaid. The policy would necessarily be one of persuasion, not compulsion. Certain treaties have been made with these people, and, of course, would have to be respected; but with kindness, prudence, and diplomacy, the Indians would gradually be led to see the advisability of the exchange, and convinced that it was entirely in their own interests and for their own especial benefit, both present and future.

We would propose that the new Indian Territory be selected along the Red Deer River, beginning about twenty-five miles below the present Crossing, extending down the river ninety miles and taking in twenty-five miles on each side, so including Buffalo Lake, the Hand Hills, and many other lakes and hills which were favorite hunting grounds of the Indians in the olden time. This portion of the country would

be admirably adapted to the purpose mentioned, being supplied with an abundance of coal, wood, water, and grass lands.

It could be explained to the Indians that the new Territory would be their own, that they would be protected from trespassers, and no white or other persons beside themselves and the Government agents and officials would be permitted to remain in the Territory.

Let the south side of the river be given to the Blackfeet, Bloods, Piegans, Sarcees, and Stonies, and the north side to the different bands of Crees. No trouble need be anticipated between the different bands, as they have been friendly ever since the late rebellion and, in all probability, will remain so.

The Territory could be apportioned into sections and each section occupied as a special reserve of a special band.

Let the Government build a house and stable for each head of a family and assist and encourage him by presenting him with an ox, a cow, and necessary farming implements. Let each head of a family have a portion of land which he could consider his own to improve and till if he felt so disposed.

A Governor or Indian Commissioner should be appointed whose special duty would be the superintendence of the general management of the Territory. He should be assisted by good and efficient agents distributed through the respective reserves. A good and efficient police force would need to be stationed near the Governor's residence, which residence, as well as all other Government buildings in the Indian Territory should be substantial and in accordance with the importance of the scheme. Government general stores should be located at different points in the Territory providing for and supplying all the reasonable and necessary wants of the Indians, and at cost prices. Schools and churches would be built in the Territory by the different missions and should be liberally supported and encouraged by the Government. With the exceptions before mentioned, no whites should be allowed to enter the Indian Territory without special permission from the Governor or Commissioner, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, and no Indian should be allowed to leave there without a like permission and under a like penalty.

In the course of time, after the Indians had become accustomed to their new life, individuals could be chosen among them to act in the capacity of sub-constables, to assist in the enforcement of law and order. The chiefs, if found competent, could be invested with qualified magisterial authority in their respective bands or camps, and a chief justice should be appointed to adjudicate in all matters of a civil or criminal nature which might arise in the Territory.

[The main difficulty] to overcome would be the unwillingness of the Indians to abandon their present reserves and settle in the new Territory, but we have no doubt that in four years at most, if properly conducted, the scheme would prove a success. A very large proportion of the Crees would be only too glad to avail themselves of the offer at once, and the ice once broken, with good management, the other bands would soon be induced to come in.

Another objection which will probably be raised is the great expense which such a scheme would necessitate; but when we consider the vast amount of fertile

land, a great proportion of which has been more or less improved, and the great number of government buildings thereon, all of which, lands and buildings, would be thrown upon the market, we are bound to acknowledge that, in view of the object to be attained, the expenditure would be a wise one. A great deal of the labor in connection with the formation and settlement of this Territory, such as building, freighting, &c., could be done by the Indians themselves at nominal prices.

Such a policy of concentration would, undoubtedly, simplify and facilitate the establishment and conduct of industrial schools, as these institutions then being in their very midst, the difficulty which now exists of obtaining and keeping pupils would cease, and the only trouble would be to provide sufficient accommodation.

Now, this is our scheme; we submit it to the honest criticism of all who have any interest in the general prosperity of the country, and in the satisfactory settlement of this vexed question.

Whether the scheme should prove a success or failure the Canadian people, and the Canadian Government will have the proud satisfaction of knowing that they have, at least, exerted their earnest and conscientious effort to brighten the last days of an unfortunate and doomed people, whose birthright they have, to a certain extent, usurped, and whose loss is their gain.

“A great obstacle”⁶¹ (1887)

SIR – I read with great attention the article, “The Indian Question,” that appeared in the HERALD the first of April last. Let me give you some thoughts on this subject, so much debated, so interesting to the country at large, and especially to the District of Alberta, in which large agglomerations of Indians are living among the white settlers. The aforesaid article advocates the separation of the Indians from the whites, and the concentration of all the Indian reserves in a tract of country large enough for the purpose. Having been for several years in the country, having the experience of the Indian nature and disposition, I approve very much the scheme of an Indian Territory. I think this plan will confer immense benefits to the Indians as well as to the whites. It would encourage colonization. The Indian reserves scattered over the country are a great obstacle to the settlement of the Territories. Many will not take up land and settle, afraid of being exposed to the depredations of some roving parties of Indians out of their reserve, and of losing the fruits of their labor and industry.

On the other hand, it is said in the article, that the Indian thrown suddenly amongst the white settlements and civilization is not prepared for a complete and sudden change from his nomadic habits and ideas to the adoption of a complete civilization. They can’t change suddenly their mode of life. The present system of Indian reservations does not seem very good for the amelioration, material and moral, of the Indians, for their demoralization seems to grow deeper. After six or seven years of this system, we cannot see much improvement. The government has spent, and is

⁶¹ From L.D. (1887, April 15) THE INDIAN QUESTION. *The Calgary Herald*, p. 4.

spending yet, lots of money in order to make Indians civilized and self-supporting with very little success. The Indians, with very few exceptions, take the vices of the whites rather than their good qualities and industry. They are daily “becoming more and more repugnant to the whites and useless to themselves.” It is a disgrace to a civilized and Christian nation to allow such a state of things to continue, to let so many Indians hang around the settlements, begging, sometimes stealing and becoming more and more demoralized.

The scheme of a large reservation, or of an Indian Territory as proposed would obviate such disorders, would protect the Indians from the pernicious influence of the bad whites and give them a chance to get civilized and Christianized.

Calgary, April 1 1887. L.D.

“Better able to control them”⁶² (1887)

“The greater majority of the Indians are little better than mere children in their habits and thoughts, and if assembled together would surely, as the sun will rise tomorrow, make what they would term a final struggle for ‘liberty.’ There would be nothing but trouble from the commencement to the finish of such a suicidal policy as the CALGARY HERALD proposes (in a good spirit no doubt) for the benefit of the poor Indian. We sympathize with the natives in so far as we have taken from them their ‘happy hunting grounds’ and all that sort of thing, but when the lesson has been taught us that the policy which the writer of the CALGARY HERALD would have the Government pursue has proved an utter failure in South Africa, that is to concentrate the native tribes in one Territory, we say it would be madness to attempt it, and [it] is another name in the near future for native war of a most desperate character. The Government is undoubtedly pursuing the right policy at present in keeping the Indians on their different reserves, thus avoiding a concentration of troubles too numerous to mention.” -Moosomin (N.W.T.) Courier

This is the first unfavorable comment on our Indian scheme that has met our notice, and if we have no more formidable arguments to meet than those advanced by the Courier we have little fear that the scheme will be favorably received throughout Canada, and eventually adopted. The Courier says: “The greater majority of the Indians are little better than children in their habits and thoughts.” If this be true the Government would have an easy task, first, in persuading the Indians to accept comfortable houses and a large tract of land in the erstwhile favorite hunting grounds of the red man; and, secondly, in instructing them in industrial pursuits and instilling in them a knowledge of the things most useful for them to know. In short, were the Indians so childlike, our scheme would be easy of consummation.

From a false hypothesis the Courier deduces the conclusion that there would be nothing but trouble from the commencement to the finish of our policy. A similar policy had proved an utter failure in South Africa, therefore it would be utter madness to attempt it here. The Courier carries the war into Africa with a vengeance and we

⁶² From THE INDIAN QUESTION. (1887, April 15) *The Calgary Herald*, p. 4.

needs must follow it. We submit that the comparison is not a fair one. The conditions are entirely different. In South Africa the natives were unconquered, warlike and wholly uncivilized. For commercial purposes the scheme of herding them within certain circumscribed bounds was devised and an attempt made to carry it out. The result, as was to be expected, was disastrous. How different would be the effect on our Indian population of a humane and paternal policy. The Indians have for years received their daily food from the hand of the Government and know that they are absolutely dependent on the White Chief for sustenance. The highest and, probably, only ambition of a large number of them is to secure their daily bread, and so long as it is forthcoming they will remain placid, indolent and contented. There remain, however, among the decimated and demoralized tribes a fair few who retain the warlike and restless instincts of their forefathers. These might give trouble if provoked, but the cardinal principle of our scheme is that the Indians be treated with kindness. None but humane and considerate agents and instructors must be placed over them, and the result must inevitably be that they will have no desire to bite the hand which feeds them. The antagonism which in days gone by existed between the various tribes may be changed into a healthful rivalry in the cultivation of the soil – each band striving to excel its neighbor in agricultural, not warlike, feats.

But, granting that the natural bent of the Indian is to slay and steal, we maintain that the Government would be better able to control them if they were all collected together than as they are at present. Before being given horses, cattle and implements on their new reserve the Indians would be required to give up their rifles and shot guns in exchange. Ammunition would be issued to them in moderate quantities and the forts would be strong enough to withstand the most violent assault that could be made by the unarmed Indians. Under such circumstances the notion of an uprising would rarely occur to them and if conceived could scarcely be carried out with any chance of success.

We have no fear for the success of the after part of our scheme. The main difficulty would be to get the Indians to move to the proposed territory. Once there they would be easily managed, and at a much less cost than is entailed by the present system.

“The first two Blackfeet boys”⁶³ (1887)

The Rev. E. F. Wilson, principal of the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Homes, has just returned home from a trip to the Rocky Mountains, having been there to visit the Blackfeet Indians. This tribe (including the Bloods and the Peigans) numbers about 6,000, and they are almost all without exception pagans. The Blackfeet Indians received Mr. Wilson very cordially and adopted him into their tribe, giving him the name “Natusi-asamin,” (the sun looks upon him). They also showed so much confidence in him as to allow two of their boys, Appikokta and Etukitsin, to go back with him to his Institution. These are the first two Blackfeet boys that have consented

⁶³ From A Friend to Indians. (1887, July 6). *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, p. 4.

to go to an institution to be educated. They are wild looking fellows with long plaited hair, and one of them on his arrival had nothing on but a blanket and a pair of leggings. The boys are intelligent looking fellows, aged 18 and 16 respectively, and seem very anxious to learn. One of them is to be taught carpentering and the other bootmaking.

“The great good effected among Indian children”⁶⁴ (1887)

Entertainments were given yesterday after noon and evening, in St. James Hall, [Ottawa,] by Indians from the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Homes, who are here under the control of Rev. E. F. Wilson. The object was to show the great good effected among Indian children by these homes.

The curtains rolled up and displayed about 20 Indian boys, at work in the various trades which they have been taught. There were carpenters, barbers, harness makers, bakers, etc. As they worked they sang in English very sweetly, the following song:

INDIAN WORK SONG

When time for play, we play, we play,
When time for work, we work away.
We work away! We work away!
When time for work we work away!

We'll not be idle, we'll not be slow—
For time is precious, that we know,
So we'll work away, etc.

Sheep lie down and cows they graze,
But men (*girls*) must better spend their days.
So we'll work away, etc.

A young Indian boy named Johnny Maggrat, of the Shingwauk home, then made a short speech, in which he told some of the many things he had learned there.

Later David Minommee, an Ojibwe from Parry Sound, also spoke. He said that it would almost have been better if the red man had been left alone by the white man, for he (the white man) had taken their land and given them whiskey, which killed the Indian. But he was thankful, on the other hand, for the Christianity and knowledge of God which his white brother had introduced.

The girls then gave an exhibition of housework. A number of hymns were sung in Indian. There were 16 Ojibways, 5 Ottawas, 3 Pottowatomies, 2 Sioux, 2 Blackfeet, and 2 Delawares. The boys number 20 and the girls 10.

⁶⁴ From THE VISITING INDIANS. (1887, October 5). *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 4.

“No money to spare”⁶⁵ (1887)

Rev. E. F. Wilson, of Sault Ste. Marie, an earnest laborer for the good of Indian boys and girls in Western Ontario, Manitoba and the Northwest, has issued a circular in regard to the present position of his Indian Homes, from which the following extracts are made:

[EXTRACTS FROM REVEREND WILSON'S REPORT]

I make no fresh appeal for funds, but I ask you kindly to spare a few moments to read through carefully, and I hope sympathetically, the accompanying report of our work for the past year, also to note the following points:

(1) In June, 1884, we had 32 boys, 22 girls, total, 54, in 1885, 43 boys, 21 girls, total, 64; in 1886, 47 boys, 24 girls, total, 71; in 1887, 53 boys, 27 girls, total, 80. Our homes were never in a more hopeful and prosperous condition than in this summer of 1887.

(2) The location of Branch or Receiving Homes is not yet definitely decided on, so many different contingencies having to be considered, but we hope, if the way opens, to have two or more of them. Towards the Receiving home at Elkhorn, Manitoba, we have \$2,000 in hand, and the offer of a free grant of land. We want to build another at Banff, among the Rocky Mountains, and another in the neighborhood of Sarnia.

(3) We had very much hoped that ere this something would have been done towards enlarging the Shingwauk Home. Our increasing numbers require it, and we desire to carry out our plan of making it a large central Protestant institution for Indian children.

(4) Everything just now as regards our Homes is at a complete standstill.

(5) We have been overdrawing our resources, resting in the hope of a Government grant and liberal gifts from our friends to set all this new work on foot, and these hopes having failed we are now obliged to retrench.

(6) I am now obliged to part with my assistant superintendent, being unable to pay his salary, and must reduce the number of my pupils to about 40 boys and 20 girls. At the beginning of the year our maintenance Fund was overdrawn \$667, and now shows a deficit of \$1,400. We therefore sink back into the position [we] were in about 5 years ago, and all our prospects of enlargement and extension seem to be for the present blighted.

(8) A question forces itself to my mind. How is it that in the United States, notwithstanding all that has been said of their cruel and unjust treatment of the Indians, they have some 32 large institutions for Indian children, notably the Carlisle Institution in Pennsylvania for 600 pupils, which receives \$80,000 a year from the United States government, and \$10,000 a year from the United States public?

(9) And another question forces itself upon me. How is it that our Canadian government has within the last few years erected an Indian Institution, at a cost of

⁶⁵ From Wilson, E. F. & Anonymous. (1887, September 12). INDIAN HOMES. *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, p. 3. Written by Edward Francis Wilson (1844 – 1915).

\$25,000, near Calgary, in the N. W. for the Roman Catholics, and another Indian Institution, at a cost of \$25,000, at Fort Qu'Appelle for the Roman Catholics, and is about to build another institution for Indian girls at the same place for the Roman Catholics, and last year gave \$3,000 towards rebuilding the Roman Catholic institution on Manitoulin Island, and yet has no money to spare for the Shingwauk Home, which has been struggling during the past fourteen years?

With the Canadian Government refusing help, English contributions diminishing, the Canadian Church so indifferent, apparently, about the whole question, what am I to do? I commit my cause into God's hands and pray for patience to await His time.

“Almost crushing in its weight”⁶⁶ (1893)

SIR – Will you kindly allow me space in your columns for a brief statement in connection with the educational work we are carrying on in behalf of our Indian children in my missionary diocese?

Two “homes” were established for this purpose by the Rev. E. F. Wilson about twenty years ago – viz., the Shingwauk for boys, and the Wawanosh for girls. With the exception of a small Government grant they are supported by voluntary contributions. They provide accommodation for 100 pupils. The present number is from sixty to seventy. Mr. Wilson has been the principal till recently. A few months since, owing to bad health and other causes, he resigned, and moved with his family to British Columbia. In consequence of his retirement a large number of English contributors, being his personal friends, have withdrawn their support in gifts of both money and clothing, and transferred them to another home which he founded in Manitoba three or four years ago, and placed under the charge of his son. His English treasurer informs me that the amount hitherto forwarded to Algoma has averaged about 600*l.* per annum.

The loss of so large a sum, or even of any considerable portion of it, must cripple us very seriously. It cannot be made up in Canada. The Canadian Church already contributes to our work, among both the whites and Indians, to the full measure of its ability. The deficit must be made good in England if at all. I am compelled, therefore, to make this appeal through your columns in the hope that it may meet the eyes of some of our old friends who have not deserted us – I am unable to communicate with them directly, their names and addresses being in the books of Mr. Wilson's secretary, and not at my disposal – and also that new friends may be raised up who will come to the rescue and extricate us from the grave dilemma which confronts us.

The burden thus unexpectedly laid on my shoulders, added, as it is, to that of the general maintenance of the diocese, is almost crushing in its weight, and, apart

⁶⁶ From Algoma, E. (1893, July 5). MISSIONARY DIOCESE OF ALGOMA, CANADA. *The London Guardian*, p. 30. Written by Bishop Edward Sullivan (1832 – 1899), writing as Edward Algoma. “He had had two names already, first Edward Sullivan, then Edward Algoma”. Wilson, E. F. (1886). *Missionary Work among the Ojebway Indians*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

from Divine aid, I know not how to bear it unless English hearts and hands, touched into action by the love of Christ, are quick to come forward and share it with me.

This burden-bearing is needed in two forms: (1) Money contributing for the feeding, clothing, and education of our Indian pupils⁶⁷, each of whom costs about 15*l.* per annum. Subscriptions are earnestly requested for one, two, or three years. [...] (2) Gifts of clothing for boys and girls from nine to sixteen years of age, warm and serviceable, though not necessarily new.

“Taking the young people away from their tribes”⁶⁸ (1887)

The Calgary Herald recently proposed, as a solution to the Indian question, that the Indians be placed in one large reserve or Indian territory along the Red Deer river, the north side being assigned to the Crees and the south side to the Blackfeet. The Macleod Gazette claims to have originated the scheme some years ago, with this difference, that it proposed to locate the Indians “in the far North.” Farther east a similar arrangement was suggested about the same time, the location selected for the Red Men’s Elysium being in some still more inaccessible territory among the rocks and muskegs between Hudson’s Bay, Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. The Macleod Gazette says:-

“The main object in effecting a change from the existing system is to better the condition of the Indians. Of equal importance is the effect a change may have on the interests of the white population of the Territories.”

Possibly the Indians might be got rid of in this way; but whether “the interests of the white population of the Territories” would not be as well served by shooting them at once might be a debatable question. In regard to “the main object”, of civilizing the Indians, the scheme is the most marvelous one ever thought of. The inventor proposed to civilize them by expelling them from the presence of civilization, and by stationing “a strong police garrison” “say three miles south of the territory”, to enforce rigidly “a law forbidding any white man except officials to go within a mile of the territory, and preventing Indians from leaving the territory without a special permit.”

The main argument in support of the new plan is that “the present reserve system, after some seven years trial, has proved a complete failure. It has left the Indians worse off, morally, intellectually and physically than when it was first introduced.” That the system of having the Indians fed by the Government and allowed to roam in idleness through white settlements has resulted in utter failure is

⁶⁷ “Ic-ka-kagh-shik-kwass is the name of the Indian girl for whom the young ladies of Memorial Hall, 219 Maria street, are interested in providing education, clothing and support. An appeal having been made by the Rev. E. F. Wilson, of the Shingwauk Home, Sault Ste. Marie, for assistance of this kind, it was deemed the most suitable work for the ‘King’s Daughters’ to undertake. In order to achieve this object the pupils of the school will hold a bazaar at Memorial Hall on Friday the 21st inst., from 3 to 10 p.m., of fancy and useful articles and refreshments, a musical entertainment to follow in the evening.” Ic-ka-kagh-shik-kwass. (1890, February 20). *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 1.

⁶⁸ From THE INDIAN QUESTION. (1887, May 7). *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 2.

not strange; any other result would be entirely inexplicable according to the simplest axioms of mental and moral science. If an equal number of Irishmen or Englishmen, or people of any other nationality were supported by the Government and given nothing to do, they would be found at the end of seven years "poorer and more demoralized and immoral" than they are to-day. The reserve system is bad enough even for industrious people, such as the Mennonites, whose experience has clearly shown that isolation is a barrier to progress; and isolation from what is good enforced, and contact with what is bad permitted, combined with idleness, would corrupt the purest race that ever existed; but if many reserves have already proved failures, the natural conclusion is that one immense reserve for the whole Indian population would only prove a wholesale failure, with still more disastrous results.

When brought into close and continuous contact with civilization at the proper period in life, that is in early youth, the Indians show themselves capable of being civilized. When they are intimately associated with true Christians, exemplifying in their daily lives the principles of religion, they are easily led to accept Christianity; when they are placed under the constant influence of moral and educated people, they are not slow to catch the aspirations of such. Where the young people are given equal chances with whites, and have the opportunity of associating with them on equal terms, they take no mean position in comparison with the latter. With equal preparatory training from childhood their young men pass creditably through college, and in the learned professions they maintain a respectable standing. Where they have opportunities of working for their wages, and are taught by associating with industrious men of good character, they make very fair progress.

One of the most recent attempts in the right direction is that made at the Fisher River mission on the west side of Lake Winnipeg, in charge of Rev. A. W. Ross. The settlement is only a few years old, yet the people have learned much of the art of self-support. One important factor of their success is the lumbering industry in that vicinity which gives the Indians the opportunity of earning something for themselves; and another element is the example of industry set by the missionary who teaches them that manual labor is honorable by working with his own hands, and by showing them how to work for themselves. As a result they have now, in many cases, quite comfortable and respectable homes. The farm instructors required are men competent to earn their own living and make comfortable homes for themselves with such material and facilities as the Indians themselves have at command; if a staff of such were sent among them to teach self-dependence by example, as well as precept for five years, their services would be well worth \$5,000 each, at the end of that time. One great difficulty has always been that many men sent to promote the interests of Indians, labor chiefly to promote their own interests, and those who are sent to teach require to be taught, while the Indians have very little association with those whose influence is expected to refine and elevate them.

The work done by the Indian training schools at Hampton and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, proves that the only effectual method of elevating the Indians is that of taking the young people away from their tribes and subjecting them for a number of years to a special discipline in the midst of all the arts of civilization, afterwards

placing them where they can, among their own people, [to] make use of the knowledge they have acquired, in providing themselves with the means of subsistence. The Germans, by taking all their young men and giving them military training for a number of years, have made themselves a nation of soldiers; and Canada could thoroughly train all her young Indians in the arts of peace to greater advantage and at less expense than she could train her young white men in the art of war.

For the adult Indians less can be done; but it is possible to do something by providing them with work at fair remuneration. Rather than feed them in idleness, let the Government employ them in some public work, specially provided if necessary, to meet their case. Under the superintendence of competent builders, a large number of them might, for example, be employed in erecting dwelling houses on Government lands, so that immigrants from the old countries could find homes ready for them on their arrival; they would thus, while earning their livelihood and doing a useful work of the country be learning to build houses for themselves and the rest of their people. If supplied with the necessary material and proper instruction and superintendence, both men and women could learn to manufacture many articles for their own use, and, if a market were provided, also for sale.

In short it is not centralization, but diffusion; not isolation, but closer and more frequent contact with all that is good in civilized life that is needed to elevate and refine, not only the Indians, but all other savage races. The evils of the reserve system are to be remedied, not by congregating the Indians around the North Pole, but by scattering them among the whites just as rapidly as they can be qualified and induced to follow the occupations of white men. The training of the young people is the grand agency by which this is to be accomplished, and they must be taken away from their homes to suitable institutions in the centres of civilization; not left to incompetent instructors in the midst of the old habits and associations which it is desired to reform. At the same time, the adults are not to be left to themselves, but furnished with work at fair wages, and made to subsist upon their earnings.

“A subject of uneasiness to everybody”⁶⁹ (1887)

SIR:- I have just seen in the Saskatchewan Herald, an article objecting very strongly, and at considerable length, to the scheme proposed in your paper, for the settlement of the Indian question. Of course the editor of the Saskatchewan Herald, in his way of reasoning and objecting is very specious, but I say, and I pretend to prove, that the scheme proposed by the Calgary Herald, and endorsed by many friends of the Indians and of the Government, is the only one which will satisfactorily settle the Indian question; and it will be settled if the proper means are employed. The Saskatchewan Herald, I am sure, has good intentions, but is astray in its argument of the question, therefore, I want to give some explanations from which the public can judge fairly of the question. Of course I don't want to make an appeal to those, who for personal advantage desire that the present situation should continue.

⁶⁹ From AN OLD TIMER. (1887, May 13). THE INDIAN QUESTION. *The Calgary Herald*, p. 4.

I can only expect the attention of those who care sincerely and truly for the good of our Indians and for the colonization of the country. We don't want to create any bitter feelings among our different populations, but only to have the thing discussed peacefully and fraternally.

We answer to the Saskatchewan Herald that the improvement that the HERALD scheme wants to make in the condition of the Indian is not a secondary consideration but a primary one, because we consider the present condition of the Indian a miserable one, and that only a change as proposed would improve the condition of the man of nature; and so this change is a vital and primary one.

We don't consider as a serious objection the setting apart of a tract of land to form an Indian Territory, and we pretend that that country must be very well supplied with wood, water, and grass land, if we want to give a home to the Indians. I don't expect that the Herald would put the Indians in a country where the soil is not good. I cannot see what objection the pioneers can have to such a plan and what arguments they can make to the authorities, when already our Indians have in their reserves the best parts of the country. The change would be a benefit without doubt to the pioneers.

No, sir, it is not a good plan and not an advisable one to extinguish at once the tribal organization. Even if you would for generations, you would not succeed in abolishing it. The utopy of making the Indians civilized and emancipated will take a long time; the little bands will probably disappear before anything of the like can be done. Just now our Indians are looking on the Government as being bound to feed them to the end of time and it will be that way for the future, as long as the present management goes on. If the Herald knew a little more about the Blackfeet, the Bloods, the Piegans, and the Sarcees he would be amazed at the change brought about by years of the present policy. It would know what they have learned by their continual contact with the white people. Come, my dear friends, and see just now those bands of Indians camped round Calgary, Macleod, Regina and other places. They are away from their reserves and the farm instructors with a very few more laborers are doing all the work of ploughing and seeding; and those bands of Crees coming from Battleford, Battle River, Edmonton. What think they of the present Indian policy, when they see these poor creatures, a disgrace to their towns and a subject of uneasiness to everybody? Ask the Mounted Police what trouble they have to drive away from those places such nuisances. Indeed, one must be very ignorant of their present state to think and say that the "disadvantages in having numerous small reserves in different parts of the country are compensated by the good which the example of the thrift and industry of the surrounding settlers would have upon the Indians." No, sir, the more our Indians have seen of these examples of industry the more they become reluctant and lazy to do the same.

But now I have something to say more convincing than all the rest, which demands more than anything a change in the Indian policy. Does the Herald know anything of the kind of demoralization which is going on, among the bad whites and the Indians, on account of the mutual contact? I am able to affirm that among the Indians of treaty 7, except the Stoneys, that there are not 10 out of 100 women and

girls, who are not public women, making money by the most fearful and disgraceful immorality. Look in the faces of those wretched creatures, consider the poor bodies of the few new born children and you will be terrified to see that terrible venereal disease is ravaging the lives of those Indians, who never knew such a plague before their contact with the whites. Ask the doctors who attended the Indian reserves and they will tell you if I am right or wrong. Read again the scheme proposed by the Calgary HERALD and you will convince yourself that the only way to save our Indians is to move them from the white population. Then they will be cured and increase.

I have no time to answer the objection on account of the failure of a similar plan in the United States; suffice it to say that if the Government of the United States had not let the whites invade the greater part of their so-called Indian territory, had not made that territory so large and in such a poor country, had they not placed their rascally agents over them and encouraged all kinds of wrongs to discourage the Indians, they would have succeeded, as we are to make a success if we pursue the right policy.

Certainly the expense of carrying out such a plan would be very large at the beginning, but in a few years, as it is said in the scheme, the Government would repay themselves by putting on the market these large reserves; for instance, at Blackfoot Crossing and at Belly River. Moreover, by cutting off many employees, who would be no more necessary, a large expenditure would be saved. It is not as much the great number of farm instructors that is required to make a success, as it is to make the Indians pleased and contented. All our Indians can plow and reap without farm instructors.

Of course, no doubt, a great deal of the problem lies in the education by schools of the young children to prepare the new generation, but, I deny that it is the key for the solution at present for the Indian question. "To elevate the individual Indian to a standard of self reliance and enable him to seize his opportunities of becoming a free man, to make him free from tribal restraint and free to make a home for himself, by means of his own energy and usefulness," it requires some thing more than the present system. To be convinced, go and see the result of more than seven years of that policy. Go and examine the miserable cabins in which they are forced to live in the winter, because they have nothing to make warm wigwams. Listen at the harangues of the great men, when they meet with some of the officers of the Government. Do they not grumble continually at the small quantity of the grub they receive, and ask for more? "We are poorer than ever" is the great complaint, and it is the truth, and the visible and tangible truth. We cannot deny that our government has done their best through their agents, and with energy, liberality and great expense, to make the Indian able by his own energy and usefulness to do something for himself. Failure! Except in a few cases they are a band of beggars, a burden to the Government and a continual nuisance to the settlers.

Now, in fine, I want to say emphatically to the Canadian public at large: Ask those men who devote to the Christian instruction and civilization of the Indian, to those ones who work, not for the sake of money and retribution in [this] world. Those

missionaries will tell you which is the best policy, to put the Indians in such a state that they can be in contact with the whites, to take an example of the thrift and industry of the surrounding settlers, or to have them removed to a territory alone with their missionaries, teachers, agents and commissioner. I am sure all will ask for the last proposition, because they all know that the contact of the Indian with the white is a [path to] crime and demoralization, immorality, drunkenness, robbery and all kinds of mischief, which they learn so quickly from the pale face. The fine friends of the poor Indian will tell you their experiences and that of their predecessors in the work of civilizing. They will say, "Let us alone with our neophytes; keep away from our missions the bad white people; don't allow our Indians to go among the surrounding towns and settlements; give us schools of industry &c." Yes, read the history and recall the names of those different Indian tribes, which have disappeared, or who are on the point of becoming extinct. You will learn that the cause of their destruction is their contact with the white man. In spite of all that the Gospel and Governments have tried and tested to make them free "from tribal restraint and giving them all the chances to be civilized and able to make a living for themselves by means of their own energy and usefulness."

I hope our Government and the friends of the Indians will take into consideration once more this important question. I hope the Saskatchewan Herald will not find fault with me for my answer and explanations. I invite him to read again the plan and scheme proposed by his namesake, THE CALGARY HERALD.

AN OLD TIMER.

"The Indian School at Birtle"⁷⁰ (1888)

The Birtle Observer gives the following graphic description of the school at Birtle, [Manitoba,] for the training and educating of Indian children:

Noticing Mr. McLaren, principal of the Birtle mission school, at church on Sunday, accompanied by his dusky band of pupils, and being pleased at the decorum of the children, we walked over to the school on Monday to examine the establishment and see the manner in which the institution is conducted. The large stone building has three flats connected by an outside stair, quite roomy and properly enclosed and lighted by windows. On the ground floor there is a large playroom occupying one half of the building; on the other side in a well arranged pantry and commodious dining hall and kitchen, the two last in one room. The utmost cleanliness and good order prevails in all portions of the establishment. In an outside apartment we noticed a considerable quantity of excellent beef in quarters preserved in a frozen condition. On the second floor is the school room and reception room. On a table is a book in which visitors are requested to record their names. On a third floor are the dormitories, and the large apartment divided by a hall, the whole scrupulously clean. The establishment is warmed, in all its parts, by hot air, generated in a large furnace in the basement.

⁷⁰ From The Indian School at Birtle. (1888, December 27). *The Brandon Mail*, p. 1.

The institution is supported by the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Fund and by the Women's Presbyterian Mission Association. The association supplies large quantities of clothing, a number of bales having recently been delivered from Guelph. A box of clothing has also been sent from Rapid City. Mr. And Mrs. Markle, of the Indian Agency here, have also given much encouragement and assistance. Miss McLaren, sister of the principal, and Miss Callin, a young lady of some experience, attend to the domestic arrangements with much energy and success and leave no portion of their duty unperformed.

Under the careful and skillful management of Mr. McLaren the interesting children of the wilderness are making excellent progress and can already read and figure with considerable correctness, although not very fast, but seeing that the pupils have been only about six weeks at school it is wonderful that they can do so well. No better proof could be afforded of the ability of Indian children to learn.

The pupils have one peculiarity; when a mistake happens to be made, much amusement is afforded for a moment, but the smile is by no means a laugh of derision, but seems like an overflow of happiness and contentment united with a seeming confidence that the little difficulty will be overcome.

Some of the elder girls have been instructed before and can read the Testament in the Sioux language quite fluently. Those copper-colored young ladies have an idea of style and have their hair banged in the most fashionable manner.

Although in its infancy, the school gives promise of being a most successful institution as the task of educating and enlightening the children of the Indians of this country is a work of the most Christian character and of the greatest usefulness, and all will be gratified. Those interested in the welfare of the school have been fortunate in selecting Mr. McLaren as principal, for his earnestness, patience, gravity and industry cannot fail to insure success in the important work in which he is engaged.

It is amusing to see the little girls and boys, whose lives have been spent either in the open air or in a tent or a shanty in the woods, overcome the difficulty of ascending a stair. If any one thinks that they are afraid of the curiosity, they are mistaken. The agile creatures take three or four steps at a bound when going up, and generally come down in the same way and at a speed and with an abandon that would put a careful mother out of her senses in a short time.

“Industrious Indians”⁷¹ (1894)

INDIAN HEAD, Assa., Feb. 10. – The gratifying success which has crowned the indefatigable efforts of Rev. Father Hugounard as principal of the Indian Industrial school near Fort Qu'Appelle deserves more than a mere passing reference, therefore a brief review of the history of the school from the date of its organization to this period may be somewhat interesting to the numerous Free Press readers. During the session of 1883-1884, the late Sir John A. Macdonald, then premier of

⁷¹ From INDUSTRIOUS INDIANS. (1894, February 22). *The Manitoba Morning Free Press*, p. 2.

Canada and superintendent of Indian affairs, without the solicitation of any religious denomination, induced parliament to vote sufficient funds for the erection of three Industrial schools for the education of Indian children in the Northwest. It was then decided that one of the three should be located at, or near to Fort Qu'Appelle, and as he considered that religious teaching would be an important factor in the civilization of the Indian element, he requested His Grace Archbishop Tache, of St. Boniface, to recommend some person duly qualified for the position of principal who would be acceptable to the Indians, and who would strive earnestly to make the institution a success – the Rev. Father Hugounard receiving the appointment.

The building, which was finished in the early part of 1885, was only intended for the accommodation of thirty boys. Very few people at that time had any faith in the success of the experiment, as they considered it would be a most difficult matter to induce parents to part with their children, and even if pupils could be obtained it was considered useless to expend money in the endeavor to civilize and educate them.

However, under the most unfavorable circumstances the school was opened under the management of Father Hugounard with an assistant, three sisters of charity, and a farm instructor. Great difficulties were experienced in getting children to come to school, but by strenuous exertions and self-denial the school was filled in less than one year, so that in 1886 an addition to the building was required to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of pupils. The then Indian commissioner, Mr. E. Dewdney, having visited the school several times, was in a position to report favorably to the government and to recommend an addition to the school to accommodate 100 children, which was carried out soon afterwards. At this stage the number of visitors increased with astonishing rapidity, all of whom were favorably impressed with the location of the institution, its management, as well as the rapid progress made by the pupils in the various branches taught. Indeed, it was a great surprise to many distinguished visitors to see Indian children from ten to twelve years of age read, write, spell and speak English correctly. At the fall show at Regina in 1887, a prize was offered to boys and girls under fifteen years of age for the best penmanship, the competition being open to all children, white or Indian in the Territories, the best writers in the Regina public school being among the competitors, but to the astonishment of all the people present the prize was awarded to an Indian pupil of the Qu'Appelle Industrial school.

In 1889 a further addition was made to the school for the education of Indian girls. Sir John A. Macdonald being impressed with the idea that it would be of very little use to civilize Indian boys if the girls were uneducated, as uncivilized mothers would bring up uncivilized children, while civilized mothers would almost assure the civilization of the next generation. At this period there was accommodation in the institution for 150 children, seventy-five boys and seventy-five girls. Carpenter, blacksmith and shoemaker shops were provided with competent instructors to teach the boys in these various branches, the girls being taught the different branches of housework under the vigilant supervision of the sisters. In 1891, at the instance of Mr. Hayter Reed, the Indian commissioner, some of the pupils were taken to the Winnipeg exhibition who surprised the visitors by exhibiting their own skill in

carpentering, blacksmithing and penmanship, as also did three Indian girls in their exhibit of needlework, crochet, sewing, etc. But the most interesting part of all was the intelligence displayed by those Indian girls in carding, spinning, knitting by hand and machine, which was a striking proof of the rapid progress made, as well as the gratifying success which has crowned the efforts of Father Hugouard as principal of that beneficial institution. Apart from their own work those children also exhibited products of the school farm and garden, grown by the boys under the direction of the farm instructor. Four first prizes and two second prizes were awarded in competition with the products of Manitoba. The Winnipeg gardeners were surprised to see cabbages weighing sixty-two pounds each grown at the Qu'Appelle Industrial school farm.

Agriculture and horticulture are two important industries in the Northwest, therefore they are the principal industries taught to Indian children at the school. The flower and vegetable gardens are well known far and near, and have been the means through the numerous visitors from different parts of the American continent and other lands of showing the wonderful possibilities of our fertile heritage. Besides what vegetables are required for the school, a surplus is raised and sold, the proceeds being applied to the purchase of toys, candies and other luxuries which will have a tendency to make the boys view the school as their home. By cultivating the farm and garden they learn how to raise for themselves in after years, grain and vegetables, and how to make themselves self-supporting, as well as how to make their own homes look orderly, neat and comfortable. Several creditable exhibits of carpenter and blacksmith work by the boys had been sent in due time to the Chicago exposition.

The brass band which is an important factor and composed of Indian boys, has played with marked success at Indian Head, Qu'Appelle Station and Fort Qu'Appelle. Many visitors have been much surprised to see the children of the wild Indian play with such clear precision and keep good time [in] several Canadian, English and American tunes.

The question naturally arises as to what will become of those Indian children after they will leave the school. It is safe to infer that a large majority of them will do at home what they learned to do at school, to be studious, industrious and economical, to depend upon their own labor for their subsistence. Many of the children have been hired out, the boys doing farm work, the girls as domestics. More than 75 have been hired out, earning from \$4 to \$10 per month. At present only seventeen are at service. The Hon. T. M. Daly, superintendent-general of Indian Affairs, during his last visit was much pleased to see one of the Indian girls off the school in the capacity of waiter at Government House, Regina. If these girls after two years of careful training in the school speak English intelligently, [are] clean and know enough housework to be worth from \$4 to \$10 per month to white people, it may be inferred that when they complete their education, they will take with them the habits contracted at school, follow them to a great extent, and bring forth a new generation, much improved and materially civilized.

At present there are about 200 pupils in attendance, but they require more accommodation; the dormitories, play-room and school room are only large enough

for 150 pupils, and it is much to be regretted that the institution is deficient as to hospital accommodation.

No money can be better spent by the Indian department than in the education of the young and rising generation of Indians, and nowhere within the scope of the writer's knowledge and observation can they receive a more sound and moral educational training than at the Qu'Appelle Industrial school. The services of the sisters are invaluable in educating the Indian girls, in teaching them cleanliness and Christian habits, and it is well known that girls taught by them are in great demand by white people who highly appreciate the education imparted to these girls by the sisters. It will be seen by the blue book and also by the figures given by Hon. E. Dewdney on the floor of the House of Commons in 1891, that the cost per capita at the Qu'Appelle Industrial school has been every year much lower than at any other industrial school in the Territories.

The school being the only government institution of its kind in this extensive district is deservedly appreciated by all irrespective of nationality or creed, and its further development would be a great benefit not only to Indian children, but also to the community at large, therefore it is justly entitled to the generous and liberal support of the Canadian government.

That the late Sir John A. Macdonald, now a tenant of the tomb in Cataraqui cemetery, near Kingston, Ont., has during his day and generation done much for the amelioration of the condition and education of Indian children in the Northwest is amply evidenced by the unparalleled success which has hitherto crowned the unceasing efforts of Rev. Father Hugounard, principal of the Industrial school at Qu'Appelle, who is looked upon as a public benefactor, whose memory is to be fondly cherished and whose name will be held in sacred remembrance and reverence by a discerning and truly liberal minded people long after his mortal form will have mingled with the clods of the valley.

“The Iroquois Indians”⁷² (1894)

Within the last decade public interest in the North American Indian has undergone a revival, whether induced by the fact that the red man is making a final and powerful effort to obtain a hearing of his wrongs, and emphasizing this endeavor by frequent bloodshed in the far West, or whether by the renewed and assiduous application of ethnologists and archaeologists to Indian subjects, it is difficult to decide, writes E. Pauline Johnson in Harper's Weekly. The latter may well direct their attentions to the investigation and study of this probably most romantic and poetic people the world has ever known, for the day is well nigh dead for the purity of ceremonial rites, folk-lore and tradition amongst their many hundred nations, for

⁷² From Johnson, E. Pauline. (1894, August 14). THE IROQUOIS INDIANS. *The Calgary Herald*, p. 3. Written by Emily Pauline Johnson, also called Tekahionwake (1861 – 1913).

civilization and inter marriage are adulterating those exclusive tribal ordinances that for many centuries have been the stronghold of a most conservative race.

With the exception of Finland, the country is unknown that possesses such wealth of folk-lore as America. There are mines of unchronicled legends and superstitions, each colored by tribal distinctions, that scholars will never unearth, and that will perish with the people whose blood grows annually thinner and paler as their prairies receive the "white man's footprint," as their rivers ripple to the dip of his oars, as their forests fall at the hurling of his axe, and who will themselves be but a tradition and a memory in the lapse of a century or so.

Probably the most famous and well-known Indian nation, both on the pages of history and in the press of to-day, is the Iroquois, that magnificent people whose name was synonymous with war, blood, and bravery throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and whose descendants still possess much of the fire and all of the exclusive birthrights of tradition so jealously treasured by their ancestors.

The six distinct tribes that compose the Iroquois nation, being the Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, and Tuscarora, have since the American War of Independence been permanently settled in south-western Ontario. Fragmentary remains of the different tribes and bands are scattered throughout New York State and portions of the various reserves in Canada, but the original and collective stock have for upwards of a hundred years made their homes on the shores of the Grand River, one of the loveliest and most legend-thronged streams in the province.

When, under the generalship of Captain Joseph Brant, these people allied their forces with the British, and left in the Mohawk Valley a precarious livelihood that had been riddled and checkered by the numerous waves of the colonists, the imperial government allotted them a reserve grant which comprised the land lying within six miles on either side of the Grand River, from its source to its mouth.

At that period these were hunting and fishing grounds unequalled in the country; but a century of insidious inroads made by white settlers of a civilization not always wisely conducted, has despoiled the Iroquois of his game, his national glory and hardihood, and the greater portion of his real estate, inasmuch as the reserve has dwindled and shrunken into a comparative dot of land that embraces but 53,000 acres of the least value along the entire course of the river. In early times much of this land slipped out of the Indian's possession in an unrecorded manner, but after a season, when incoming whites were settling the country, the demand for river lands in southern Upper Canada grew urgent, and the Iroquois were induced to surrender their reserve bit after bit, until now, in lieu of their erstwhile real estate, they have deposited with the Dominion government upwards of eight hundred thousand dollars, the interest on which they draw biannually individually, the amount varying in accordance with the expenditure they make on public works within their own reserve.

The history of the Iroquois is unquestionably the most interesting of the myriad native tribes in the Americas from the time of the formation of the great Iroquois Confederacy, more than four hundred years ago, down to the present day. Of this mighty alliance that terrorized the entire continent north of Mexico, and which was originally cemented together by "fifty great chiefs of the fifty noble families under

the leadership of Hiawatha, who framed that confederacy," Mr. Horatio Hale writes: "During the American War of Independence, this confederacy, in the clash of stronger forces, was for a time broken up. The government for which they fought gave them lands along the Grand River, and here just a hundred years ago they re-established their league and rekindled its council fires. The laws and policy framed by Hiawatha and his associates more than four centuries ago are still in force among their descendants in this district. In this small domain the chiefs are still elected. The councils are still conducted and the civil policy is decided as nearly as possible by the rules of their ancient league. Not many persons are aware that there exists in the heart of Canada this relic of the oldest constitutional government of America – a free commonwealth older even than any in Europe except those of England and Switzerland, and perhaps two small semi-independent republics which lurk in the fastnesses of the Pyrenees and the Apennines." Possessing such historical interest, with their veins filled with patrician blood distilled through generations and impregnable constitutional alliances as a foundation, it is small wonder that the Iroquois excite more scholarly interest and concern than other of America's red men.

The Six Nations, as they are now generally called, have always been to a great extent an agricultural people, notwithstanding the terrible battle and depredations they found time to engage in with both the early settlers and with rival tribes. Referring again to Mr. Hale, we learn that "their extensive plantations of maize, beans, and pumpkins excited the admiration of the first explorers." This early tendency has developed with years into a positive industry, and to-day the Grand River Indians are a peaceful, law-abiding, self supporting people, quick to adopt educational as well as agricultural advancement, and skilled in many branches of trade and handicraft.

Primitive farming is almost unknown to them; the well-to-do have threshing-machines, reapers, binders, fanning-mills, and most of the modern improvements connected therewith. The poorer have their little plot of soil, plant purple corn and potatoes, and eke out a livelihood by basket-weaving, mat-braiding, and making axe handles, lacrosse sticks, hickory whip handles, and the score of other things that Indian fingers are so deft at, and this happy condition has been attained solely by individual industry.

Very little education is necessary to make an Indian a shrewd and judicious business man; he adapts himself quickly to trading, bargaining, investing, and the principles of interest, consequently he permits few opportunities of doubling his little possessions to slip by unheeded. As farmers the Iroquois are unquestionably successful, as seen from the fact that the grain markets of Brantford, the nearest town, are largely supplied from this reserve. At the annual Industrial Fair held each October at Ohsweken, the central village of the reserve, the exhibits of wheat, oats, barley, vegetables, roots, fruits and live-stock rival, and frequently out-do in quality, the displays in many county-towns of the province. In that portion of the building allotted to the household industries the exhibits of preserves, pickles, butter, wheat-flour bread, needle-work, and embroidery testify to the housewifely ability of the Iroquois women, who have well nigh reached perfection in these branches of

civilization. Competition at these fairs is invited and encouraged by the organization known as "The Six Nations Agricultural Society". [...] The exhibition is open to Indians only, but they may be of any nation or tribe in America.

Their domestic life cannot be generalized; some are well off, owning brick houses, large barns, machinery, and cattle. In one part of the reserve one may encounter Brussels carpets, pianos, sewing-machines, and lace window-drapery; in another a mud floor, a kettle hung on a tripod to do action for a cooking-range, a foot square glassless aperture to serve as a window, and the mainstay of existence but a few strings of purple corn, hanging from the rafters overhead and which they manufacture into very palatable bread by first boiling the kernels in lye to remove the skin, then washing through numerous waters and pounding into a paste by means of a huge rustic pestle and mortar, and finally boiling with beans or berries until thoroughly cooked. When well made it is a delicious and savory compound.

This latter condition is found most frequently amongst the Pagans, who are rarely well-to-do, as they labor under the disadvantage of not understanding English, and being seriously hampered thereby in the getting and making of bargains. The aggregate population of this reserve is three thousand five hundred, out of which five hundred still cling to the religion of their forefathers. These are largely Onondagas, but a portion of the Cayugas and Senecas also adhere to the primitive worship, and the ceremonies performed in connection therewith are the most beautiful solemn aboriginal rites to be witnessed in Canada.

These people are not wild; they live in the highest state of civilization that an extreme poverty can afford; they dress like the poorer of white settlers, and are as law-abiding and diligent as their scant knowledge of civil and social advancement permits. Their standard of morality is much higher than that of whites in a similar station of life, and infinitely superior to that of border quarters, whose evil influences, immoral characters, and degraded habits are the most serious stumbling-blocks that the Indian, throughout America, is obliged to overcome before he can be brought to recognize any good in the race that teaches him first of all terrible and hitherto unknown vices, and then throws on top of this foundation of rottenness and depravity the fibres with which he is expected to weave himself a tent of education and citizenship within a generation.

The religion of the Grand River Pagans has been quoted as the purest faith, the most faultless worship, known amongst aborigines. They are Unitarians without a dread of their God, without revolting practices or repugnant sacrifice; their God is not one whose wrath must be appeased or whose worship is exacting. He is the All-Good One, the "Great Spirit," in whom they have an absolute and childlike faith as beautiful as it is touching. Many times during the seasons do they congregate at their place of worship, the "Long House," and in a crude though orderly manner pay tribute to the God whom they believe to be in the happy hunting grounds beyond the western skies. For days and days they dance, chant, and feast with tireless fidelity. At corn-planting they dance to ask a blessing upon it; when it is ripe they dance a thanksgiving, and this latter is duplicated at strawberry, raspberry and blueberry times. Then after the harvest a grand thanksgiving is held, and the Great Spirit is

acknowledged as the giver of all good things – grain, fruit, fowl, fish; and then once annually, generally the first week of February or thereabouts (they set the time by some phase of the moon), the great sacrifice of the “White Dog” is burnt, when a member of a noble Onondaga family acts as an ephemeral priest, and offers a spotless dog, which has previously been strangled and decorated with wampum, paint, ribbons, etc., as a burnt thank-offering for the people. The ritual and ceremony are very beautiful – for days they dance and chant; then comes the sacrifice, burnt with incense, and associated with the most conservative formality. The prayers of the natives arise on the waving clouds of smoke as it beats its blue wings skyward laden with the exquisitely pure and believing faith of these simple forest children.

Many Christian denominations are represented throughout the reserve – Methodist, Anglican, Baptist, Plymouth and the Salvation Army, all have churches and good congregations. The Anglican Church has the vantage-ground, perhaps, since she is the daughter of the New England Company, whose funds and facilities have been doing active service for the last two hundred and forty years amongst many tribes throughout British America. They have here erected two substantial and artistic churches and several mission-houses, and have without doubt been the groundwork of Christianity in this district.

Touching the educational facilities, there are eleven district schools, taught in many instances by Indians, who are sufficiently qualified to pass an examination under the supervision of the Board of Missionaries. During the year 1890 the total average attendance of pupils at these schools reached 173 daily.

To a great extent the early loyalty of [the] Iroquois to the British Crown was due to Brant’s influence, but to-day it is doubtful if England has in all her vast possessions any more faithful subjects than these Indians. When Prince Arthur visited Canada in 1869, although he was a mere lad, the Iroquois conferred upon him the highest and most ancient honor their race, and indeed the two Americas, can boast – that of chiefship.

Supplementing this evidence of loyalty, these Indians have recruited a corps of militiamen and an exceedingly good military brass band. They hold annual drill, and in all probability, if the country required their services, they would be among the first to go into action. But a few years more and the ancient Iroquois will be a people of the past, and perhaps the most conclusive argument in favor of civilizing the redman is a glance at the Six Nations of the Grand River.

“Who dares to interfere with it?”⁷³ (1896)

A live issue in the formative history of education is the day school institution. It is expected that the new Minister of the Interior will give special attention to an improved system of education for Indians. It is also expected that those who have been closely connected with, and are interested in Indian education, will speak and write freely on this question.

Perhaps it is well in the beginning to ask, “Are the Indians in the near future likely to be citizenized *in toto*, or fore the most part, or will the majority remain on reserve as wards of the Government for all times to come?” Let the eastern provinces sum up the case as to Indian citizenship there; and let the west form some judgment from the past twenty years. Citizenship is a comprehensive term – privilege of working for public office, qualification to fill offices in the gift of the people, protection in the enjoyment of the so-called private rights. The degree of progress in society and in the individual leading up to citizenship, though attainable, is far-reaching.

North American civilization places in each district a day school for the masses, to be supported by them. The day school is the institution for the people as a whole. Who dares to interfere with it? In the poorest and most sparsely settled neighborhood it is encouraged alike by government and ratepayers. It is the local training school to which the youth from every home may go.

The government now aims to make the tribes self-supporting; in a word, to civilize them. The process of civilizing is going on locally within reservations, in the presence of and in relation to every resident family. Where is the philosophy or the consistency in banishing the local institution of learning, this very important factor in the civilizing process, from the precincts of a reserve? A scheme of radical reformation, or change in the management of day schools, or combination of mental and industrial training, is in harmony with the scope of our educational system; but a recession from the underlying principle is not the idea of an educationist! It is not, in this case, the idea of a wide-awake, practical, far-seeing man.

If the element of education is to be left out on reserves, in the effort to civilize, then the policy is surely one sided. Where is the elimination to end? With equal force it might be held that butter making, as a civilizing industry, should be thrown out of the list; or that the cultivation of wheat by Indians should be abandoned. It is manifestly a false position in which to be, that a British colony tacitly recognizing the two elements of our civilization – individual and social progress, embracing the basal institution of day schools – should take the ground that in practice these schools must be abolished altogether, even amongst the aborigines.

⁷³ From Glass, E. B. (1896, November 9). INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS. *The Edmonton Bulletin*, p. 2. Written by Rev. Ervin Bird Glass (1852 – 1929) “who came to Battle River, Alta., in 1880, where for more than 13 years he carried on missionary work among the Cree Indians. Later he went to Whitefish Lake, where he remained among the Crees for seven years more. Finely equipped, both intellectually and educationally, his missionary work was of a high order. Becoming fluent and thorough in the Cree language, and becoming well-skilled in the use of its syllabic characters, he assisted the late Rev. John McDougall in translating the Methodist hymn book into the native tongue.” ANOTHER OLD-TIMER OF ALBERTA DIES. (1929, May 2). *The Wetawiskin Times*, p. 2.

“Strange happenings at the Indian School”⁷⁴ (1900)

The whole district of Red Deer has been thrown into a condition of the greatest excitement owing to the strange and unaccountable occurrences which have been taking place for some time past in the neighborhood of the Indian Industrial School. The school, which is presided over by Rev. C. E. Somerset, is situated on the north side of the river close to the old crossing and about three miles from the village of Red Deer.

It will be remembered⁷⁵ that about the end of August last, the matron, Miss Walbrook, who had only about two or three weeks before entered upon the performance of her duties, disappeared from life as completely as if the earth had opened and swallowed her. Not feeling very well on a certain Sunday evening, she went out for a stroll instead of taking her place in church. From that day to this, she has never been seen or heard of. Every possible search was made in places likely and unlikely, but without the slightest success. The police were put on the case, but the mystery of Miss Walbrook’s disappearance is as great a mystery as ever.

Within a few days of Miss Walbrook’s disappearance, a stranger made his appearance in the immediate neighborhood of the school, whose extraordinary conduct on more than on occasion has been the cause of no little anxiety to that institution.

As Mr. Owens, the farm instructor, was walking out one evening soon after Miss Walbrook’s disappearance, he met and gave the customary salutation to this mysterious stranger. Not receiving a reply and being anxious if possible to identify him, Mr. Owens put some questions to the other, but received no reply. As soon as Mr. Owens began to get close enough to examine his features, the unknown turned on his head and started through a fence near the river in the direction of the school buildings. Mr. Owens retired and having provided himself with a revolver returned to find the stranger making his way out. Mr. Owens warned him that if he did not halt it would be worse for him, but the warning was of no avail. It was getting quite dark about this time and Mr. Owens fired no less than three shots after the rapidly retreating figure. Subsequently a vigorous search was made by the staff but without avail.

For some time afterwards, there was no further trouble. Various surmises were indulged in as to what had become of the mysterious stranger, some people stating their belief that he had been mortally wounded by Mr. Owens and had dragged

⁷⁴ From A RED DEER MYSTERY. (1900, January 25). *The Calgary Weekly Herald*, p. 7.

⁷⁵ “Red Deer, August 30 – (Special.) – On Sunday evening the matron of the Industrial school went out for a walk and has not been heard of since. She is a Miss Walbrook, [sic.] of Hagersville, Ont., about 30 years old. Ten days previously she complained of ill health and on Sunday did not attend her usual duties and instead of going to church she went for a walk. The other employees of the school, thinking she had retired for the night before they returned from church, did not visit her room [until the] next morning, when it was found vacant. It is thought she either got lost in the bush or fell into the river, which is very high. Search parties are trying to discover her whereabouts.” STRANGE DISAPPEARANCE. (1899, September 7). *The Calgary Weekly Herald*, p. 6.

himself into the bush to die. In the middle of December, however, Mr. Somerset, who had been away for some time, found on his return that his private house had been broken open and thoroughly ransacked from garret to cellar, even the pantry coming in for its share of examination. Every drawer, trunk and bureau had been carefully gone through and the contents thrown around promiscuously, but nothing [was] taken, although some money and valuable jewelry were at the disposal of the intruder. Nothing, however, was missed. The police were again notified without delay and every effort made to secure some clue to the identity of the burglar. It is claimed that a shoe mark found in the snow corresponded to the track made by the stranger who had met with such a warm reception at the hands of Mr. Owens, and that the burglary was the work of the same individual.

Sergeant Aston, of the N. W. M. P. was instructed to take up his quarters at the school to investigate the affair. Hardly had he commenced operations when in the early morning of the day but one following the burglary, the inmates of the school were alarmed by a cry of:

“Fire!”

And one of the buildings was found to be in flame. The adjoining stables were saved with difficulty, although a number of pigs were burnt to death. This occurrence led an additional air of mystery to the matter, as the incendiary, if such he were, had chosen the poorest building on the premises, when he might have set fire to a stable containing 70 head of cattle, or even the school buildings themselves which are by no means fire proof.

But more was yet to come. A few days later, when several of the Indian boy sin company with the instructor were about to enter the stable at 6 o'clock in the morning, they found it unlocked, although it had been fairly secured on the preceding night. While the party was discussing this unaccountable circumstance, a man made a rush out of the stable and in the darkness and consequent confusion got away although closely followed by Mr. Owens and the boys. The fugitive turned and fired several shots at his pursuers, who sought refuge in the stable. Horses and firearms were procured and another search made, but nothing has since been seen of the man who escaped from the stable.

On another recent occasion a man named Lewis, who fills the position of night watchman at the school, and who resides about a quarter of a mile from it, was fired at twice while going from his house to the school at 6 o'clock in the morning. He promptly returned to his house where he is said to have taken elaborate measures for his personal safety.

No clue whatever has as yet been discovered as to the identity of the perpetrator of these different outrages. Sergeant Evans, N. W. M. P., who [has been in charge] of the matter since the departure of Sergeant Aston for the Transvaal has now been removed to Edmonton and the Red Deer district is today without a single policeman to whom the terrified people might apply for protection.

That a reign of terror exists in the neighborhood of the school, there is no doubt, and unless some steps are taken in the near future, the party who is suspected of

having committed the crimes of burglary, arson and possibly murder may have yet another opportunity to carry out his death dealing desires.

“The only way to deal with the Indians of the West”⁷⁶ (1902)

Mr. J. H. Hemming, a visitor from the West, who is in Toronto, said in an interview with the Mail-Empire that the only way to deal with the Indians of the West is the plan recommended to the United States congress by Mr. Jones of Wisconsin. He feels that the red men will never become self-supporting as long as the government is willing to feed them. He advocates the gradual abolition of the practice of issuing rations and the compelling of all able-bodied Indians to work for their living. He also thinks that a system of compulsory education should be inaugurated.

In order that the Indian may be enabled to compete with the white man, he must be educated. Indian parents who do not send their children to school should be punished. Then again, graduates from the Indian schools should not be permitted to return to their old habits. These children must be placed in an environment that will permit them to practice what they have been taught. The Anglicans, he says, have recognized this fact, and are endeavoring to find places for the Indians who graduate from the schools under their supervision. In order to help them along it is necessary that employment be provided for them in civilized communities, where they will be placed in association with white people. Mr. Hemming thinks the Indian problem is one that calls for action on the part of the government.

“An Indian Wedding”⁷⁷ (1903)

A very interesting wedding took place at the File Hills boarding school on Wednesday evening March 4th, when two graduates of the Regina Industrial School were made man and wife. The principals in the solemn ceremony were Fred Deiter and Mary Belle Cote, both graduates of '01. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Principal Sinclair, of Regina, who was accompanied to File Hills by Miss Cornelius of the Industrial School and a contingent of eight pupils.

Although Fred Deiter only graduated from the school a year ago last Spring, he has 90 acres fit for wheat this year and had 40 acres of wheat last year. He is a member of Mr. Graham's graduate colony on the File Hills reserve. This colony was established by Mr. Graham for graduates of the Industrial School. where the young men can work together without the restraining influence of the older people.

An essential part of the idea is to teach the graduated pupils to assist one another. Each pupil gets 80 acres and a pre-emption of another 80 acres is held for them. The Government surveys the land, builds a house for the boy and gives him the use of horses and implements until he is able to buy them for himself.

⁷⁶ From INDIAN PROBLEM IN THE WEST, (1902, September 18). *Daily British Colonist*, p. 2.

⁷⁷ From An Indian Wedding. (1903, April 2). *The Regina Leader*, p. 10.

All Canadians cannot but rejoice to know that some of the wards of the nation are proving so industrious and making such progress as Fred Deiter, and the good wishes expressed for himself and Mrs. Deiter that their married life may be happy and prosperous⁷⁸ will by no means be confined to those of his own race, for we all join heartily in giving voice to such wishes.

“We should be a little tender toward the Indian”⁷⁹ (1905)

Only those who have felt the free breath of the prairies could fully understand the splendid optimism and exuberant feeling of the Rev. Dr. McDougall, who has been a missionary in the Northwest for the last half century, and who is now in Montreal.

Dr. McDougall is, in the true sense, a cosmopolite. He accepts all tongues and creeds and races. He has heard the accents of twenty-seven languages and dialects. Black, red or white – he is tolerant to all creatures, whom he regards as brothers. For him the word “foreigner” has no meaning. He believes in giving every human creature a chance, and he wishes everyone to watch the career of the men who are called “foreigners” in the Northwest: not how they swell with the thought of possession; how the heart thrills with gratitude for freedom, and with what wistful eagerness they hasten to adapt themselves to the life and usage of the country which has given them a splendid home. [...]

As to his own special work, Dr. McDougall does not believe in the brutal maxim that the only good Indian is a dead Indian. He says there are lasting, practical, living results of the work amongst the Indians of the Northwest.

“It has taken twenty centuries to civilize the white man, and even now he is only semi-civilized. About fifty years ago or less, the Indian was a pure barbarian. Can you expect a miracle in a twinkling? Touch the Indian with civilization and you kill him off; that is, the weakest of him. By and by, the pendulum of morality will swing the other way; you will have strength; you will have the saving qualities of civilization, and the Indian will begin to grow. That is the case today. And don’t you think the white people owe a little consideration to the Indians, if they believe in Christianity? They were the aborigines of the country; they were placed there by Providence. The white man came and assumed control of the country. Don’t you think we should be a little tender toward the Indian?”

⁷⁸ “Fred Deiter is 86 and still farms on the File Hills Reserve near Balcarres. He boasts he’s never been on welfare in his life. The prospect of being a chief never really excited Mr. Deiter – too many headaches – but his son Walter is chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and of the National Indian Brotherhood.” Consultations bring together trio of old Indian comrades. (1968, September 20). *The Regina Leader-Post*, p. 3. Another Deiter son, Robert Murray, fought in France during World War II and was wounded in action.

⁷⁹ From PRICELESS INHERITANCE. (1905, March 1). *The Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, p. 2.

“Customs and language are not easily forgotten”⁸⁰ (1906)

One hundred thousand bushels of grain and \$6,000 worth of cattle, the former the product of the season's work, and the latter the amount disposed of this month, is the record of File Hills Indian Agency, as told to The Standard today by W. M. Graham, inspector of agencies for the Dominion Government, who was on his way to Kamsack, on the Canadian Northern. Mr. Graham, in addition to being general inspector for the province, has direct supervision of the File Hills agency, and has his place of residence there. He has spent every year since his boyhood among the Indians, and he is consequently a first-rate authority on the advancement of the aborigines of the great west.

Today he was on his way to Kamsack, where he will supervise the sale of a portion of the Fort Pelley Indian reservation, being placed on the market by the Dominion Government. He recently acted in the same capacity in connection with Pasqua land being disposed of here in Regina.

Under the heading 'File Hills Agency' there are four reserves, the Pasqua, Muscowpetung, Pie-a-pot, and File Hills. These constitute the agency, and are under the one head, just as Little-Black-Bear, Star Blanket, Okanesse and Pee-Pe-Kissis constitute an agency in the country further north.

Each Indian on the reserves is given as much land from the Dominion Government as he can look after, and there are no restrictions placed on their industry. The more a man shows his ability and desire to work and branch out for himself, the more he is helped, and the old man whose time for work is over, and whose best days have been spent in the hunting trips of the olden times, are kept as charges on the Government until they go to their haven of rest, the happy hunting ground.

To the Standard, Mr. Graham briefly outlined the work of this past summer, and the figures quoted in the foregoing represent the labors of the agricultural class pretty thoroughly. The 100,000 bushels of grain are grown by a few farmers, while the cattle, on the other hand, are divided among a larger number. In some cases there are Indian farmers who have grown 3,000 bushels of wheat and 2,000 bushels of oats individually, and these go a long way towards making up the total output. In the case of the cattle, it is found that an average of about two or three head each would cover the work of individuals, and the profits therefore represent better the prosperity of the populace. Gordon Ironsides & Fares of Winnipeg were the purchasers of the \$6,000 worth of cattle shipped from Qu'Appelle this month.

A handsomely finished and excellently equipped Indian School has just been completed at Lebret, to replace the one burned down a couple of years ago. The building is, for the most part, the result of Indian labor, and it bears the distinction of being the largest and finest institution of its kind in Canada today. The main building is 130 feet long by 60 feet wide, and there are two out-buildings each 40 feet wide and 80 feet long. The whole building is equipped with waterworks and flush

⁸⁰ From Prosperous Indians. (1906, December 22). *The Edmonton Bulletin*, p. 10.

system, and is team heated. Light is supplied by a gas plant in operation on the premises. In the school there are 225 pupils, receiving instruction in regular educational lines, and religious instruction in the Roman Catholic faith.

The means employed to make the school graduate not forget his training under his white teacher, was explained to *The Standard* by Mr. Graham. He pointed out that when a boy left the Regina school, or any other school for that matter, he was taken to the reserve again and given a homestead of 80 acres. The adjoining 80 acres is preempted, and if within two years the boy cultivated the whole of his land, he is given the remaining 80 acres of the quarter section, and more if he is capable of handling it.

In this way the students are prevented as much as possible from cohabitation with the older men of the reserves, and their newly-learned customs and language are not easily forgotten. The student farmers are located in a separate portion of the reserve from their kinsmen who have not gone to the school. The boys usually marry the girls who have graduated, and the children of the union are the hope of the department. These children are not taught any language but English, and Mr. Graham points out with considerable pride that this is done on the initiative of the Indians themselves. There is no compulsion, but seemingly by common consent, the language of the white man becomes the language of the rising generation of the red. It is the training of this generation that the Government hopes to make a success at citizenship.

The agency is not without its relics of the olden days, says Mr. Graham, and in many cases there are men of 100 years old living right in the agency. These men talk only their native tongue, and, as Mr. Graham speaks all the Indian languages quite fluently, he hears many tales of hair-raising escapades in the days when the red man chased the buffalo, and when the only ones of fair skin seen in the land [were] the occasional trapper or hunter. These men are rapidly dying off, and soon none of those who know personally the olden times history of the great west will be left to tell the tale.

“On the civilizing effect of missions”⁸¹ (1907)

We are but wayfarers on our journey, and as the sands of life run through the hour glass in the hands of time, there come to many of us experiences which, according to temperament, in a greater or less degree affect the standpoint from which we view matters. In the time of this present, was there ever a drama more lifelike, a stage more realistic, an arena grander than here in the Yukon? We came at a time when the blood of life's morning was coursing freely through our veins. We came at a time when hope and ambition, passion and mentality, flesh and spirit were gathering full force, a pent up flood awaiting those natural conditions which alone could give it vent. Our lives could hardly be termed mediocre or uneventful. We surely

⁸¹ From *On the Civilizing Effect of Missions*. (1907, September 27). *The Weekly Star* (Whitehorse), p. 3.

have had object lessons in plenty. Nature has torn the veil from many a shrouded mystery. There be things which we may no longer see “as through a glass darkly.”

“The fineness of man’s metal is not found
In Fortune’s love; for then the bold and coward,
The wise and fool, the artist and unread,
The hard and soft, seem all affirmed and kin;
But in the wind and tempest of her frown,
Destruction with a broad and powerful fan,
Puffing at all, winnows the light away,
And what hath mass, or matter by itself,
Lies rich in virtue and unmingled.”

Of late in this portion of the Yukon, there has been a divergence of opinion [about] the subject matter of this article.

Is the attempt to evangelize the Yukon Native, a futile one? The endeavour to civilize by means of the emissaries of a religion or the enthusiasts of a creed? If the sentiment which impels people to this effort be a pure one, that is to say, if it be the desire to raise up humanity rather than to promulgate a creed, and in the case of the Yukon Native most of us will readily admit that it is the former spirit which actuates most of the self-sacrificing lives of many of our missionaries in Alaska and the Yukon, if it be this, then we can only have admiration and respect for such a spirit. It is, of course, the duty of the strong to protect the weak; but what we are here considering is whether the effort to civilize is effective. It is claimed that if but one individual native be evangelized, that is, kept from the ravages of the “firewater,” known as “hootch,” and also from the demoralizing contamination of the white man, that the point is gained.

If to safeguard the weak and to shelter from temptation those who are unable to withstand “Satan and all his works” be civilization, then the end in a good many instances is gained and further discussion is useless. But is it? Is it possible to keep any race or people for any length of time, “a peculiar people,” walled off from the world, “the world forgetting, by the world forgot”?

And if you can, is that civilization? All healthy minded people will admit that it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak; that the giving of “firewater” to an Indian is rightly considered a criminal act. But why? Is it not because the Native is considered to be of an inferior race, a race less amenable to the process of evolution, the gaining of experience from environment? Give “firewater” to an Indian and in thirty minutes by the clock you have stripped from him every vestige of the artificial civilization which has been thrust upon him. Surely civilization is the raising up of mankind, the conquest of self, the triumph of spirit over matter. The law of the survival of the fittest – the winnowing of the wheat from the chaff. This law of Nature may seem hard, but is it not true? A part of that truth we are endeavouring to reach.

It may be instanced that the effect of alcohol upon the white man is the same. It is not. The action of alcohol on the brain is similar, but the effect differs. Under the influence of alcohol the objective faculties are dulled to an almost quiescent state, while the subjective faculties are stimulated into undue activity.

The objective faculties when in active operation, naturally endeavour to cover up the deficiencies of the inner self. Now being no longer active, the cloak they would manipulate falls away, and the actual man is exposed naked and bare. He then acts according to the greater or less degree of civilization to which he has attained. The resulting effect of this test upon the white and black races, does not admit of argument. For scientific reasons, the Spencers, the Gladstones, the Pasteurs of the white race would not even taste an intoxicant. Conscientious scruples cause a great many more to refrain likewise. Still others indulge moderately. Others again, “go the limit,” among whom may doubtless be numbered many who read this article; yet they “carry it off brawly,” maybe participating in many a séance or “protracted meeting” merging into “the wee sma’ hours avant the twal,” and yet even these will attend to business. There are others yet again who succumb as hopeless sots. If this article has developed into a more or less scientific disquisition on “hootch” it is because “firewater” is claimed to be the greatest enemy to an attempt to civilize an inferior race. It certainly is a “bad actor,” but Nature uses many such. “Her scourge is in her hand and she will thoroughly purge her floors.” This evil, like many another, has got to be overcome, and man must rise superior to it.

It may be claimed that the white race was once in the same stage of development as the black. Yes, but they have evolved. Nature is not going to go back in her course a million years, when she has material ready to hand with which to carry on her grand scheme of evolution. The immutable laws of cause and effect are not to be diverted from their course by mortal will. They obtain the same today, as at the morning of Creation.

Surely it shall be, that by earnest endeavour to interpret her truths, the pride of what little knowledge we have at present attained will be surpassed by that “Wisdom which is humble that it knows no more,” and who shall doubt: “That good shall come, at last far off, at last to all”?

“Squamish Mission, North Vancouver”⁸² (1909)

Down by the shore of the inlet in front of the reservation a group of Siwash fishermen are mending their nets in the forenoon sun, and evidently paying more attention to the soothing influences of the summer weather than to the work in hand. They exchange guttural remarks in lazy Chinook, and smoke incessantly while their fingers play slowly with the meshes. In the background looms the framework of the new Indian church, a large wooden structure that is to replace the older and less roomy building which has grown too small for the congregation. Farther back on the hillside is seen the school where ten patient sisters strive to instill some idea of the arts of civilization into the minds of the little Indians. This is the picture.

The broad boardwalk that passes in front of the church and down towards the mission cemetery, traversing the Squamish village, is dotted with tourists, for now

⁸² From SQUAMISH MISSION, NORTH VANCOUVER, IS POINT OF INTEREST. (1909, August 14). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

the reservation has been added to the list of "places of interest," and there tourists and campers flock to buy berries and baskets from the women of the tribe. The stolid fishermen on the shore are targets for a dozen Kodaks, which are next turned towards the new church, the big crucifix planted in the earth beside it, the great bell by the priest's house, which is the pride of the mission, and the groups of dirty little children playing by the doorsteps of the Indian cottages.

Beside the little band stand on the shore is a group of tourists. There are three in the party, a girl and two men, all easily recognizable as American types. If the description "American" is too general, they are typical Western Americans of the successful commercial class. As you pass the group you hear the girl say to her companions:

"But is it worth while? What results do they get? Isn't it all wasted effort?"

The question is one that has been raised by other tourists many times, and by others who are not tourists. It has been raised by patient and self-sacrificing men who have spent the best part of their lives in work among the Indians of the Pacific coast. Is all this work that is being done by the mission worth while?

There is, also, a great mass of evidence to show that the pupils who are taught in Indian schools revert to type rapidly enough after leaving the institutions. This is admitted by the teachers and priests who labor among the aborigines. But results can not be measured by these things in such cases. The investment of time and labor is one at which a business man would scoff, but it is otherwise with the people who carry on missions. To the casual observer, and to many closer observers, the whole thing looks to be a pitiful waste, but the philanthropist works and hopes, and endeavors to believe that some good will result from the seed sown so lavishly. At the Squamish reservation, we have the school on the one side, and the waterfront with its fishermen on the other. The boys who go to school will inevitably join the fishing colony when they get through with their schooling. They will join these sodden groups of net-menders. The girls will marry the fishermen, and they will join the ranks of the berry-pickers and basket-makers. The process will go on generation after generation.

Is it worth while? We shall see.

FATHER PEYTAVIN

The destinies of the Squamish mission are to a large extent in the hands of Ermund Peytavin, O.M.I., the missionary priest who presides over the little church, and looks upon the Indian village at North Vancouver as his parish. If you go over to North Vancouver any fine day, and walk along the boardwalk from the rising city to the reservation, you will no doubt meet Father Peytavin somewhere along the shore. He will be talking to members of his flock when you find him, explaining something about their daily work, and giving them useful hints of a practical nature. For he takes a great pride in knowing that the mental improvement of his parishioners will be the most abiding spiritual uplift.

When you have found the padre, it will be no difficult task to interview him, for he is always willing to discuss his flock. He will take you up to his residence beside the church, seat you in his bare little study, and talk for an hour about the Squamish

Indians. He has been with them three years, and in that period has come to understand them thoroughly.

Ask him whether the work of the mission is worth while.

“The results are pitifully small,” he will say in his strange French accent. “Sometimes I wonder whether we are really accomplishing anything at all. But that is not the spirit we must bring to a labor of this kind. We must keep on working, hoping, praying. No doubt great good has been accomplished and is now being accomplished.”

In the face of such optimism the misgivings of the man of little faith vanish, at least while he is in Father Peytavin’s presence, and he grows enthusiastic over the work among the Indians. The priest recites all the signs of progress he has noted of late weeks among his flock, and one begins to wax enthusiastic at his recital.

“Why, we have made two motor-boats on the reservation,” exclaims the missionary. “There was not one thing about either of them done by white men, except the engines, which were bought outside. But the Indians put in the engine themselves and they now do all the repair work necessary to them. One of them is now owned in the village here, and the other belongs to a lawyer in North Vancouver. It is something when Indians can build motor-boats, is it not?”

Questioned about the work of the school, Father Peytavin is quite as enthusiastic.

“They are clever, these children,” he says. “When they give an entertainment, their work is much better than that of white children of the same age. They are very musical, and can learn lace-making and other arts very rapidly. They are natural imitators. You could not find better pupils in any school than they are. It is the best feature of our work.”

“But after they leave the school, Father? What happens to them then?”

Here the good man’s face will fall. This is the sad feature of the case. Many Indian educators have encountered the same difficulty. There are many sad tales of new graduates of Carlisle university who returned to their old environment and “slumped” back into barbarism. On a smaller scale, perhaps, but, on the same principle, these tales may be re-told of the Squamish reservation.

“What are the poor little things to do?” asks the priest. “There is no other fate for them here than to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors. The boys become fishermen, idle and shiftless as their elders, and the girls become wives of fishermen, and household slatterns. What else can they do, poor things?”

Herein lies the tragedy of this school work on the reservation. The work of the sisters is good, and its results are simply marvelous. A visit to the school will show that. But when the children come away from the institution, the old environment takes hold of them. They cannot get away from it, as the missionary says. The many little lessons they have learned they at once un-learn. They become “klootchmen,” and live in dirty, ill-kept homes, rearing dirty ill-kept children.

No doubt the ideal method to deal with these children would be to take them away from the reservation altogether and place them in an environment in which the

lessons they have learned at school would be kept fresh in their minds and developed. But how is this to be done?

A more cheerful vein is now adopted by Father Peytavin, for his optimism is not of the sort that is easily dampened.

“Of course,” he says, “there are many things in our instruction that leave permanent marks on the boys and girls. There are things that they cannot forget. For example, when a girl is taught to love music and to sing, this cannot fail to better her condition in later life. It adds one more joy to her life. Music has been eagerly taken up by the Indians. We have a band in the village composed entirely of Indians. And you should hear these children sing. In the same way, sewing and lace-making are accomplishments that remain with the girls.

“But we cannot go very far. The government allows only five dollars a month per child for fifty children. There are now seventy children boarding at the school. It is too little.”

The priest will not let you go without taking you out to show you the great bell of the mission, his particular pride and joy. This was purchased by the Indians in 1894 and imported from England. It is hung on a frame in front of the priest’s house, near the church, and is a quaint and interesting feature of the village. It still remains, as Father Peytavin declares, “the best bell in British Columbia.”

As he passes the new church, a tall edifice that will now be one of the landmarks of that shore, and which is today the tallest building in North Vancouver, Father Peytavin will say:

“You cannot say that we are doing nothing here. This church is being build by the Indians themselves. That is one great work.”

THE INDIAN VILLAGE

You may figure it out for yourself, from the words of the missionary priest, whether the work of the Squamish [mission] is worth while or not. In the meantime, a visit to the village is interesting. Become a tourist and take a stroll up the streets of the village, for it has many points of quaint interest.

In the first place, the neatness of the Squamish village must impress anybody who has any experience of settlements of this kind. This is not to say that the village is a model such as one finds in the rural districts of New England, but merely that it is, as Indian villages go, remarkably neat and clean. Right in the centre of the city of Victoria they have an Indian village of sorts. Its tumbledown huts and scents of disorder are simply harrowing to the order-loving soul. The Songhees – that much-talked-of tribe – might with advantage take lessons from the Squamish people.

The homes of the Indians are neat cottages, painted and quite presentable. What if the front steps are in many cases more or less wobbly, and the small gardens in front gone to seed rather more than less? The fact that there are front steps and front gardens at all is distinctly encouraging. The usual army of hens and dogs parade the streets, but these features are characteristically Indian and must be overlooked.

The soul of the Siwash yearns to the sea. You may call this an instinct or a habit, as you please. Perhaps the little Indian is born with the desire to go out in canoes after salmon. Perhaps the habit of generations untold is suddenly acquired,

as is the swimming habit in the case of the duckling. These reflections are due to observations you will make at the Indian village, where almost all the children are found tinkering with miniature canoes, carving the toy vessels out of fir logs, or attempting to paddle them about the shallows. These boys will go to school when they are a little older, but they are just at present attending the school that will claim them finally, the school of the deep sea and the salmon fishing.

When you emerge from the brush through which the boardwalk from North Vancouver takes you on your walk to the reservation, you come out on a broad street, with the seashore on one side and a row of cottages on the other. The most conspicuous object on the side towards the Siwash band discourses sweet music in the evenings for the edification of the tribe and of visitors. Just a little further on the right is the church, on which the workmen are now busy. This, when finished, will be an imposing edifice. Beside it stands a great cross, and farther to the right in front of the priest's house, the village bell.

When you pass the church, you will see on a vacant lot a dilapidated scaffold arrangement that is interesting, if you but inquire into its history. It was at one time a stage where Passion Plays were produced by the Indians. It has been many years since the Squamish tribe gave an entertainment of this kind, but there are two such stages in the village.

The Indian cemetery, which is situated in the brush at the farther end of the bushes, is one of the most interesting spots on the reservation. This is a neat plot enclosed in an iron fence, and it tells in tragic terms the history of the tribe in civilization. The headstones are pathetic. Some of them are merely wooden crosses, carved out by the hands of relatives of the dead. There are only one or two marble slabs in the whole place. The names are simple. As a rule the inscription has only the Christian name, Joe or Antoine or Madeline, or whatever it may be. English and French names are found beside Spanish titles. But the most pathetic feature of it all is that the names are for the most part names of women. The parish priest gave the explanation:

"The women die at home," he said. "Most of the men are drowned at sea while fishing, and their bodies are never recovered."

From the abode of the dead to the Indian school, where all is life and industry and enthusiasm, is a sudden transition. Yet the two are not far apart, for the school is but a few hundred yards from the cemetery, farther up the hill. Here the mild and patient sisters who have charge of the institution are always willing to welcome such as take an interest in their work, and even to make the Indian pupils go through their paces for the edification of the visitor.

The children live at the school, and are under surveillance all the time. The aim is to teach them to live according to the ways of the civilized, and so they are taught the first principles of cleanliness, order and politeness. A day school renders the task of the teacher practically impossible. At one Indian day school in the interior the whole class has been known to disappear into the woods during recitation, merely because a bird happened to chirp temptingly outside.

The sisters will tell you that it is quite impossible to do anything with the children if they are allowed to live at home. The home influence is stronger than that of the school.

The teaching is necessarily simple. The children are taught the English language, and simple arithmetic and such matters. These subjects are the routine, and consequently the least interesting features.

The most interesting class is that of little girls being taught lace-making. The sisters, coming as they do from southern France, are experts in this branch, and they have accomplished quite wonderful results with their little pupils. The musical classes are also of great interest. The little ones sing very well, in chorus, and several of them have very fair voices for solo singing

It is evident that the teaching of politeness according to the white man's conception of the term is a difficult matter in the case of the coast Indian. One of the teachers will provide herself with some cakes, and call upon the children to come up to her, one at a time, to receive a cake. If the candidate for this delicacy does not carry out his or her curtsy of gratitude to the letter, the cake is withheld. This method of teaching is effective, but it suggests teaching a pet dog to "speak" for a bone.

GOSSIP AT THE RESERVATION

Like most communities, the Indian reservation has its important "issues" just at present. One of these is the proposal made by the city of North Vancouver to run a street through the domain of the tribe. This would mean handing over three acres of the reservation land to the city, but it would also mean one other thing, and this brings us to another "issue" of the Indian tribe.

"What we want most of all here is good water," said the missionary priest, in discussing the needs of the tribe. "Before the white men came here to build up their city we had good water, but now our wells are contaminated, and I believe that a great deal of our sickness comes from bad water. The sewage from the houses on the hillside above them spoils the water in the springs."

Here is a very serious grievance against the white man, but the white man is ready with the remedy. If the proposed street is run through the reservation, the waterworks of the city will follow the thoroughfare, and the Indians will be provided with plenty of wholesome water to drink. That will probably be part of the bargain when the tribe finally decides to hand over to the city the required three acres.

This year the death rate in the village was greater than the birth rate, for the first time in many years. This is ascribed to the large infant mortality due to whooping cough and other epidemics. At present the population of the reservation is about 400, chiefly Christian Indians.

In the Squamish reservation they have a quaint way of marking time. Even as in parts of Newfoundland the people mark time by the arrival and departure of the steamer that connects them with the mainland, and will tell you that such and such an event happened so many "Bruces" ago, so the Indians will refer every happening of importance to the Vancouver fire.

So, the Indian mission was established some ten years before the fire, and the church built at that time. Twelve years ago the school was established, and it has been doing good work ever since.

“Mr. Scott is a firm believer in the Indian”⁸³ (1910)

“Indians everywhere in the west are coming to be more and more producers of grain and breeders of cattle, and are doing wonderfully well as all round farmers. This is a direct result of the great benefit to them from their excellent training in the supervised boarding schools maintained by the government in connection with the various denominations.”

These statements were made by Mr. Duncan C. Scott, superintendent of Indian education, who has just returned from his annual tour of inspection in the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Mr. Scott is a firm believer in the Indian, and thinks that when dissociated from his old surroundings the red man is quite as able as the white man to lead a civilized life and settle down as a useful citizen. During his trip Mr. Scott visited the File Hills colony, established six years ago by Inspector Graham. This colony was established largely in the nature of an experiment, but its success will probably lead to the inaugurating of several others at various points. At File Hills thirty married couples from one of the Indian schools were given a little assistance to settle, and today their farms are, in Mr. Scott’s opinion, the equal of any in Saskatchewan.

In the various inspectorates the total grain yield from the Indian farms this year is over 260,000 bushels, and in the File Hills colony the farms gave from two thousand to ten thousand bushels each. Threshing outfits are maintained by the Indians themselves, who do all the harvesting work in connection with their crops.

“The policy of the department now is to assist the ex-pupils in every way possible, instead of allowing them to go, when they have completed their education,” said Mr. Scott. “Each couple is given land, a yoke of oxen and a loan of about \$350. The first year they are expected to break at least twenty-five acres of ground, and the next year sow this.”

“I believe that many of our Indian schools in the west will compare favorably with schools for white people in any part of the country,” replied Mr. Scott to a question. “Of course, the government co-operates with the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Church of England and other denominations in the work of the schools, all being under the direct supervision of the different churches. We make a certain allowance to the churches for the running of the schools.”

⁸³ From INDIAN FARMER OF THE WEST EQUAL OF HIS WHITE BROTHER. (1910, October 11). *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. 1.

Indian education in British Columbia⁸⁴ (1911)

The province of British Columbia is one of the most interesting fields for the work of Indian education in the Dominion, and at the same time the difficulties to be met with are even greater than in the other provinces. The Indians have been from the earliest times self-supporting, and the advent of white population, which in the west caused the complete disappearance of the buffalo, did not occasion any serious change in their source of food-supply. Their development has, therefore, been more even than that of the Indians in the prairie provinces. They easily adapted themselves to the demands made upon them as laborers and general helpers by their white neighbors, and the result has been that they are of considerable industrial importance as a labor factor throughout the province. Their reserves are small and widely separated, and for the most part inhabited by small distinct bands of Indians, and these conditions render the provision of educational advantages somewhat difficult. Moreover, in certain districts their tribal superstitions and customs are so firmly adhered to and are in themselves of such a nature that it is difficult to make headway in civil and moral progress.

The industrial and boarding schools [...] are well conducted and efficient institutions, and the career of the ex-pupils on leaving them has been admirable in a very large percentage of cases. Day schools have also been met with a great measure of success. The salaries formerly granted to day school teachers, which were limited to \$300, have been increased and the department can now enter into competition with the provincial day schools for the services of competent teachers. All together the outlook in the province of British Columbia is most encouraging, and the successful development of the educational work along the present lines may be expected with confidence.

In the Dominion there are 324 Indian schools, of which 251 are day schools, 54 boarding schools and 19 industrial schools. Of these 51 are un-denominational, 118 are under the care of the Roman Catholic church, 93 are Church of England schools, 45 are Methodist schools, 15 are Presbyterian and 2 are looked after by the Salvation Army. On the rolls there is an aggregate of 5,607 boys and 5,583 girls, a total enrolment of 11,190 children, with an average attendance of 6,763, the percentage 60.44, comparing not badly with the average attendance in the public schools.

British Columbia has 46 day, 8 boarding and 8 industrial schools, with an enrolment of 1,125 boys and 1,100 girls, and an average attendance of 1,316. In the Kuper Island industrial school there are 38 boys and 38 girls, in the Alert Bay school 39 boys, and in the Clayoquot school 40 boys and 30 girls. A new building for Indian girls at Alert Bay is now under construction and will be finished in the autumn of 1911. All boys at industrial schools are taught farming and all girls sewing, knitting

⁸⁴ From Scott, Duncan C. & Ditchburn, W. E. (1911, November 23). EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN CHILDREN. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 13. Written by Duncan Campbell Scott (1862 – 1947) and William Ernest Ditchburn (1862 – 1932).

and general household duties. There are 63 boys in the eight schools who are learning carpentry, 16 shoemaking, 3 blacksmithing, 1 baking and 2 painting.

Detailed information regarding the schools in the vicinity of Victoria is given in the report by Inspector Ditchburn of his various inspections of them. He thus reports on the schools mentioned:

I visited Kuper Island industrial school (Roman Catholic) on December 19, 1910. Rev. D. Claessen is the principal in charge. This institution comprises a number of buildings, all disconnected, the boys' being much in need of repairs, and the girls' school overcrowded. There were 74 pupils in the school at the time of my visit – 38 boys and 36 girls. The department's grant is for only 60.

The boys' school is in bad order, the plastering on the walls being broken in many places. The principal reports that the building has sagged at one end owing to part of the foundation having rotted, and the roof is covered with moss. The building is large enough to accommodate the number of pupils, but is greatly in need of repairs. This building, which is only 10 feet above high water mark, is too low to get good ventilation, as the ground in the rear rises above the roof and thus prevents a good circulation of air through the dormitory and class-room.

The girls' school is in a somewhat better state of repair, but is much too small for the number of pupils at present in attendance. In the two dormitories there is a total of 18,823 cubic feet of air space, which would allow of only 28 pupils at the most, but there are 36 pupils sleeping in these two rooms.

The girls' class-room is also very crowded, the desks being placed so close together that it is with difficulty that one can get on to the seats.

The flushing tank of the boys' water-closet was, and had been, out of order for some time, and the flushing had to be done by pouring pails of water down. This is a very unsatisfactory arrangement, for a very bad odor was present for a distance from the building. The water-closets of the girls' school were in good order, but the drain pipes leading to the sea had been taken up on account of their getting continually blocked with sand. All the sewage therefrom runs to the beach, where it remains till washed away at high tide.

The only method of ventilating the building is by means of leaving the windows open to permit of a supply of fresh air.

There are about 70 acres of land in connection with the institution, 40 of which are under cultivation, from which good crops of vegetables, fruits and hay are obtained. A very large and fine barn has been constructed during the past year, as well as a modern chicken-house and a bakery. There is a plentiful supply of good water on the premises, the new hydraulic ram working very satisfactorily.

A good gymnasium has been erected for the boys, and the girls practice dumb-bell and Indian club exercises. There is also a very good brass band at the school, composed entirely of the pupils. Fire-fighting appliances are kept in place, ready for use at all times.

The general health of the pupils during the past year is reported by the principal to have been good. The pupils have all been making good progress in their studies, and besides these the boys are taught carpentering, farming, gardening,

baking and shoe-repairing, the girls receiving instruction in cooking, baking, general housework, dress-making, [and] laundry work.

As it would take a large amount of money to do the necessary alterations and repairs to these buildings, it would be much more desirable to build a new and modern school, with accommodation for 90 or 100 pupils. A school with accommodation for the number of pupils above mentioned, should meet all requirements of the Cowichan agency for many years.

I visited the Songhees day school on August 18, 1910 and again on January 6, 1911. Sister Mary Berchmans is the teacher. The number of pupils on the roll is 11 – 5 boys and 6 girls, and the average attendance has been 8.1. All the children of school age on the Songhees reserve attend the school, and are making good progress in their studies. The sanitary conditions are as good as in other day schools. The health of the children during the past year has been very good. The building is in a good state of repair. Five girls passed out of this school during the year, all having been in the sixth standard.

My visit to Nanaimo day school (Methodist) was on February 8, 1911. Rev. W. J. Knott is the principal. The number of pupils on the roll was 14 – 10 boys and 4 girls, the average attendance being about 9. At the time of my visit there were only 6 in attendance.

Those pupils who attend regularly are making good progress. There has been no sickness among the children during the year worth speaking of.

The building is in a good state of repair, and the sanitary conditions are good, new water-closets having been built during the year.

As the principal informed me that there should be a better average attendance of pupils, I held a meeting of the Indians in the school house, at which I obtained promises from the parents that they would see that all the children of school age on the reserve attended the school regularly in future.

The chief of the Nanaimo band reported to me that there were 10 children on the Nanaimo River reserve whose parents wished them to attend school, but it is too far to the Indian school at Nanaimo, being about six miles by road. They all speak good English, and their parents are desirous of their attending the public school, which is close by. The department should make arrangements with the superintendent of education for British Columbia for the entrance of these children into the public school.

I visited Quamichan day school (Methodist), which is situated on the Quamichan reserve, on February 10, 1911. The teacher is Mr. E. J. Bowden. There are 14 children on the roll – 8 boys and 6 girls. The average attendance has been 4.64. Those attending regularly make excellent progress. The health of the pupils during the year had been good, but at the time of my visit a number of the children were suffering from an epidemic of influenza, which consequently affected the attendance.

The school is in a good state of repair, capable of holding about 45 pupils. The ceiling is high and the ventilation good; but there are no water-closets.

I also visited Quamichan day school (Roman Catholic) the same day. The school is situated on the Clemclemalutz Indian reserve, and Miss Louisa Douglas is the

teacher. She was only appointed on February 1, having taken the place of Miss Frumenro. The number of pupils on the roll was 29 – 9 boys and 20 girls. The average attendance during the past quarter had been 6.41. Here also the epidemic of influenza prevailing in the district was apparent, for only five pupils were present. Those attending regularly make good progress. The building is only in a fair state of repair, one window being broken, and there are no water-closets.

I visited Koksilah school (Methodist) on February 10, 1911. C. A. Dockstader, the Methodist missionary, is the teacher. The school was closed for the afternoon on account of the teacher, as well as some of the pupils, being laid up with a cold. The number of pupils on the roll at this school is 15 – 11 boys and 4 girls – with the average attendance of 5.45. Those attending regularly make good progress in their studies. With the exception of the epidemic of cold prevailing at the time of my visit, the children have been enjoying good health. The building is in a good state of repair, well ventilated by means of the open windows. There are no water-closets.

Practically all the children of school age on the Koksilah reserve are on the roll, but the average attendance is poor on account of the children moving off the reserve for a time with their parents.

Somenos day school (Roman Catholic) has been closed since September 30, 1910. Miss Lomas, the teacher, resigned on that date, and no other teacher has been appointed. Prior to Miss Lomas's resignation, the attendance at this school had been very poor.

I visited East Saanich day school (Roman Catholic) on February 24, 1911. The school is situated on the Tsawout Indian reserve, and Daniel Dick, an ex-pupil of the Kuper Island industrial school, is the teacher. There are 11 pupils on the roll – 10 boys and 1 girl. During the last quarter the attendance has been poor, but the average during the present quarter should be much better. Eleven out of the thirteen children of school age on the reserve are on the roll. Several of the children have been suffering from colds during the past month, but generally their health has been good. Those who attend regularly make fair progress. The building is in a good state of repair, and the ventilation is good, the ceiling being high.

The same day I also visited Tsartlip day school (Roman Catholic). The school is on the West Saanich road, close to the Tsartlip Indian reserve, and Miss Alice Hagan is the teacher. There are 11 children attending the school – 3 boys and 8 girls. Those who attend regularly are making good progress. The average attendance during the last quarter was 4.51, but it should be somewhat better than this at the end of the present quarter. There are four other children of school age on the Tstartlip reserve who should attend school. The health of the children throughout the year is reported to have been good, but at the time of my visit a few were suffering from colds. The building is in a good state of repair, and the ventilation and sanitation are as good as at other day schools.

I visited Alert Bay industrial school (Church of England) on October 17, 1910. The school has a fine location, being situated close to the beach of Alert Bay, on Cormorant Island.

At the time of my visit both the principal, A. W. Corker, and his assistant were absent attending a meeting of the Synod, and the school was in charge of Mrs. Corker, the matron. There were 35 pupils in attendance at the time, which was the full number.

Mrs. Corker reported that the children were making fair progress in their studies, and that the general health of the pupils had been good during the year.

The school appears to meet with all requirements so far as sanitation is concerned, but I did not measure up the dormitories and class-room to see whether they meet the specifications that apply to boarding schools in the matter of air space, etc. This will be done on my next visit.

There is a competent trade instructor, who teaches the boys carpentering and general handiwork. There is generally a fair supply of water, which is pumped from a well into tanks. Fire-fighting appliances are kept in place, and there is a fire-escape, which leads from the upper bed-rooms.

I visited Alert Bay day school (Church of England) [on the] next day. The school building is new, only having been built quite recently, and is in charge of Miss Harris. The pupils were reported to be making good progress in their studies, and their health had been very fair during the year. The attendance at the time of my visit was not good, and the school register showed that the average attendance was not what it ought to be. I held a meeting of the band and addressed them on the importance of having their children receive an education, and that all those of school age on the reserve must attend school. Since that time, Agent Halliday informs me that there has been a marked increase in the attendance.

I visited Alberni boarding school on January 20, 1911. The principal is H. B. Currie, who has had charge of the institution about one year. There are 48 pupils on the roll – 22 boys and 26 girls. The department grant is for 50 pupils.

The principal reported that all the pupils were making good progress in their studies, and that the health of the children during the past year had been very good.

The building is ventilated with a number of ventilators in the baseboards in the dormitories and classrooms for the purpose of taking the foul air off the floors, and the windows are kept open to allow a plentiful supply of fresh air.

The main building is heated by means of hot air, and the class-room, which is away from the main building, is heated by a stove. This class-room is in very poor condition at the present time, but a new one is to be built during the summer, a grant of \$1,100 having been allowed by the church for the purpose. The main building is in need of considerable repairs to the walls.

At the time of my visit the boys' dormitory was somewhat crowded, but by placing four of the pupils in another room, which was vacant, this objection will be overcome. There are two rooms kept for the purpose of hospital accommodation, and in the summer months a tent is used.

Besides their regular studies the boys are instructed in farming and gardening, and the girls are taught cooking, sewing and general housework.

Although there are approximately 150 acres of land in connection with the institution, there are only 11 acres cleared, and this produces a quantity of small fruits and vegetables for the use of the school.

There is plentiful supply of good water on the premises; and there is also good drainage, the school itself standing on high ground on the banks of the Somas river. Fire-fighting appliances are kept in place and regular fire drills are held.

The date of my visit to Ahousaht boarding school (Presbyterian) was January 23, 1911. The principal is John T. Ross. The number of pupils on the roll at the above date was 36 – 22 boys and 14 girls. The department's grant is for only 25. This extra number of pupils does not crowd the dormitories, as there is ample accommodation in the building for the present enrolment.

The building is in a first-class state of repair, being practically a new structure. The system of ventilation is by means of the windows, which are kept open as much as possible. The water supply is obtained from the rainfall, which is stored in tanks. There is also a well on the premises, but the principal informed me that the quality of water obtained from this source is not very good. The desirability of obtaining a plentiful supply of pure water seems to have been lost sight of when selecting the site of this school.

About 17 acres of land have been claimed a short distance back of the school, and the principal expects to put at least two acres of this under cultivation during the coming summer.

The pupils in this school are all making first-class progress in their studies, and the principal reports that their health during the past year has been good. Besides their regular studies the boys are instructed in the rudimentary principles of home-building, painting, and this year will be given instruction in gardening. The girls learn general housework, cooking, sewing, dressmaking and fancy work. Fire-fighting appliances are kept in the place, at all times ready for any emergency.

I visited Clayoquot industrial school (Roman Catholic) on January 24, 1911. The principal is Rev. P. Maurus, O.S.B.

This is a very fine institution and is in a first-class state of repair. A fine steam laundry has been installed on the premises and there are sanitary lavatories, bath-rooms and water-closets throughout the building. The institution is heated by means of hot water radiators. There is also a fine large concrete basement.

At the time of my visit there were in attendance 61 pupils – 32 boys and 29 girls. The department's grant is for 60 pupils. There is ample accommodation in the dormitories for the number of pupils enrolled.

The building is situated on high ground, and there is good drainage out to the sea. There is also a plentiful supply of pure water, which is obtained from a mountain stream. Ventilators are set in the ceiling of the boys' dormitory, the windows being kept partially open in both this and the girls' dormitory for the entrance of fresh air. Two rooms are used for hospital accommodation, and in the case of infectious diseases the patients are put in an outside building.

About four acres of ground are used for garden purposes, upon which are grown all the vegetables used at the school with the exception of potatoes. The pupils are

making good progress in their studies, and, combined with these, the boys are taught carpentering, painting, shoe-repairing and net-making under the trade instructor; the girls receiving instruction in baking, cooking, sewing, dress-making and fancy-work.

So far as fire protection is concerned the school is well equipped with all the necessary appliances, which are always kept in place. There is also an outside fire escape. The pupils have regular fire drills. The health of the pupils of this school has been good during the past year, there having been no epidemic of any kind among them.

I visited Clayoquot day school (Roman Catholic) the following day. It is now under the supervision of Rev. Joseph Schindler, he only recently having been appointed as teacher. The school is situated on the Opitsat Indian reserve on the Clayoquot sound opposite Tofino.

There are 29 pupils on the roll – 16 boys and 13 girls. On the day of my visit there were 22 children in attendance at the school, which was a very creditable showing. The teacher reports that the children seem to be making fair progress, and also that their health had been good during the year.

The building is in a good state of repair, and the ventilation is as good as in other day schools and in some of the boarding and industrial schools, i.e. the windows being kept open for the entrance of fresh air.

The teacher has inaugurated the system of giving prizes for punctuality, and this has greatly assisted in increasing the average attendance.

Clayoquot day school (Methodist) has been closed since the spring of 1910.

As it was night-time when I arrived at Ucluelet, I was unable to visit Ucluelet day school (Presbyterian) without the loss of much time, the boat only calling at that place once a week.

However, I met the teacher, H. W. Vanderveen, and he supplied me with the following information: There are 21 pupils on the roll, with an average attendance of between 7 and 8. The progress made by the pupils has been fair and their health had been good throughout the year, but at the time there were a few cases of sickness.

“The general tendency of white people”⁸⁵ (1911)

A splendid type of the church militant is Right Rev. Bishop Stringer, of the Yukon, who during his short stay in the city, was interviewed at the Dominion hotel yesterday by the Colonist.

There can be few busier men in the whole Dominion of Canada than Bishop Stringer, for his diocese covers a territory of no less than 200,000 square miles, while he also assists Bishop Holmes, of Athabasca, in looking after the Mackenzie river diocese, at present without a bishop, but indissolubly associated with the revered name of Bishop Reeves. A great deal of his time – as much as six months of the year

⁸⁵ From SAYS EDUCATION HELPS INDIANS. (1911, November 7). *Victoria Daily Colonist*, p. 2.

– is spent in traveling, and he expects to spend next summer in the Mackenzie river district. [...]

Bishop Stringer is much interested in the work among the Indians, of whose progress he spoke with the greatest enthusiasm. He does not hold with the widely-expressed belief that educating the Indian is a waste of time. He thinks that white people are prone to judge the Indian from an entirely wrong standpoint – the standpoint of their own modern up-to-date civilization, instead of that of their forefathers a thousand years ago.

They must judge the school work among the Indians, said his lordship, from the standpoint of slum work in the large cities, in which case he thought it would compare favorably with that carried on in white communities. Even in the schools for white children they found some who were failures, yet one heard nothing about them, whereas such conditions in Indian schools were apt to be magnified. He guaranteed that the greater number of converts among the Northern Indians who were living the farthest away from the influence of the white men, were leading more consistent Christian lives than among the same proportion of white people, and [he] said that he had not hesitated to throw down this challenge before.

He could not understand how anyone could claim that education was not good for the Indians, for he claimed that education was good for every human race without exception. He had spent 19 years looking into the question as it affected the Indians, and had found among them as much advancement in the educational process as among the white people. Some of them, it was true, went back to their old surroundings, and these were sometimes said, in so doing, to fall to the level of their tribe. But he did not believe it. He claimed that education generally brought about an average uplift, and that when the young Indians went back to their people they were able to raise the rest of the tribe by their influence.

The general tendency of white people in the country, except those who were really interested in the Indians, said Bishop Stringer, was to be unjust to them, and although he had done his best to change this, he had not been able to do so, for the majority were honestly persuaded that they were right in the matter.

The church had been much encouraged by the progress made by the boarding school for Indian boys and girls at Carcross, Cariboo, which had been built by the provincial government. Some of the children came down as far as five or six hundred miles up north to attend it. [In charge of the school is] Mr. E. D. Evans, who had had considerable experience in school work among the Indians, having been appointed principal, in succession to Archdeacon Canham.

The Church of England's labors among the Indians up north are no new growth. Thirty-five years before the Klondike rush the church was working up there, and it was Ven. Archdeacon Macdonald who discovered gold on Birch creek, which was the first evidence given that there was gold in that district.

The bishop referred also to the work among the Eskimos along the north coast of his diocese, where he was C. M. S. missionary at Fort Macpherson from 1892 to 1897. When he had first gone to them nineteen years ago he had been told that it was impossible to do anything with them, for they were in the lowest condition, both

morally and mentally, and couldn't even speak their own language. But since then a remarkable change had come over them, and the Eskimos were now a people who could both read and write, while the large majority were consistent Christians, over 150 having been baptized in the past few years.

“How the Dominion Treats Her Indians”⁸⁶ (1912)

You have heard of Canada's duty to herself – and of Canada's duty to the empire. You have gloated over her natural resources, you have debated hotly the question of reciprocity and its probable bearing upon the future welfare of the country. But was it ever brought home to you, prosperous Canadian, that this Canada of yours is not yours after all; that it is a leasehold property, leased by the many from the few, and that you pay every year a portion of the rent?

We are but tenants in the land which we proudly call our own. Not so many miles to the northward, living a simple life in tents and lowly shacks, dwell our landlords. They are not harsh and overbearing, these owners of our soil; nay, rather are they humble and submissive in spirit, thankfully accepting from their tenants a paltry handful of crumbs let fall from the heaped-up table of the land's fruitage, the fullness of which they were incapable of reaping for themselves.

Among the Cabinet Ministers of the Dominion of Canada is numbered the Minister of the Interior. From his office at Ottawa he directs those administrative departments which come under his control. The Department of Indian Affairs is one of these. It is presided over by a deputy minister, and carries on its work through the medium of the Indian Agents distributed throughout Canada, and one of the most important duties of each agent consists in “paying off” the Indians in his district, according to the treaties made at different times in the past between the red men and the whites.

INDIANS NOT ALL PAID

Not all the Indians in Canada receive “treaty money” – some tribes, perhaps more sagacious than the others (although this is open to question) demanded citizenship and voting rights in return for the sacrifices of their ancestral haunts; but in the majority of cases the forefathers of the present-day Indians gave way before the onward march of a force which they were powerless to withstand, and sank their national freedom on a state of dependency. Exempt from all public burdens, such as taxation, they have given up their individuality and have become mere wards of the Canadian people, virtually supported out of the state treasury.

In many ways the lot of the Indian is by no means a hard one. In addition to the four dollars [of] “treaty money,” due annually to every member of every band (I refer now especially to those bands included in the provisions of the James Bay treaty), of whatever age or sex each Indian receives an elementary education at an Indian school, is supplied with ordinary medicines free of charge, and is given the

⁸⁶ From Pedley, J. H. (1912, April 21). HOW THE DOMINION TREATS HER INDIANS. *The Daily Colonist*, p. 8. Written by James Henry Pedley (1892 – 1945).

opportunity of consulting a skilled white doctor at least once a year. He has a reserve to dwell upon in the summer and a hunting ground set apart for his use in winter, and if furs are scarcer now than in the old days they bring a better price, so that the dark-skinned hunter has lost nothing by reason of the changed conditions. More, he is allowed to shoot almost any animal or bird for food at any time of year, and should he, despite these privileges, become destitute, it is his right to demand aid from the government. The prosperity of the individual seems assured, but for the race there is only one outlook, and that is – death.

Under present conditions ambition is killed and self-respect is lost, so that the name “Indian,” once calculated to inspire awe and fear with also a touch of admiration, now incites only feelings of pity, or, as often, contempt, in the breast of the white man who has succeeded him. “Lo, the poor Indian,” wrote the poet – it was well written.

AT FLYING POST

At Flying Post, a station of the Hudson’s Bay Company, fifty miles north of Biscotasing, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, resides a band of Ojibway Indians, about one hundred and thirty in all. At Fort Metagami, fifty miles to the southeast, there is another band, and every summer, Mr. H. A. West, the Indian agent in that district, who lives at Chapleau, draws a thousand dollars from the bank there, and makes the trip by canoe to Flying Post and Fort Metagami, paying Canada’s rent in bright, new one dollar bills. With him are a doctor, a clerk, an interpreter and a cook, as well as four Indians to do the heavy work. On the fifth or sixth day out the party draws nigh the first post to be visited.

On the last portage a spruce pole is cut, which is set up in the bow of one of the canoes, and to this improvised flagstaff is fastened a weather-beaten Union Jack, symbol of British might and good will. We are approaching a community far off from human intercourse, a place where our visit is a thing long looked forward to and long remembered, so that it behooves us to make some show of ceremony. Our guns ready loaded, we are prepared to make a triumphal entry. The “flagship” bearing the previous pay valise takes a slight lead, and with long shoulder strokes we drive the two canoes around the last bend – and into full view of the post – a cluster of log buildings flanked by the tents and bark wigwams of the Indians, and far back on the hill a little church. The open wooden frame buildings in the foreground are the property of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and in a moment, in answer to our first rifle shot, the Canadian ensign, its lower corner embellished with the Company’s device, is run up on the flagstaff.

SALUTATION OF TRIBESMEN

Simultaneously the report of a shotgun reaches our ears, followed by another and another, until it seems as if every gun in camp is pouring forth its quota of noise to swell the tumult. A moment’s lull to permit of reloading; and now is heard the baying of hounds, mingled with the shrill barking of mongrel curs. The shore is alive with these animals, each striving to be the loudest to raise the note of welcome (or is it the opposite?); wherefore Fred, our French-Canadian cook, is moved to murmur in his quaint near-English, “Ho de dogs he make salutation too, him.” Again and again

as we draw nearer, the sound of firing rolls over the water, and our rifle makes answer. And the higher ground is dotted with expectant figures long before we reach the landing. This is the big event of the year for the dwellers at this post, and our welcome by the portly Hudson's Bay Factor is both hearty and sincere. Five minutes later finds us the centre of a dark-skinned group, shaking hands promiscuously, and answering the guttural "B' jous's" of the men and women of the band. All formalities over, we take ourselves off to our projected camping ground to superintend the preparation of a camp.

During the evening interest centres at the "store." Seated on [a] packing box or [a] hard tack barrel, we talk. The hoarse talk of the Ojibway speech mingles with the smoother accents of the English tongue as the story of the fire at Porcupine⁸⁷ is told again. Then the little church bell rings, and we hear no longer the Indian voices; for our interpreter on the treaty party is the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese, who is calling his flock together for service. Only once in a long year does a missionary visit this Christian settlement; it behooves him to use well the time at his disposal for pastoral work. As we chat, we hear through the wide open door the strains of "Sun of My Soul," done into the Ojibway language; and following at long intervals the deep-voiced "Amen" at the end of the prayers. When the pipes are out we seek our tents and sleep.

LONG EXPECTED DAY

The morrow's sun dawns upon the long-expected pay day; an hour before the pay valise has been produced the open space fronting the store is dotted with the old men and women of the tribe. In the middle distance the young bucks have gathered, amusing themselves with good natured horse play until they shall be called forward to receive the money due them. The majority of the squaws, young and old alike, carry papooses, chubby infants and silent, who lie strapped into their many-hued "kinogins" and never cry. There are There are youngsters aplenty, noisily getting in everyone's way and drawing upon themselves anathemas from the old men. Of these last, two are blind and infirm, almost to the verge of total helplessness. One of them has been paddled across by his squaw from his tent across the lake, a long journey for him now: it is pathetic to see him grope for the hand of the other ancient, and to watch them chuckle as they exchange "B' jou's" with gleaming, toothless gums. This accomplished the visitor fumbles for [his pipe] – and having lighted it dexterously with the first match, turns his useless eyes towards the table, [which] now becomes the centre of interest.

For Mr. West – representing the Canadian people – has taken his seat, flanked on the left by his clerk, who jealously guards a package containing one hundred dollar bills, and on his right by his interpreter, the Bishop, just come from holding an early morning baptismal service. At the shoulder of the latter stands the chief of the band, a keen-looking young Indian, who will aid in clearing tangles and settling any disputes which may arise; for the Indian is by nature uncommunicative and

⁸⁷ The Great Porcupine Fire of 1911, which burned almost half a million acres of forest in Ontario.

especially so in his dealings with white men. The presence of his client is as a key to his gates of speech, which would otherwise remain unopened.

HANDS IN HIS TICKET

A hush, then at a word from the Bishop a young man detaches himself from one of the groups and saunters forward, tugging at the knot in a bandana handkerchief he carries. This opened and unwound, he hands to Mr. West a small blue ticket, which will be found to bear the printed words, "The James Bay Treaty," and in manuscript the number which is on the official books and his name, John Wolf. The books show that last year he was paid \$20, his offspring numbering three. To find what changes, if any, have taken place during the last twelve months is the task of the interpreter. A short colloquy in Ojibway, then the Bishop turns to announce that although one of the children died – tuberculosis – in the spring, the family still shelters five members, and points in explanation to a papoose which his mother is rocking to sleep near by. The birth and death [are] duly recorded. The clerk with ostentation counts out \$20 into the father's hands and sees them folded up along with the blue ticket in the big red handkerchief. The full-bred Indian, whether from trustful courtesy or ignorance, or both, seldom counts the money we pay him. Honest himself (and no one is more so than he) he has had many an opportunity [to learn] that all men are not as conscientious as he is.

Another summons, and another paterfamilias lounges forward, his halting feet and impassive countenance giving the impression of extreme boredom, but that is the way of his race and must be so interpreted. The former process is repeated, except that this time it is an elderly man who stands before us, and his family has grown up. One of his daughters, moreover, has found a husband since last pay day, with whom she will henceforth be paid. This worthy advances next to receive a ticket (heretofore he has been paid under his father's name) and to have himself set down as the head of a family. Pride – that one emotion which the redskin does not blush to reveal – shines from his countenance, and it is with a great show of dignity that he takes his eight dollars and bears the sum off to his "woman."

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

After the family men have all been paid come the widows and orphans and lone old men of the tribe. Here is a woman who last year received \$24. But in the early fall, as the family journeyed toward the hunting grounds, her eldest son, the provider, was drowned. None of the others was as yet old enough to hunt successfully. The tubercule germ breeds fast in a stuffy wigwam, and it delights to prey on ill-nourished bodies. With the spring the mother returned from the bush – alone; her hand shook as she took the four dollars given her and hobbled back to sit, silent, among the jabbering squaws. Many are the bashful youngsters dragged forward by stern guardians and made [to] deliver up the tickets which they hold crushed in tight-clenched hands. The bush is a cruel dwelling place even to the men whom it has reared, and many a father meets his death before his children have learned to know him.

Thus passes the afternoon. There is no hurry, no crowding, no standing in line. Sunset finds the gathering still intact. Apparently no one has anything else to do, and

the day's warmth is still to be felt. The clerk calls for another package of bills – the fifth – and is supplied. A few disputes have arisen from time to time, for no one must be paid twice, and illegitimate children – of whom there is no dearth – must not be paid at all. But there is little or no attempt at deceit, so great is the respect for truth which obtains among these “uncivilized” peoples of the north. Finally, when all have been paid, the Factor, who has watched the proceedings from the doorway of his store, presents the tickets of such absentees as have left them in his hands and receives the money called for. Payment for 1911 is complete. Any who have failed to appear will receive double amounts next summer.

BUSINESS THEN BOOMS

All day the Hudson's Bay Factor had worn [a] complacent smile, and in the evening we know the reason. Business boomed. The one lamp lit up but dimly the large, bare room, crowded to the door with prospective buyers. Harmony was not lacking, the store and its wares bespeaking the character of the country and its inhabitants. No silken garments were in evidence for the adornment of the “women-folk,” no pale blue cravats for masculine wear. Behind the wide, unpainted counter the shelves rose filled with canned vegetables and meats, or with rolls of homely, uninviting cloths. Lockers containing such fruits as prunes and boxes of salt and sugar lay around the wall, and from the low ceiling hung sides of pork and bunches of beaded moccasins, handiwork of the more nimble-fingered of the squaws. Variety, even in the matter of tobacco, was lacking; this we found to our sorrow, for the standard fine cut being unobtainable, we must needs be content with the more plebeian plug variety. Alone of the party the cook retained a serene countenance when this news spread. His roving eye had been quick to discover a dusty carton of cigarettes. In a moment he had purchased the entire extant supply, much to the delight of the worthy Factor, who had “bought them in” two years ago and now despaired of ever selling them. The Indians have not as yet acquired the cigarette habit.

The morrow is given over to celebration. There are games, canoe races, perhaps a wedding or the election of a new chief. Mr. West is master of ceremonies and his presence lends dignity to the festivities. Whatever the occupation, however, nightfall sees a feast and dance in preparation – and daybreak usually finds the dance as yet unfinished. While the drum is still beating its monotone we are preparing to depart, and sped on our way by volleys from the shore, our two canoes are soon lost to the view of the watchers on the beach. Five days to the next post.

IS CANADA'S RENT

This is Canada's rent, due every year as long as there shall be landlords to claim it: strangely enough, as the value of the “property” increases, the rent bill will be growing ever smaller. For nature has decreed that [despite] the [Indian being possessed of] many strong characteristics, he lacks the saving quality of adaptability, and has assimilated only the baser attributes of the Caucasian. He is retrograding physically, perhaps also mentally, while the Canadian is progressing. The fittest will survive. And when we have cause to think of the redskin, let us think of him as he ways in the days of his greatness, not as he is today, in abject dependence upon the

Canadian government, a modern Essau, the silent and servile landlord of the Dominion of Canada.

“Against this enthusiasm”⁸⁸ (1912)

At the Alberta Methodist Conference in Edmonton last week the Committee on temperance and moral reform put in a report deprecating the fact that the Department of the Interior had granted the request that there be a demonstration in Macleod upon the visit of the Governor General. [...] On motion, the following resolution was adopted. That this Conference send the following appeal re[garding] Indian parades to His Royal Highness the Governor-General of Canada:

[REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE]

It is reported in the public press that in the arrangements being made for your reception in the Province of Alberta a feature is proposed by the town of Macleod, to take the form of an Indian pageant, and in this connection we beg to state the following facts for your earnest consideration:

1. The policy adopted by the Dominion Government in regard to the aborigines in Canada has taken the form of certain treaties, the ultimate objects of which are to lead these people away from their former habits and practices, [and] educate them to civilization which would tend toward good citizenship.

2. Vast sums of money have been expended by the Dominion Government under the Department of Indian Affairs with this object in view.

3. Various denominations of the Christian church have expended much labor and money in seeking to supplement the laudable efforts of the Dominion Government for the elevation of the Indian people.

4. Such exhibitions of the Indians as the one proposed by the town of Macleod became so common a few years ago that an agitation was organized seeking to put an end to these practices, and for the following reasons which were well established in the public press of Alberta and of the city of Winnipeg:

(a) The Indians have not reached that stage of development where they are able to distinguish between the idea of a show and of a serious act; thus when a serious exhibition is proposed they quit their work on the reserves weeks before and do not take up their duties until weeks after the special occasion.

(b) This results in neglected gardens, unsown and unreaped fields, hay contracts lost and business generally disorganized.

(c) Further and more serious results are found in the dissipation of the Indians themselves: drunkenness and immorality are very prevalent upon such occasions.

(d) The time of Indian agents, farm instructors and missionaries is spent largely in vain, and money contributed both by the government and the church in good faith is wasted and misapplied. The time for the solution of the Indian problem is thus postponed indefinitely.

⁸⁸ From Report of Methodist Committee On Moral and Social Reform. (1912, June 12). *The Western Globe*, p. 6.

5. When the question was taken up in the public press, one of the chief arguments used by the promoters of these exhibitions was that they had been allowed for the entertainment of important and prominent parties who were traveling through or visiting the West.

6. The Federal Department of the Interior, having charge of Indian affairs throughout Canada, has recently issued instructions to the various municipalities in Western Canada, forbidding such Indian pageants and parades, which action was greatly appreciated by the white settlers, the agents upon the reserves and the missionaries working among the Indians, as well as [by] the Christian Indians of this province. The press announcement to the effect that instructions would be issued which would permit the proposed Indian parade at Macleod was read with great surprise and deep regret.

Therefore this Alberta Conference is confident that your Royal Highness will do a lasting favor to the Indians of the Dominion and a great service to those who are laboring among them if you turn your influence against this enthusiasm, to do honor to your approaching visit, which will stoop to the jeopardizing of the character of the subjects of the realm.

“Children are torn from their mothers’ arms”⁸⁹ (1912)

Star Blanket, Chief of a Cree band of Indians at File Hills, son of White Calf, a Chief who signed a Treaty with the Great White Mother speaks to the Great White Chief who has come such a long way to visit us. A distance so great that we have no way of speaking to you, only when a time such as this comes. We have waited patiently for many years for a chance to speak to some one who would carry a message to the Government and our white brothers in the east.

The first part of our message, Great Chief, is one of good wishes and peace to yourself first, and then to the Government. For as I was born with two legs and as these two legs have not yet quarreled, so I wish to live in peace with the white people.

When I was in middle life the Government of the Great White Mother sent some wise men to ask us to give them much land. A large camp of Indians was made near Qu’Appelle, and there the Government and Indians after much talking signed a treaty, on paper, and much was promised as well. One of these papers has been carefully kept by us, and by it we Indians gave to the Government a large piece of land and held back for ourselves some small pieces as Reserves.

In the treaty we made then, the Government promised to make a school for every band of Indians on their own Reserve, but instead little children are torn from their mothers’ arms or homes by the police or Government Agents, and taken sometimes hundreds of miles to large schools, perhaps to take sick and die when their

⁸⁹ From Ahchacoosacootacoopits (Chief Star Blanket). (1912). A LETTER GIVEN TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL BY CHIEF STAR BLANKET IN WHICH HE ASKS THE WHITE MAN TO LIVE UP TO THEIR TREATY OBLIGATIONS. RG10, Volume number: 4068, Microfilm reel number: C-10183, C-10183, File number: 422752. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada. Written by Ahchacoosacootacoopits (Chief Star Blanket) (1845 – 1917)

family cannot see them. The little ants which live in the earth love their young ones and wish to have them in their homes. Surely us red men are not smaller than these ants.

For many years I have not been paid all my treaty money. It was not much, only twenty-five dollars each year. I need it much, as I am now nearly eighty years old and [un]able to work.

I do not care so much for myself, as I am nearly finished with life, but for many years I have had a sore heart watching my old people nearly starving.

When will the good white people see down through the clouds from the big hills where they have plenty, to the poor Indian on the prairie?

The white people have men they send to Ottawa to speak for them, but we have no one. If the Government could understand all, I feel sure they would make our life easier. And now, Great Chief, we have much that could be said, but I cannot at this time.

The buffalo and deer are gone, and our people will soon be hard to find, but while we are still here I would ask the Government not to forget their treaty, to send out some honest men to enquire into our troubles and let us explain them. And then, as the Great Spirit live[s], I trust justice will be done.

“The school at St. Albert”⁹⁰ (1913)

St. Albert [in Alberta] enjoys quite a distinction in the fact that it is the home of the Catholic bishop. From St. Albert, the work of the diocese is directed. There is located the Bishop’s palace. The parish church or cathedral is located at St. Albert, and the Sisters of Charity conduct there a convent or school for both boys and girls, an orphanage, and a school for Indians. The Arch-Bishop also resides at St. Albert.

There are three separate and distinct institutions of learning in these schools. The orphanage is one school of itself and quite an undertaking. The school for boys and girls, white children, who are boarded at the convent, is another work of no small magnitude, while the labor in teaching the children of the red man is a task of still larger proportions. Each work is kept distinct and apart. The white children are housed and fed at the convent and are schooled at the public school where four grey nuns are teaching.

WORK WITH INDIANS

Teaching the Indian children is a work upon which the school at St. Albert was founded. And the sisters will not give that up until the arrival of the day when there will be no Indian children to teach. For more than half a century these grey nuns have been teaching the Indian children. The school was established for that purpose; teaching these children is in reality the major work of the institution, although the number of white children and number of orphans in the orphanage are increasing quite rapidly.

⁹⁰ From HOME OF BISHOP HOME OF SCHOOLS. (1913, August 9). *The Edmonton Capital*, p. 25.

Indian boys and girls are kept in school until they are 18 years of age. They are taught book lore as well as courses in practical things. Manual training is given a prominent place in the school. The boys are taught to work on the farm handling horses and engaging in agriculture when they become old enough. As they enter their teens they are given more out-door practical instruction and less school indoors. Experience has taught these Catholic sisters the practical and most efficient way to teach the aborigine, and they utilize the most effective methods. The work of the nuns has been so effective that the Dominion recognized it in a way and gives the school a small fee per capita of full blooded Indians. The half- or quarter-breed child, however, receives no such recognition and but for the work of the school, his environment would undo tendency to white men's point of view and mode of living that breeding might have instilled.

The school begins to pay a small monthly wage to Indian boys after they have attained 14 or 15 years of age. This may start at a few dollars a month, and by the time the boy is 18 years of age, he may be receiving \$10 a month or maybe more. This money is placed aside to the credit of the pupil so that when his eighteenth birthday arrives and he leaves the school, he has several hundred dollars in money and can purchase a team of horses or enter upon a homestead, or seek some other channel for future endeavor.

The sisters have a farm in connection with the school, and it is upon this farm that the Indians are taught husbandry. There are about 900 acres in this farm. It is this farm that makes the maintenance of this school possible. Here is raised food for the table. And there are several hundred mouths to feed three times a day. Stock is raised to provide meat. Wheat is grown and other grains, and the school garden is unexcelled. Cows supply milk and cream, and butter is made. The institution tries to produce as much of its supplies as possible and makes remarkable strides in that direction.

All this is managed and directed by women, by grey sisters. Sister M. A. Leduc is Sister Superior, and in charge of the institution. [...] In the grey nuns' enterprise at St. Albert, 29 sisters are devoting their lives. The number is really too small. Half a century ago the work was started with three sisters. It has increased ten fold.

“Quiet revolutions going on in educational work”⁹¹ (1916)

Mr. John Hawkes, who has had both the aptitude and the opportunity for observation, has made public his opinion as to the civilizability of the Canadian west. There is a “colony” of Indians on the File Hills reserve, and he speaks enthusiastically of what has been accomplished for and by them through the intelligent efforts made by the agent on the reserve, Mr. Graham, “who has proved that the Indian can be made a self-supporting and even an enterprising and patriotic Canadian citizen.”

To make the experiment a real success the work of evolution should begin in the Indian's youth and should be carried on with the object of preparing the boys to

⁹¹ From The Western Indian. (1916, April 14). *The Crossfield Chronicle*, p. 4.

be farmers and the girls to be housewives. Under such a regime, begun early and kept up continuously, the Indian boys and girls will differ little in capacity and progress from white boys and girls similarly treated. The “discovery” made by Mr. Hawkes during a recent visit to the File Hills “colony” is analogous to the discovery made by many observers who have visited the late Booker Washington’s colony at Tuskegee.

One of the quiet revolutions going on in educational work is connoted by the descriptive expression, “putting the whole child to school.” Here it may be on a farm, there in a workshop, but always the essential feature of the new education is the training concurrently of the physical and mental capacities. Among the advantages that may be enumerated as resulting from such a combination of trainings is the upkeep of the interest of the children in their school work. It is precisely this advantage that is sought by those educational reformers who are striving to bring about an admixture of kindergarten work with the ordinary primary work of the junior first grade in the public schools, and of manual training and domestic science with the academic work of the highest public school grades.

“Indians of the West” as seen by Father Hugounard⁹² (1916)

I wish I had a better command of the English language to enable me to relate my experiences and impressions more interestingly, but the first language I had to learn when I came to this country in 1874, was that of the Cree Indians, as there was no need for English then, or for years afterwards.

The Indians are no longer the lords of the prairie, having at last settled down on Reserves of their own selection; but forty-two years ago, with the exception of four Hudson’s Bay officers and three missionaries, the Indians and the Halfbreeds were the sole occupants of our beautiful plains and practically formed the whole population of Saskatchewan.

In what I have to say, I shall chiefly confine myself to the Indians of the Southern part of Saskatchewan, mostly those grouped in Treaty No. 4, amongst whom I have spent the last forty-two years.

THE OLD DAYS

In the old days, what long trips we took through the prairie, when the only occupants were the Indians, antelope, buffalo and that disturber of the night, the coyote. I never expected, then, to see these almost boundless expanses so quickly become vast fields of grain, intersected by railways dotted with thriving villages and towns, and supporting a happy and progressive white population drawn to our fertile prairies from the four quarters of the globe, mingling together and becoming good citizens of Canada and the Empire.

If some of us had chanced to camp or build our midday fire, thirty-five years ago, or even less, on the spot where this commodious clubhouse⁹³ now rises, who

⁹² Hugounard, J. (1916, May 27). INDIANS OF THE WEST. *The Regina Leader*, p. 13. Written by Father Joseph Hugounard (1848 – 1917), a Roman Catholic priest, founding principal of the Lebret Indian School and a key figure in the creation of the File Hills Colony.

⁹³ The Canadian Club at Regina.

would have been visionary enough to have expected in his lifetime to behold this flourishing city of Regina, this emporium of Saskatchewan, with its churches, schools, public buildings, parks, and magnificent Houses of Parliament, with its population of forty thousand people? What white man would have believed such a dream? What Indian could have understood it in the least, to behold in one spot more people than these simple nomads had any conception of?

DIFFERENT TRIBES

Five tribes, with different languages, compose the Indian population of Saskatchewan: the Chippewyan, living north of Prince Albert, the Sioux, Assiniboines, Crees and Ojibways or Saulteaux, living more on the plains and hunting the buffalo till 1884. From 1880 to 1884, they have settled on the Reserves that they selected along the Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan rivers or where there were hills for early grazing for their horses in spring, where there was shelter in winter and where there was hay, wood, water, game or fish.

The Sioux are United States Indians, and were fugitives to Canada; some came after the Minnesota massacre in 1862, and others after the Custer massacre in Montana, in 1876. They came into Canada before the formation of the Western Provinces, and Standing Buffalo's Band were allowed to stay and were placed on Reserves, not given them, but loaned, because they were never recognized as Canadian Indians. They receive no annuity and have only the use of their Reserves.

THE SIOUX

The Sioux from Minnesota came here under the leadership of Chief Standing Buffalo, and are now living on five small Reserves. The Sioux from Montana were under the leadership of Chief Sitting Bull, who had a following of several thousand, including men, women and children, and for some years they dwelt on the plains around Wood Mountain, and as long as the buffalo were plentiful, made an easy living, but when the prairie fires destroyed the grazing grounds and drove the buffalo across the [U.S.] boundary, the Sioux were faced with starvation, as they dared not venture into the United States.

In 1880, the whole of Sitting Bull's Band, coming north, passed by the "Pile of Bones" and came to the Qu'Appelle River and camped near Fort Qu'Appelle, seeking some means of making a living.

PILE OF BONES

The "Pile of Bones" really gave the name to the creek passing Regina: "Wascana" being a corruption of the Cree word "Oscana," meaning bones, from the quantities of bones on the banks of the creek, especially the pile of bones where the trail crossed the creek. Many were buffalo bones, but many were human, and I have been told that these were piled together by survivors, some years after a band of Indians had been decimated by an epidemic of small pox.

SITTING BULL

I remember very well a visit I received that year, at Lebret Mission, four miles east of Fort Qu'Appelle, from Sitting Bull and his braves. It was springtime, after a hard winter and not too successful a buffalo hunt the previous summer. The stock of dried buffalo meat, pemmican, and all other provisions, was almost exhausted, even

in Hudson's Bay Company stores, and I had to send to Fort Ellice for flour. Four carts could only bring twenty-four bags, and flour was then worth twenty dollars a bag of one hundred pounds.

A Sioux from Sitting Bull's camp must have observed the arrival of the flour at the Mission and reported, for the next day an unusual singing attracted my attention, and I saw a band of about seventy-five Sioux braves mounted on horses and bedecked with feathers and paint, coming towards the Mission. They announced their arrival by three loud whoops, tied their horses to the fence and came towards the house where I was the only white man.

An Indian still mounted was leading them: it was Sitting Bull, a rather short, stout man, with a large face and rather prominent under-lip; he rode in through the narrow gate, disdaining to dismount till quite at the door; he came in first, others followed, and all shook hands with me saying, "How, How, Coda." By this salute I knew they were Sioux whose language I could not understand, so I went out at once and sent for a Halfbreed who could talk Sioux.

There was not room enough for all inside the house, so some sat outside. In the meantime, I gave them tobacco to smoke and gave directions to cook all our dried buffalo meat and some bacon, as it was about dinner-time and a custom of the country to always give a meal to visitors. There was hardly enough meat for half of them; some had to be satisfied with bannock, vegetables we had over from the winter, and with tea and sugar.

All this time I had been unable to speak with these men and was wondering what their intentions were. Soon after the meal was over, the Halfbreed interpreter I had sent for arrived, and I then asked Sitting Bull if he wished to talk to me. He stood up, shook hands with me and said:

"Black Robe, we shake hands with you. You know that there are no buffalo on the plains since the fire of last fall: want of provisions made us leave Wood Mountain and come up here, hoping to make a living by fishing, trading off some of our horses, and by other dealings with the people up here; but we find food very scarce here also, and many of us hadve to depend on the wild turnip and gophers. I have never been afraid of any enemy, but I cannot stand the sight of our children crying with hunger. We hear you have a good quantity of flour and we have come to ask you for some of it."

Sitting Bull sat down and they all had another smoke while I was preparing my reply. I stood up, took hands with him and said:

"I am sorry to hear you are almost starving, still it is no surprise to me as I know provisions are very scarce. I have had to send a long way for flour myself, not to trade, but for the use of the Mission, of which I am only manager and not proprietor. However, we must be neighborly in this country and help one another in time of need. I have flour and you have none; you require it and you may have other things which I would be willing to take in exchange for flour."

CONTRIBUTIONS

The Indians applauded, and Sitting Bull took his blanket from his shoulders and gave it to me. I must say that at that time there was practically no money in the

West; the N. W. Mounted Police were the only ones who had cash: all business was done by exchange. Other Indians gave me five horses; some still had different articles taken from the American soldiers after the massacre: saddles, bridles, good underclothing, hats, boots, etc. I knew I could get rid of anything I received from them again in payment to the Halfbreeds for work. Amongst other things were several watches, many of which had been costly, but the Indians had taken some of the wheels out for ear-rings or ornaments. I took the cases for what gold might be in them, and gave them flour, dry goods, ammunition, tea and all the vegetables I had from the previous year. All provisions at that time were high, and on the basis of flour at twenty dollars a sack, I gave the Sioux eight bags of flour which they could exchange and apportion among themselves, and they departed well satisfied. I was glad also to see them going away.

BACK TO THE STATES

Sitting Bull, however, did not remain long in Canada, as the Government refused to reserve any land for his band. Their food supply, the buffalo, had almost disappeared, and the United States Government were anxious to get them back and located on permanent Reserves where their whereabouts would be definitely known, as it was costing a great deal of money patrolling and guarding the boundary to prevent horse stealing and raiding incursions, which often ended in the death of settlers. In 1884, Sitting bull agreed to return to the States on the promise of an amnesty. About thirty families remained in the vicinity of Moose Jaw, and were lately given a small Reserve at Wood Mountain.

The Sioux are the best class of Indians I have met. They are more manly and intelligent, have stronger characters, better physique, and make their living with every little assistance from the Government.

[THE ASSINIBOINES]

The Assiniboines are a small tribe of Canadian Indians with a language somewhat similar to Sioux. There are only two bands of them in South Saskatchewan: one at Moose Mountain, the other near Sintaluta.

The Crees and the Ojibways form the bulk of the Indian population, and are settled on many widely scattered Reserves. There seems to be a tradition among all these Indians that they originally came from the north; and I was surprised, when in Mexico, to find, in several Indian languages there, the word "pakan," a nut, has the same meaning as among the Crees.

The study of the Indian languages is interesting and indicates their different characteristics.

THE CREES

The Cree and the Ojibway are somewhat affiliated, but the Cree and the Sioux are so widely different that it is difficult to believe that the language of these two tribes, now neighbors, ever had the same origin. The Sioux is easier to learn than Cree: the Sioux verb is not complicated and can be somewhat compared to the English verb, but the Cree verb is richer and more complicated.

Indians seem to have less intelligence than white people, but their faculty of observation is more developed and they have many words to express what they notice:

for instance, they have at least twelve words meaning the different kinds of snow, expressing in a word a condition that requires a sentence in English. They have no words to express metaphysical ideas or ideas of religion, and such words had to be made. The Cree word meaning Confirmation has seventeen syllables: "a-ya-mi-he-we-so-ki-te-hes-ka-ke-wi-to-mi-ni-to-win" and means: the greasing (unction) in religion which makes the heart strong. They had only names for things they had seen: when they first saw cheese, they called it edible soap, and when I was traveling among them I took cheese, as I knew none of them would ask me for it. Horses had evidently been acquired later than dogs, for "Atim" means dog, and "Mistatim" big dog, or horse. Their alphabet is shorter than ours: they have no "R", no "L", no "B", and no "D"; they replace these consonants by others for foreign names: for instance, for Mary, they say "Many", for Peter, "Petem" and for Montreal, they say "Moniac".

The Indian, through practice and natural observation, found their way over the prairie almost by instinct; a white man seldom becomes as clever, especially when overtaken by a storm.

ABOUT LARIVEE

In the winter of 1879-80, I was at Wood Mountain, attending to the spiritual welfare of over one hundred families of Halfbreeds. Sitting Bull's camp was near by. I heard that the N. W. Mounted Police interpreter for the Sioux Indians was a white man who spoke English, French and Sioux and knew Latin and Greek, and though a Catholic, never attended service and seemed to avoid me. Eventually I met him and induced him to tell me his history, of which I had already heard a little.

His name was Larivee, and he had been educated in Montreal. Deserting from college, he had come out here and was then living with two Sioux squaws. I told him that surely he did not intend to live, and far less to die, in that state and he agreed to change his mode of life later on, and I urged him in vain to make the change at once.

One morning he did not report at the barracks; after dinner a man was sent to the Sioux camp, one and a half miles away, to enquire about him, but he had not come home the night before, which had been stormy; he had evidently lost his way; search was made for a week, but after the snow storm no trace could be found. In the spring, crows flying round one spot attracted attention and [his] body was found half eaten by wolves and crows; he had lost his way in making a mile and a half [trip] from the barracks to his camp.

BEFORE SETTLEMENT

The Indians lived their pagan and nomad life as long as there were buffalo. Being on the prairie away from water courses which the white people used to come in to the country, these Indians remained quite savage. Buffalo supplied almost all their requirements: the meat provided food; the skin made tents, footwear, clothing and bedding, and in return for hides and meat they obtained what other articles they required from the Hudson's Bay Company or Halfbreed traders, without going among white people. The buffalo continued to increase as long as only the Indians hunted them, as they had not many horses and few guns; but when the skins became valuable, the Halfbreeds and white people soon killed the buffalo off. The

disappearance of the buffalo was a great help in confining the Indians on their Reserves.

When Indians captured buffalo and wished to keep them alive for a while, they took out their eyes and placed them where there was good grass and water, having learnt that they would wander only a very short distance, from watching buffalo that had been blinded in prairie fires.

WHAT ONE SQUAW KNEW

Indians are a degenerated race. Coming, of course, from the same origin as ourselves, they have still some vague traditions of the creation, of the deluge, of the downfall of the first woman. The Indians were no fetishists, but were called pagan, as they had no knowledge of Christianity. Pagan Indians have no definite religious belief, but all agree upon the existence of a dual divinity: the Great Spirit above, as the author of all good, and the Spirit below, as the author of all evil. Fearing lightning, sickness and death, they ask the Good Spirit to give them long life, and the evil Spirit not to send them lightning, sickness or death. They consider their dances as an act of religion, equivalent, they claim, to the white people's prayers, and kneeling down on Sundays. Pagan Indians claim they have been made from black clay and white people from white clay; that they have a different origin, a different religion and a different heaven; they say a place of punishment may be necessary for white people who are bad enough to require one, but for themselves they need no place of punishment, all going sooner or later to their happy hunting grounds.

I once spoke to an old squaw about her soul and the next life, as she had not long to live on earth; she listened to me and said: "My grandson, do not speak to me about the next world; I know more than you do about it."

I said: "What do you know, grandmother?"

She said: "Once we were going buffalo hunting and had with us a sick aunt who had been baptized on her forehead; she was sorry for it and kept rubbing and scratching her forehead, being afraid that something would remain. We took good care of her, but she died. As it was winter time and the ground frozen hard, we left the tent standing with the body in it. The buffalo were not far, and we soon came back with our loads of meat and skins. Imagine our surprise to see our aunt alive. We were afraid of her, but she called us and said: 'My grand children, do not be afraid; the Great Spirit sent me down to warn you. When I died I went to the heaven of the Indians, but they said; You have been baptized and you are covered with crosses; go to the heaven of the white people. When I got there, they said: Grandmother, you have the skin of an Indian; we will not take you here. So I warn you not to be baptized or become Christians.'"

"SPECIAL MEDICINE"

Although pagan Indians believe in their happy hunting grounds, they seem to have no desire to hasten their departure from this life, and death is the greatest object of their fear. They have no faith in the medicine of the white doctors, claiming that the skin of an Indian is not like the skin of white people, and that the Great Spirit has made special medicine for them.

The doctors or medicine men among them are considered to have special and even supernatural gifts, to know the properties of herbs and roots, of dried frogs and small animals. Before and while treating a patient, the medicine-man performs pagan ceremonies and incantations, using a rattle freely. A common and, no doubt, frequently beneficial part of the treatment consists of the vapor bath obtained by sprinkling water upon hot stones in a tight little tent just big enough for the patient. The medicine man also frequently applied his mouth to the seat of the pain, and pretended to draw it out by suction. The cure of consumption in the last stage consisted in laying the nude patient in the body of a buffalo just killed and opened, so that the heat of the buffalo would draw out the disease. The medicine man also had medicine for his own enemies and the enemies of his customer, pretending he could disfigure an Indian but not a white man.

The pagan Indians bury their dead as quickly as possible, seldom using a coffin, simply wrapping the body in clothing worn during the deceased's illness. Relatives are not supposed to keep anything which has belonged to the dead or which would remind them of the departed one, even deserting the buildings, which were seldom occupied again, and never mentioning the dead by name. Other Indians could, however, take away and use the property of the deceased, but were expected to repay the relatives with some other article later on. Pagan Indians have only one name which is given by a noted relative some time after birth, and the name would die with the bearer; the son would never take the name of his father.

THE DEAD

The Sioux and Assiniboines used to place their dead on a scaffold erected on hills near the camp; children on a small hill and adults on the highest hill. In 1882 there were still many scaffolds supporting corpses on the hills surrounding Sitting Bull's camp at Wood Mountain; but about that time the N. W. Mounted Police insisted that the dead be buried in the ground hereafter. The head of a favorite horse or some other article, such as a pipe, costume or gun, was often hung at the corner of these scaffolds for the use of the deceased in the other life. The idea of the scaffold and of its erection on a hill was to enable the dead to watch the buffalo and see friends passing on the prairie. The mother or the widow had to go under the scaffold at sunset for a week and, while weeping, loudly praise the qualities of the deceased; sometimes the mourner cut off his or her hair and would mutilate the body by scratches and incisions on the chest, arms and legs, in the most ostentatious manner possible, to attract attention to the mourner and display their personal bravery.

AN INDIAN CUSTOM

There is a custom amongst most of the pagan Indians, even yet, that after a man marries he never looks in the face or has direct communication with his wife's near relatives. There need be no ill-feeling between the parties; they would borrow from and have communication with each other through an intermediary, but it was considered to bring very bad luck to have direct communication.

Among pagan Indians, woman is considered as an inferior being; the name of "isquao," which has been corrupted into "squaw," means the lowest or last being. A woman had no choice in marriage; she simply belonged to the man who bought her

and kept her during his pleasure. I know an Indian who is still alive who bought two sisters; he killed one and kept the other, who had to stay with him. I know a woman who was often threatened with death by her husband; on a warm day he was sleeping on the grass after the mid-day meal, having threatened the woman; she made up her mind this day should not be her last and she took an axe and split his head open. According to Indian custom or law, nothing was done to her, on account of the drunkenness and well known threats of her late husband. This happened, of course, before the establishment of the white man's law.

WOMAN LABOR

The woman had to do all the manual labor; supply the teepee with wood and water, cook the food, skin and bring to camp the meat of animals killed by her husband, dry the meat, make pemmican, and dress the hides for barter, or make them into teepees or clothing. The work of a man was hunting and care of his horses.

I was advising an Indian to farm on his reserve, like the white people in the vicinity were doing, as there was hardly any game left, and he said:

“When we farm we have to work in the fields, and our women sit down and laugh at us working; and the government has given us oxen that do not understand Cree, and when we tell them to go to the left, they go to the right; they cannot understand us.”

The majority of pagan Indians placed little restraint on their inclinations and passions, indulging in laziness, pride, anger, drunkenness, gambling and immorality when opportunity arose, without moral restraint, the only deterrent being fear of bodily injury or punishment under the white man's law. In the old days the height of their ambition as to steal from and kill their enemies. Their nomadic life, the dispersal of the property of the dead and their fondness for gambling discouraged accumulation of property, and their ambition in this line consisted of having a good horse, gun, saddle and articles of personal adornment.

Most Indians, women as well as men, would drink all the intoxicants they could procure and barter anything they had for whiskey. Even under the strict preventive laws now existing, Indians still get intoxicants, and some deaths every year are the results of secret drunken carousals.

Although usually there was no gross immorality among the pagan Indians, and women were usually decently dressed, still polygamy and hereditary diseases would indicate their want of morality.

THE INDIANS' ANNUITY

The Indians first received annuity money at the treaty in 1874. Chief Pasqua received \$25 for himself and \$15 for each of his six wives and numerous children, numbering about twenty altogether. This money was in new one-dollar bills. His favorite wife followed the chief about the trading post, carrying the money in a buckskin sack, and when they had made a selection of goods wanted, she handed the bag of money to the trader to pay himself.

The men used to be scantily clothed; a pair of leggings and breech cloth in summer time, and a blanket for cold weather composing their costume day and night, fine or wet. Sundays and week-days, summer and winter; though they bedecked

themselves in paint, fancy head-dresses and costumes for special occasions, dances, etc. I asked an Indian one cold day if he did not feel cold on his bare thighs, and he asked me if I felt cold on my cheeks, saying his thighs were just like my cheeks.

INDIANS VAIN

Indians were exceedingly vain and fond of bright colors, and paint[ed] themselves, their tepees and horses and bedecked themselves with beadwork and ornaments; but intense pride is the Indian's most surprising characteristic; pagan Indians considered themselves much superior to white people, whom they looked down upon as children, requiring many things, such as forks, spoons, combs, soap, etc., etc., in the same way as children require toys. They called the white man "Monias," which means someone green or of little or no experience. I know nothing more typical of Indian pride than a speech made by Chief Piapot before a large gathering at Lebret on the occasion of the visit of the Superior-General of the Oblate Order from Paris in 1895.

THE INDIANS' ADDRESS

In the programme of the festivities was a meeting where Indian chiefs could address our Superior-General. The first speaker was a Christian chief named O'Soup. He said:

"We salute you and shake hands with you, Great Chief of the Black Robes. We have heard of you and of your country before you came, and we are glad to see you. We hear you come for the first time from a far-away country across the big water, in which grow all kinds of big berries and all kinds of animals. We know it must be a good country since all our Black Robes come from there. You must be a great chief because we were told that a word from you makes the young Black Robes leave their parents, their country and all they have, to come here and live among us, although we talk another language; although food, clothing, climate and many things are not what they were used to. Some go even further north where there is more hardship than here. Still they look well, they are well combed, well washed, well dressed; their mothers must have loved them very much; but they come as soon as you speak. We thank you today for having sent them and for having come to see us. Send us more Black Robes, as some of us have not seen nor heard them yet. I salute you for all the Christian Indians."

PIAPOT

The next speaker was Piapot, a pagan chief. He came with his long hair, his feathers and painted face and was wrapped in a brightly colored blanket; he was applauded by his men; he said:

"Chief from across the big water, you see here nearly all my men, who have come to shake hands with you. We know that you come from the land of pale faces. If I wanted to praise them, I could also, like the other chief, put some sugar on my tongue; but I will not do so. The Great Spirit has made a land for the white people across the big water, but they did not find it good enough and they are coming to take our land; the Great Spirit made buffalo for us and the white people came and killed them; the Great Spirit made berries for us and the white people have put up fences

around them and told us 'Do not go there'; and these berries were made for us. The white people are using our wood, our hay and killing our game.

"In order to become sole masters of our land they relegated us to small reservations as big as my hand and made us long promises, as long as my arm; but the next year the promises were shorter, and got shorter every year until now they are the length of my finger, and they keep only half of that.

"The white people are so stingy that they gather everything; when we blow our nose we throw the rotten stuff away, but white people have always a piece of cotton to blow their nose in, and they save up this filth in their pocket.

"Now, Great Chief, I am not speaking against you, as you seem to be good; but tell the pale faces across the big water what the Indians say here. Do not tell lies about us as some did; tell the truth. We shake hands with you."

Piapot received an ovation from his pagan following.

What has been said here of the Indians refers to them all as long as they lived their nomad life, hunting the buffalo, and applies still to a large extent to the pagan Indians on the reserves; but a change has taken place among the Christian Indians and is also gradually taking place among the others, owing to their contact with civilization and the supervision given them by Indian agents and farm instructors.

MODE OF LIVING

The mode of living on the reserve was widely different from what it had been on the prairies; buffalo meat was replaced by bacon; the Indians did not know how to raise or even to use vegetables other than the wild turnip and wild onion; a few, however, knew how to grow potatoes. They lived in small houses without floors, consequently their health was not as good as before when they lived in teepees, the site of which was often changed, and they decreased in number by about a half, though the pagan Indians blame this decrease on the white people for having brought among them diseases that were unknown before.

It was soon found out that very little could be done on the reserve alone to civilize the old Indian brought up on the prairies. In 1882 Archbishop Tache, Bishop Grandin, of Edmonton, and Rev. Father Lacombe obtained from Sir John A. Macdonlad a promise that schools for the Indian children be established similar to the Indian schools in the United States. In the session of 1882-83 the Parliament made an appropriation for the establishment of three industrial boarding schools for educating the Indian youth, away from the influences of the reserve, at Qu'Appelle, Battleford and Calgary.

At first great difficulty was encountered in getting the pagan Indians to send their children to school, away from their homes. Indians have a natural attachment for their children and like to have them about more for their own gratification than for the welfare of the children, as they place very little restraint on them, never use corporal punishment and indulge them in every way in their power. Their objections to sending their children to school were that they would learn the ways of white people and this would lessen the fondness for their parents, that when sick, white doctors would attend them and give them medicine unsuited to the Indian, and that their hair would be cut short. Later on, when they saw their children performing

gymnastics and playing in the brass band, their objections were that the Indians were not made to hang on bars by their hands, that their chests were not made to blow into the brass tubes and that they objected to their being drilled as soldiers, as they may be made to fight against the Indians in case of another rebellion. Pagan Indians persisting in their refusal to send their children to the school, they caused the government to make education compulsory.

THE CHILDREN

Indian children are easily managed and educated; they are less intelligent than white children, especially in the faculty of reasoning, but are good at any imitative work, such as penmanship and drawing. The great difficulty in civilizing the young generation is to make ex-pupils persevere in the habits acquired at school. Their success, when they return to the reserve at the age of eighteen, depends almost entirely upon the supervision and wise and firm handling given them by the Indian agents and farm instructors.

A discourse on the Indians of this part of Saskatchewan would not be complete without a reference to the Halfbreeds.

THE WORD HALFBREED

To many "foreigners" the word "halfbreed" has almost the same meaning as Indian, and the difference in most cases, is very slight. Most of the halfbreeds are descendants of French-Canadian and Scotch employees of the fur-trading companies. Their marriage with the Indian women was legalized, and the families instructed, when the missionaries came into the country.

When the halfbreeds became numerous they were encouraged to farm in Manitoba, but want of markets for their produce, plagues of grasshoppers and floods in the valleys where they had mostly located, drove most of them onto the prairies further west where they could make an easy living, as a rule, by buffalo hunting and trapping fur-bearing animals. As long as they lived by themselves they were a simple, honest, moral and contented people. The halfbreeds were [an] intermediary between the white people and the Indians, between the missionaries and the pagans, and no doubt greatly facilitated the civilization and Christianization of the Indians.

When the treaty with the Indians of Saskatchewan was made, the halfbreeds were at liberty to join the different bands of Indians, and many did so, but most of them preferred the privileges of white people to living on the reserves, where they would be minors and classed as Indians. When land scrip was given the halfbreeds in settlement of their grievances, after the Riel rebellion of 1885, many halfbreeds left the reserves and took scrip.

RECOGNIZED BY LAW

Although the halfbreeds form this intermediate class between the white people and the Indians, they are recognized by the law only as white men or Indians. It would have been in their interest and in the interest of the public if the halfbreeds had not been put on the same footing as white people for land, education and liquor; very few appreciate land or education, and indulgence in liquor has led to many crimes and pauperized most of them. At present, in this part of Saskatchewan, the

halfbreeds who remained on the reserves are classed as Indians and are much better off than the halfbreeds scattered through the country and classed as white people.

Mr. Abbott, of the Board of Indian Commissioners of the United States, who made a study of the whole Canadian Indian question in 1914, was very favorably impressed with the Indian Act of Canada and its practical enforcement, but warns the United States against granting too early enfranchisement, saying: "The condition of the halfbreeds in Canada, if we had no similar examples in this country, should be a warning against too early removal of restrictions from the lands of the Indians in the United States."

CHRISTIANITY NEEDED

I believe that without Christianity, permanent civilization and progress on the reserves is impossible and the only place most Indian children can get any instruction in this line is at school. In the United States no financial support is given to the educational work of the missionaries, as is done in Canada, and Mr. Abbott says, in his report to Washington:

"The difference between Canada and the United States as respects the attitude towards the churches which have engaged in educational and missionary work among the Indians is that Canada, from the beginning, has frankly recognized her debt to the churches and her need of their continual help, whereas the United States government, by raising the fetish of 'church separation,' has weakened the effectiveness of missionary work among the Indians and has come near to depriving the Indian youth of really beneficial religious instruction in the schools."

A HAPPY FUTURE

I believe the Indians of Canada have a useful and happy future. That they can become prosperous and public-spirited farmers, the success of the colony of ex-pupils from various schools which has been developed by Mr. Inspector Graham clearly demonstrates, and Mr. Abbott, among his recommendations to Washington, says:

"The File Hills Colony for ex-pupils embodies ideal methods of dealing with returned students which are practicable to adopt on many reservations in the United States."

A NEW PROBLEM

In conclusion, I would say that a new problem in Indian matters may be arising; for, while most Indians have been contributing splendidly to the Red Cross and Patriotic Funds, a great number of the ex-pupils of our Indian schools have enlisted and are now drilling or actually serving the Empire "somewhere in France."

It is impossible to predict what the effect of mingling with and being treated as the equals of, and knowing that they are in many cases the superiors of their white comrades will be upon these young soldiers when they return to their reserves. It will not be in their own interest or to the benefit of the country to allow them to leave their reserves and obtain the suffrage, as no doubt some will demand: and while their ideas will have been broadened and the influence of the old generation of hunting Indians will be lessened, I believe it will take another generation at least before education and religion will have transformed and civilized the Indian race into a people fit to participate in the citizenship of Saskatchewan.

“A very active interest in the war”⁹⁴ (1917)

Mr. William M. Graham, who is Inspector of Indian Agencies and who is visiting in Ottawa, has under his jurisdiction the reservations of Eastern Saskatchewan covering some 5,000 Indians. He has been in the Indian service for some 34 years and is exceedingly enthusiastic in regard to the possibility of the Indians being made self-supporting. The experiment which he has carried on in the File Hills Reservation is especially interesting. Some 11 years ago, he established a colony made up of Indians who were graduates of the various industrial schools, which are supported by the Indian Department. Last year this colony comprised 36 farmers and had a total population of 250.

It was found that when the Indian graduated from the industrial schools, they went back to their homes they were apt to revert to primitive conditions. In establishing the colony, there was at first located 80 acres for each farmer. It has been found necessary to increase this. In some cases, an Indian is farming as much as 400 acres. Those resident in the colony are Cree Indians. In some cases last year the Indian farmer in this colony produced from 8,000 to 10,000 bushels of grain. The production of grain and cattle marketed in this colony by the Indians last year was about \$83,000.

New colonists are continuously being settled from among the graduates of the Indian schools. The Indian industrial schools are attended both by Indian boys and Indian girls, and the graduates are encouraged to marry and settle down in farming.

The Indian so engaging in farming during the first year after he graduates has work found for him as a farm laborer among the white farmers. He is expected to save this money. The Government advances him the price of a yoke of oxen, ploughs and harness. This is repayable in four years. There has been no difficulty in getting the advances repaid.

In the general territory of Eastern Saskatchewan, which is under Mr. Graham's jurisdiction, Indian farmers this year produced some 289,000 bushels of grain; the total sales were worth about \$300,000.

Under better conditions as to food, sanitation, and medical care, the average size of the Indian family is increasing. On the colony above referred to it is about twice what it was when the Indians were in a wandering condition. Their homes are clean and comfortable. They purchase books, take the daily papers, and are keen on keeping in touch with the news. The graduates of the industrial schools are very anxious to have their children educated. Their children speak English almost exclusively.

HAVE SENT MANY SOLDIERS

The Indians have taken a very active interest in the war. In the colony 17 able-bodied Indians out of 36 have gone, and the balance are anxious to go. The reports

⁹⁴ From J.S.M. (1917). Canada's Indians and the War; Fighting and Contributing Money. *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 4.

from commanding officers show that they are very good soldiers and well disciplined. The majority of those enlisting are employed as snipers and scouts. Out of 11 who were in France at one time from the colony, nine were on a given date in hospitals as the result of wounds. They are very anxious to recover so as to get back to the front. They write home very enthusiastically about the treatment that has been given them in England. Recently one Indian offered himself for the navy and is now at Halifax training.

Practically all of the Indians who have gone to the front are married. One man who had nine children used to go around to see Mr. Graham in regard to enlistment: his way of expressing it was that he heard "Kitchener calling him." He enlisted and is now at the front.

The name of Kitchener appeals especially to the Indians. One of them writing home said that when he was in England he, with some others, had visited the House of Lords, and that he had seen under one hat-peg the name of Lord Kitchener inscribed. He said that he touched the hat-peg and then bowed to it, and afterwards did himself the honor of hanging his hat on the same peg.

The parents of the soldiers are actively interested in the war. They enquire daily for news. The old Indians, sometimes spoken of as the blanket or long-haired Indians, are also desirous of going. If there is an invasion of Canada, they want to have a chance of taking their part in repelling it.

GIVE TO PATRIOTIC FUNDS

The Indians generally have given very generously to the various patriotic funds. The File Hills Colony has averaged \$13 per capita, man, woman, and child, for the Patriotic Fund, etc. They pay more to the Patriotic Fund than they are getting out of it. Recently one of the long-haired Indians came in with a load of wood which he sold for \$3; he immediately turned this money into the Patriotic Fund. Some Indians have given as much as \$150 in a year to the Patriotic and Red Cross Funds.

"By both church and the government"⁹⁵ (1921)

Boarding schools jointly supported by the church and the government have been established at various points through the west for the education of Indian children, and an Indian youth can be placed in one of these institutions [...] and [be] fed, clothed, and educated until eighteen years of age at no cost to the parents.

Boys have learned how to farm, to run steam engines, to work out mathematical problems, and be in every way fitted for their goal – citizenship – and many of them, though not granted the rights of citizens, went overseas and died in "Flanders Fields" for their country and world liberty. Education awakens desire and forces that can be found in Indian nature even after centuries of idleness and lack of national ambition.

⁹⁵ From Donaghy, J. A. (1921, January 8). INDIANS OF WEST ARE PROBLEM FOR CHURCH AND STATE. *The Edmonton Journal*, p. 11. Written by Rev. James Alexander Donaghy (1871 – 1955).

TRAINING INDIAN BOYS

What is the future of the Indian in the west? Much depends upon the influence brought to bear upon him by both church and government. Both must be held equally responsible for what becomes of the boy or girl graduate during the first few years after leaving school. Allowing them to return to a one-roomed hovel to be laughed at for desiring privacy, or wishing to be clean and neat, is one sure method of undoing all that has been done, and yet in many cases this is the fate of well-dressed girls of good figure and excellent taste. Within a year they are going around with a shawl over their heads and clothing tied on "any old way."

One experiment has been tried and proven successful, and why should we not have more along similar lines? I refer to the File Hills colony. Here boys and girls, graduates, are induced to marry and take up land in the colony away from the old folks and pagan influences. Further words about this colony and with its neat homes, well built barns and granaries is unnecessary. Their war record is one to be proud of in their giving of both men and money. Why is this the only colony? Is the cost too much? Is the result not worth the money expended upon it? It is said a school was closed because of the excessive cost per pupil, but personal contact with the finished product has convinced many that it was well worth all it cost.

MORE SCHOOLS NEEDED

The present schools, if they receive adequate support and carry out some system of caring for and assisting their graduates, ought to produce a quality of pupil they might well be proud of. Not that money will do all things or remove all difficulties from the work, but at present we have several large reserves with vast stretches of good land lying idle, and graduates going home to these reserves to take part in old time dances to the beat of the tom-tom, or be ridiculed by their friends.

The future prospects of Indian work and the moral and spiritual future of the pupils depend upon whether the boarding or day school graduate is to be influenced more by the church and government, or the old traditions and customs holding sway upon so many of the reserves.

"Ought to be assimilated"⁹⁶ (1921)

My only claim in presuming to write this article, is that from boyhood and up to the present moment, I have been keenly interested in the problems that affect the Indian. This, perhaps, has been intensified during recent years, owing to the fact that I have been a missionary amongst the Salteaux and Cree Indians for nearly five years. I have often pondered over the question of assimilating the Indian into our civilization and making him a self-respecting, self-sustaining individual.

It is unnecessary for me to state that the aim of the government, the church, the school and all the civilizing agencies that exist for the benefit of the Indian is the final uplifting of this decadent race to the same status as that of the white man.

⁹⁶ From Taylor, R. C. (1921, March 26). Treaties Check Indians' Progress. *The Edmonton Journal*, p. 1. Written by Roy C. Taylor (1889 – 1963).

Someone says at once, vain hope! You might just as well try by some means or another to change his color as to change his mode of life. "Once an Indian always an Indian." Our hypothesis then is this: The Indian can and should be made self-supporting. It is impossible to make good, clean, moral, thrifty citizens while the life on the reservations is continued. The Indian within a few decades ought to be assimilated in our civilization, with the full rights of which we Canadians are proud.

GOVERNMENT OWES LIVING

Let one briefly summarize the obstacles to be overcome before any comprehensive program, as outlined, can be achieved. In the first place, it is well to remember that the Indian idea is "That the Government owes us a living," and that their happiness and prosperity depend in no degree upon their individual effort. This is due in the main to the system which has made the Indian a ward of the government. Just as long as the Indian receives his annual dole of money and rations from the Indian department at Ottawa, he will continue as he has for so many years, his life of indolence and pauperism. Surely the time has come for a change in our policy toward these people! While we would not forget for a moment the treaties entered into with the Indians by mutual agreement on both sides, it ought to be our aim to supplant them by something better.

In doing this we would not be breaking faith but would be doing the race a lasting good. In seeking to assimilate the Indian into our civilization, we would be offering him a vastly superior mode of life in place of one which has made of him an idle, unprogressive and dependent person.

On the formation of the treaties it was mutually agreed that these people should be kept on reservations. This was done, and in most cases as a result the Indian has kept on his old mode of life. Today, while some of the reserves are situated in the richest farming districts, the Indian still lives during the summer in his wigwam and in winter in his log house. The unsanitary conditions under which he lives and the one-roomed house, with sometimes four families under one roof, results in disease and immorality.

On witnessing such a state of affairs in place of the prosperity they should enjoy, we seriously ask ourselves the question, why should this be? On all sides are examples which if followed by the Indian would make him just the opposite. Were we to attempt a psychological explanation of this we would postulate that the Indian has not cultivated the imitative instinct in anything that would make for his permanent good and advancement.

To be fair, however, in our judgment of the case, let us remember that the fault does not lie entirely with the Indian. When we select men with as much care to represent the government on the reserves as we would those who represent us on our social service councils and institutions which make for our elevation, morally and socially, we will have gone far in establishing decency, self-respect and individuality amongst the Indians.

RESERVE LIFE DETRIMENTAL

Agreeing then, that the reserve life is demoralizing and productive of a decadent society, it is our duty to take from out of such an environment those who

show promise of better things, recognize them as units and train them for their places and let them occupy their positions as fully recognized citizens of Canada. Our Indian industrial schools are doing this as far as possible while the boy or girl is under their immediate care, but on their return to the reserve, there is a reversion to the old unambitious life.

I have said enough about the old reserve life to suggest that it is obsolete and that we will only see results for the money spent on education amongst the Indian boys and girls as we keep them away forever from their old surroundings.

Balcarres, Saskatchewan, is a step in the right direction, and the results fully justify the experiment. Here a boy is given eighty acres of land and help in starting to farm. If he does well, more land is given to him. Most of these ex-pupils are becoming good citizens, and the crop returns from year to year demonstrate that they are an asset to the state. In the year 1910 they threshed 60,000 bushels of grain, seven of them averaging over 4,000 bushels each.

The Indian is becoming more and more interested in agricultural pursuits. Chief Samson, of Samson reserve, Alberta, said in a speech at Stettler last summer, that the Indian must face the question of earning his living by farming.

The enchantment of the chase has now gone by and the Indian must seek now to share in the enchantment of production. This, he said, could only be achieved by hearty co-operation of Indian and white man. The most cordial relations must be cultivated and the old racial feeling of antipathy forever done away with.

In a recent newspaper I noticed an appeal by Mr. Loft for more consideration for his people. This, coming as it does from one who is an Indian and an ex-officer of the Canadian army, carries weight with it. I would like to have heard Mr. Loft, however, say that he appealed for the emancipation of his people from the old system of wardship which has been such a failure in dealing with the Indians.

NOT UNDER CHARITY

Look at a few concrete examples of Indians who have become self-sustaining. Mr. Loft says of the eastern tribes that they live in a more independent state than those in the west. They are more advanced in their progress and transition. Mr. Loft goes on to say that the Indians of the east as a whole living in their tribal state are self-supporting, inasmuch as they are not a charity. Again, he says neither are the uneducated elements of the west a charity. Why? Because the government has found it necessary to treat with them in the way it has in lieu of what the Indians have given as payment.

To these statements of Mr. Loft I must take exception. For a people to be really self-sustaining they must be possessed of more than the average Indian on our western reserves is. They must control their own affairs within the community, the same as do the white men. Real self-support does not only mean making one's own living independent of any governmental assistance. It means paying your own way in municipal, educational and religious affairs.

The time has surely come for our most progressive Indians in the east or the west to pay for the education of their children, to pay road taxes and to live as an independent citizen.

But you say the government owes the Indian life-long payment for the land that was once his sole possession. Isn't it time that idea was forgotten? Why should the citizens of Canada pay their hard-earned money into the government treasury only to be handed out in part to a people who, in the great majority of cases, will not help themselves so long as they are assisted by the Indian department?

No, we are not in the Indian's debt in a monetary sense. It was the natural order of events that the white race, with their superior civilization, should take possession of the vast continent which was used only as a hunting ground by a few thousand red-men. We do owe the Indian a moral debt, however. He has become contaminated by the parasites of our boasted superior civilization. We owe him the full right to express himself as the real Canadian of Canada. Give him the right to vote – let me put it more strongly – enfranchise him even against his petty scruples, and turn him loose amongst his white friends to make his way as does the illiterate Oriental or the radical Slav.

SUCCESSFUL INDIAN FARMERS

One might profitably consider, in concluding this article, two or three concrete instances of self-supporting Indians of the Samson and Ermineskin reserves, some fifty miles south of Edmonton. There is for example George Baptiste, of the Samson band, who makes a tolerably good showing as a farmer, and would do immeasurably better were he removed from those who, being too indolent to work for themselves, live on his generosity. On the Ermineskin reserve, Alex Whitebear is carrying on a well-equipped and well-stocked farm, and making a comfortable living and laying up a nice sum each year for his old age. Alex farms one hundred and twenty acres in an up-to-date manner. His land is well looked after and fertilized by a scientific method of crop rotation.

Another outstanding example is Dan Mines, who works a farm of one hundred and fifty acres in a most creditable fashion. This year he bought a tractor and broke up considerable new land. On his farm one will find every modern convenience in the way of implements. His horses are no longer the Indian cayuse, but well matched Percherons. Just one more instance of a self-sustaining Indian, Sam Bull of Goldfish Lake, Alberta. This Indian drives a modern Ford car, and is a prosperous farmer in every particular. He has a neatly kept farm and good buildings. His cattle and horses are numerous and above the average.

GAINS NEW VISION

These few examples will suffice to show that there are some Indians at least, who realize that their emancipation will come when they adopt the white man's way and cut loose from the old mode of life. As the Indian becomes enfranchised and cuts adrift from his old haunts to take his place shoulder to shoulder with the rest of society, he will catch a vision of the goal or ideal we are holding out to his race. Let us guard closely the sacred trust we bestow upon the Indian, when we enfranchise him, lest we have a duplication of bartering in the cases of the Indian, similar to that which too often happens in our foreign communities.

One cannot be too careful in our selection of those to whom we would give the full rights of citizenship. It would be well to make the Indian earn his freedom in this

regard. He would not only prize such freedom in that case, but would stimulate the rest of the band to strive toward a like goal.

HOPE OF RACE

We who have this problem at heart believe that we are on the verge of great developments in treating with our Indians. Were I of a prophetic nature I would venture to say that in the matter of a few decades we will not find on reservations in our fair Dominion a few wigwams or log houses inhabited by a few of a pauperized race, but we will find the red man assimilated in settlements with the white man. This we sincerely believe is the one hope of the Indian. In the new transformation, the older and the weaker Indians will suffer, but the great benefits accruing from the change will more than counter-balance the injury to those who belong to a decadent civilization. Such non-progressive elements sit around the council fires of a dying civilization; but the younger, more alert elements hear sounds of an oncoming age when they too shall share in the good things of life and reap richly of the rewards of their toil. These forward looking Indians are the hope of their race. To them we look for the realization of our aim of self-support among the Indians.

“Struck like a thunderbolt”⁹⁷ (1921)

Dipping back into the romantic history of the Blackfoot Indians and reviewing their wonderful progress during recent years, facts and incidents of intense human interest are encountered at every level of their evolution from a nomadic band of blanket Indians to self-respecting, industrious Canadian citizens.

Struck like a thunderbolt with an entirely new set of ideals and living standards in the heyday of their supremacy as rulers of the western plains, this virile tribe of Indians were forced overnight into an entirely new perspective of every phase of life encompassed by their primeval mentalities; and in assuming this new perspective, they had also to assume the grave responsibilities which it carried. Their means of common existence were not only blasted into the direct antithesis of their former habits, but the very foundation of their domestic relationship was uprooted and reshaped by the hand of the paleface missionary, whose work, let it be said, has and will always be a perpetual monument of self-sacrifice.

HAS CIVILIZATION BENEFITED INDIANS?

Stated briefly, they have risen within less than a generation from a semi-savage, untutored people to a semi-civilized, industrious community. Here naturally arises the question: Have they benefited by the transformation? And the answer to the question is purely relative. If health and morals are to be taken as the standard of human well-being, then no matter whatever civilization as a whole might have gained, the Indians themselves have lost. But if productive ability and civilization are reckoned as standards, they have gained. In adding up the two abstracts in each

⁹⁷ From Long Lance, S. C. (1921, June 11). Blackfoot Indians of This District Have in Last Fifty Years Evolved from Savage Hunters Into An Industrious People. *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 16. Written by Sylvester Clark Long Lance (1890 – 1932).

of the above hypotheses, some will doubtless find a perfect equation. Others will find one summing up greater than the other. But no matter whether the summing up of the latter hypothesis is greater than the former, or vice versa, the loss or gain to the Indians, as the case may be, is a legacy from the white man.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN SERIOUSLY RETARDED

The Indians' first gift from the white man was the worst that he had to give; hence he was thoroughly conversant with his evils before he had looked over the horizon of his civilization. Although this unfortunate fact, as might naturally be expected, has retarded the progress of the Indian, and has made it more difficult for him to discern the benefits of the new order over the old, the white race can not be blamed for it; for it was the smaller lower element of the race who unscrupulously opened the eyes of the red man in the wrong direction.

The above facts are known by the writer to be true of practically every one of the eighty-five tribes of Indians on the American continent. That they are equally true as applied to the Blackfeet, was borne out by investigations made on that reserve during the past week.

From these observations it might be concluded that the tale of the red man is one strewn with hopelessness and tragedy, but far be it from the writer's intention to convey any such impression, for to do so, would be an uncalled-for disregard of facts.

The red man is no longer "Lo, The Poor Indian." Quite the contrary, he has attained within a span stretching from infancy to middle-age, a degree of development that is enjoyed by barely one-half of those peoples who have known civilization for centuries past.

DIFFICULTIES INDIANS HAD TO CONTEND WITH

By placing the worst facts first, it is sought to bring out and accentuate the really marvelous transformation that has taken place among the Blackfeet and other Indians of this country. People are only too prone to exclaim impatiently that if they had only half the chance of the Indian, with his government-supplied implements, etc., they would make perceptibly better use of it. Such expressions spring either from unthoughtful or uninformed individuals. If they would stop one moment and mentally review the handicapped road which lay before the Indians from the outset, and at the same time, take into consideration the short length of time which it has taken him to shake off every natural instinct handed down to him by countless generations of forefathers, they, in common with those who have been closely associated with the Indian, would readily appreciate what the Indian has really accomplished with the aid of a clear-sighted government and a group of self-sacrificing employees and missionaries.

Superfluous explanations having been shunted in correlating the cold facts concerning the evolution of the Indian, qualifying clauses, equally true and significant, will now dissipate much of the hopelessness that might be conveyed by the prefacing statements of this article.

For instance, the fact that the Indians' health and morals are lowered by the advent of civilization into their midst, is by no means disparaging to him; for today any Indian agent or missionary will tell you that the average Indian is morally better

than the average white man. The moral deterioration is purely relative to the former status of the Indian himself. He merely climbed down from a superior code to that fostered by what we call civilization. But even today he still clings to some of the natural moral precepts buried in the stone age of the civilized race.

INDIANS HAD TO STEP DOWN SOME

In respect of health, the wiry build and endurance of the Indian is common knowledge even to children. But here, too, he has stepped down a few notches in bowing to civilization. In the old days the breast bones and upper ribs of the Indian strutted out massively from his neck and then shot down inversely. He could not carry himself crookedly. Many such specimens still remain among the elder, and some of the younger, Indians; but traces of the shallowing lines engendered by inactivity are now noticeable.

Canon Stocken, who joined the Blackfoot tribe in 1885 as an Anglican missionary, still marvels at the appearance of these people when he first saw them. Having spent his former life in England, he had never imagined that such fine specimens of manhood existed, and it is almost tragic to watch him as he reminisces back into their history. He takes the Indian to heart, and his face saddens perceptibly as he contrasts the old with the new. Today he is as much a Blackfoot as the oldest Indian on the Gleichen reserve. He speaks the language as well as they, and he knows the Blackfoot through and through.

When he arrived at Gleichen, he relates, the Blackfoot was still a hunter of the plains. Vice was unknown to him and his life was too strenuous to admit of immorality. He was up before sunrise in the morning, and the first thing he did was to race down to the Bow river and jump in for a bath. If it was covered with ice, he broke through it and made a hole large enough to allow him to splash around. His children were brought down and thrown in and made to swim when they had hardly learned to walk. When they were not on the chase they were holding sports.

TWO HUNDRED MILES ONLY A SHORT RACE

A frequent event in their sport programme was a running race to Medicine Hat and back, a distance of more than 200 miles, which they covered with ease and returned on the following day. They never married until they were thirty or forty years old. The men had three, four, five or sometimes as many as a dozen wives in those days; but the canon soon learned to condone this fact.

He realized that it was necessary for the Blackfoot to have more than one woman at home to take care of the enormous amount of work resulting from his hunting expeditions. Raising children with him was a dire necessity – he needed every youngster he could get to accompany him on his hunting trips, while his wives remained at home to skin the animals, convert their furs into winter clothing and preserve the meat for sustenance during the long winter months.

When the Indians learned from him that it was against the teaching of the Great White Spirit to have more than one wife, they took the matter seriously and came to him for counsel. One of the sub-chiefs came feeling very sad, and he wanted to know the best way out of his dilemma. Would it be right for him to choose one of his two wives to live with, and take the other over to live with his mother? he asked.

The Canon replied in the affirmative, and wishing to be fair to both women, [the sub-chief] chose the elder of the two as his wife and took the younger woman over to his mother's tepee, where he provided for her thereafter. When his elder wife died, he came back to Canon Stocken and inquired whether it would now be right if he should marry his second wife. The Canon replied that it would, and needless to say, "they lived happily ever after."

The first evil tangent of civilization was brought to the Blackfoot tribe by the navies who constructed the Canadian Pacific Railway through Gleichen, he averred. Before that time, improper relations with a woman other than one's wife meant a bullet through the head among the Blackfeet.

WHITE MAN TAUGHT THEM USE OF LIQUOR

The navies polluted their women and taught the men how to imbibe of liquor. They even taught them to beg by giving them pieces of money as they gathered to watch them work. Heretofore they could not conceive how a person could accept anything that he had not earned, and when the navies proffered them a quarter, they would enquire: "What for? Why you give me this? This is not mine."

Canon Stocken's idol among the Blackfeet was the old head chief, Crow Foot, who died some years ago. He was one of the most brilliant men he had ever met, he declared.

VERY DIFFICULT TO DEFINE COMPENSATION

An incident happening with this old chief clearly illustrated the difficulty experienced in the early days by the Indians in being able to define any compensation for their baptism into civilization. Every good cause produced a wealth of evil effects. In other words, the gold ship of civilization carried with it more evil barnacles than good, genuine cargo. When they gave up all their wives but one, at the instigation of the white teacher, the brothers of these white men were wont to use the remainder as their mistresses; and when they spent the greater part of their precious summer and spring toiling on the soil, the small returns which they received for their labors would not purchase the skins of the animals which they might have joyfully chased and killed during the season.

The secretary of the Church Missionary Society of England visited the Blackfoot reserve while touring Canada. He was addressing the Indians through an interpreter, when Crow Foot stepped forward and asked him if he thought the government was wise in asking men to farm. The secretary replied strongly in the affirmative. Whereupon, Crow Foot produced a large sack of potatoes, which he threw on the ground at the foot of the secretary; then he threw a quarter alongside it, and stepping back, he pointed to the big bag of potatoes and said:

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY IS VERY STRIKING

"The government asks us to work all the year to produce that bag of potatoes, and when we have done so, they hand use that little piece of money lying there. God's earth would better remain as it is now."

"Hie, hie, hie," came back the approval of all his fellowmen.

Unlike other peoples, the Blackfeet had never learned to make a "fire-water" of their own, when they were discovered by the white men, declared Canon Stocken;

and their rapid decline in physique and morals is easily traceable to the introduction of liquor and its vendors. Happily, under the efficient administration of Agent George H. Gooderham, who is assisted in this respect by Corporal Harper, of the Royal Mounted Police, liquor is rarely obtained by the Blackfeet today.

It is pleasing to notice the strong desire that exists among the elder, and some of the younger, Blackfoot Indians for the abolition of the liquor traffic, and their true friends are supporting them towards this end.

ORIGINAL RESERVE SOMEWHAT REDUCED

What is now known as the Gleichen district was once part of the original home of the Blackfoot, but by the irony of fate only a portion of that district (now known as the Blackfoot reserve) is now their home.

Fifty years ago the Blackfeet proper roamed over the whole of the lands which lie between the foothills on the west and the Cypress hills on the east, with the big Saskatchewan river to the north and the plains of Montana to the south.

For many years before present memory, the Blackfeet ranged themselves under three particular chiefs and became known as the North, the South and the Middle Blackfeet. The North Blackfeet hunted north of the Red Deer river; the Middle Blackfeet between the latter and the Bow; and the South Blackfeet, mixing with their near relatives, the Bloods and the Piegans, roamed the extensive country south of the Bow river. These three huge bands appear to have lived in harmony always, and to have met periodically for such occasions as the Sun Dance. The centralness of their present location led to its often being the scene of such gatherings. When, in recent years, the Blackfoot Indians settled on their present reserve, the North Blackfeet took the west end under the chieftainship of Old Sun; the South Blackfeet occupied the east end under the head-chief, Crow Foot; and the middle Blackfeet took up their position between the two, under the chieftainship of Wolf Carrier. From this incident the two ends of the reservation, which is 45 miles long [and] extends from Namaka to Bassano, became known respectively as the North and South camps.

LIFE FIFTY YEARS AGO AMONG THE BLACKFEET

Fifty years ago life among the Blackfoot was far different from what we see today. In almost every way their position then was better than now, declares Canon Stocken.

Their physical and disciplined hygienic conditions were excellent. They were always active, and had a high sense of the value of physical development. They disciplined themselves in order to become hardy. The men wore very little clothing and bathed in the rivers and creeks daily – not only in the summertime, but far into the winter. The young men took long excursions on foot, even in the coldest weather, on which occasions they proved themselves exceedingly fleet of foot. In summertime they rose at break of day, and retired, as a rule, at dusk. Very severe was their moral code, and neither the men nor the women married early in life. Very little affection existed in their married life.

The life of the women was a hard one. Not only the cutting up of the buffalo, which formed their staple food, and the cooking generally, but the hunting for favorite roots, which were eaten regularly, fell to her lot. They also chopped the firewood and

hauled the water. They erected the tepees and took them down as required, which was no light task; for there were no fewer than five, and sometimes as many as thirty, dressed buffalo in the covering of one tepee. These they packed on their ponies and hauled to the next camp.

Tepee life was one of the healthiest forms of dwelling ever invented. It was warm and perfectly ventilated, and easily taken down and removed, which insured sanitary conditions. In those days there was no over-crowding. Hides were plentiful, and some of the leading men had ten or a dozen tepees in use at one time. A great hunter or warrior had many followers or admirers, and he provided for their entertainment.

BUFFALO HUNT WAS A COMMON FEATURE

The most common feature of the life of those days was the buffalo hunt; as their existence depended upon it. It sometimes happened during severe winters that the course of the buffalo was changed, and the Blackfoot hunted in vain for it – and hundreds of the red men died from hunger and exposure.

Buffalo was to the Indian what roast beef is to the white man; and he, like the paleface, lived on many other things, such as fish, fowl, venison, roots, herbs and berries; but, unlike the white man, he gained his abnormally fine physique with the aid of no other beverage than pure water. He knew of no other until the white man introduced his firewater.

The Blackfoot in his primitive condition was naturally a religious being. All nature was alive to him. He saw in the sun the Creator of the universe, and he addressed it as Napi, or Old Man. He prayed also to the moon; to certain of the planets; to mother earth. Certain of the animals and birds were likewise venerated by him, and there were times when certain of their own people were regarded with more than ordinary respect or reverence, especially those who had escaped from dangers in war and in the chase, or had attained remarkable success as medicine men.

PRINCIPAL FESTIVAL WAS THE SUN DANCE

The principal festival of the Blackfoot was, and is still, the Sun Dance, which is dependent upon a previous vow made in time of sickness by the sufferer, on condition of recovery. Agent Gooderham is doing all in his power to discourage these dances nowadays, for, whatever it may have been formerly, the modern Sun Dance has a very baneful influence. It is not infrequent that they are caught holding a secret Sun Dance in a clearing in the bush. But in endeavoring to escape the eagle eye of the agent, they have to exercise infinitely more caution than is practiced by the modern bootlegger. The leading spirit in the Sun Dance is always a woman, who acts as high-priestess in the not altogether bloodless ceremonies. Until about thirty years ago the making of braves was a regular part of the proceedings, but this was stopped by order of the government, owing to the cruelties practiced. Originally the Sun Dance lasted a month or six weeks, but they are lucky to get away with a few minutes of the dance nowadays.

The medicine man has always had a great influence among North American Indians, and the Blackfoot are no exception to this rule. The much sought-after

medicine man of the old days seems to have known his business fairly well. He had a good knowledge of herbs in general, and their uses, and showed considerable common sense in the use of counter-irritants. They seem to have had no difficulty in dealing with fractures and dislocations. But frequently, when the patient was considered beyond their skill, they resorted to their "sacred powers" and tried conjuring.

INTERESTING ANECDOTE RELATED BY CLERGYMAN

Naturally, the medicine men led to much superstition among the Indians, and Canon Stocken relates an interesting incident which shows the extent to which this superstition prevailed.

Sub-chief Crow Shoe walked into his home one afternoon and stood before him silently, in the usual Indian fashion.

"Hello," said the canon. "What do you want?"

"Want you to take my picture," replied Crow Shoe.

The canon thought this was peculiar; for ordinarily the Indian has a horror for cameras.

"Why, what for?" enquired the canon in Blackfoot.

"I'm going to die," declared Crow Shoe nonchalantly, "and I want my people to have a picture of me."

"Who said you were going to die?"

"I have just come back from the Crees, and their medicine man told me that a ghost has shot a poisoned dart into me, and that I am going to die."

"You are foolish to believe such nonsense; go home – you are not going to die," advised the canon.

"Oh, yes I am, and I want a picture taken, so my people can remember me," promptly and confidently replied the Indian.

To satisfy him the canon took the picture and sent him home with a pat on the back and the assurance that he was foolish to pay any attention to such irresponsible prophets. Crow Shoe went home, told his people that he was going to die, and went into a tepee and laid there until the end came a few days later. The canon still retains the last, and the only, photograph of the credulous Crow Shoe.

In rather less than ten years the life of centuries began completely to change for the Blackfoot, as for other Indian tribes.

FINALLY SETTLED ON RESERVATIONS

The buffalo had gradually disappeared, owing chiefly to the almost reckless killing that took place merely to secure hides to barter with fur traders. About that time the building C.P.R. was projected, and those in power felt the need of settling the Indians on prescribed reservations. Negotiations were entered into between the Dominion government and the Blackfoot Indians, whereby the latter agreed to surrender to the Crown their rights to all other lands over which they had roamed for centuries, and to confine themselves to a limited sphere on the banks of the Bow river, stretching from about Bassano on the east to Namaka on the west. The boundaries of this reserve have, with their consent and in consideration of a suitable compensation, been twice readjusted, once when the C.P.R. was being constructed, so as to allow all lands to the north of the track to be Crown lands, and about nine years later, when

they sold a three-mile strip from end to end on the south side of the Bow river. On the former occasion an equivalent of land was given to them on their southern boundary, and on the other the cash proceeds of the sale were paid into their tribal funds at Ottawa, and gave them an investment which secured for them many up-to-date modern farms and a goodly supply of farm implements, among many other necessities.

The sudden change from an active, roaming life, dependent upon their own energies entirely for their means of existence, and controlled by unwritten laws in which there was little of sentiment, to a very restricted life in which there was little or no scope for the habits of the past, and in which their dwelling, their food, and their clothing were completely changed, brought about a rapid degeneration. The "noble red man" lost much of his nobility, and in place of his abnormally fine physique he became only too frequently a victim of tuberculosis and other serious diseases, so that their number lessened rapidly. Today they number only about 700 individuals.

ADVENT OF NEW MODE NOT UNMIXED BLESSING

The advent of the white man and the new mode of life was not an unmixed blessing. In the old life they lived summer and winter in their beautiful skin tepees (new almost every spring) and changed their encampment frequently, so that they were always living under sanitary conditions. In their new sphere they were poor and had to be content with a very poor substitute for their tepees and their bed coverings.

Happily, however, times and conditions changed again, and the government and the church missions gripped their nettle and by careful instruction and guidance, and by providing schools and suitable dwellings with efficient medical supervision, and plenty of work and good food, tuberculosis, which once threatened to wipe them out, is fast disappearing. The disease today is no more prevalent among the Blackfoot Indians than it is among the white race, which is a praiseworthy tribute to the government servants and the noble-spirited missionaries who arrested their decay in the nick of time.

The younger men, more particularly the ex-pupils of the boarding schools, are becoming good farmers, and if only they avail themselves of their exceptionally favorable opportunities, they should become fairly wealthy in the near future. Apart from their crops, they have cattle ranging on their reserve which bring their owners substantial returns.

Within the last forty years they have adapted themselves better than it was hoped to their new life and conditions, and there is every indication that with firm, but considerate supervision in work, thrift and morals, they will soon become capable Canadian citizens. About two-thirds of the 700 Blackfoot Indians on the reserve have adopted the Christian faith, and this two-thirds is divided equally between the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, with the remaining one-third hovering near the border line.

ARE DEVELOPING INTO FARMERS

The greatest strides made by the Blackfoot Indians have been taken since 1912, previous to which they knew nothing of farming, but just grazed their stock and cattle. Since then they have gradually developed until today there are 150 farmers,

each with a quarter-section, up-to-date farm house and a modern supply of farm implements. Last year their crops consisted of 5,000 acres of wheat and 1,000 acres of oats, and the net returns this year, states Agent Gooderham, will be more than 100,000 bushels of wheat and between 30,000 and 40,000 bushels of oats. There are more than 27,000 acres under cultivation on the reserve this year. The Indians themselves privately own close to 1,000 large farm implements, including plows, reapers, wagons, binders, harrows, and so forth. The value of these implements is placed at more than \$112,000, and they own \$225,000 worth of livestock.

In addition to the above privately-owned farms there are two government-owned "Greater Production" farms worked for the benefit of the band by the Indians themselves. Last year 8,000 acres were cultivated on these two farms, and their grain yield was 250,000 bushels.

The band individually owns 1,500 head of cattle and 1,500 head of horses. They have six large threshing outfits and several large tractor engines. They made \$30,000 last year from operating their own coal mine and freighting.

BECOME ENTHUSIASTIC

New farmers are added to the successful list every year from the schools of the reserve. Ten young farmers from that source joined the ranks this year. Twelve hundred acres of oats and greed [sic.] feed and 5,500 acres of wheat will be cultivated this year, and as the majority of the farmers have gardens, very large vegetable crops will be grown. Formerly the Indians did not take much interest in home-gardening, but they are now becoming enthusiastic over this form of production.

There are 50 farmers with complete sets of modern farm buildings, including wells, and tenders have just been closed for the erection of 45 more sets this year. This farm building programme, which was started before the war with the tribal funds accruing to the Indians by the sale of the three-mile strip of their reserve, will be continued until every Indian is provided with a modern up-to-date farm.

During the past the Blackfoot Indians had \$40,000 in savings accounts. Formerly the returns from their yearly sales were received by the Indians and spent within a short time. They did not realize the value of money and were impatient to turn it into something tangible, no matter what it might be. To teach them the value of money, their money is now deposited in the bank at Gleichen, and all cheques which must be signed by the Indian himself, have to go through Agent Gooderham, who personally inspects whatever stock, etc., the Indian wishes to buy, to insure that he receives the value of his money.

EFFORTS MADE TO GIVE INDEPENDENCE

The farming and stock-raising activities of the Blackfoot Indians are carried on under the careful supervision of competent farm instructors and stockmen, but every effort is being made to make them work independently and on their own initiative.

There are two schools on the reserve, one run by the Anglican church, and the other by the Roman Catholic church, and all physically fit children must attend these schools. A broad educational system is provided, special attention being paid to teaching the girls their household and domestic duties, and giving the boys ample

training in agriculture and farm work. The Roman Catholic school is one of the best schools that can be found anywhere, irrespective of nationality or creed. The dormitories provided there are better than those found in the better class of private white school and special attention to sanitation and cleanliness is observed in the curriculum.

A personal inspection carried on by the writer disclosed very well furnished, neat and clean houses, which would compare very favorably with the homes of white people. Much encouragement to the maintenance of clean premises is given the Indians by Agent Gooderham, who has instituted an annual medal for the best premises on the reservation. The Indians had moved into their summer tepee camps, when visited.

Mr. Gooderham, a graduate of Toronto University, is a younger man than is usually found holding the post of Indian agent, but his youth and fine personality are the greatest assets to his success with the Blackfeet. The respect and kindness with which he is regarded by the Indians was quite noticeable as the party visited the homes of various members of the band. His father was formerly agent of the Blackfoot reserve, and is thoroughly acquainted with the character of the Indian. Being an athletic young man, he is particularly popular with the younger Indians, who seem to feel that he has something in common with them.

Mr. Gooderham declares that the Blackfoot Indians compare very favorably with their white neighbors, with whom they were able to compete in many ways, which was quite remarkable, when it was considered that 50 years ago they were practically savages.

Another white man who is, and has been for a long time, wielding a very good influence over the Blackfoot Indians, is Canon Stockton. He has made the Indian his life's work, and, in view of what he has accomplished there, he should feel well rewarded for his sacrifices.

That, after all is said against the minor evils that attended the white man's incursion with his civilization, the Indian of tomorrow will be far better off than he would have been if left alone, is the firm and unqualified belief of the writer, who has considerably more than a professional interest in the welfare of the red man. The brunt of the change was suffered most by the now passing generation, and will be felt to some extent by the coming generation, but the red man will emerge ultimately with the odds all in his favor, and he will prove a worthy reinforcement to the ranks of the civilized world.

“One of the healthiest and most progressive tribes”⁹⁸ (1922)

The Blood tribe of Indians of Southern Alberta have shown an increase of nine members during the past year, thus bringing their number up to 1,166, according to the announcement made by Agent J. T. Faunt before the ninth annual reunion of the

⁹⁸ From BLOOD INDIANS SHOW INTEREST IN EDUCATION. (1922, February 15). *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 4.

ex-students of the St. Paul's Blood Indian school, held on Sunday and Monday. In view of the fact that between 1909 and 1915, the Indians of Canada showed an average annual decrease of 1,252 per year, this news of an increase in this particular tribe is considered very gratifying. The Bloods, who are considered as one of the healthiest and most progressive tribes of Indians of the Canadian west, possess a reserve of 510 square miles, or a territory approximately one half the size of Holland.

Captain Rev. S. Middleton, commandant and principal of the school who has been with the Bloods during the last 12 years, pointed out in his address before the re-union that St. Paul's was, so far as he knew, the oldest educational institution in Alberta, having been established 41 years ago by the Anglican church under whose auspices it is still conducted in co-operation with the government.

EDUCATIONAL INTEREST

The outstanding feature of the re-union was the intense interest in the matter of providing better educational facilities for Blood children, indicated in all of the speeches made before the various assemblies by the members of the tribe. Old warriors, who themselves, could not speak a word of English, rose to their feet and, in impressive phraseology, pleaded that their grandchildren might be given a degree of education that would equip them sufficiently to take up responsible places in the civilized world. They had seen the benefits derived by their sons and daughters from St. Paul's during the long years of its career; but they wanted future generations to do even better than merely to learn to speak English and the primary rudiments of education.

The younger Indians were equally as strong for better education, and they went further by expressing a desire to see the health of their tribe and the condition of their homes looked after with greater carefulness.

Those present were greatly impressed by a speech made by Chief Mountain Horse, who, although he cannot converse in the white man's language, could readily see the benefits accruing from attaining his learning and adopting his ways. Pointing to the neatly arranged tables at the closing banquet of the re-union, he said:

CHIEF'S ADMONITION

"That is what I call a proper spread – this is the way I like to see my children eating. This is the way I like to see you all – living cleanly, eating cleanly, living straight and working diligently. We can be just as clean as the white people, and why should we not be? Try hard, live straight and become wise – and look for something on our own land, that you may make money and become rich some day. Those young children (pointing to a small group of pupils) have won first prizes among the white people. That is the way I like to see my children. Mokokit-ki-ae-ka-ki-mat – be wise and persevere."

Responding to Chief Mountain Horse's speech, Capt. Middleton declared that the distinguished name of Mountain Horse had always been associated with St. Paul's. "He always says what he thinks," he said, "and as long as I am here, he will always be given a place on our re-union programme."

MADE RECORDS IN WAR

One of Chief Mountain Horse's sons, Albert, won his commission on the field during the late war, and subsequently died from the effects of being gassed; and two other sons, Mike and Joe, were members of the Canadian overseas forces. These three boys are ex-St. Paul's cadets, and with other cadets who went overseas, they returned with distinguished records.

Mike Mountain Horse, who was re-elected president of the ex-Students' Association for the coming year, by acclamation, gave an inspiring address before the students at the business meeting on Monday afternoon. "The white returned soldiers," he said, "are making for 100 per cent. re-establishment; and we are asking for 100 per cent. education for our children." He hoped that the present government would deal justly with the needs of their children, both as regards their health and their education.

INDIAN PROBLEMS

An address on "Indian Problems, Educational and Otherwise," was delivered on Monday afternoon, by Chief Buffalo Child Long-Lance, of Calgary.

He said in part:

"Where does the Indian come from? This is the question which has been asked by the scientists of all modern centuries. I would like definitely to know the answer to this question myself, and so would you. But what exercises our concern most at the present stage of our history is the question: 'Where is the Indian going to?' Is he to remain a part of this great continent over which he once ruled and roamed at will, or is he to become a part of its soil, from which his bones will be removed in future ages as scientific relics of a submerged race that has proved too weak to hold its identity in the unrelenting pace of civilization?"

"The answer to this question can be given only by ourselves. Although the white man can do much to help [us] to survive his civilization, so abruptly thrust upon us, we only are able to determine whether we shall go under with the ebb, or whether we shall come up with the tide of rising generations, and remain high and dry as an integral part of the people of this earth.

DECREASE IS SHOWN

"Within historical times Indians in the United States have decreased from 850,000 to 250,000, with only 150,000 full-bloods. In Canada he [sic.] decreased at the rate of 1,252 per year between 1909 and 1915, at which rate of the disappearance we should all be extinct in less than 83 years from today.

"From these official figures taken from the reports of the Canadian and United States governments, we know that the Indian is decreasing at an alarming rate. Is there a remedy? There is, and that remedy can be made effective solely by the Indian himself. The Indian must wake up to his own condition, and develop a quality that has always been sadly lacking in his civilized life. That quality is initiative. Initiative to seek out his own needs and then to have them met.

"The stoical principles to withstand danger, pain and reverses, which have been instilled into us for generations, have left us weak in the face of civilization.

AGGRESSIVENESS NEEDED

“No longer are these cardinal virtues of our race of any use to us. Today is a new day. Of no use are men, white or red, who study to do exactly as was done before them, and if the Indian continues to follow in the stoical footsteps of his forefathers, we are a doomed race. Added to his unaffected, unbiased, unbribable, unaffrighted innocence that has always engaged the poet’s regard, he must now develop a new faculty of mental and moral aggressiveness.

“The Indian must no longer sit idly on both sides of the international border, waiting for new suggestions from the government. Governments are like individuals – they are vitally interested in you just as long as you make yourself interesting to them. Suggestions for Indian betterment should be coming from you, and these suggestions should be well thought out and energetically lodged. When the government finds that you are awakening to your needs, I sincerely believe that it will spend much more time in trying to think out solutions for the problems that face the Indian today.

SHOULD BE ON THE ALERT

“Every Indian should be a self-delegated government agent as he goes about his reserve. His eyes should ever be on the lookout for things that might be improved, and he should always be ready, not only to offer suggestions for tribal betterment to the agent and school authorities, but also to co-operate with them in carrying out measures that will tend to increase the well-being of his tribe.

“To cultivate initiative one must have a worthy motive. Our motive should be the regeneration of our race. True friendship can exist only between equals; therefore since we have been destined to spend the balance of our existence with the white man, we should strive to become his intellectual equal, or else an inevitable sense of inefficiency will always steer us into the lowest element of his race.

“Ah, that we could again pass into the neutral, god-like independence of our forefathers,’ I sometimes muse; but on second thought I would not have the hands of time turned back to that stage of our existence for the chieftainship of the entire world. The average Indian walks daily among worlds unrealized. He sees the pleasures and advantages of the white man in a sort of haze that forever denies them to him. But with a dash of initiative, grit and determination they are as available to you as they are to him. Acquire them, and some day they will have carried you forward to a point where you will be of some use to yourself, your family, your tribe and your country.”

EDUCATION IS ADVISED

The speaker then drew to the attention of the assemblage the chief disintegrating elements that mar their progress, and forcibly impressed upon them the necessity of waking up to their health conditions before it is too late. Next to their health the need of the Western Canadian Indians of today is more outstanding characters among them, he declared; and he advised them to look forward to higher education for their more promising youths, after they had completed their mission school. Indian education should be conducted with the ultimate aim of having much of the work of Indian improvement and sub-administration carried on by the Indians

themselves. "No one understands an Indian like an Indian; and no one can be expected to perform Indian work like one of the blood," he concluded.

At the close of the banquet Agent Faunt gave a very inspiring talk to the ex-pupils, encouraging them to keep up the spirit that has always gained distinction for them as a cadet unit of this province.

"The story of a national crime"⁹⁹ (1922)

I

By Order in Council dated Jan. 22nd, 1904, the writer was appointed Medical Inspector to the Department of the Interior and of Indian Affairs, and was entrusted with the health interests of the Indians of Canada. The Order in Council recites:-

"The undersigned has the honour to report that there is urgent necessity for the appointment of a medical inspector to represent the Department of the Interior and of Indian Affairs. The undersigned believes that the qualifications for the position above mentioned are possessed in an eminent degree by Mr. Peter Henderson Bryce, M. D., at present and for a number of years past Secretary for the Provincial Board of Health of Ontario, and who has had large experience in connection with the public health of the province."

(Signed)

CLIFFORD SIFTON,
Minister of the Interior and
Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

For the first month after the writer's appointment he was much engaged in organizing the medical inspection of immigrants at the sea ports; but he early began the systematic collection of health statistics of the several hundred Indian Bands scattered over Canada. For each year up to 1914 he wrote an annual report on the health of the Indians, published in the Departmental report, and on instructions from the minister made in 1907 a special inspection of thirty-five Indian schools in the three prairie provinces. This report was published separately; but the recommendations contained in the report were never published and the public knows nothing of them. It contained a brief history of the origin of the Indian Schools, of the sanitary condition of the schools and statistics of the health of the pupils, during the 15 years of their existence. Regarding the health of the pupils, the report states that 24 per cent. of all the pupils which had been in the schools were known to be dead, while of one school on the File Hills reserve, which gave a complete return to date, 75 per cent. were dead at the end of the 16 years since the school opened.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF SCHOOL REPORT 1907

Briefly the recommendations urged, (1) Greater school facilities, since only 30 per cent. of the children of school age were in attendance; (2) That boarding schools with farms attached be established near the home reserves of the pupils; (3) That the

⁹⁹ From Bryce, P.H. (1922). *The story of a national crime: being an appeal for justice to the Indians of Canada; the wards of the nation, our allies in the Revolutionary War, our brothers-in-arms in the Great War*. Ottawa: James Hope & Sons. Written by Dr. Peter Henderson Bryce (1853 – 1932).

government undertake the complete maintenance and control of the schools, since it had promised by treaty to insure such; and further it was recommended that as the Indians grow in wealth and intelligence they should pay at least part of the cost from their own funds; (4) That the school studies be those of the curricula of the several Provinces in which the schools are situated, since it was assumed that as the bands would soon become enfranchised and become citizens of the Province they would enter into the common life and duties of a Canadian community; (5) That in view of the historical and sentimental relations between the Indian schools and the Christian churches the report recommended that the Department provide for the management of the schools, through a Board of Trustees, one appointed from each church and approved by the minister of the Department. Such a board would have its secretary in the Department but would hold regular meetings, establish qualifications for teachers, and oversee the appointments as well as the control of the schools; (6) That Continuation schools be arranged for on the school farms and that instruction methods similar to those on the File Hills farm colony be developed; (7) That the health interests of the pupils be guarded by a proper medical inspection and that the local physicians be encouraged through the provision at each school of fresh air methods in the care and treatment of cases of tuberculosis.

II

The annual medical reports from year to year made reference to the unsatisfactory health of the pupils, while different local medical officers urged greater action in view of the results of their experience from year to year. As the result of one such report the Minister instructed the writer in 1909 to investigate the health of the children in the schools of the Calgary district in a letter containing the following:-

“As it is necessary that these residential schools should be filled with a healthy class of pupils in order that the expenditure on Indian education may not be rendered entirely nugatory, it seems desirable that you should go over the same ground as Dr. Lafferty and check his inspection.”

RECOMMENDATIONS BASED UPON EXAMINATION OF 243 [STUDENTS]

These instructions were encouraging and the writer gladly undertook the work of examining with Dr. J. D. Lafferty the 243 children of 8 schools in Alberta, with the following results:-

(a) Tuberculosis was present equally in children at every age; (b) In no instance was a child awaiting admission to school found free from tuberculosis; hence it was plain that infection was got in the home primarily; (c) The disease showed an excessive mortality in the pupils between five and ten years of age; (d) The 10,000 children of school age demanded the same attention as the thousand children coming up each year and entering the schools annually.

Recommendations, made in this report, on much the same lines as those made in the report of 1907, followed the examination of the 243 children; but owing to the active opposition of Mr. D. C. Scott, and his advice to the then Deputy Minister, no action was taken by the Department to give effect to the recommendations made. This too was in spite of the opinion of Prof. George Adami, Pathologist of McGill University, in reply to a letter of the Deputy Minister asking his opinion regarding

the management and conduct of the Indian schools. Prof. Adami had with the writer examined the children in one of the largest schools and was fully informed as to the actual situation. He stated that it was only after the earnest solicitation of Mr. D. C. Scott that the whole matter of Dr. Bryce's report was prevented from becoming a matter of critical discussion at the annual meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association in 1910, of which he was then president, and this was only due to Mr. Scott's distinct promise that the Department would take adequate action along the lines of the report. Prof. Adami stated in his letter to the Deputy Minister:-

"It was a revelation to me to find tuberculosis prevailing to such an extent amongst these children, and as many of them were only suffering from the early incipient form of the disease, though practically everyone was affected, when under care it may be arrested, I was greatly impressed with the responsibility of the government in dealing with these children ... I can assure you my only motive is a great sympathy for these children, who are the wards of the government and cannot protect themselves from the ravages of this disease."

III

In reviewing his correspondence the writer finds a personal letter, written by him to the Minister dated March 16th, 1911, following an official letter regarding the inaction of the Department with regard to the recommendations of the report. This letter refers to the most positive promises of Mr. D. C. Scott that the Department would at once take steps to put the suggestions contained in the report into effect. The letter further says:-

"It is now over 9 months since these occurrences and I have not received a single communication with reference to carrying out the suggestions of our report. Am I wrong in assuming that the vanity of Mr. D. C. Scott, growing out of his success at manipulating the mental activities of Mr. Pedley, has led him to the fatal deception of supposing that his cleverness will be equal to that of Prospero in calming any storm that may blow up from a Tuberculosis Association or any where else, since he knows that should he fail he has through memoranda on file placed the responsibility on Mr. Pedley and yourself? In this particular matter, he is counting upon the ignorance and indifference of the public to the fate of the Indians; but with the awakening of the health conscience of the people, we are now seeing on every hand, I feel certain that serious trouble will come out of departmental inertia, and I am not personally disposed to have any blame fall upon me."

It will then be understood with what pleasure the writer hailed the appointment of Dr. W. A. Roche as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs after the year's term of the Hon. R. Rogers, whose chief activity was the investigation of the Deputy Minister, which led up to his retirement. Now at last he said, "A medical minister exists who would understand the situation as relates to the health of the Indians." So an early opportunity was taken to set forth in a memorandum to Dr. Roche, dated Dec. 9th, 1912, data and statistics relating to the several hundred scattered bands on whose health the total expenditure was little more than \$2 per capita, while the death rate in many of the bands was as high as forty per thousand. The reply acknowledging receipt of this memorandum contained the following:-

DR. ROCHE IS URGED TO ACT

“There is certainly something in your suggestion that should meet with every consideration, and some time when I can find an opportunity and it is convenient for you, I shall be pleased to discuss this matter with you.” As Dr. Roche became ill and was absent for some months nothing further was done; but on his return the writer in a personal interview urged that this serious medical Indian problem be taken up in earnest. It was stated that medical science now knows just what to do and what was necessary was to put our knowledge into practice. Dr. Roche stated that on his return from the West he would certainly take that matter up. Since that moment however, to the present, the matter has awaited the promised action.

The writer had done no regular inspection work since Mr. D. C. Scott was made Deputy minister in 1913, but had in each year up to 1914 prepared his medical report, printed in the annual report of the Department. About this time the following letter was received:-

P. H. Bryce, M. D.
Medical Inspector,
Immigration Branch.

Ottawa,
June 17, 1914.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter from the first instant, asking that the files of the Department, containing our medical officers' reports be placed at your disposal, so that you may peruse them to enable you to furnish a report for publication, I desire to point out, that by the organization of this Department, under the Civil Service Act of 1908 you were not included therein and since that time your whole salary has been a charge against the Department of the Interior. It is true that since then we have availed ourselves of your services on a few occasions; but during the past year, so far as I am aware, you have not been called upon to do any duty for the Department. I may say also that Dr. Grain of Winnipeg, has lately been appointed to oversee the Western schools and reserves and his time is fully occupied in the work. Under these circumstances, I do not think that you should be asked to furnish a report on the medical work in connection with Indians during the fiscal year. I must thank you cordially for the offer to again prepare a report for publication.

Yours sincerely,
DUNCAN C. SCOTT,
D. S. G. I. A.

MR. SCOTT'S MALIGN INFLUENCE

The transparent hypocrisy contained in this remarkable communication sent, not by the Minister Dr. W. A. Roche, but by his deputy, will be seen in the fact that from 1908, five annual reports had been prepared by the writer, while the special report on the eight schools of the Calgary district with the recommendations already referred to had been made on the instructions of the Department in 1909. The other reason given, to the effect that a certain physician, since retired for good cause, quite inexperienced in dealing with Indian disease problems, had been appointed as

Medical Inspector for the Western Provinces, showed how little the Minister cared for the solution of the tuberculosis problem. As a matter of fact the Order in Council appointing the writer had neither been changed nor rescinded, while the transfer to the Interior Department of the payment of the total salary was made in 1908 in order that his regular increase of pay under the new classification of the Civil Service Act of that year might be made.

IV

DR. ROCHE'S CULCABLE APATHY

As the war broke out in 1914 and immigration was largely suspended, an unexpected opportunity occurred through the greater time at his disposal for the writer's special knowledge and experience to be utilized in improving the health of the Indians; but in no single instance, thereafter, were the services of the writer utilized by this medical Minister, who in 1917 was transferred to preside over the Civil Service Commission, and who must be held responsible for the neglect of what proved to be a very serious situation.

VALUE OF MAN POWER OF INDIANS

In 1917, the writer prepared, at the request of the Conservation Commission, a pamphlet on "The Conservation of the Man Power of Canada," which dealt with the broad problems of health which so vitally affect the man power of a nation. The large demand for this pamphlet led to the preparation of a similar study on "The Conservation of the Man Power of the Indian Population of Canada," which had already supplied over 2000 volunteer soldiers for the Empire. For obvious reasons this memorandum was not published, but placed in the hands of a Minister of the Crown in 1918, in order that all the facts might be known to the Government. This memorandum began by pointing out that in 1916 4,862,303 acres were included in the Indian reserves and that 73,716 acres were then under cultivation; that while the total per capita income for farm crops in that year in all Canada was \$110, that from the Indian reserves was \$69, while it was only \$40 for Nova Scotia. It is thus obvious from the lowest standard of wealth producers the Indian population of Canada was already a matter of much importance to the State. From the statistics given in the "Man Power" pamphlet it was made plain that instead of the normal increase in the Indian population being 1.5 per cent. per annum as given for the white population, there had been between 1904 and 1917 an annual decrease in the Indian population in the age period over twenty years of 1,639 persons whereas a normal increase would have added 20,000 population in the 13 years. The comparisons showed that the loss was almost wholly due to a high death rate since, though incomplete, the Indian birth rate was 27 per thousand or higher than the average for the whole white population.

The memorandum states, "As the Indian people are an unusually strong native race, their children at birth are large and sturdy, and under good sanitary conditions have a low mortality. Thus of the 134 children born in the File Hills Farm Colony in 17 years only 34 died, while of 15 births in 1916 only 1 died, giving the unusually low rate of 77 per thousand within the year."

As it was further desirable to obtain the latest returns of deaths by age periods and causes the writer communicated with the Secretary of the Indian Department asking for such returns. In reply he received the following letter.

Dear Dr. Bryce,

Ottawa, May 7, 1918.

I have your letter of the third instant asking for certain vital statistics. I am unable to give you the figures you ask as we are not receiving any vital statistics now, and last year we obtained only the total number of births and deaths from each Agency. These were not printed and are not therefore available for distribution. The causes of deaths have never been noted in our reports and we have no information.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. D. McLean,

Asst. Deputy and Secretary.

ENTIRE ABSENCE OF CAUSES OF DEATH

Thus after more than a hundred years of an organized Department of Indian Affairs in Canada, though the writer had at once begun in 1904 on his appointment the regular collection of statistics of disease and deaths from the several Indian bands, he was officially informed that in a Department with 287 paid medical officers, due to the direct reactionary influence of the former Accountant and present Deputy Minister no means exists, such as is looked upon as elementary in any Health Department today, by which the public or the Indians themselves can learn anything definite as to the actual vital conditions amongst these wards of the nation.

A study of the 1916-17 statistics shows that in the wage earning period of life, from 21 to 65 years, the Indians of Alberta had 161 less population, of British Columbia 901 less, of Ontario 991 less and of Nova Scotia 399 less. In order however to show an Indian population may increase, the writer obtained from Mr. W. M. Graham, at that time Superintendent of the File Hills colony from 1901 to 1917, the complete record for this period.

THE FAMOUS FILE HILLS FARM COLONY

In all there were 53 colonists from the neighbouring Indian schools, starting with five in 1901, who had taken up homesteads in the colony. Most of them married although 15 either left or had died previous to marriage. In June 1917 there were resident 38 men, 26 women and 106 children, or 170 colonists in all. Thus we have the picture of a young Indian population of 49 males who remained in the colony, of whom 10 died of tuberculosis after an average sickness of 2.7 years and of 29 females of whom 3 died and to whom had been born in all 134 children. In 1916 the colony had 3,991 acres under cultivation or over a hundred acres per farmer. This was one nineteenth of the total area cultivated by 105,000 persons in all the Indian bands in Canada, while 87,498 bushels of grain were grown, and 33,052 head of live stock were kept. That this variation from the normal is viewed as an anomaly may be judged from the following extract from the Deputy Minister's Annual Report for 1917: "The Indian population does not vary much from year to year." How misleading this statement is may be judged from the fact that between 1906 and 1917 in the age periods over 20

years in every Province but two the Indians had decreased in population by a total of 2,632 deaths.

EXTRAORDINARY MORTALITY FROM TUBERCULOSIS

Naturally it is asked; Why this decrease should have taken place? In 1906 the report of the Chief Medical Officer shows that statistics collected from 99 local medical officers having the care of a population of 70,000 gave a total of 3,169 cases of tuberculosis or 1 case for every seven in a total of 23,109 diseases reported, and the death rates in several large bands were 81.8, 82.6, and in a third 86.4 per thousand; while the ordinary death rate for 115,000 in the city of Hamilton was 10.6 in 1921. What these figures disclose has been made more plain year by year, namely that tuberculosis, contracted in infancy, creates diseases of the brain, joints, bones, and to a less degree of the lungs and also that if not fatal till adolescence it then usually progresses rapidly to a fatal termination in consumption of the lungs.

THE AMAZING REDUCTION OF TUBERCULOSIS IN HAMILTON

The memorandum prepared by the writer in 1918 further showed that the city of Hamilton with a population greater than the total Indian population had reduced the death rate from tuberculosis in the same period, from 1904 to 1917, by nearly 75 per cent. having in 1916 actually only 68 deaths. The memorandum further states, "If a similar method had been introduced amongst the bands on the health-giving uplands of Alberta, much might have been done to prevent such a splendid race of warriors as the Blackfeet from decreasing from 842 in 1904 to 726 in 1916, or allowing for natural increase, an actual loss of 40 per cent. since they should have numbered at least 1,011."

V

Such then is the situation made known to the Hon. N. W. Rowell, who applied to the writer in 1918 to supply him with such facts and arguments as would support the Bill he proposed to introduce into Parliament for the creation of a Federal Department of Health.

OCCULT INFLUENCES AGAIN ROB THE INDIANS OF A CHANCE

It was with pleasure that the memorandum dealing with Indian health matters was given him, along with a proposed Bill for a Department of Health, which contained amongst its provisions one for including the Indian Medical Service along with the other Medical Federal services in the new Department. In the special medical committee called by Mr. Rowell to discuss the Bill, such inclusion was of course approved of and the clause appeared in the First Reading in Parliament. But something then happened: What special occult influences came into action may be imagined, when the Second Reading of the Bill took place with this clause regarding the Indian Medical Service omitted. It has been noted that from 1913 up to the time when Dr. W. A. Roche was eliminated from the government in 1917 to make room for a more hardy and subtle representative of Unionism the activities of the Chief Medical Inspector of the Indian Department, had in practice ceased; yet now he was to see as the outcome of all this health legislation for which he had been struggling for years, the failure of one of his specialized health dreams, which he has hoped to see realized.

ONE WHO FAILED THEM IN THEIR AGONY

If the writer had been much disturbed by the incapacity or inertia of a medical Minister in the matter of the Indian health situation, he now saw that it was hopeless to expect any improvement in it when the new Minister of Health, who had posed as the Bayard of Social Uplift, the Protagonist of Prohibition, the Champion of Oppressed Labour, the Sir Galahad of Women's rights, and the *preux Chevalier* of Canadian Nationalism, could with all the accumulated facts and statistics before him condemn to further indefinite suffering and neglect these Wards of the Canadian people, whom one Government after another had made treaties with and whom deputies and officials had sworn to assist and protect.

A side light however, may serve to illumine the beclouded situation. With the formation of the Unionist Government the usual shuffle of portfolios was made and the then dominating Solicitor General, grown callous and hardened over a franchise Bill, which disenfranchised many thousands of his fellow native-born citizens, had now become Minister of the Interior. That the desire for power and for the control appointments should override any higher consideration such as saving the lives of the Indians must be inferred from the following statement of the Hon. A. Meighen, Minister of the Interior and now Prime Minister. On June 8th, 1920, the estimates of the Indian Department were under consideration in Parliament. Page 3275 of the Hansard has the following:-

Mr. D. D. McKenzie, "I understand that frightful ravages are being made amongst them (Indians) by tuberculosis and the conditions of life are certainly not such as to preserve them from the ravages of that dread disease. I should be pleased to know at the earliest possible moment if that branch of the Department was going to be transferred to the Department of Health."

Mr. Meighen, "The Health Department has no power to take over the matter of the health of the Indians. That is not included in the Act establishing the department. It was purposely left out of the Act. I did not then think and do not think yet that it would be practicable for the Health Department to do that work, because they would require to duplicate the organization away in the remote regions, where Indian reserves are, and there would be established a sort of divided control and authority over the Indians."

Mr. Beland, "Is tuberculosis increasing or decreasing among the Indians?"

Mr. Meighen, "I am afraid I cannot give a very encouraging answer to that question. We are not convinced that it is increasing, but it is not decreasing."

RED TAPE CONDEMNS THE INDIANS BECAUSE OF A PITIABLE INERTIA

In this reply of the Minister we see fully illustrated the dominating influence, stimulated by the reactionary Deputy Minister, which prevents even the simplest effective efforts to deal with the health problem of the Indians along modern scientific lines. To say that confusion would arise is the equivalent of saying that co-operation between persons toward a desirable social end is impracticable; whereas co-operation between Provincial and Federal Health Departments is the basis upon which real

progress is made, while further a world peace is being made possible in a league of once discordant nations. The Premier has frankly said he can give no encouraging answer to Dr. Beland's question, while at the same moment he condemns the Indians to their fate by a pitiable confession of utter official helplessness and lack of initiative, based upon a cynical "*non possumus*."

Thus we find a sum of \$10,000 has been annually placed in the estimates to control tuberculosis amongst 105,000 Indians scattered over Canada in over 300 bands, while the City of Ottawa, with about the same population and having three general hospitals spent thereon \$342,860.54 in 1919 of which \$33,364.70 is devoted to tuberculous patients alone. The many difficulties in our problem amongst the Indians have been frequently pointed out, but the means to cope with these have also been made plain. It can only be said that any cruder or weaker arguments by a Prime Minister holding the position of responsibility to these treaty wards of Canada could hardly be conceived, and such recall the satirical jibe of Voltaire, regarding the Treaty of Shackmaxon between Wm. Penn and the Indians, which he describes as "the only known treaty between savages and Christians that was never sworn to and never broken."

The degree and extent of this criminal disregard for the treaty pledges to guard the welfare of the Indian wards of the nation may be gauged from the facts once more brought out at the meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association at its annual meeting held in Ottawa on March 17th, 1922. The superintendent of the Qu'Appelle Sanatorium, Sask., gave there the results of a special study of 1575 children of school ages in which advantage was taken of the most modern scientific methods. Of these 175 were Indian children, and it is very remarkable that the fact given that some 93 per cent. of these showed evidence of tuberculous infection coincides completely with the work done by Dr. Lafferty and the writer in the Alberta Indian schools in 1909.

It is indeed pitiable that during the thirteen years since then this trail of disease and death has gone on almost unchecked by any serious efforts¹⁰⁰ on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs, placed by the B. N. A. Act especially in charge of our Indian population, and that a Provincial Tuberculosis Commission now considers it to be its duty to publish the facts regarding these children living within its own Province.

EPILOGUE¹⁰¹

This story should have been written years ago and then given to the public; but in my oath of office as a Civil Servant [I] swore that "without authority on that behalf, I shall not disclose or make known any matter or thing which comes to my knowledge by reason of my employment as Chief Medical Inspector of Indian Affairs." Today I am free to speak, having been retired from the Civil Service, and so am in a position to write the sequel to the story. It has already been stated that in 1918 and 1919 I had supplied to my then Minister of Immigration, the Hon. J. A. Calder and to the then President of the Council, the Hon. N. W. Rowell various memoranda regarding

¹⁰⁰ For specifics on health initiatives in Alberta's residential schools in 1920-1922, see the Appendix.

¹⁰¹ This epilogue is included in the transcription because despite being largely about matters other than Indian health, it provides insight into the author's motivations for publishing the pamphlet.

the establishment of a Federal Department of Health, amongst these being a draft of the Bill which later became the Act establishing the Department of Health. To my disappointment the position of Deputy Minister of Health to which I had a right to aspire after twenty-two years as Chief Medical Officer of Ontario, and fifteen years as Chief Medical Officer of Immigration and Indian Affairs was given to another, wholly outside the Federal Civil Service and in violation of the principle of promotion, which was supposed to prevail when the patronage system was to be done away with. The excuse was on the ground of my advancing years, although at that moment the position of Auditor General was being filled by the promotion of one who had reached sixty-five years, while a Historian to the Militia Department was appointed at a salary of \$7,000 per year, who likewise had just reached this age.

Naturally I felt that it would be impossible to carry on and retain my self respect as a subordinate, while performing the duties, which I had been engaged in for fifteen years as Chief Medical Officer, and so [I] asked that I be given other congenial work. That my claims to the position were deemed reasonable may be judged from the following letter addressed to my brother the Rev. Professor Bryce, D. D., of Winnipeg. Writing from Victoria, B. C., on March 9th, 1920, to myself he said, quoting from a letter received from the Hon. Mr. Calder in reply to one of his own:-

“I quite appreciate the views of your brother in reference to his situation here, and personally would be only too glad to do anything I can to help out. When the Public Health Department was created, your brother certainly had claims to the appointment as Deputy Minister. Owing to his advanced age however, Council finally concluded that a younger man should receive the appointment. The government has on several occasions considered the question of placing your brother in some other branch of the Service, and I had no doubt that this will be arranged in some way or other shortly. He is now an official of the Public Health Department. He could of course remain there but this apparently is not agreeable to him. As a consequence some other arrangement, if possible must be made.

Signed, J. A. Calder.”

My indignation at subsequent treatment may be imagined when the same Mr. Calder introduced the Act in 1920, commonly known as the Calder Act, providing for the “Retirement of Certain Members of the Civil Service.” This Act states that anyone retired thereunder shall receive 1/60 of his salary for each year of service. So it came about that on the 17th Sept. 1920, I received notice that I was recommended for retirement under this Act. The clause of the Act quoted for my information states:-

“Section 2 (3). When it is decided to retire anyone under the provisions of this Act, notice in writing giving the reasons for such retirement shall be sent to such person, and he shall have the right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission, and the Commission, after giving such person an opportunity to be heard, shall make full report to the Government in Council and the decision of the Council thereon shall be final.”

I appealed and in my appeal stated that no reason was assigned as provided in the Act, and further that I was still Chief Medical Officer in the Department of Indian Affairs as set out in the Order in Council of 1904.

As bearing on this point made in my appeal I find the following in [the] Hansard of June 8th, 1921. The matter being dealt with is the amendment to the Calder Act:

Mr. Fielding: But cases have been brought to my attention of men in advanced years – some may think them old, I do not – being notified of their retirement, although they are blessed with good health and strength, both mental and physical, and are well able to discharge their duties. How is such a man dealt with?

Mr. Calder: No man will be notified unless a proper official has advised that his condition of life is such that in the public interest he should be retired.....

Mr. Calder: That in the main has been the practice in the past and that is what the law contemplated last year. The question of age alone was not taken into consideration.

But it was hardly to be supposed that Dr. W. A. Roche, now Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, who during the years 1913-17 referred to had failed to utilize my services when he was Superintendent of Indian Affairs would now consider my services as necessary in that Department. So my protest was of no avail; my elimination from the Service had been decreed and I received the following Order in Council:

Ottawa, 14th Feb., 1[9]21.

The Committee have had before them a report, dated Feb. 1st, 1921, from the acting Secretary of State, from the Civil Service Commission:

In accordance with the provisions of Cap. 67, 10-11 George V. "An Act to provide for the Retirement of Certain Members of the Public Service" the Civil Service has to report that Dr. P. H. Bryce of the Department of Health at Ottawa was recommended by the Deputy Minister of Health for retirement; that under Section 2 (3) of the said Act he was given a personal hearing, which has resulted in the Civil Service Commission now recommending that his appeal be not allowed, but that his retirement be made effective from the 1st of March, 1921. Dr. Bryce was born on August 17th, 1853, and is consequently sixty-seven years of age. He was appointed temporarily to the Service on Feb. 1st, 1904, and was made permanent on September 1st, 1908, and therefore will have been in the Service seventeen years and one month on the 1st March, 1921, the date upon which his retirement is proposed to be effective."

So it came about that I was retired in March, 1921, without any years being added to my term of Federal service, though I had been brought to Ottawa as an expert after 22 years in the Ontario Health Service, as is provided for in the Superannuation Act of 1870. Neither did I get any gratuity on leaving the Ontario

Service after twenty-two years, the excuse being then given that I was improving my position.

The irony and injustice of this Order in Council will be seen when it is stated that a similar Order was passed on May 18th, 1921, retiring 231 persons from the Customs Department as being over sixty-five years of age; but which was recalled when the protests of the many friends of men who were faithfully performing their duties were made. These and hundreds of other Civil Servants of similar age are in different Departments still performing their duties.

In view, therefore, of all the facts herein recited I make my appeal for simple justice; that I be permitted to carry on my work as Chief Medical Officer of Indian Affairs, and I believe that I have the right to demand, after a thorough investigation into all the facts of the case, that the chief obstacle, as set forth in the story, to insuring the health and prosperity of the one hundred thousand Indians, the Wards of the nation, be removed.

Since the time of Edward I. the people have ever exercised their historic right to lay their petitions before the King and Parliament. I now desire herein respectfully to bring my appeal for the Indians of Canada before the King's representative and the Parliament of Canada, feeling sure that justice will be done both to them and myself.

P. H. BRYCE.

“Educating the youth on the Blood Reserve”¹⁰² (1923)

Is education and Christian teaching, helping the present day Indian of western Canada? This is a question that is often heard discussed by many of our leading educationists, theological teachers, politicians and others. It is a question that is repeatedly bungled in the answering, by lack of information, and first hand experience first being obtained by the respondent. Hence, in most cases the answer is such that it creates an impression leaning towards the negative, which impression is entirely wrong.

The writer of this article had the pleasure of spending several days at St. Paul's Indian boarding school, which is situated on the Blood Indian Reserve, about 25 miles east of Lethbridge, Alberta. My visit to the school was from Christmas eve until after New Year's, and I was therefore able to witness the Christmas and New Year festivities enjoyed by the Indians, and their children on that reservation, and in the school.

About seven o'clock on the evening of Christmas eve, Santa Claus arrived at the school, laden with oranges, apples and candies, and was given a royal welcome by the 75 Indian children who were eagerly looking forward to his arrival.

Christmas day at the school was very quiet, and the evening was given over to the staff for their own Christmas dinner and entertainment.

¹⁰² From SEEKAY. (1923, February 24). EDUCATING THE YOUTH ON THE BLOOD RESERVE. *The Lethbridge Daily Herald*, p. 4.

The next day was one of great excitement for children, for it was their day, and many a little husky redskin could hardly curb his or her patience waiting for six o'clock to arrive, when the Christmas tree was to be uncovered, and the entertainment to be given. But eventually the hour did come, and all the children were invited to the school, when a first class entertainment was given by several of the pupils. Suddenly the principal of the school, the Rev. S. Middleton, announced that Santa Claus had arrived, when much to the delight of the kiddies, he mysteriously appeared from a barrel of apples, and commenced distributing the usual Christmas goodies. As soon as Santa had rid himself of the eatables, he went to the tree and gave lovely presents to every boy and girl in the school, and then disappeared as mysteriously as he had come. The children were now invited to partake of sandwiches, mince pies and coffee, which needless to say, they did, and after giving three cheers for their principal and the staff, they departed to their beds, tired but very happy.

CHRISTMAS TREE

On Wednesday, the 27th December, the [ceremony surrounding the] annual Christmas tree given to the Indians of the Blood Reservation by the St. Paul's Mission was held. The Indians commenced to arrive about eight o'clock in the morning, although the festivities were not programmed to commence until two p.m. Old chiefs and their squaws [came first], decked out in feathers and blankets, with an extra coat of carmine paint for the occasion. The[n] numbers of less gaudily decorated braves with their squaws, the men more modernized in their dress, but the women still wearing the loved one-piece calico dress, with a belt of bead work or brass studding. Then came the ex-pupils of the school during the past ten or fifteen years; what a contrast there was – what a wonderful evolution. Smart, handsome young Indians, of between twenty or thirty years of age, the men attired in the latest American suits, with white collars and fashionable ties, boots of the latest model, and withal the appearance as if they had just emerged from a tonsorial parlor. Their wives, both in dress and appearance, were in every way their equal, and it was no longer a case of the brave going in front and the poor old squaw jogging along behind, but a case of smartly groomed Canadian gentlemen, playing courteous attention to their fashionably attired wives. Yet in spite of their superiority in clothes, manners, and English, they displayed no show of silly pride, but mixed and laughed with the older Indians and helped them all they could.

About 2.15 in the afternoon all the Indians had congregated in the large schoolroom, after partaking of a good lunch at the school dining hall, when Santa Claus for the third time arrived at the Mission. He received a great ovation from the Indians, and the old chiefs and old Indians were very pleased to shake hands with the dear old man, as he came among them distributing oranges and candies, but their squaws in most cases hid their faces in their shawls, and refused to have anything to do with the funny old thing with white whiskers, although they did not forget to tell their husbands to get the oranges and candies for them. Santa Claus now commenced giving away presents, there were warm overcoats and suits for the men, shawls, dresses and clothing for the women, and warm mufflers, gloves and dolls for the little

ones. It seemed as if the gifts were inexhaustible, but eventually the Rev. Middleton informed all those present that Santa had departed and would not be back for another year. The chiefs each in turn now delivered their orations on the splendid qualities of Santa Claus and what a large hearted man he was, much to the delight of the younger Indians and the white people present. Most of the Indians now commenced dispersing to their different homes, although some of the older ones seemed loathe to leave the school after the splendid treatment they had received.

TRIP OVER RESERVE

The following day the Rev. Middleton invited me to take a trip over the reservation, which I gladly accepted, and during this trip I was shown over several of the ex-pupils' residences, and was more than surprised at the up-to-date and modern way in which the houses were furnished and kept, and also equally so at the modern and English manner in which these ex-pupils keep Christmas. There were turkeys, geese and chickens hanging up ready to be cooked, together with a large supply of plum puddings and mince pies, also oranges, nuts, candies and apples in great abundance. The rooms were decorated with holly and other Christmas decorations. We were informed by the lady of the house, that her Christmas party would be held in a few days, and we were given a hearty invitation to attend the same, which we had to refuse. These parties given by the Indians, most of whom are ex-pupils of the schools, are not the old-fashioned "Kai, ai, ai" type, but up-to-date affairs, with gramophones playing the latest dance selections, and young men and women indulging in the modern two steps, waltzes and fox trots.

From information I gathered I learned that the Indian farmers of the Blood Reservation had in most cases done well with their crops during the past year, and in one or two instances individual Indian farmers had threshed over 3,000 bushels, hence, one can see they could easily afford to have the Christmas luxuries. There were, of course, many less fortunate among them, especially so with the older Indians, who are mostly dependent on the government, and their younger relatives for their subsistence.

The next celebration at St. Paul's school was the Watch Night service on Old Year's night, and it was a sight never to be forgotten. It was one of the most impressive Watch Night services I have ever attended, and it was at this service that I received the answer, the true answer to the question "Is education and Christian teaching helping the present day Indian of western Canada?" and the answer is "yes."

The service commenced at 11.30 p.m., and on my arrival at the church I was shown to a seat and handed a prayer book by a smartly dressed Indian, who could speak English fluently. I was surprised at the large congregation, and still they were coming, and soon extra seats had to be brought in, and of that congregation, of about 250 people, over 200 of them were Christianized, educated Indians, and ex-pupils of St. Paul's Indian school. The Rev. Middleton announced the processional hymn, and here I was to receive another surprise, coming, up the center aisle of the church singing in perfect unison and harmony, was a fully surpliced choir of boys and girls, whose ages ranged from 9 to 16, and all Indians of the Blood Reserve and pupils of the school. At the celebration of the Holy Communion, which followed the service,

over 80 Indians of that congregation received the sacrament. All of them had been confirmed by His Lordship the Bishop of Calgary, and had been prepared for confirmation by the Rev. Middleton, while they were pupils of St. Paul's school. After the service the congregation were invited over to the rectory, to supper, by the Rev. and Mrs. Middleton, where over sandwiches, mince pies and coffee, greetings for the New Year were exchanged.

WAS CHURCH WARDEN

When all the guests had departed I turned to the Rev. Middleton and asked him who the young Indian was who had shown me to my seat in the church. I was then informed that the young gentleman in question was Mr. Joseph Bullshield, church warden at St. Paul's, one of the most successful farmers on the reserve, an ex-pupil of the school, a splendid scholar, and last but not least a son of the late Chief Bull Shield, formerly a famous fighting warrior of the Blood Indians.

As I was taking my departure the following day I was introduced to a young Indian by the name of Michael Eagle Speaker, a smart, bright young man about 19 years of age, another one who could also speak English beautifully. The Rev. Middleton informed me that this lad was now a student of the Claresholm Agricultural College, and where he hoped he would stay for the next three years and graduate therefrom with honors. The principal of the Claresholm College speaks very highly of the Indian boy, and he has made many friends among the other students, who treat him with every consideration and kindness.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

Now a word about the St. Paul's school and the Rev. S. Middleton, its popular principal. The school, or the Mission, as it was known in the early days, was opened in the "80's" by the Ven. Archeacon Tims, who is now commissioner on the Sarcee Reserve. After many years of hard work and lots of persuasion, the Indians were finally prevailed upon to allow their children to come to school and receive education the same as white children. After many changes in principals the school was given in charge of Rev. S. Middleton, B.Sc., in January, 1911, and it is during the past 12 years that St. Paul's Indian Boarding School has risen from an insignificant Indian Mission of 40 children, to one of the foremost Indian schools in western Canada, with an enrolment of 75 pupils.

The St. Paul's Indian Cadet Corps was the first Indian Cadet Corps in western Canada, and was started by the Rev. Middleton in 1913. Since its formation, it has gone ahead by leaps and bounds, and is now known as one of the most efficient corps in Alberta. In competition with 64 white cadet corps in the last few years, it has won the championship shield, and in athletics, the members of this Corps have come through with honors, having carried off several cups and medals, besides numerous other prizes, and only last year Major Miller, of Calgary, inspection officer of the Alberta Cadets, complimented Capt. Middleton on the efficiency and smartness of St. Paul's Corps, and had to again admit it was one of the best in the province. It was from this Cadet Corps that the late Lieut. Albert Mountain Horse, who died while he was being invalided home from the great war, received his military education. The same also applies to George Coming Singing who now lies in some unknown grave in

France, to Mike and Joe Mountain Horse, both of whom were invalided home after doing valiant work "over there," all of whom were at one time pupils of St. Paul's school.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

St. Paul's church is the first church in the province to have a full choral surpliced choir of 20 Indian boys and girls, which the Rev. Middleton after a great deal of patience and hard work organized in 1914.

Plans are now on foot for the erection of a large and modern Indian school in the Reservation, with accommodation for 159 pupils, which have practically been brought about by the wonderful progress that has been made by the St. Paul's Mission school during the past 12 years.

The girls at the school, not to be outdone by the boys, have formed a Girls' Corps of Guides, and in their drills and physical exercises are wonderfully efficient.

The Rev. S. Middleton, the popular young principal, was born in the north of England. He is 41 years of age, and was ordained by the Bishop of Calgary in 1911, and never in all the years that he has been in charge of St. Paul's has he looked backward for a minute, but it has been onward, onward first, last and all time. He is one of the finest Blackfoot speakers in western Canada today, which no doubt attributes quite a lot to his success with the school, and the Indians, Blackfoot being their mother tongue.

MOTTO OF SCHOOL

"Mo-kok-it Ki Aeka-ki-mat." This is the motto of St. Paul's school, and is the inscription beneath the school crest. The crest shows an Indian warrior in full war paint, standing at the door of his tepee, gazing thoughtfully into the future, realizing that with the advancement of civilization, Indians without education are going to be left behind. The words of the motto are those given to the school by the late head chief, "Blackfoot Old Woman," about six years ago, a few weeks prior to his death. The old chief, who was a pagan Indian, had never been very friendly towards the school, or to the whites at any time, had accepted the Rev. Middleton's invitation to come over and inspect the school. The old man was very much surprised at the progress that had been made, and when he witnessed the Indian Cadets, each member of that corps in smart uniform, and carrying a rifle, he grunted with pleasure. He asked the principal if he could address the school in the afternoon, which request was granted him. In the afternoon all the children were present and Blackfoot Old Woman, an old man of 75 years of age, spoke to the youngsters for over half an hour. He told them he was their chief, he was chief of the Reserve, but soon he would be going to the Sand Hills, [and] he wanted all the children to learn as much as they could from, and of, the white man. If the Indian wanted to compete with his white brother, he would have to speak the white brother's tongue, and act the same way, and the only way to do that was to learn at school and be good children. He called the Rev. Middleton over to him, and taking him by the hand said he would leave the school with this message, and in a strong voice said, "Mokokit Ki Aekakimat," which he repeated several times, and which interpreted means "be wise and persevere". The

old man then shook hands with the Rev. Middleton and the teacher, and then departed. Within a few weeks after this, the poor fellow breathed his last.

As I was taking my leave after a very pleasant and interesting holiday, I turned to the Rev. Middleton and said, "I suppose, Mr. Middleton, you are glad all the festivities are over for another year." "Over?" was the reply. "Why, they have only just commenced; this month alone, there is the choir supper, the W.A. concert, and the reunion of ex-pupils, which will last two days," then he smiled and as he shook me by the hand he said, "when the old chief gave that motto, not only was he speaking to the children, but to me, and I have been working on it ever since, and everything is worth while if you only are wise and persevere."

"St. Paul's Indian residential school"¹⁰³ (1925)

An interesting ceremony took place at the Blood reserve on Monday, June 22, when the new St. Paul's Indian residential school was formally opened by Right Reverend, the Bishop of Calgary.

More than 400 visitors were present, both Indians and whites, including many who had motored from Lethbridge and Macleod, showing the keen public interest in this flourishing and progressive institution.

Some of the old-time Indians were present, the men with blankets, and hats decked with feathers; the women with brightly colored shawls and kerchiefs, in marked contrast to the serge or tweed suits and stylish hats and dresses of the younger generation. The bright sunshine, and animated chatter of the assembling crowd added to the interest of a memorable scene.

THE PROGRAMME

The proceedings, which took place in front of the main entrance shortly after 2:30 p.m., started with the performance of exercises by the pupils, the girls marching to one side and the boys to the other side of the steps, to the accompaniment of music provided by the school brass band.

The singing and physical exercises were excellently performed, and showed evidence of careful and thorough training. A piano solo by Josephine Davies, piano duet by two boys, and cornet duet by two members of the band were novel features of the entertainment, as it is believed to be the first time in Alberta that an Indian child has played the piano at a public performance.

The band presented a smart appearance in their navy and red uniforms, and although they have only a few months' instruction, accompanied several of the physical exercises very well, and with excellent time.

Olive Davies as the Indian queen, with her two modern sisters, made an effective picture.

¹⁰³ From St. Paul's Open Indian Residential School on Blood Reserve, June 22. (1925, June 25). *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 10.

PRIZES PRESENTED

Following the programme given by the children, his lordship, Bishop Pinkham, presented the prizes, saying kindly words to each of the recipients. Josephine Davies and Mountain Horse received the prize offered by the I.O.D.E. for the best essays on the Blood Indians.

BISHOP SPEAKS

At the conclusion of the prize-giving, the aged bishop, whose voice was full of emotion, addressed the assemblage. He recalled the early days of his episcopate, when he made his first visit to the reserve, when there was but one day school in operation, and the Indians were practically all heathens. He eulogized the work of the men and women who had so patiently labored for the betterment of the Indians, and acknowledged with sincere appreciation the manner in which the Indian department of the government had met the present educational requirements by the creation of "this splendid building."

His lordship highly congratulated Rev. Canon Middleton on the progress the school had made during the 15 years it had been under his charge, and hoped to be spared a few years longer to administer the work of the diocese and to see the new school fully justify its erection.

ADDRESS BY ARCHDEACON

The Ven. Archdeacon Tims then followed with a short address, taking the letter "P" of "St. Paul's" as his text, and speaking briefly on the three points of patience, progress and possibilities.

He reminded the Indians of the patience exercised by the first missionaries, and of the almost insuperable difficulties against which they struggled. There were no fences, fields, farms nor railways. The Indians had no idea what education meant, and thought that the reading, writing and arithmetic taught to their children were different forms of prayer.

Next, he spoke of the progress they had made, with special reference to the prizes won by the pupils at the Calgary exhibition, and the efficiency shown by the cadet corps.

Lastly, he spoke of the possibilities of the future. He looked forward to the time when the wards of the government would be free citizens. A great deal depended on the parents in the example they set their children.

They want their children to be well educated, but they must remember that civilization without Christianity must be a failure, he said.

JUDGE JACKSON SPEAKS

Then in a short speech, Judge Jackson, of Lethbridge, contrasted the Indians of long ago with those of today, commenting on the progress that had been made, and saying that education was to be the salvation of the Indian. Mayor Macdonald, of Macleod, spoke of the high standard, both in the old and in the present schools. He congratulated the staff and pupils on their new and commodious quarters, and the change from the old ramshackle buildings, where astronomy could be studied through the roof, and geology through the floors.

MAYOR PRESENT

The last speaker was Mayor Edswell, of Cardston. He was proud of having the new school in the vicinity. He had watched the Indians grow and prosper for many years, and considered the school was a fine educational institution.

DEDICATION CEREMONY

At the conclusion of the speeches, the clergy present retired to robe for the ceremony of dedication, and during the interval the visitors were entertained with selections by the band. Then the procession of clergy issued from the south door, preceded by the Indian choir. Those taking part were Rev. C. Swanson, rural dean of Lethbridge; Rev. W. J. Merrick, rural dean of Macleod; Rev. Canon Middleton; Ven. Archdeacon Tims, and Rt. Rev. Bishop Pinkham. They took their places on the steps of the main entrance, and after "O God Our Help in Ages Past" had been sung, his lordship read the dedicatory prayer and declared the school open. Then, striking three times with his pastoral staff upon the doors, he demanded admittance. At once the doors were flung open by an Indian boy and girl, and the bishop, followed by the clergy, entered.

VISITORS RECEIVED

The building was then thrown open to the visitors, and they were received by the bishop, Mrs. Middleton, and Miss Tims. Groups of visitors were shown over the school, and many expressions of surprise and appreciation were heard as the parties progressed through the institution. Later, refreshments were served in the main dining room.

LOCATION OF SCHOOL

The new St. Paul's school is situated four and one-half miles southwest of Cardston. It has two sections of splendid farming land, which are to be worked by the pupils. Behind the school, which faces east, can be seen a magnificent view of the mountains, with Chief Mountain very prominent. The building itself is a magnificent structure of red brick, and is splendidly equipped and furnished throughout. The school chapel, opening from the main corridor, directly opposite the front door, at once acquaints the visitor with the object of the institution, namely, the education and elevation of the children of the prairies under the influence of Christian religion.

The whole atmosphere and tone of the place bear eloquent witness to this fact, and the pupils, in the morning and evening prayers held daily in the chapel, learn to love and reverence the services of the church. The bishop dedicated the chapel in a short service on Sunday afternoon, just previous to a confirmation.

CARE FOR 125 PUPILS

St. Paul's is now capable of accommodating 125 pupils, of whom 93 are in residence. It is expected that after the summer holidays the school will be filled to capacity.

CREDIT DUE CANON MIDDLETON

To Rev. Canon Middleton, for 15 years principal of the school, St. Paul's owes much for his tireless energy, his optimism and ambition. It is very greatly owing to him and to Mrs. Middleton, who has given herself so whole-heartedly to the work, that the wonderful change in conditions educationally, socially and spiritually, has

taken place. The loyalty of ex-pupils to the old school, and their willingness to give it any assistance in their power, is a striking witness to the lasting influence of St. Paul's upon those who pass through it.

There is a splendid school cadet corps, organized in 1911, which has a most creditable record. They formed the guard of honor for his excellency the Duke of Connaught, when governor-general in 1912, and received the king's colors from him. The corps has been the winner of four silver cups, three championships, and three silver medals.

INSPECTED BY PRINCE

It was inspected by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, in 1919, and in the following year won the R. B. Bennett shield in open competition with the white cadet corps of Alberta. The latest addition to the list of honors is the winning of the Army and Navy shield for the best physical training corps of 16 members in the province, outside of Lethbridge, Calgary and Edmonton. There has also been, for the last year, a company of Girl Guides, who meet twice every week for drills, games, and other forms of guide training, and who will no doubt make for themselves a record as excellent as that of their brothers in the cadet corps.

St. Paul's has a very full curriculum, the pupils being given instruction in all kinds of practical work, besides the regular lessons in the classrooms.

Now, St. Paul's starts on a new stage in its history. In the words of the principal: "It is the aim of St. Paul's to train the Blood Indian boys and girls to take upon themselves the duties and responsibilities of Christian citizenship." And there is no doubt that, continuing the work along the lines which have been formerly maintained, and which have shown such excellent results, that this aim will be fulfilled.

"Enlightened by education"¹⁰⁴ (1925)

I was walking along the trail flanked on the north by the buildings composing the mission school for Indian children conducted by the Church of England at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan. From the stables and corrals across the trail a short, fair, alert-looking young man wearing horn-rimmed glasses and a clerical collar, was approaching. I stopped.

"Are you connected with the institution here?" I asked. He nodded. "Yes." He came nearer, scrutinizing me closely out of his keen grey eyes. "I know you." He mentioned my name. "Remember a tow-headed cub looking out on the world through big round glasses while he kicked a job press for you down south one summer about fifteen years ago? I'm him."

This was my introduction to Rev. Henry Ellis, principal of the Onion Lake Indian residential school, a man who is doing a notable work among the Cree Indian

¹⁰⁴ From Cameron, W. B. (1925, August 22). Little Aimless Savages and Darkened Lives Being Enlightened by Education Here. *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 6. Written by William Bleasdel Cameron (1862 – 1951).

youth of both sexes in Northern Saskatchewan and Alberta. Only a hazy recollection of the boy and his big glasses remained to me. He had, I knew, arrived in Canada a friendless English lad with his own way in the world to make. To rediscover him in the garb of a regularly-ordained clergyman, directing head of a flourishing educational establishment, intently interested, radiating enthusiasm, the clear eyes behind the big glasses glowing over immediate plans and the inspiring vision he spread before me of days ahead all too short but pregnant with promise, was not only something of a surprise. It was a stimulating and sincere pleasure as well.

MAN WHO FOUND HIS NICHE IN LIFE

Here was a man who unquestionably had found his niche in life, and a useful and important niche it was. Like ripples racing from a stone tossed on the smooth surface of a pool, knowledge, its source the Onion Lake school, would run on and on through generations to come, changing numberless aimless savage and darkened little lives into enlightened adult ones, full of purpose and achievement. Truly a worthwhile work.

At the noonday dinner to which I was a little later invited, the excellent beef, the young vegetables, the delicious cream and butter – all, I was told, were products of the school farm. I had expected to spend, perhaps, an hour at the school. It was 6 o'clock before I left. We sat together in his office in the afternoon, with the bright June sun bathing the beautiful landscape, its grass-clothed hills, and opulent fields, its shimmering poplar groves and sparkling lakes, the whole at this season one pulsing sea of brilliant green, while this still boyish but competent man drew a vivid picture of the Onion Lake mission, its early, heartbreaking struggles and eventual triumph over all obstacles, until its feet were firmly set in the path of success. It was a graphic story.

PIONEER ATTEMPTS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

I was not ignorant of the pioneer attempts of the English church to Christianize these Indians. As early as 1885, at the time of the Riel insurrection, the Church Missionary Society had a representative on the ground in the person of Rev. Charles Quinney, formerly a sergeant in the British army in Malta. Aided by friendly Wood Crees, the missionary and his wife had escaped on the day of the massacre by Big Bear's band of the whites at Frog Lake, 20 miles away, to Fort Pitt, and after the abandonment by the mounted police of the latter place, had been for six weeks prisoners in the lodges of the hostiles. With other white prisoners they had ultimately reached the camp of General Strange a few days after the fight at Frenchman's Butte between the troops commanded by that officer and the warriors of the old Plains Cree chief.

"In 1892," said Mr. Ellis, "the Bishop of Saskatchewan sent Rev. J. R. Matheson as a missionary to the Indians of the Onion Lake district. A formidable task confronted him. Following the rebellion the Indians were restless and suspicious. His resources were pitifully limited. But an establishment of some sort was necessary; a start must be made. The first buildings, as might be expected, were extremely modest. A small mission house, catechist's house and church, and a tiny day school – these comprised the list. The location was some two miles east of our present station.

“Mr. Matheson put all his tremendous energy into the work. The little school in particular enlisted his deepest interest, and he spared neither time nor effort in the endeavor to make it a success. But the results were discouragingly negligible. At the end of the first quarter little progress, it was found, had been made. This was due in the main to the inability of the Indian parents to grasp the value of education. The effect of home environment and influence was so demoralizing that the attempt could only be classed as failure. What was to be done?”

“The church authorities recognized that the future depended upon the children, and the children upon the training they received. The problem was how [to] overcome the indifference and the deep-seated distrust that balked all chance of progress.

“The answer was obvious: The children must be taken out of the inhabiting atmosphere of parental opposition and subjected to the more direct and consistent control and influence of the teacher. A boarding school! That was the solution.

“Simple enough,’ will remark the average man. But it was not simple. It is difficult in this way to realize the obstacles that beset the path of one undertaking what was then so ambitious a scheme. Remember the mission was wretchedly poor, that it had practically no funds and that even the initial cost was a thing fearful to contemplate. There was the material. This must be freighted by boat or team, from Edmonton or Saskatoon, in either case a distance of 200 miles. But it must first be procured – bought and payment made or provided for. Next there was the construction, another appalling item of cost. And when all this had been arranged, if it could be arranged, there came the furnishing of the school, the purchase of food and clothing for the pupils, the securing and provision for payment of a staff – for of course assistance would be necessary.

DISTURBING QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED

“But after all this should be done, when every preparation had been made, there would still remain what undoubtedly was the most disturbing question to be answered. That answer centred about the children themselves, and upon it depended the success or ruin of the whole ambitious project. Would the parents allow their children to attend the school? Would they consent to the relinquishment of their authority, the curtailment of that freedom which the red man counts the birghright of himself and his descendants? Time alone would tell. The Indian loves his child. If he could be made to see that the way to its future independence and welfare ran through the white man’s books and teaching, the fight would be won. He would give up his child.

REALIZED HE HAD NOT LABORED IN VAIN

“A few months passed. The miracle had been wrought. Don’t ask me how. The school was in being, and not only in being but in successful operation. Of course it was only a beginning. The buildings were far from spacious, the attendance was small, but the school functioned and was making headway. Gradually prejudice died, more children came, [and] increased accommodation was imperatively demanded. Mr. Matheson took up the challenge born of the emergency. He picked to pieces the scows that had brought his supplies down the Saskatchewan from Edmonton and the

lumber so obtained he built into additions to the school. Thus the mission struggled on through its growing pains, until on the site of the original modest structure stood a building 60 feet square, a residence for the girls, but embracing besides dining rooms, kitchen, pantry, staff quarters, office and Indian room. Not far away another building, 40x30, of three storeys, provided accommodation for the boys, class and playrooms and additional staff quarters. Mr. Matheson could look over the years that had passed since his arrival at Onion Lake and feel that he had not labored in vain.

WELL QUALIFIED TO CARRY ON THE WORK

In 1916 death removed the veteran missionary, and the question of a successor immediately presented itself. The choice fell on Rev. Mr. Ellis, and a very short interval found him settled with his family in his new surroundings. Mr. Ellis is much too modest a man to talk of his own achievements, but he was well qualified both by sympathy and experience, as I learned, to carry on the work of his predecessor, for he had for some years been a teacher in the Indian schools on the Blood and Peigan reserves in Southern Alberta.

Conditions have changed since the inauguration of the work and its scope has been extended to include them. White families have come in and settled on the land adjacent to the reserve, and no public school within reasonable distance being available, Mr. Ellis has accepted their children as day pupils. Besides 52 Indian youngsters, there are 18 of these.

“Under the regulations passed in 1921,” continued Mr. Ellis, “certified teachers are required in all Indian schools. Two are employed at Onion Lake and the school is visited regularly by the provincial school inspector. The children are given an education equivalent in every way to that afforded by the public schools, and in 1922 two of the white pupils passed the grade 8 examination, qualifying them for high school entrance. One is writing this year at Lloydminster. The competition and rivalry between red and white pupils is very keen but quite friendly, and it is interesting to note that the former are able on the whole to hold their own in the examinations.

“The children are admitted at the age of seven and discharged at 18. Many are reluctant to return to their homes after their years at the school. At present we have as residents 27 boys and 25 girls. The greatest drag on progress has been the desire of the Indian parents to take their children away on frequent vacations and for holidays at home. The effect was unsettling and bad. I have set my face rather uncompromisingly against the practice, with good results, and we are likely to have less and less trouble from this cause as time passes. The majority of the children do fairly well after leaving school and give a good account of themselves. In some, not many, the primitive instinct and bent toward the ways of their fathers is so strong that the training is of limited benefit.”

The missionary looked through the window at the ebony-haired, carefree youngsters romping on the school grounds in the warm sun and was silent for a moment. Then he went on:

GETTING THE BEST OUT OF EXISTENCE

“Classroom instruction, however, is only one phase of the work undertaken in the Onion Lake school. The aim is to give the Indian child a rounded education, to qualify him to get the best out of existence, to develop him mentally, physically and spiritually. The child has his school life, his home life and his church life.

“The girls are given practical instruction in housework, baking, laundering and dairying; the boys in farming, gardening and stock raising. Next year we plan to add mechanical and manual training, carpentering, blacksmithing, etc. The long winter evenings are devoted to lessons in first aid, bookbinding, printing” – the reverend gentleman retains from boyhood days an ardent love for the art preservative – “plain and fancy sewing, raffia and reed weaving.

“The boys take an immense interest in their cadet work and go into camp every year when the government provides the money. Sixteen passed the government test in semaphore signalling in 1924.

“A proud date in mission annals is that in June, 1925, when the Indian boys composing its cadet corps, at the summer camp at Biggar, Sask., in competition with similar companies of white boys from all over the province, brought honor to their instructors and fame to Onion Lake by carrying off the two cups offered for general efficiency and for physical training, with a score of 147 points out of a possible 160 points.

“Outdoor activities have a prominent place in the school’s curriculum. The importance of organized play in the development of character is given full recognition. Basketball for the girls, football for the boys – these are games of which they seem never to tire. Baseball and tennis are played. Swings are provided. Every scrap of lumber and odd nail is retrieved by the boys, to be incorporated later in their sleds. They are fond of skating, and ponds are numerous hereabouts. Fire drill for the purpose of clearing the dormitories at night is great fun for the boys. The present record is 30 seconds.

ALL REGULAR ATTENDANTS AT SUNDAY SCHOOL

“All children are regular attendants at Sunday school. Between 1921 and 1925 nearly twenty pupils have been confirmed. The girls have a Junior Women’s Auxiliary association, which has raised money enough to supply a substantial part of the furnishings of the mission church.

“All beef, pork, garden stuff, vegetables, fodder, etc., consumed is grown on the mission farm. Stock-raising is an important branch of operations. Some fine purebreds in both cattle and hogs are carried and a profitable business has been developed with the white settlers in the district.”

THOSE WHO TEACH THE YOUNG

The staff at the school comprises: Rev. Henry Ellis, principal; Thos. Mitchell, farm instructor; Miss E. Turner, senior teacher; Miss R. E. Beanland, junior teacher; Miss E. Marshall, kitchen matron; Miss E. M. Walker, girls’ matron.

On Sunday afternoon Mr. Mitchell took me over the country about Onion Lake in his car. A little Indian maid rode in the back seat. “She’s partly crippled,” the farm

instructor explained, “so I’m taking her for a little outing. She can’t romp with the other girls. She’ll enjoy it. It will do her good.”

On a broad plateau overlooking Long Lake, an enchanting, forest-fringed stretch of blue water dotted with wooded green islets, halfway between the site of historic old Fort Pitt and the Onion Lake Indian agency – there is rising this year under the watchful glasses of the mission school principal a fine modern structure of three storeys, 117 by 46 feet, with an 36 by 43 foot two storey extension, that eloquently symbolizes the fruition of forty years of unremitting labor by devoted missionaries of the English Church among the Cree Indians of Northern Saskatchewan and Alberta. For the present it is of frame construction, but it will later be encased in a red brick veneer coat. It stands on land, a whole section – 640 acres – of it, conveyed as a free gift by the Indians to the mission for school purposes.

HAVE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF INDIAN DEPARTMENT

But of greater significance than the building itself is the reason for its creation – the housing of 80 to 100 dusk-eyed boys and girls who will be fitted behind its walls, as their brothers and sisters were before them behind the walls of the old school, for what is to them a new world and a new life – the world and life of civilization and the white man.

The new mission will comprise the main school building, the chapel (on [the] second floor of the extension), 70 by 26 feet; principal’s residence, barn, 49 by 90 feet; silo and minor buildings. The main building is divided as follows: Basement, dining room, kitchen, recreation room, lavatories, bathroom, laundry, boiler room, store room. Ground floor, two dormitories, infirmary, staff bedrooms, clothing room. Top floor, two dormitories, staff bedrooms.

We drove over to Long Lake in the afternoon.

“Of course,” concluded Mr. Ellis, after he had shown me with a pride altogether pardonable through the new building, “what we have accomplished would have been impossible without the active support of the Indian department and its officials, but from a small isolated building, where the children attended at their pleasure, there has sprung an institution which is in itself a small community and where education, social life and religion are blended in an endeavor to develop citizens strong in mind and body.”

“A three-fold training”¹⁰⁵ (1926)

One of the most unique phases in the program arranged for the education of Canadian boys and girls is the provision made for the training of Indian children. Canada has nearly 15,000 of these native pupils attending schools throughout the country, and their education is governed by rules similar to those laid down for their white brothers and sisters.

¹⁰⁵ From Higgins, H. O. (1926, October 11). The Fourth Column. *The Border Cities Star*, p. 4. Written by Harvey O. Higgins (1898 – 1961).

The Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa has the supervision of the schedule mapped out for the training of these Indian children, and its work extends to all parts of the country. At the present time there are in the neighborhood of 344 Indian schools, with a daily attendance of 14,782, a figure which is rapidly increasing, government statistics show.

A three-fold training is the aim of the Department of Indian Affairs: the inculcation of good habits, an elementary academic education, and vocational instruction to fit the graduate for his or her later life. The schools which the department supervises, and the number of each kind of institution, are as follows: Day schools, 254; enrolment, 8,242; residential schools, 74, enrolment, 6,327; combined schools, 16, enrolment, 213.

Dr. Duncan C. Scott, deputy superintendent of general Indian affairs, has just completed a comprehensive survey of the Indian school children problem, and figures issued by the government afford one an interesting study of just what is taking place in the promotion of good citizenship among the Indian children of this country. It is generally conceded that the average Indian child makes a remarkably apt pupil, the girls being especially interested in domestic science work, while the boys, naturally, love to study manual training.

The names "day" and "residential" sufficiently differentiate these two classes of schools. A combined school is one which both Indian and white children attend, and is found in districts too sparsely settled to support two schools. The Department of Indian Affairs, in such cases, co-operates with the local school boards in the upkeep of the schools. The report, as prepared by the deputy superintendent, shows that the average attendance in the day and combined schools is about 60 percent of enrolment, and in the residential schools about 90 percent.

The residential schools are directly managed by different churches, and are under constant inspection by the department. The financial assistance given by the state is a per capita payment voted by Parliament. This revenue is augmented by contributions from church funds whenever necessary. The number of residential schools maintained by the various churches is as follows: Roman Catholic, 40, enrolment, 3,514; Church of England, 20, enrolment, 1,448; Methodist, 7, enrolment, 794. Presbyterian, 7, enrolment, 571; a total of 74 schools with a total enrolment of 6,327.

Compared with the other provinces, Ontario has the largest population of Indian school children. The attendance in this province is 3,830, which includes an enrolment of 2,736 pupils in the day schools, and 1,346 children attending the residential schools. British Columbia is next, with 1,346 [sic.] children at the day schools and 1,506 attending residential schools. Prince Edward Island has the smallest number of Indian children of school age, only 26, all of them attending the day school. The complete census of Indian school children shows the number, by provinces, as follows: Prince Edward Island, 26; Nova Scotia, 318; New Brunswick, 274; Quebec, 1,598; Ontario, 3,820; Manitoba, 2,263; Saskatchewan, 1,892; Alberta, 1,283; Northwest Territories, 254; British Columbia, 2,852; and Yukon, 192. This makes the complete enrolment in day schools, 8,455, residential schools, 6,327.

Superintendent Scott, in his report, which was prepared by Russell T. Ferrier, superintendent of Indian education, states: "A course of studies suitable for Indian children on reserves near Brantford and London has few points of contact with the thoughts and needs of the hunting and fishing groups north of the main line of the Canadian National Railways. A school suited to the requirements of the Manitoulin Island Indians is only partly efficient if placed at the Lake of the Woods. Similarly, in other provinces, the department's educational program has been prepared with a view to the particular needs of the various Indian groups. The comparison is often made and theories advanced that the day schools are more valuable than residential schools for Indian children. It is quite true that in some localities they are very efficient and excellent results are being obtained."

Departmental officials, however, maintain that the training given at a residential school is of such an all-round nature that the graduate is a better Indian than the day school product. His or her activity has been thoughtfully supervised for 24 hours of the day. Ordered habits are required. The day school, it is felt, cannot compete with the boarding institute in the organization and supervision of the Indian child's play activities. The churches and the department are placing more and more emphasis on systematic vocational training, which, of course, is only possible in residential schools.

The day schools, however, are carefully maintained, and are modern in every way possible. The buildings are heated in winter from one central furnace, the average construction consisting of two class rooms, one in each end, and a residence for the teacher in the middle. In many of these day schools, a mid-day meal is served to the pupils as part of the domestic science course. It will therefore be seen that nothing is being left undone to make the education of Canada's Indian children as thorough and complete as possible.

"Their battle togs are now blue overalls"¹⁰⁶ (1927)

If the ghost of Chief Crowfoot – that famous old Blackfoot Indian warrior, statesman and diplomat, whose figure stands out so predominantly in the history of the Canadian West – still haunts the rolling prairie near Gleichen, Alberta, where the tribe he headed made its home, it hears strange talk [and] sees strange sights.

No more do the young men of the tribe make war talk and prepare themselves for the trials of battle. Where the throbbing tom-toms once stirred the tribe to lead the way in battle, the wind now whistles through wires that bring magic light and far off voices into the great lodge of the reservation administrator.

Over the whining magic wires of the pale face the ghost of old Crowfoot hears the names of chiefs once mighty in battle, but not in the war chant. It hears a crisp-voiced agent telling an assistant on a distant part of the reserve that "the morning freight brought a cultivator for Jack Big Snake, the spare parts for George

¹⁰⁶ From *Braves Forsake Feathers for Overalls*. (1927, May 7). *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 10.

Crowchief's seeder, sweat-pads for Jim Skunk Tallow, a pair of hames for Wolf Ear and sewing machine for Mrs. Swan's Leggings."

No more do the young men of the Blackfoot go forth in feathered splendor. Their battle togs are now blue overalls, their battle to wrest from the soil of their forefathers crops that will bring to them the comforts of a civilization they are slowly but surely learning to enjoy.

BIG ACREAGE IN WHEAT THIS YEAR

A visit to the Blackfoot reserve during the busy seeding season gives a most convincing impression of the seriousness with which the young men of that famous tribe have taken up agriculture. Piloted about the reserve by G. H. Gooderham, Indian agent, the visitor learns that the Indian, although generations behind his white brother in the lore of cultivation, is rapidly diminishing his handicap.

This year the Blackfoot will crop some 6,500 acres, most of it in wheat. More than 5,600 acres of this crop is on well prepared, summer fallowed, land. During the season an equal amount of land will be summer fallowed for next year's crop.

Under the direction of the government agricultural instructors, the Indians are rapidly taking to the most modern methods of agriculture. Gradually they evidence a desire to crop larger areas. The Indian who could be persuaded with difficulty ten years ago to crop 25 or 30 acres, today thinks nothing of from 70 to 100 acres of wheat.

The population of the reserve is 700 souls and there are 160 farmers, each holding a quarter section or more land.

INDIAN LEARNS MIXED FARMING

Like his white brother in Alberta the Indian farmer is learning the lesson of mixed farming. Where once doubtfully pedigreed dogs snarled over bones around the tepee, today is heard the cackle of a hen and the grunt of the family pig. In the place of [the] time honored collection of lean saddle ponies can be seen sturdier work horses and sleepy milch-cows. The Indian is learning that agriculture is not merely "wheat mining." The Blackfoot now show their cattle at the Calgary shows. Indian housewives are proud of their butter; many families pride themselves on their poultry.

Indian farms are well equipped. The machinery on the reserve represents an investment of approximately \$100,000. The machines are of the best make and they are kept in good condition.

GOVERNMENT HELPS YOUNG FARMERS

The government builds them good houses and barns. The young man setting up for himself receives a good household outfit, including a stove, bed, chairs, table, blankets and facilities are offered him to help in the purchase of horses and farm machinery.

It is the policy of the department to group houses in little communities of five or six families. In such a group a good well is bored and many of them have installed windmills to pump their water.

Like other farmers in the hail belt the Indians often suffer crop losses from this cause. Like other farmers they insure against it.

MEDICINE MAN AND HAIL STORM

An interesting story is told of a medicine man's advice against insuring for hail. Several years ago this man, who had "very strong medicine," looked at the sky and announced authoritatively that there would be no hail that season. Some of the young men believed him and told the agent they did not want hail insurance.

While the medicine man was away from the reserve at a big pow wow and celebration, the hail came. Many crops were 100 per cent losses. On his return to his home reserve the prophet complacently excused himself by saying: "Well, what did you expect? I was away from this place. While I was away, the hail came. I was not here, therefore I could not stop the hail." And, in his own mind at least, his reputation had not suffered in the least.

INDIANS LEARN TO DEMAND MORE

The Canadian government supplies treaty Indians with seven pounds of meat and five pounds of flour a week, also tea and rice – the bare necessities of existence. Judging the Indian as generally satisfied if his stomach is kept moderately well filled, many people ask why do they bother farming?

The answer, in the words of Mr. Gooderham, is this:

The young men and women of to-day have been to the government schools. They have used electric light, modern plumbing and other conveniences of civilization. They have learned to enjoy a varied diet. When they go out into the world for themselves they demand these things. They want their children to have them. They want more than the bare government ration with which some of their fathers and mothers were satisfied. Today they are earning those things out of the soil.

The Blackfoot display a mild interest in the preparations that are being made to drill for oil near their reserve. Natural gas has been encountered at between 150 and 170 feet in several of their bored water wells. This is not their only mineral wealth, for they have a good coal mine in the banks of the Bow river, near Cluny.

They are very proud of their fine hospital at Gleichen. Incidentally, they display a passion for operations. Getting carved up in the white operating room is an ambition of many. One man arrived at the hospital recently and insisted on an operation. They asked him just what he would like done. Somewhat at a loss, he suggested they should cut his liver out. He failed that time, but still has hopes of a "big pain" that will mean the surgeon's knife.

NOT PERFECT, BUT IMPROVING

Those in charge of the Indians do not try to impress visitors with the idea that the aborigines of yesterday are the finished farmers of today. The Indian is far from a perfect farmer; but he is improving all the time. The call of a stampede or ritual dance celebration is still strong enough to lure him away from his land at the time when he should be putting gup winter feed for his stock. And he has other agricultural shortcomings.

Against this, however, may be balanced the progress made by the Indians during one generation. The swing is away from the Sun Dance lodge and toward the plow. The old folks talk of the "good old days," [and] make their plans for the Sun

Dance [and] the tobacco dance; the young men are running seeders, and their wives are attending baby clinics.

When old High Eagle, one of the tribe's few remaining hunters, pulls up for his neighborly chat about the condition of muskrat this season, he is more likely to find himself in the midst of a disconcerting, highly technical conversation about the gears on a binder.

“In the face about three times”¹⁰⁷ (1928)

One of the most important appeal cases heard in the district courts of Alberta was heard Tuesday in Macleod before His Honor Judge A. M. Macdonald. The case was an appeal from Magistrate Low's finding in the hearing of Rex vs. Edwin Smith. The defendant, Smith, who was disciplinarian at the R. C. Mission on the Blood Reserve, was fined \$10 and costs by the magistrate for assaulting one of the pupils at the school, Albert Many Fingers. The case was appealed and in the hearing today J. D. Matheson of Macleod and J. W. O'Brien of Cardston, appeared for the crown, while G. E. A. Rice, of Shepherd, Rice and Fairbairn, of Lethbridge, appeared for the defendant Smith. Judgment was reserved.

The first witness on the stand was Albert Many Fingers, who stated that he was 17 years of age, and a pupil at St. Mary's R. C. school on the Blood Indian Reserve. On January 9 of this year while the pupils were marching in to breakfast, Edwin Smith, one of the masters at the school, called him out of the line and after the other boys had gone in to breakfast, punched him (Many Fingers) three blows on the nose and another on the side of the face at the same time calling him an animal. Smith refused to let witness go and wash his face, although it was all bloody, but took him into the dining room and then told the other pupils that that would happen to any animal who did not do what was right in the school. Witness stated that he had never given any cause for such treatment, and during his six years as pupil at the school had only been punished once. He also said that the principal, Rev. Father Raux, came up to him in the dining room just after the beating and told him he was glad to see he had been punished, and raised his hand to hit him on the head.

In cross-examination, witness denied that he had ever been disobedient, or had talked or teased the girl pupils. He said that until that time Smith had always been friendly with him. He (witness) had never told anyone that Smith was frightened of him, and that he was going to fight him.

The last witness, although able to speak English perfectly, refused to answer counsel's questions on many occasions unless he had an interpreter, Emil Smallface, to assist him.

The next witness was Jim Big Crow, who bore out the former witness's statement as to Smith calling Many Fingers an animal in the dining room and saying

¹⁰⁷ From INDIAN PUPIL ASSAULT APPEAL HEARD, MACLOED: JUDGMENT IS RESERVED – DISCIPLINARIAN OF R. C. SCHOOL, ADMITS HE PUNCHED FACE OF “BAD” SCHOOL BOY. (1928, April 5). *The Macleod Times*, p. 1.

that it was the punishment the rest of the animals would get if they misbehaved themselves.

Bob Big Sorrel Horses, another pupil of the school, gave corroborative evidence of Jim Big Crow as to Smith's remarks in the dining room.

The Rev. W. R. Haynes, pioneer missionary of the Peigan Reserve and Missions, was then called by the crown. He stated that he had been in charge of Indian schools for the past 30 years. In reply to Mr. Matheson, witness did not think Smith had any right to hit the boy with his fists. He had never done so, and never would. If there had been any serious trouble the lad should have been sent to the principal for punishment. In reply to His Honor, witness emphatically stated that in his opinion there was no difference between white boys and Indian boys. They always acted the same; he could never see any difference, although he had taught both in Indian schools and white schools. In cross-examination, witness admitted that if one of the older boys had offered to fight, he (witness) would have knocked him down, then taken him to the principal. Witness had not heard of any assault on masters at other Indian schools.

This was all the evidence for the crown.

The first witness for the appellant was Edwin Smith himself. He stated that Albert Many Fingers had been a source of annoyance to all the staff for several months prior to the beating he had given him. Witness had talked to Many Fingers about it and tried to correct him by kindness, but the boy only laughed and grinned at witness and openly defied him on many occasions. Just prior to the 9th of January, witness received a complaint from one of the Sisters that Many Fingers had been carrying on indecent conversation with the girls during the master's absence. He therefore changed Many Fingers' seat in the dining room so that the boy's back was towards the girls, but the boy only became more insolent. He also had told other lads in the school that he (witness) was afraid, and he was going to fight him. Smith consulted with the principal of the school as to what should be done, and the Rev. Father told him that he would have to punish the boy himself, otherwise he would lose all prestige with the other boys.

The next morning, which was the 9th of January, witness called Many Fingers from the breakfast line, and told him to go into the playroom. He followed the boy in and said that on account of his rank disobedience and insolence he would have to be punished. The boy then put up his fists and witness immediately punched Many Fingers in the face about three times. The boy stepped back, and there was no more fighting.

After this he told Many Fingers he was sorry he had to do that, as he had treated the lad with great kindness previously and he had taken advantage of it. He then asked Many Fingers if he would obey him, and the boy replied he would, so he told him to kneel on the floor, which was done. He did not let the boy wash his face, as he thought it would be an example to the other big boys, especially so after Many Fingers boasting that he would fight Smith and beat him. When he took Many Fingers into the dining room he told the other boys that any lad who disobeyed the rules and regulations of the school would also be punished. He had never called the

boy on any occasion an animal, and never had any thought of doing so. He considered he took the best course in hitting the boy in the face, after seeing him put up his fists, to maintain the dignity of the school and for further discipline and order. Witness stated that the school teacher, A. Cody, witnessed the whipping in the playroom.

Arthur Cody, teacher of the St. Mary's school on the Reserve, thoroughly bore out the statements of the former witness in every point. In answer to the judge, witness stated that in his opinion the boy certainly deserved the whipping. He had been obstreperous for several weeks previous and warnings had no effect on him whatsoever. In witness's opinion, Indian pupils were far harder to teach and handle than white children. There had been no swelling on Many Fingers' face after the fight, as witness had cause to correct the boy shortly after for irreverence during prayer, and there was no mark whatever on the lad's face. He often had to correct the same boy in school, and only a short while previous to this whipping had punished him for running away from school.

William Mills, a pupil of the school, gave evidence as to Many Fingers boasting that he was going to fight and whip Smith.

Judge Macdonald said he would reserve his decision, as he had not decided on the point whether or not Smith should have punished the boy the way he did. His Honor was convinced that Many Fingers thoroughly deserved chastisement as there was no doubt he was a bad boy and had caused lots of trouble at the school. His actions on the witness stand had left a bad impression with the court. In spite of his speaking fluent English he was cunning enough when it came to a somewhat difficult question to ask for an interpreter who could not speak as good English as himself. It was a very important case to decide, as it would be a ruling for all other Indian schools. There was no doubt whatever that discipline was absolutely necessary in these schools, as in any other school, and there was also no doubt that the boy thoroughly deserved the punishment, but the only question His Honor would have to decide on was this: was the mode of punishment administered by Smith the correct one? His Honor clearly stated the ruling was one of the most important he had had to decide upon, and he reserved his decision on the point before mentioned.

This is the first case in Canada where an Indian child's parent has laid information of this kind against a school principal, master or matron.

“Right to punish pupil sustained”¹⁰⁸ (1928)

The appeal of Edwin Smith, disciplinarian at the Roman Catholic Indian school on the Blood reserve, a case arising out of certain punishment meted out to an Indian student, Many Fingers, by Smith, has been upheld by Judge A. M. Macdonald of the district court here.

¹⁰⁸ From RIGHT TO PUNISH PUPIL SUSTAINED. (1928, May 3). *The Edmonton Journal*, p. 1.

“Great advancement has been made”¹⁰⁹ (1930)

Great advancement has been made in Canada, particularly of late years, in providing our Indian population with a high standard of educational and vocational training. Through the aid of increasing appropriations by Parliament during that time, the Department of Indian Affairs has been enabled to enlarge existing buildings, and construct more modern and fire-proof schools whilst higher salaries and grants have attracted better qualified teachers and instructors.

There are now 78 residential schools and 272 day schools, making a total of 350 centres of Indian educational activity. The total number of pupils is now 15,743, the average attendance being 11,579, constituting an increase during the past ten years of 28 per cent. in enrolment, and 48 per cent. in attendance, ample evidence of the success of the work in preparing Indian children to become independent and self-supporting citizens of the Dominion.

The residential schools are conducted by the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and United churches, and high tribute must be paid to the zeal and self-sacrifice of those engaged in the work. The Department has had the close co-operation of religious denominations in the education of the Indians, and this well-established policy has demonstrated beyond all question of doubt the effectiveness of the system.

The formal opening of the modern residential school at Brandon, Manitoba, on July 18, 1930, adds another unit to the fine system of Indian educational institutions throughout the Dominion. It will be administered by the United Church of Canada and will have as its principal the Reverend J. A. Doyle, D.D., who succeeds the veteran educationist the Reverend Thompson Ferrier.

This school, which replaces the residential school built on the same site in 1894, is one of the finest of its kind in Canada. Built of tapestry brick with trim of Manitoba limestone, and terrazzo floors, it is fire-proof throughout. Some idea of the accommodation afforded may be gleaned from the fact that it has a fine large assembly hall, four dormitories, four class-rooms, a large study room, recreation rooms for both girls and boys, sewing room, sunroom, hospital ward with nurses' quarters, also a laundry equipped with the most modern hygienic appliances.

Adjacent to the school are a number of first-class farm buildings, one of which, the cow-barn, is the finest in Manitoba. There are, also, four residences for the use of the principal and married members of the staff.

The institution has a landscape setting, which places it on a par with some of the finest schools and colleges of the older provinces.

This school draws its pupils from a wide radius, owing to the scattered location of the reserves. Residential schools are required because many of the Indians are engaged in occupations such as lumbering, fishing, freighting, and trapping, which take them away from their homes; and even the farms of those engaged in agriculture

¹⁰⁹ From Ferrier, R. T. (1930, November 5). Advancement Made in Canada For Providing Indian Population With High Standard of Education. *Oyem News*, p. 5. Written by Russell Thompson Ferrier (1891 – 1932), then Superintendent of Indian Education.

are not in solid blocks, as in white settlements, but are strung out along rivers and lakes, thus making it impossible to provide day-school accommodation for the major proportion of them.

The curriculum provides academic instruction equivalent to the second year in high school. In addition the girls are given a thorough training in domestic science, and the boys, a course in agriculture, together with elementary training in carpentry, blacksmithing and the operation of internal combustion engines, sufficient to enable them to apply it in a practical manner in modern farm life.

While every possible effort is made to impart a sound academic and industrial education, special attention is given to the health of the pupils. During the years spent in the residential schools, medical treatment is provided, which, with a balanced diet, and supervised recreation, assists in the building up of a robust constitution.

“Stripped to the waist and whipped”¹¹⁰ (1934)

SHUBENACADIE, N.S., April 23. – Displaying nasty scars apparently marks of a lash, 19 Indian boys claim they were stripped to the waist and whipped by officials of the Indian reservation school here.

Ten of the boys escaping from the institution brought the story to the office of the Indian agent, Allison McDonald, who immediately reported the complaint to the Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa, and to the Department of the Attorney General of Nova Scotia.

“The Indians of Shubenacadie are up in arms and I hardly know what to do with them,” declared the Indian agent tonight.

The flogging of the children, allegedly to wring from among them confession of those who had stolen \$53, is now under investigation at Ottawa.

From 10 to 20 strokes of the lash were given to the boys, ranging from six to 20 years old, the agent stated.

The Department of the Interior has communicated with Rev. Father J. P. Mackey, principal of the institution, asking for more complete information than he had originally sent them.

ADMITS PARTICIPATION

Rev. Father Mackey said today that he had been present during the floggings and had some part in it. He said he did not consider the treatment unusually severe. The beatings had not been administered as punishment, he said, but to elicit information about the missing money.

McDonald, the Indian agent, stated the punishment was meted out to the lads because one of them had stolen a sum of money from one of the Sisters of Charity. This, he declared, is the excuse offered for what he termed the “brutal treatment of the Indian boys.”

¹¹⁰ From Lash Inflicted At School Say 19 Indian Boys. (1934, April 24). *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. 13.

Indians of the reservation were enraged, he said – they were demanding redress and the removal of Rev. Father Mackey. Some of the parents, he declared, were taking steps to remove their children from the home.

SHOW HEAVY SCARS

Five of the ten boys who escaped from the school, Mr. McDonald stated, showed heavy scars on their backs and they were examined by Dr. McInnes, Shubenacadie doctor. The boys' parents had been notified and they too admitted that they had noticed the nasty marks on the bodies of their children.

The flogging is alleged to have been done by Edward McLeod, caretaker of the institution, and in the presence of a Royal Mounted Police officer. Indians on the reservation have raised a fund of \$25 for legal assistance in probing the whole situation. An appeal has gone out to the Indian reservations at Truro and elsewhere asking for moral and financial support in contesting their claim.

TOWNS STIRRED

The Indian agent said tonight that the whipping has not only incensed Indians but that the townspeople of Shubenacadie and Truro were stirred up over the affair.

“Ten boys had escaped from the school”¹¹¹ (1934)

WINDSOR, N.S., May 18 – Charges that a number of Indian boys were stripped to the waist and lashed with a vinegar-soaked strap at the Indian reservation school in Shubenacadie will be investigated by Hon. L. A. Audette, retired judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada.

This was learned here today, when it was announced that Norman D. Blanchard, Windsor barrister, had been engaged as counsel to assist Mr. Audette, who has a Royal Commission under Part 2 of the Enquiries Act.

An Order-in-Council, approved May 9, instructs the Commissioner to “investigate and report the circumstances in connection with the alleged flogging of Indian pupils recently at Shubenacadie Indian residential school at Shubenacadie,” and authorizes him to engage a stenographer as well as counsel.

MADE BY AGENT

The charges were made by Allison MacDonald, Indian agent at Shubenacadie, who requested the Department of the Interior at Ottawa to investigate.

Flogging of 19 Indian boys had been ordered, he said, because \$53 had been stolen from one of the Sisters of Charity teaching at the school. The crime could not be fastened on any particular boy and the group had been selected to undergo punishment, the agent reported.

Ten boys had escaped from the school and fled to his office telling him of the whipping. Five of them were cut with ugly gashes, he said.

TO GET INFORMATION

Rev. Father J. P. Mackie, principal of the institution, said he and a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer were present when the students were whipped. He

¹¹¹ From Will Investigate Alleged Lashing of Indian Boys. (1934, May 18). *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 11.

said he did not think the whippings had been unusually severe. They had been administered not in the form of punishment but to elicit information about the missing money.

The enquiry will be opened shortly, probably on June 18.

“None of them, he declared, complained to him”¹¹² (1934)

Shubenacadie, N.S., June 7 – A sturdy Indian youth bared his back before Mr. Justice L. A. Audette to-day and exhibited dark blue welts which he said resulted from a strapping he had received along with 18 others, nearly three months ago at the Indian reservation school here.

The mass flogging was described by Rev. Father J. P. Mackie, principal of the school, who said the boys had been beaten across their backs and shoulders in the presence of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police constable, following the theft of \$53.44 from the sister superior’s office.

Mr. Justice Audette, sitting as a royal commissioner, opened the official inquiry this morning with N. D. Blanchard of Windsor, as commission counsel. Indians of the reservation and Alison Macdonald, Indian agent who asked the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa to order the investigation, were represented by Major Daniel Owen, K.C., of Annapolis Royal, while Father Mackie was represented by J. A. Hanway, K.C., of Amherst.

Sixteen witnesses were heard to-day and seven more will testify when the inquiry is continued to-morrow.

Father Mackie said the boys had been lined up one at a time and told to remove their shirts and lower their undershirts. Most of them had been beaten by Edward Macleod, the school’s engineer and carpenter.

He identified a strap exhibited in court as the instrument of punishment, but he denied a suggestion that it had been soaked in vinegar the night before the pupils were whipped. The strap had four thongs and he said it originally had seven. He remembered one had dropped off during the flogging.

Indian pupils called to the witness stand readily admitted participating in a series of petty thefts in the institution, culminating in the theft of \$53.44 from the sister superior’s office.

Father Mackie said he had called Constable Thurston as soon as the loss of money was reported. The constable had gone to some of the stores and learned the boys had been purchasing mouth organs, candy, cakes and other things. Some of these articles had been found by the beds of some of the boys.

The principal said the boys would not say who committed the theft, and the flogging had been ordered to restore discipline.

The whippings had not been “too severe,” Father Mackie said. Had he thought the punishment harsh, he would not have permitted it. Five lashes were the maximum number received by any boy.

¹¹² From INDIAN FLOGGING INQUIRY OPENED. (1934, June 8). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 7.

Father Mackie said he saw no blood or any other marks on the backs of boys following the floggings. None of them, he declared, complained to him with respect to the disciplining.

After they had been whipped, he testified, the boys were put on a bread and water diet for four days, and their hair was clipped closely. They were sent to bed supperless one day, and on another occasion some of their number received no dinner, the clergyman said.

Edward Macleod said he had wielded the strap because Father Mackie was ill and in no condition to do it himself. Eight boys had been strapped on March 17, and 11 others on March 21.

Sister Rosita, one of the teachers, told the commissioner the money had been missed from the chiffonier in the office of the sister superior on the morning of March 17.

The chiffonier and drawers were locked. There was another chiffonier in the boys' part of the school and she thought they used the key of that one to open the one in the sister superior's office. The box had contained \$68.44, and only \$15 remained.

“The stepping stone to greatness”¹¹³ (1934)

A former judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada was on record to-day as favoring the old-fashioned licking, by hand, strap or cane, for independent, wilful children who slip from the straight and narrow in school or home. It often was the stepping stone to greatness.

L. A. Audette, a commissioner appointed by the federal government to investigate the flogging of 19 Indian scholars at a school in Shubenacadie, N.S., reported yesterday the children deserved the punishment for lying and stealing. He commended the principal for the inquiry which disclosed the guilt of the children and inferentially complimented him for ordering the strap.

The commissioner wrote a 54,000-word report, including evidence, which was studded with the merits of corporal punishment.

IN PHILOSOPHICAL MOOD

“Where,” asked the former judge, in a philosophical mood, “is the man who has gone to school in his boyhood and managed to get through without a taste of the strap? If he did, he must have been a true saint or a clever hypocrite who has been able to deceive his teachers.”

Here's another sentence from the report: “Spare the rod and spoil the child has never been truer than in the present day when children are allowed to assume too much independence and do as they bid and care.” And another: “There is no harm in punishment by the infliction of physical pain. All human government rests in the last resort upon physical pain, and it is mere cant to pretend it does not. It is well for a youth to realize through experience this ineluctable fact.”

¹¹³ From States Punishment By Strap Or Cane Needed In Schools. (1934, September 22). *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. 9.

The former judge was careful to point out it is lawful in Canada to punish a pupil and added: "The strap, or what it represents, is an absolute necessity in a school."

Turning to the Shubenacadie case, he said: "The punishment to pupils for telling untruths and thieving must be one consonant with such serious offence, and one that will be remembered."

WEAKNESS NO EFFECT

"A weak punishment to these Indian pupils would have no effect, would have been turned into derision and they would have laughed at it. It was necessary to give the strap in a reasonable manner, as was done, and not in a way excessive when compared with the practice in England, where the strap, the cane and the birch are used. Reading the biographies of the big men who moulded the identity of the British nation, we invariably find a reference to these corrective punishments to which they were subjected in their school days."

"There is no blame attached"¹¹⁴ (1937)

There is no blame attached to anyone in connection with the death of four Indian boys who ran away on New Year's Day from the Tejac Indian School and were later found frozen to death on Fraser Lake, according to a message received by the Indian Office here from Vanderhoof today.

The message was a reply to a query sent from the local office yesterday which followed word that the jury had recommended limiting of corporal punishment at the school. [...]

NO EVIDENCE OF CRUELTY AT SCHOOL

FRASER LAKE, B. C., Jan. 6. – Coroner C. Pitts said today that an Indian witness' testimony prompted an inquest jury, investigating the deaths of four boys found frozen on the ice of Fraser Lake Saturday, to recommend in their verdict that corporal punishment, if practiced at the Lejac Indian School, should be curtailed.

The coroner, who did not give the witness' name, said he testified that corporal punishment resulted in runaways from Indian schools.

However, Pitts said, there was no evidence to show that cruelty at the Lejac School prompted the four boys in question to attempt a fatal trek from the institution to Nautley Reservation New Year's Eve.

Other testimony at the inquest showed the boys left the school only so that they could spend a holiday at the reserve seven miles away across the lake, Pitts said.

The school principal said boys often left on such expeditions and as they had access to proper clothing, no alarm was felt for their safety immediately. A search was started the next day.

The school principal further testified that runaways occurred more frequently lately due to the fact corporal punishment was being discouraged by higher authorities.

¹¹⁴ Indian School Authorities Absolved in Lake Tragedy. (1937, January 6). *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 2.

The four boys, all under 10 years old, covered more than six miles of their trek before falling from cold and exhaustion. They were hatless and lightly clad for the bitter cold.

“How four boys died in snow”¹¹⁵ (1937)

Complete details of the circumstances surrounding the tragic death of four children of the Lejac Indian School have been prepared here, in reply to implied criticism of the school by a coroner’s jury. The lads were found frozen to death in the snow on Fraser Lake on New Year’s night.

Evidence at the inquest showed that Allen Willie, Johnnie Mitchell, Maurice Justine and Andrew Paul left the school at Telfac shortly after having had lunch at 4:30 in the afternoon of January 1. It had been a busy day with visitors at the Indian Industrial School, and it was thought by the authorities the children had left for home at Nautley Indian reservation with some of the visitors.

SEARCH STARTED

The boys were first missed by the Sister Superior at about 6 o’clock. No effort was made to locate them that night. At noon on January 2, Patrick Corkran, the postmaster, went to look for them, going to the Nautley village, but without success. When he returned to the school without information concerning their whereabouts, the authorities were alarmed and the postmaster, accompanied by the acting principal, Rev. Father McGrath, went to the village of Stellako but did not find the boys. A search party was then organized.

FOUND BODIES

Charlie Charlie of Nautley reserve, one of the party, went up the north shore of the lake, then across the ice, where he found the tracks of the boys just east of Encombe and followed them east until he found the bodies. Three boys were lying together and one was about seventy-five feet away. They had gone straight toward the Nautley village, until they came to open water in the Nautley River and then turned south toward Beaumont Crossing.

The bodies were about seven miles from the school and half a mile from the Nautley village. The bodies were taken to the village.

GIVEN LATITUDE

In evidence, Father McGrath said he did not consider the possibility of the boys going by way of the lake, since they always used the railway tracks or the road when going home. He said they were allowed considerable latitude to roam about within certain specified boundaries.

“Ninety per cent. of our children are present against their parents’ wishes and are not disciplined by the parents when they run away, so that it is hard to prevent them,” he said.

¹¹⁵ From HOW FOUR BOYS DIED IN SNOW. (1937, January 9). *The Province*, p. 13.

The Principal's version¹¹⁶ (1937)

This account is written by Rev. W. Byrne-Grant (1888 – 1944), principal of the school.

On New Year's Day the Lejac Indian School was filled with parents and relatives of the school children, and permission had been given the children to stay with their parents. The usual discipline had been slightly relaxed on account of the holiday. In some cases permission had been given to older boys to go with their parents to neighboring Indian camps.

At about 4 o'clock, four small boys asked permission to go to see their parents who live in a camp about 7 miles from the school. This permission was refused. Around this time, many of the parents left to return to their homes, and a short time afterwards the absence of the four boys was noticed. It was at once concluded that they had gone and that there was no cause for alarm. It was decided to bring them back on the following day.

The next day inquiries were set on foot and it was discovered that they were not in any of the neighboring camps. Search parties then went out to look for them, and they were found on the lake. It might be remarked here that these boys had done something which had never been tried before by runaways from the school. They had tried to cross the lake instead of going around it.

Even had the search been made for them as soon as their absence had been noticed, they would not have found them in time to save them from the sad fate which befell them. In the first place no one would have thought of looking for them on the lake, and secondly, even if this had been done, it would have been impossible to trace them in the darkness. The doctor estimated that they must have died within six hours of their leaving the school. Within these six hours, it would have been impossible to find them.

With regard to the children being inadequately clothed, we might state that their heavy mackinaw coats were found on the lake (after the inquest). This shows that the children had been warmly clothed but that they discarded some of their clothing after setting out on the trip.

The inquest brought out no evidence of the severe corporal punishment spoken of in the newspapers. If anything, the apparent lack of discipline was due to the too great kindness exercised towards the school children and to the almost complete absence of corporal punishment.

(REV) BYRNE GRANT, O.M.I.
Principal, Lejac Indian School

¹¹⁶ From Plourde, J. & Byrne-Grant, W. (1937, January 16). Principals Report on Nautley Tragedy. *The Winnipeg Tribune*, p. 9.

Tuberculosis and B.C.'s residential schools¹¹⁷ (1938)

Cranbrook, B.C. – Dr. J. S. McQuarrie, assistant medical superintendent for the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Natural Resources at Ottawa, was here for a week recently, examining all the children at the St. Eugene Indian Mission school for pulmonary tuberculosis, with the assistance of Dr. A. S. Lamb of the B.C. tuberculosis prevention traveling clinic.

This is part of a project which is being done all over B.C. with the guiding policy of freeing every Indian residential school in the province from tuberculosis.

The experiment was begun in 1934. Prior to this all children who registered positively to a tuberculin test and showed active tuberculosis in X-ray pictures, were immediately returned to their home reservations with parents, Indian agent and medical officer given notification of the child's condition.

PREVENTORIUM COST \$2,000

In 1934 the Coqualitza Mission School was chosen as the study field. Advanced cases were sent to their reservations, but borderline and suspect cases were kept at school. An old building was renovated at a cost of \$2,000 and B.C.'s first preventorium for Indians was opened for the school's 12 cases. The policy of establishing preventoria has been continued since then.

Statistics taken last year showed at School X, where no preventorium had been put in, 32 cases were returned to the reservation with 22 subsequent deaths. At the Coqualitza school, 65 cases were placed in the preventorium with five deaths recorded from pulmonary tuberculosis in this group.

The project is by no means completed, but Dr. McQuarrie believes that in three years every Indian residential school will have a preventorium, and similar facilities for day schools will be well toward completion.

“A world within a world”¹¹⁸ (1938)

A few weeks ago Coqualeetza Residential school celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Although it is old in the history of education in the province, the activities going on behind the big stone fence which forms the gateway to the institution still remain much of a mystery to the average resident of Chilliwack and district.

The big brick school building is the principal unit of the group of buildings which comprise the school. With accommodation for 225 students and staff, and 125 acres of fertile soil, the institution is a self-contained, well-ordered world of its own.

Most of the staff and students “live in residence.” In the classrooms, workrooms, dormitories and playing fields representatives of a dozen Indian tribes are mingled. There are tall, high-cheek-boned Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands;

¹¹⁷ From Push T.B. Drive Among Indians. (1938, May 27). *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 25.

¹¹⁸ From A World Within a World, Best Describes Coqualeetza Indian Residential School. (1938, December 14). *The Chilliwack Progress*, p. 4.

[and] shorter, more thick-set natives from the Kitmatt and Bella Coola districts. Only 25 per cent of the students are from the valley and mainland. The great majority come from villages scattered along the coast from the Straits of Juan de Fuca to the borders of Alaska. Fifty per cent live north of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Pupils for the most part range in age from seven to sixteen years, although in a few cases their ages go to eighteen. Due chiefly to lack of schooling in early years, Indian students are approximately three years behind whites of the same age. Improved education is rapidly reducing this difference.

In the classroom pupils act much as pupils do elsewhere, with the difference that there is greater evidence [of] a peculiar restraint and reserve at Coqualeetza. Some of the boys and girls sit as solemn as little owls over their work, while others appear animated and active.

The government course of study is followed, although the half-day system is employed in all but primary grades. Classes, normally, occupy only half the day. The rest of the time is occupied with manual training, or work in the school farm or garden.

Great emphasis is placed on the practical things – on the things the students can use to their advantage when they return to their homes. An attempt is made also to preserve traditional Indian art forms and handicrafts.

Since 75 per cent of the students come from the coast, and have fishing and lumbering as their natural vocations, training is directed along these branches of industry. A course in navigation is taught by the principal, who is well-known as a skipper of British Columbia coast mission boats. Future fishermen and tug boat men learn the principles of navigation, the use of the compass and the mariner's chart, the rules of the sea, seamanship, boat handling and emergency measures. Instruction is given in trolling, net mending and the setting up of gear.

The sight of the trim lines of a staunch, seaworthy boat resting on the stocks at Coqualeetza indicates another important activity. From the boatshop at the school comes each year a sturdy fishing vessel.

The most recent boat built by the students is a thirty-three footer with an eight-and-a-half foot beam, drawing between two and three feet of water. She has a wheelhouse and sleeps two.

Across the campus from the admirably equipped manual training building comes the din of hammering and sawing, as a large class learn the art of simple carpentry. Indian motifs are stressed in decoration. In the motor mechanics shop, groups of boys are given instruction in repairing and fitting marine engines. Simple blacksmithing and boiler work is included in the manual training course.

Both boys and girls profit from the program of self-sufficiency set of the school. A bakery and a laundry are operated by the girls.

Boys secure experience in general farm work through the operations of the school's big mixed farm. Eighty-four acres on the premises are under crop, 20 acres in orchard. There are 20 head of dairy cattle, four horses and 60 hogs. Much of the food used by the school is grown on the farm and in the gardens.

Girls receive a training as thorough and as practical as that implied in the boys' courses. Weaving, spinning, knitting and fancy-work as well as mending and ironing are taken up.

The ancient spinning wheel converts the unworked wool into yarn, and sweaters are made by the girls.

At graduation each girl is supplied with material for making a new outfit of clothes.

Ten acres of potatoes and 400 pounds of milk a day helps to feed students.

Catering and cooking assumes gargantuan proportions. Two and a half to three tons of flour are used each month in the bakery.

Extensive measures are taken to ensure the health of the student body, three nurses being attached to the staff. Each pupil is examined on entrance and given the skin test, and is rechecked twice a year. Eyes are examined regularly. The traveling clinic X-rays all doubtful cases. Eye trouble, trachoma and T.B. are the chief objects of these measures. An infirmary is maintained in the school.

Perhaps the most notable department in the entire school is the preventorium. This unique institution, a separate unit standing some distance from the other buildings, is a focal point in the fight against the greatest enemy of the native population, tuberculosis. It is, in a modified way, a sanitarium, but it is chiefly concerned in the prevention of the spread of the disease. Pupils slightly infected with tuberculosis are treated and susceptible cases are isolated and watched.

The building, spotless and glistening with white paint, has accommodation for sixteen. There is a kitchen, bathrooms, and an isolation room. In the bright, airy wards, overlooking a landscaped garden, the patients take the rest cure. A certain amount of school work is done but most of the patient's time is given to Indian hand work and carving. The patients spend the two summer months in camp at White Rock. Miss McKay, a trained nurse, is in charge and is relieved by the assistant nurse at the school and one senior girl who is detailed to this department.

The preventorium has only been in operation for three years, but in this time an admirable record of achievement has been established. Out of 38 cases treated in two and a half years, 24 were discharged with the disease completely arrested. Only four were sent to the sanitarium for further treatment. Over 80 per cent of all patients respond satisfactorily.

The Coqualeetza unit was started by the Department of Indian Affairs as an experiment and was the first preventorium of its kind. The experiment has fully justified itself and similar institutions have since been established at Mission and at Alert Bay. The Department of Indian Affairs gives closest co-operation and the provincial government is opening sanitariums to patients from residential schools.

The traveling clinic and the chest clinic also render valuable services. Apart from its service in checking disease, the Coqualeetza preventorium is a dissemination point of knowledge and influence. The Indian patients who pass through it know how to care for themselves and take back to their native villages a knowledge of anti-tuberculosis measures. Each former patient is a missionary in this respect.

The same applies to the school as a whole. Coqualeetza Residential school is a great center of education and influence. Through the many hundreds of graduates who have passed through it during its half century of service, the school has made itself felt among the Indian population in every part of the province.

“We broke down their moral codes”¹¹⁹ (1939)

Calgary could do better than use Indians for a cheap and colorful display each year, Rev. E. J. Staley, principal of the Indian residential school at Morley, asserted in a sermon at Central United church, Sunday morning.

“If that is all they care about the Indian people, there is not a great deal of use in carrying on missionary work,” the guest speaker declared.

Alberta Indians, Mr. Staley said, were a loving and lovable people. During the past few years, particularly, they had suffered great adversities and had borne them without complaint.

“Whenever civilization engulfs primitive people, great and grave problems arise,” he said. “There would be no half-breed problem today if all our early contacts had been Christian.

“THWARTED AND BEWILDERED”

“We broke down their moral codes, and their social taboos. A great tidal wave swept over the Indian people. That wave left a thwarted and bewildered people.

“In 100 years, at the most, Indians have absorbed idea which it took 2,000 years for use to obtain. Before we came to them they had an amazing idea of God and a code almost Christian. They were cruel in some ways, but there was no starving in the midst of plenty, and there is no starving in the midst of plenty among them today. They share their goods.”

Canadians had no reason to be ashamed of the manner in which the Canadian government had treated the natives of this country, Mr. Staley declared. The treatment extended to Indians was far superior to that extended primitive people in other lands.

Mr. Staley closed with an appeal for a better understanding of Indians, an appreciation of the hardships which they suffered without complaint, and the generous extension of help to a lovable people – possessed of many fine qualities – in need.

“Indian children made very loyal members of the church”¹²⁰ (1941)

A vivid description of work being done at the St. John’s Indian Residential School at Chapleau, Ont., to which as many as 100 Indian children are brought from

¹¹⁹ From SAYS INDIANS USED ONLY FOR ‘CHEAP’ DISPLAY. (1939, April 17). *The Calgary Herald*, p. 3.

¹²⁰ From WORK FOR INDIANS OF NORTH IS CITED. (1941, February 7). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 4.

the shores of James Bay, and the northernmost posts in the Province of Quebec, was given by Mrs. M. Bowlby, [at] yesterday's afternoon session of the 55th annual meeting of the Montreal Diocesan Board of the Woman's Auxiliary to the M.S.C.C. held in Allan Shatford Hall.

Unable to speak a word of English when they arrived, the youngsters were at first terrified, she said. However, after spending as much as eight or ten years at the school, they were able to take their place in civilization. Mrs. Bowlby, formerly matron of the Chapleau School, said it numbered among its graduates an ordained minister and several school teachers. The majority of the children were given industrial training for half of every day during their senior years at the school.

The children understood what was being done for them. The work was worth while, Mrs. Bowlby pointed out, as Indian children made very loyal members of the church in after life.

“On the most modern and progressive lines”¹²¹ (1944)

“See that patch of green down the road? That was the old battleground of the Thompson Indians. We often find arrowheads there; big ones and little ones, too.”

A group of alert, bright-eyed Indian boys at the Lytton school were giving me this information much as white children would talk about the latest movie. It was a story that their parents had often heard in detail, but to their grandparents it was a poignant and burning memory of a long-passed youth.

Nearby were the fine modern buildings of the school with every facility for the education of Indian children. Around us the imperturbable mountains climbed up to an azure sky. They alone were changeless, and they looked down upon the world at their feet which was in a constant state of flux.

Grain fields and orchards, heavy with fruitage, grew in the soil that had been enriched with Indian blood.

Over the old warpaths, mild-eyed sheep were quietly grazing, and herds of sleek, contented cattle roamed over the wide acres that had once echoed to the sound of the war cry.

In an incredibly short period of time the tomahawk has been exchanged for the ploughshare, the spinning wheel and the notebook.

Throughout British Columbia this situation could be duplicated many times over. To visit one of these schools and to observe the machinery at work would be a revelation to many white people.

Each school is in a sense a self-sustaining community embracing all the varied forms of work and activity found in any well ordered, progressive centre.

Indian Residential Schools are financed and conducted by the government in conjunction with the various churches. Some of the finest schools on the continent have been built for this purpose. Educational requirements are the same as in white

¹²¹ From Thornton, M. V. (1944, December 9). EDUCATION BURIES TOMAHAWK. *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 6. Written by Mildred Valley Thornton (1890 – 1967).

schools, but white children would howl in agony as if they were kept as busy as children at Indian schools. It would be good for the souls of many of them if they were.

Yes, Indian schools are busy places, but the days are full of interest, and there is certainly no monotony. The mornings only are devoted to class work – learning English, spelling, arithmetic, social studies, etc. The rest of the day is given over to manual training, farm work, and similar pursuits for the boys; and to mending, domestic science, laundry, infirmary, and sewing for the girls.

Some of the schools raise their own sheep. These provide not only fresh meat for the pupils, but also a steady supply of wool which the girls wash, card, spin and knit into the famous Indian sweaters. At Kamloops, for instance, 150 boys are wearing sweaters made for them by the 150 girls of that school.

This is the largest Indian school in the Dominion and it is conducted on the most modern and progressive lines. Children here can put on one of the best juvenile entertainments I have ever seen. They give huge pageants at Christmas and Easter in their big auditorium which attracts people from all over the surrounding country.

The mere feeding of several hundred people at these schools is a problem in itself. All summer long, while the children are away, thousands of quarts of fruit and vegetables are canned for winter use. Tons of potatoes are grown, as well as feed and hay for stock.

All schools have their own herds of cattle. At Kamloops and Mission these are fully registered Holsteins, and at Kuper Island they have an exceptionally fine herd of Jersey cattle. Visit this school for a time and you are guaranteed to lose your waistline.

Not only do the herds supply an abundance of milk, cream, and butter for daily use, but here boys gain practical knowledge under expert guidance in the care and handling of stock. They take great pride in their animals which often carry off first prizes at local fairs. Milking machines, modern refrigeration, cream separators and grading machines are in common use.

The exception is found up the west coast of Vancouver Island at rock-bound Kawakis, where all supplies have to be taken in by boat. With no ground available for farming purposes, special attention is given to boat building, and here the boys work on real boats which go down the ways into active service on the Pacific Ocean as soon as they are completed.

Exquisite beadwork and basketry are done by all the girls at west coast schools. It is incredible what even seven- and eight-year-olds can do in this craft.

And you ought to hear the children at Kakawis sing, "O, Canada." The moment the note is struck, every single one, boys and girls, come in with full, rich, clear tones. They know all the words, and they all sing as though they meant it.

Some people are always complaining about this song. There is nothing wrong with "O, Canada" – but there's plenty wrong with the way we sing it. We should go to the Indians and learn how.

It must not be imagined that it is all work and no play at Indian schools. Provision is made for a certain amount of recreation. At Mission and Kamloops, time has been given to pro-rec activities to which the boys respond with unusual gusto.

Both these schools have fine brass bands. At Sechelt they have a lusty fife and drum band, and rhythm bands are popular everywhere. Nearly all schools have large auditoriums where the children stage concerts of music, singing, pageantry, and dancing.

Indian children have an innate sense of rhythm and all of them love music. The children at Mission have won more prizes for singing at Musical Festivals than any other school in B.C. They far outstrip average white children in this field.

Many of the schools have apparatus for picture shows, and selected films are shown at regular intervals.

Ample provision is made to safeguard health of the children, and schools have splendid infirmaries with a qualified nurse in charge where they receive the best of care in case of illness. Cod liver oil [is] supplied in gallons for use [in] winter months.

Some attention is given to [native] arts such as carving, [...] beadwork and basketry, but with such a full program time is necessarily limited. Indians love this work, however, and excel in all forms of it. At Lytton the [students] are expert at wool work, [and] the best spinners are often spinning wheels of their [own] when they leave school. These are made by the boys [in] the manual training shop. At this school also, an attractive home for the engineer [has] been built by six of the [students] under the direction of an instructor. Last year these children put on a ballet at [Lytton] in aid of the Red Cross. [It] was very well done and a large sum of money [was] realized.

The school at Alberni is one of the newest in the province and ministers to the [needs] of children over a wide [area]. Situated on the Alberni [canal], plans are under way to [make] it one of the beauty [spots] in the district.

At lovely Kuper Island, the school occupies a dominating position in a community which [is] entirely Indian. Well-cared [for] flower beds, shrubs, and [colorful] arbutus trees add to [the] natural beauty of its surroundings. It looks out over a wide stretch of water to the town of Chemainus, while on the other side of the island the remains of an old Indian village with a number of huge log houses crowd down to the water's edge.

This is one of the oldest Indian schools in Canada and one of the best. Some far-seeing soul planted many nut and fig trees there in the early days, which provide many a treat for the youngsters who gather them now.

For children who come from undesirable surroundings at home, and for those living in isolated areas, the residential school provides a haven where they are housed, clothed, fed and educated at Government expense. In many cases, too, children who have been orphaned or made homeless are taken into the schools, where they receive the best of care until they can support themselves.

The schools have done heroic work in an effort to bring Indian children up to white standards. What is vitally needed now is a follow-up program for the boys and girls as they leave school or wish to take up higher education. Some of them have the ability to go into the professions and should have the opportunity to do so.

In order that the carry-over from school to home may be more direct and effective the Government is gradually extending its program for day schools. Many

fine day schools are now in operation. Two of the best are at Penticton and Duncan, V.I.

The school at Duncan is one of the most modern and best equipped schools of its kind on the continent. It boasts a fine manual training shop with a full-time instructor in charge. It has all facilities for carding, and spinning wool, and of course this is the reserve from which the famous Cowichan sweaters come. Several Singer sewing machines, a piano and domestic science equipment are also provided. A school bus makes two trips of 24 miles daily to bring children to and from school.

There is also a fine non-denominational school on this reserve known as the Koksitah school. The standard of attainment here is very high, and many of the pupils have gone on into high school and other forms of special training.

Indian children are, I believe, the best behaved in the world. Never think of them for a moment, however, as inarticulate or you deceive yourself. They are only dumb before the arrogant, the curious, and the skeptical, but they will respond with warmth, affection and generosity when they know your sincerity of purpose. You need never try to dissemble your true feelings before them, for they know intuitively the exact nature of one's attitude towards them.

They are responding in a heartening manner to all that is being done for them by the government of Canada. In a couple of generations, progress has been phenomenal. Spotless washings flapping on the lines behind Indian houses; clean, well-cared-for homes; properly cooked food, [and] capable, confident, well-dressed young people all over the country testify to the efficiency and success of the Indian educational system in this province.

"Our education emphasis"¹²² (1947)

Archdeacon Middleton, principal of St. Paul's residential school on the Blood reserve near Cardston, Alberta, may be quoted as one of Canada's leading authorities on Indian education. Speaking the language fluently, he is guide and friend to the whole Indian band, understands the Indian philosophy, and while he believes in progressive education, is also seized of the idea of making haste slowly.

Here is what he says today, after 42 years' experience:

"Our education emphasis should be: Preparation for the utilitarian life of earning a living; the development and inclusion of advanced education; and to inculcate the ethics of culture for social progress on the assumption of potential citizenship. The standardized curriculum has not met with the success expected. A more flexible course, allowing full scope for the individual and for natural talent is proving beneficial. Civilized and educated, the Indian of the better class is not less intelligent than the average white man and he has every capacity for becoming a good citizen."

¹²² From THE CANADIAN INDIANS. (1947, July 11). *The Blairmore Graphic*, p. 5.

“Teaching Indians to Hunt”¹²³ (1947)

A happy note from the Department of Mines and Resources tells about a plan to give practical education to Indian boys in the far northern reaches of Ontario.

Up at Moose Factory, some 20 boys are the proud operators of a trapping section on the Kesamagi beaver preserve. With the permission of the Ontario Government and under the guidance of a veteran Indian trapper, Daniel Sailors, the boys are taught the fundamentals of woodcraft, campcraft, beaver conservation and trapping.

Every Friday night, during the Autumn and Winter trapping season, the boys put aside their text books at the Bishop Horden Memorial School and head for the trapping area. When the beaver are brought back to the school by the boys, the Indian girls skin the animals. Sales of pelts already total \$185, which is being held in trust for the pupils of the school.

A similar scheme is under way at Sioux Lookout and at Aklavik, in the North West Territories.

“Administering the widely-scattered system”¹²⁴ (1948)

Its schools dotting the map of Canada from Aklavik in the Northwest Territories to Eskasoni in Nova Scotia, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources is currently educating a total of 19,600 Indian children between the ages of seven and [fifteen. Despite difficulties] involved in administering the widely-scattered system of 271 day schools and 76 residential schools and dealing with attendance problems which are aggravated by the nomadic tendencies of so many Indians, the Education Division of the Branch has produced amazing results among native children. The Church of England, the United Church of Canada, the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church co-operate with the Branch in the operation of residential schools, receiving assistance in the form of per capita grants.

A development in which considerable satisfaction is displayed has seen thirty-six Indians who received their preliminary schooling in the system return to it as teachers. At the present time four other Indians are in normal schools working toward teaching certificates.

Achievements of three Indian schools in different parts of the country indicate the value of the educational program. This year twenty graduates of the Shingwauk Residential School are attending high school at Sault Ste. Marie. Of three Indian pupils who graduated from the high school with first class honors last year, two have positions in business concerns and the other is a nurse-in-training. Seven others graduated with honors.

¹²³ From Teaching Indians to Hunt. (1947, November 28). *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 4.

¹²⁴ From INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH EDUCATING 19,600 INDIANS. (1948, January 14). *Didsbury Pioneer*, p. 4.

The Cadet Corps of the Lebret Residential School recently won the Grand Challenge Trophy in competition with all provincial army cadet corps in Saskatchewan, and the school at Mission, B.C., which has a high scholastic record, captured the Provincial Recreational Centres' gymnastic team competition championship.

The course of study laid down by the Provincial Departments of Education are followed within the various provinces in which schools are located, and with the exception of British Columbia, where the Indian Affairs Branch has a District Inspector, regular inspections are made by provincial inspectors who report excellent progress being made in most of the schools.

“Church Indian schools held ‘inferior’”¹²⁵ (1948)

British Columbia Indians are retarded in educational progress by the Catholic and Anglican churches, Clarence Walkem charged Saturday.

Walkem, a native Indian, made his charge at the end of a three-day Native Indian Affairs conference at Acadian Camp, U.B.C.

Dr. R. S. Tennant, regional superintendent of Indian Medical Services, said Indian children should be allowed the same advantage as white children and given the same opportunity to go to public schools.

Dr. W. S. Barklaay, medical superintendent of Coqualeetza Indian Hospital, said there are 450 natives under treatment for T.B. in the province; 80 percent are in departmental hospitals. The average age of victims is between 16 and 17. Twenty-five percent of those died; 60 percent improved under treatment; 15 percent were left unimproved.

“Facts which are not generally known”¹²⁶ (1948)

Sir, – The following headlines appeared in your newspaper last Friday: “Church Indian Schools held inferior.” I am not writing this letter as a protest against the headlines, but with an earnest effort to place before you a few facts of what the Church has done and is doing for Indian education. Facts which are not generally known, and will ultimately be lost if these ulterior and sinister criticisms be allowed to go unchallenged.

After reading over the account under the headlines, I was rather startled to find that the Indian young man, who made the statement, comes of rather a large family, all of whom owe far more to Church Indian school education than they can ever hope to repay.

Not very often does the Church receive recognition or even appreciation from them for anything she has done for them. Although many thousands have received

¹²⁵ From Church Indian Schools Held ‘Inferior’. (1948, April 5). *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 13.

¹²⁶ From Hives, C.F. (1948, April 12). THE WORK OF ONE INDIAN SCHOOL. *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 4. Written by Rev. Charles Frederick Hives (1886 – 1963).

an education and training, which would otherwise never have come their way had it not been for the Church during the many years she has been administering to them, never at any time has she called on them for any monetary payment; her one aim has been to give to them that which shall eventually lead them to equality of citizenship with all other peoples of this country. More frequently than not, her efforts to educate have received vigorous protest from the pupil, and have required, on the part of the teachers much patience, faith, and a very careful manipulation of the very limited financial resources with which to carry on the work.

A FAMILY'S EDUCATION

The young man who made the statement owes to St. George's School six years of his early education, which has, no doubt, been one of the contributing factors to his now enviable status as a student in the U.B.C. His sister holds a B.C. teacher's certificate, an attainment or accomplishment which she owes directly to the education, care, guidance and influence she received from St. George's School. Four other brothers received more than an average education at St. George's School. Three or four other sisters also received their education at St. George's School.

Last Saturday I sat down and conversed with two of these sisters, who had come some distance to visit the school. While talking with them I felt very proud of the fact that this school had given to them that which, in the matter of education and poise of conduct, has made them more than equal to the average lady of the land. It was a real delight to converse with such intelligence.

The father of this family held a very good position as section foreman on the railway. His income was sufficient to have allowed him to send his children to the village public school where he lived. He chose to send them to St. George's School. We now have several younger generation children of the family.

WHAT IT COSTS

We have in residence at St. George's School 198 pupils. While they are here they are looked after as a family, and are no cost to their parents. Until last October we received a per capita grant allowance from the government of Canada which worked out to approximately 70 cents per day per child. Since then the grant has been increased and amounts to approximately \$1.10 per day per child. With this revenue we must buy all food, clothing, pay all salaries, 20 in all, buy light, fuel, and attend to all other financial obligations connected with this institution. If this were a secular institution such financial resources would not be sufficient. Being a Church institution this grant is supplemented by financial support from an old missionary society in England.

Were we to close our doors many of our pupils would be absolutely deprived of a chance to attend school. To substitute the educational work done by this school, 20 day schools, each with a teacher's residence, would have to be built. (And that is a very conservative estimate.) Last year we admitted 58 new pupils, all between the age of seven and eleven years. Most of these had never had a chance to attend school. Fine, normal children they are, but who would still be deprived to attend school had we not taken them in. Abolish the Church residential schools and you will [find,] or the ratepayers of Canada will find, that many millions of dollars will have to be found

to supersede the present system. Or, if the matter became a provincial one, the Educational Department would find quite a problem on their doorstep.

My teaching staff consists of four fully-qualified B.C. certified teachers; a manual instructor, trained by the Canadian Army, and a good shop with some power tools; [and] a gymnastic instructor with well-equipped gymnasium. Five of my pupils are attending high school in the village and are taken there every morning by our own bus and brought back in like manner in the evening. I expect five more to attend high school next year, or rather next term.

I would be very much obliged if you would send a reporter to visit our school. Perhaps you would serve a very good purpose by doing this, and be the means of exploding some of the adverse criticisms which I feel have their origin in some sinister and subtle movement that would close Church doors and Church schools in order to bring about their desired chaos in our social order. Your reporter does not need to warn us of his coming. He would find us doing the same one thing: Looking after a large and ordered family.

NO CORPORAL PUNISHMENTS

We are not perfect, by any means. There are many, many things we would like to do more than we are doing. Many more improvements we would like to make, and will make as time and means give us the opportunity. But with the limited resources we have, and with the help of God, whom we try to serve, we are not ashamed of our efforts and the many wonderful results we obtain. During the past eight years we have had actually one death only in school. Nearly three years we have had no case of truancy. And during that time there have been no corporal punishments. These are facts which I think should speak louder even than headlines in a newspaper which may, perhaps, be of interest to the public.

CHAS. F. HIVES, Principal.

“Preventing an outbreak of infectious hepatitis”¹²⁷ (1956)

Quick action by a Prince Albert doctor and five nurses was instrumental in preventing an outbreak of infectious hepatitis among students at St. Michael’s Indian Residential school, Duck Lake, the Rev. Antonio Duhaime, school principal, said Friday.

Fr. Duhaime said Dr. Dermott Waldron, and five nurses, all from the Prince Albert Indian health services, immediately inoculated all 200 students April 1, after it was discovered that one boy had contracted the disease.

A second case was diagnosed Wednesday, he said.

Because the disease is highly contagious, students would remain at the school during the Easter holidays, Fr. Duhaime said.

“The quarantine went into effect Monday, and it will likely be another 10 days before we’ll be able to lift it,” he stated.

¹²⁷ From Principal praises doctor’s action in fighting disease. (1956, April 9). *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, p. 3.

“We can’t afford any chance of this disease spreading. It is highly contagious in private homes, and can be passed along through eating utensils, combs, urine, and feces,” Fr. Duhaime said.

Most of the students came from Indian reservations throughout northern Saskatchewan, he said.

“The question of nutrition”¹²⁸ (1958)

“When I ask what is the priority of needs among Indian school children, I always come back to the question of nutrition.” This was the core of the talk given by Miss J. Whiteford, supervisor of nurses for the Indian and Northern Health Service, to the Tuesday afternoon session of the Saskatchewan Indian Teachers’ Association, meeting in Convocation Hall at the University.

Many of the common causes of death among the Indians, respiratory infections and the like, went back to faulty nutrition, she asserted. Most important was a lack of protein. When Indians on the traplines followed their native diets, she said, there was no lack of protein, but the lack appeared when they tried to eat as white men did. Second in importance was vitamin C deficiency, the vitamin absent from meat, but found in fresh fruits and vegetables.

“I asked Dr. L. B. Pett, federal nutritionist, what could be done in a practical way about supplying this vitamin deficiency,” she remarked. “He said, ‘eat a wild rose hip, just one, and you get as much vitamin C as you get from two oranges.’” In wild roses, then, lay the answer to the vitamin C deficiency apparent in Indians and other inhabitants of the north, where oranges were prohibitive in price.

One of the problems, she stated, was to get the children to respect the vitamin biscuits, cod liver oil, and milk provided for them. The vitamin biscuits should not be played with, or thrown about the yard, but eaten while still clean and fresh. Men teachers, she said, appeared to be much more successful in inducing their charges actually to eat the vitamin biscuits than were women teachers. “Is this because men are more convinced than women of the importance of adequate diet?” she asked.

Miss Whiteford remarked especially on the prevalence of ear infections among Indian children, which, she said, appeared to affect every second child in some seasons. “Nature must be able to do a better job of restoring defective hearing caused by punctured ear drums,” she remarked, “than we have supposed, for you don’t find that the adults are much afflicted with deafness.”

She told of a recent survey of nutrition conditions at Pelican Narrows, which had revealed that the children were surprisingly healthy and well fed. Later, inquiry had revealed that the cause of this in that particular district was the fact that a Scotsman of the district had taught the young people to eat porridge. “It’s quite evident,” she said, “that porridge is a much better food than those cereal flakes that are so often preferred. I wish we could banish those denaturized flakes for ever.”

¹²⁸ From Nutrition Most Important to Indian School Pupils. (1958, September 4). *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, p. 7.

“End segregation”¹²⁹ (1956)

John Diefenbaker’s appeal for a royal commission to study all Indian affairs is far more vital than proposed legislation to give Indians equal drinking rights.

Members of Parliament should of course pass amendments to the Indian Act to remove unjustified restrictions on liquor. Ending them would be likely to end much of the alleged drunkenness used to justify bans on firewater. Sobriety usually is increased by removal of any ridiculous liquor law.

MPs, however, must resist any temptation to sit back in glowing self-satisfaction over this simple act of elementary justice.

They should join Mr. Diefenbaker in pressing the government for an all out campaign to remove all handicaps and restrictions which have so long made second-class citizens of the first Canadians.

A royal commission would be a practical start. It should be instructed particularly to find ways to ensure equal chances for education to younger Indians throughout Canada and to end completely disgraceful segregation of “Indian schools.”

The younger generation would then be equipped to enter competitive Canadian life on equal terms with all Canadian youngsters. Ways to improve the lot of older Indians handicapped by lack of education should also be sought.

A major study should be undertaken to find means of extending full voting rights and all other rights of complete citizenship to all Indians without compelling them – as now – to give up reservations and other inherited privileges.

These were bestowed as conscience payments by Canadians who took the country from the Indians. It is unworthy to try to recover them now as the price of full citizenship.

Mr. Diefenbaker will win admiration by pressing his fight for full rights for Indians.

MPs who shirk this campaign for essential justice will lose such admiration – and all right to orate about racial discrimination in other countries.

“Don’t let us rush and hurry them”¹³⁰ (1956)

Editor, The Sun: Sir, – After reading your editorial on segregation of Indians, I fell to thinking that if the editor of an enlightened newspaper like the Vancouver Sun was so ill-informed in regard to Indian educational progress, how little must the general public know about our work amongst the native people of this country? ...

¹²⁹ From End Segregation Here. (1956, July 7). *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 4.

¹³⁰ From Hives, C. F. (1956, July 12). Indians Being Helped. *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 4. By Rev. Charles Frederick Hives (1886 – 1963).

For 41 years I have administered in one or another of our residential schools ... and have made as my definite object equality of citizenship for Indian young people.

Of course we have had our setbacks, chief of which has been the scorn and contumely we have received from the general public, for I am safe in saying that neither my Indian children nor we who work with them have received the respect due to us and them.

And secondly, the terrible anguish of mind, soul and body which has been the lot of the old Indians when they were forced to realize that the dreams of a free and open life in a country created beautiful by the Great Spirit could never return to them again. ...

We are living in a very complicated age which we white people, who call ourselves civilized, find it difficult to understand. Don't let us rush and hurry them too much.

Less than 100 years ago the Indians of B.C. were looked upon as naked savages living in underground huts and using stone implements. You speak of segregation as though our Indians were being treated like our dark brethren down south.

I assure you, sir, that the native young people of this country are receiving all the rights and privileges that are recognized by other children.

There is no difference made between native and white here at Lytton public school. I have over 200 Indian pupils in my residential school. As soon as they pass grade six they are advanced to the junior high school at Lytton. In September there will be over 50 of my pupils attending junior and senior high school at Lytton.

Over 25 per cent of my pupils are attending junior and senior high school alongside other pupils of the country and taking part in all their activities and even excelling in a goodly number.

Every morning the bus calls for them and they take their lunches just the same as children do from home, and they return by bus again after the afternoon session.

This is not segregation, and it is not a new thing for us, for it has been going on for six or seven years.

After they reach the grade when they will be accepted in the vocational school in the city, they are given every assistance by the Indian Affairs Department to fit themselves for independent life in any profession they wish to choose.

Some fall by the way, but an ever-increasing number are going into life and intermingling with other citizens of this country and are readily accepted by all right-thinking people as such.

(Canon) CHAS. F. HIVES,

Principal, St. George's Indian Residential School, Lytton.

(The Sun has every admiration for those like Canon Hives who devote their lives to helping Indian youngsters to get a decent chance in life. As long, however, as Indians' economic and social position creates need for such special facilities as "Indian schools," we maintain there is segregation which has no rightful place in Canada. As Canon Hives' letter shows, Indian children given a fair chance are equal in all

respects to children of any racial origin. Our plea is for Canada to ensure all Indian youngsters the chance which only some now enjoy – Editor.)

“It has just been talk”¹³¹ (1958)

I have read a lot about the betterment of the Indians lately. It has just been talk and no constructive methods.

To better the Indian position take the children away from the religious churches and their schools, where too much time is spent in teaching mythology, and put them in the public schools; then they will learn something.

“The results of church domination”¹³² (1958)

I have also been working among Indians from Quesnel to Vancouver for years and have seen them grow up from children to men and women, and know the results of church domination and that many who have gone to the tenth grade in church schools can hardly read or write. ...

The majority of those who have gone to public schools not under religious teaching amount to something. But they realize they are just Indians and that they are being robbed by everyone.

“Indian graduates”¹³³ (1958)

Mr. Wilesmith, in his letter on Indian schools, writes of the “inability of many (?) children in grade 10 attending church schools to read and write.”

From this he would conclude that the Indian residential high school is a failure. His argument is as specious as his statement is erroneous. Mr. Wilesmith will find many (?) grade 10 students in public high schools who are deficient in reading and writing. No one takes this as a condemnation of the public school system of education.

Mr. Wilesmith will find, if he cares to visit an Indian residential school, that the standards there are as high, the curriculum as carefully followed and the results are [as] outstanding, as in any high school in B.C. ...

ANDY PAULL, President, North American Indian Brotherhood.
North Vancouver.

¹³¹ From CHRISTIAN OBSERVER. (1958, July 2). To help Indians. *The Province*, p. 4.

¹³² From Wilesmith, J. (1958, July 28). *The Province*, p. 4. Written by John Samuel Wilesmith (1891 – 1966).

¹³³ From Paull, A. (1958, August 5). Indian graduates. *The Province*, p. 4. Written by Andy Paull (1892 – 1959).

“Indian integration opposed by Chief”¹³⁴ (1961)

OTTAWA (CP) – Chief Albert Cook said Thursday he opposes integration of Indian and non-Indian school children, especially in the cities.

His own two children had been followed in Winnipeg by white children giving television-style war whoops, he told the Parliamentary committee on Indian affairs.

Rev. Andre Renaud of the Roman Catholic Oblate order agreed that integrated schooling leaves scars on Indian pupils in the early grades in many areas.

He said he doesn't expect to see the day when the Indians themselves control the Indian affairs branch or live with the same lack of paternalistic care of non-Indian Canadians. Some groups, he said, are so scattered and remote that it will take time.

Father Renaud presented a brief on behalf of the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, urging that community development and education are keys to getting Indians to stand on their own feet.

Chief Cook, from Princess Harbor on the east side of Lake Winnipeg, and Chief A. E. Thompson of Dallas, Man., delivered a brief from their Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

Father Renaud has been active for many years in Indian-Eskimo work and is a vice-president of the Indian-Eskimo Association, a private group.

The Ottawa priest said the Indian needs a great deal of encouragement if he is to leave overcrowded reservations or make a new life for himself there.

Community spirit, [...] confidence and competence should be fostered. It could overcome Indian apathy, but the present staff of the Indian affairs branch would need to be conditioned to this work, which could inject the necessary flexibility into the Indian Act to take account of the varying degrees of sophistication among the 179,000 registered Indians.

He told Judy LaMarsh (L – Niagara Falls) that Indians so far have had so little to do with community planning and other subjects that they think the federal government is the only agency able to do things.

Perhaps the provincial governments would handle this sort of thing better. Miss La Marsh said Canadians seem to have made quite a botch of emancipating the Indian successfully in the last 100 years.

Frank Fane (PC – Vegreville) asked him whether it might be better if the provinces assumed the responsibility from the federal government for educating Indians and the churches kept out of it.

Father Renaud replied that depended on the sort of education an agency provided. If it was all religion, obviously it was inadequate.

¹³⁴ From Indian Integration Opposed By Chief. (1961, March 24). *The Edmonton Journal*, p. 22.

“Cause of some concern”¹³⁵ (1961)

OTTAWA (CP) – School bells across Canada this fall range out an invitation to some 11,000 Indian youngsters to attend classes off the reservation alongside non-Indians. Next September 1,500 more Indians will join them.

With one-quarter of the Indian school population of 43,000 now registered in 1,055 non-Indian schools, Canada’s school integration program is in full swing.

In some quarters, however, the speed and manner in which integration is being carried out are causing concern.

The Anglican church, which operates 15 residential hostels for Indian school children, says it fears the ultimate success of the program is being endangered by “the zeal of those who want to do too much too quickly.”

Roman Catholics, who run 43 hostels, say that forcing classroom integration without adequate preparation of teachers and pupils may be unfair to the Indians.

CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT

The criticism is directed mainly at the federal government, which has responsibility for education of Indians.

Since 1947 the Indian affairs branch has pushed a program of increasing the number of treaty Indians in regular schools. It has also increased its financial control of Indian education and now owns the buildings and almost wholly subsidizes operation of 68 church-supervised hostels.

Federal officials acknowledge that at times the program has encountered resistance both from Indians and non-Indians, but add that once integration was under way, no school board ever requested withdrawal of an Indian child.

An Indian affairs branch spokesman emphasized that action is taken only with parents’ consent.

“Indians need to learn what attitudes and social behavior are acceptable in their association with other ethnic groups as they join the broad stream of Canadian society,” the spokesman said, explaining the need for integration.

AGREE ON PRINCIPLE

Church and government agree on the principle that there must be closer association between Indian and non-Indian, and that one way this can be achieved is through schools.

Rev. Henry Cook, superintendent of the Anglican Indian school administration, declares, however, that some Indian children are forced to make the transition too quickly.

“We’re interested in going gradually rather than putting a great number of Indian children into white classes when many are ill-prepared to cope with their new experience.”

Mr. Cook suggests setting up an intermediate stage between reservation and ordinary school. Children with no previous contact with non-Indians would be

¹³⁵ From Indian Integration Program Is Cause of Some Concern. (1961, December 9). *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, p. 16.

boarded in church-supervised hostels where they would be given day-by-day guidance on how to make the social adjustment for entering the non-Indian world.

The adjustment problems were also stressed by Rev. Andre Renaud, director-general of the Oblate Fathers' Indian-Eskimo advisory commission.

In many cases only the brighter Indian students were able to cope with the academic and social requirements of a non-Indian school. The rate of Indian students failing to complete courses was higher than among non-Indians.

Father Renaud recommended more emphasis on teaching Indian children fundamental skills of reading, writing and arithmetic in terms of their own cultural background. The child should be exposed, through movies, slides and field trips, to aspects of non-Indian society about which he is ignorant.

Classroom integration was not a cure-all and officials should not try to flood Indians into non-Indian schools just to make the integration program look good in terms of statistics.

Teachers had to be trained to detect the varying needs of each pupil. Among problems they had to contend with was how to instill incentive for study in Indian pupils. Another was how to avoid complaints from non-Indian parents that education of their children was suffering because of teacher concentration on Indian pupils.

The federal government acknowledges that such problems exist and that not even all Indians themselves support school integration, some out of fear of eventual loss of Indian identity. However, it feels the best solution is to iron out quietly the difficulties as they occur and to avoid repeating mistakes.

"We have set no final deadline to complete our integration program," said the Indian Affairs branch spokesman. "In the long run its success will depend on the over-all development of Canada as well as the favorable attitude of both the non-Indian and Indian community."

"Protesting the phasing out"¹³⁶ (1965)

Most of the nine reserves within a 50-mile radius of Lebret have sent telegrams to Citizenship and Immigration Minister Nicholson protesting the phasing out of the high school program at the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School, Ed Piney of the Peepeekisis Indian Reserve, president of the Catholic Indian League, said Wednesday.

He said the telegrams emphasized that the Indian affairs branch had acted without consultation with the parents and its action is considered a violation of the Indian Act.

Parents have not been consulted about the move, which is contrary to sections 117, 120 and 121 of the Indian Act, which provides that they may send their children to a school of their choice and that written consent of the parents must be obtained, he said.

¹³⁶ From Nine reserves protest more. (1965, July 29). *The Regina Leader-Post*, p. 2.

SAID HIGH-HANDED

The branch claims its policy is to consult with the people first before making such a move, but in this case it went ahead in a high-handed manner, Mr. Piney said.

Indian people in his area believe in integration, but the present approach seems to be a one-way street, he said. The white people don't seem to want to integrate with the Indians. They need preparation for the change as much as do the Indians.

Why don't the non-Indians integrate with the Indians and attend schools on the reserves? Asked Mrs. Lillian Cyr of the Pasque Indian Reserve, secretary of the Saskatchewan division of CIL.

She said some town school teachers have said educational facilities on some of the reserves are of higher standard than at many schools outside the reserves.

The Qu'Appelle school has produced more successful Indian students than any other in the province, and if the high school program is discontinued, the tendency will be for students graduating from the lower grades to drift back to the reserves, where opportunities are practically nil, and end up on relief, Mr. Piney said.

BETTER SUPERVISION

Many of the parents feel that their children get better supervision and instruction at Lebret than they would by being placed in integrated schools, he said.

A meeting of the File Hills Reserves Recreation Club [on] Tuesday endorsed a resolution calling the decision of the Indian affairs branch highly undemocratic.

One of the telegrams sent to Mr. Nicholson read in part: "The Catholic Indian League of Muscowpetung Indian Reserve, in a combined meeting with their non-Catholic brothers, do realize that the Indian parents are jeopardize of the education rights of their children. We feel it is no business of the Indian affairs branch to decide for us whether we will have an Indian school or not."

It demanded that treaty rights be respected and that the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential High School remain open as well as all grade schools on the reserve.

Mr. Piney said that it was expected telegrams protesting the discontinuing of the high school program would be sent to Mr. Nicholson from many other reserves in Saskatchewan and other provinces.

The Qu'Appelle school enrolment at the last term totaled about 315. Of these, 150 students were taking high school.

"Five teachers have resigned"¹³⁷ (1966)

MORLEY, Alta. (CP) – Five teachers have resigned from an Indian reserve school here, protesting poor facilities and alleged lack of communication with federal government officials.

Vice-principal K. A. Ruggles said Tuesday the major complaint is that "because of the problems with Indian education ... the school should at least have the same facilities as provincial schools."

¹³⁷ From Five quit teaching at reserve. (1963, June 9). *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, p. 6.

Mr. Ruggles, principal John Campbell and three other teachers have resigned effective at the end of this term. The school has 244 students in Grades 1 to 9.

Martin Brodhead, superintendent of the federal Indian affairs branch in southern Alberta, agreed communications have not been good, but dismissed other complaints by the teachers.

Among the complaints were that expenditures on pupils do not compare with those in provincial schools, that plans for a kindergarten were turned down and that janitorial services are poor.

Mr. Ruggles charged in a telephone interview: "They (Indian affairs branch officials) are trying to get out of this school but are trying to run it at the same time."

He said the federal government is "not equipped" to run the school. It is on the Stony Indian Reserve at this community about 40 miles west of Calgary.

"The real obstacle in the school"¹³⁸ (1968)

SASKATOON (Staff) – Hopes that integrated schools would advance Indian children academically and socially and produce happy white and Indian young people who together would build a new nation aren't working that way, Fr. Andre Renaud of Saskatoon said Saturday.

Fr. Renaud, a member of the University of Saskatchewan staff involved in Indian education, was talking to a group of trustees representing all school boards in the province which are concerned with integrated schools. The meeting was organized by the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association.

Now Indian students are reaching the Grade 7 level, rather than the Grade 5 level their parents reached (if their parents attended school). "But they need at least Grade 10 – or else they just wait until they are old enough to receive welfare," he said.

With the adult upgrading program, the "kids realize they can quit school at 16, have fun for three years, then get paid by the government to take their Grade 10 in six months," he said.

Those who go beyond Grade 7 are usually those whose parents attended school and know what it is, but most of the girls "wait for their MA (mothers' allowance) and the boys enroll in the residential training school in Prince Albert (the penitentiary)," he said.

If the boys are integrated into the school it is because they are good at sports, but if they become too popular, parents of the white girls begin to worry.

School buses take the Indian children right back to the reservation as soon as school is out, and they don't have a chance to watch the television programs, play the games, or mingle with the white children in the gymnasium. As a result, integrated schools don't bring the desired educational and social effects, he said.

The real obstacle in the school is only one agency contributing to the growth of a competent citizen, and it is meant to build on a six-year base and to reinforce the

¹³⁸ From Integrated school hopes not being fully realized. (1968, April 22). *The Leader-Post*, p. 11.

things the child learns in his community. If one of these other factors is missing, the school doesn't work, he said.

Teachers feel the Indian parent isn't doing his job because he doesn't read, write, count or speak English. The child sees his parent happy without these things and wonders why he should "learn this stupid stuff." The parents feel the school should build on the foundation the child has.

Most children on the reservation stay outdoors until everyone at home has gone to bed, the visitors have left or the party is over. Often they come to school without sleep or breakfast. Although many Indian parents are aware of what their child needs to succeed in school, others don't know what the problem is, Fr. Renaud said.

Even if the Indian child has slept well and eaten, he still lacks the background, and community forces encourage the teacher not to give him the help he needs.

She has only so many hours a day, and her life is rooted in the community where most of the children live, and some have parents on the school board. It is possible for her to reorganize the course slightly so all students can learn, but if she makes this adjustment, one bigoted parent will react.

"The trustee is important in the community, and serves as a buffer for these reactions. If he is sympathetic to integration, the teacher has the support she needs to help the Indian students. If he isn't, the teacher is blocked in," he said.

He deplored the lack of direct communication between the school and the Indian parent. "It all goes through the federal Indian affairs official, who has more to do than find out why Joe doesn't get to school today."

The Indian parent feels bypassed in all facets of the education of his children. They may agree the child should go to school, but they don't want to be eliminated from the process any more than a white parent does. They want to know what is happening to their children.

"They must participate in elections as soon as possible. You will need an education program to bring this about, but when the Indians know what it means they will co-operate," Fr. Renaud said.

Teachers and principals are ready to do their share, but the presence of Indian children in a school brings administrative problems just in getting the supplies for them from the Indian affairs department, he said.

He suggested a member of the school staff, perhaps an assistant principal, who would be responsible for liaison between the school and the Indian community, and who would not belong to the Indian affairs department.

"If this person is an added expense because of educating Indian children, the Indian affairs department will pay for it," he said.

"Why not arrange for Indian children to stay an extra hour or two after school to learn the games the other children play, and for the older ones, to give them a chance to do the homework they cannot do at home?" This would give them more in common with the white children.

The federal government gives the Indian children school supplies, because in a one-room [home] there is nowhere for the child to keep them. His younger brothers and sisters break his pencils, chew his erasers and scribble in his notebooks. He gets

soup or milk at noon because he often needs it. He hadn't had breakfast. But this segregates him from the other children.

Segregating the Indians who get soup from the white children who don't for ease of managing the lunch hour ends a chance for the two groups to meet each other over a meal.

"Maybe you should give milk or soup or school supplies to everyone," Fr. Renaud said.

"Policy problems in school integration"¹³⁹ (1968)

SASKATOON (Staff) – Discussion of the practical aspects of integrating Indian youngsters into white schools showed many problems as trustees from school boards involved spent Saturday morning outlining efforts in their areas.

Syd Smith of Prince Albert, chairman of the meeting called by the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association, described changes in the School Act which would allow a reserve to be designated as a school district and assigned to a school unit, if requested by the reserve. This would give Indians on the reserve voting rights in school elections, and the right to be elected as trustees.

It would also make it impossible for the board to levy fees for educating the children against the Indian affairs department, as it could not charge fees to students resident in its school district. "Long term financial agreements will be needed," Mr. Smith said.

Harold Whyte of the Wolseley consolidated board said funds must come from some source. He questioned how active reserve Indians would be on management of schools. "We have tried to get the chief or other representative to discuss with the board, but with no results," he said.

Jack Stueck of the Balcarres consolidated board said 158 students from the File Hills Reserve attended schools controlled by the board. Both board and reserve want it to be a success, and the reserve for a year has had its representative on the board with the same rights and privileges as other trustees. "It bends the law slightly but it's necessary to be progressive."

Martin Janzen of the Wilkie unit board said if the federal government supplied the funds and the Indians did the voting there would be a "breakdown of the responsibility chain." Different Indian bands have different regulations with some paying grants to the municipalities in lieu of taxes, he said, suggesting some uniformity of reserve policy across the province.

Mr. Smith said municipalities would need to be involved to assure proper roads on reserves for year-round transportation of the students to the schools.

L. I. Thorson, executive secretary of the SSTA, said boards could not tax reserves for funds for education because they are federal government lands.

Louis Samletski of the Kinistino board said Indian land farmed by white people was taxable, but the main problem was within the school. "We have a member of the

¹³⁹ From Money, policy problems in school integration. (1968, April 22). *The Leader-Post*, p. 11.

Indian council sit with us as trustees, and we didn't realize how wrong we could be until we started working directly with the Indians," he said.

J. G. McGrath, secretary of the Govan unit board, said they had seven years' experience with integration, and the "biggest stumbling block" was the Indian affairs department education officer. "He is out of touch with the situation. We would like someone directly responsible to the unit board," Mr. McGrath said. He agreed on the need for financial assistance from Ottawa, and said absenteeism was a major problem which the education officers cannot cope with.

Reg Brown of the Melfort unit board described the first day Indian children arrived at the white school, "scared and timid." He said the principal gave each Indian child a white "brother" or "sister," which had worked well. Some of last winter's absenteeism was solved with a special snow-plow for the bus route, he said. A kindergarten on the reserve was helping the children to learn English, he said.

A representative of a Melfort sub-unit board said attempts to gain Indian representation on the board had failed.

Mr. Janzen said if trustees really want integration "we shouldn't worry about whether taxes on Indian land pay a fair share. If we are not prepared to do this we are paying lip-service but we don't support integration whole-heartedly."

Eldown Owens of Moose Jaw said federal government grants to help finance integration should be made in such a way the agreements could not be broken except by mutual consent.

W. Crocombe of the Kamsack unit board said Indian parents often sent children to school without breakfast or lunch, and expected the teachers to feed them and look after them. He said if the densely-populated reserves near Kamsack were made school districts they should be separate sub-units, otherwise "present sub-unit trustees would have no chance of being elected."

Mr. Stueck said integration was necessary for unity. "We are looking as white men talking about white problems. The Indians resent us discussing their lives as we would resent them discussing policy for us. They are intelligent enough to make their own policy."

Mr. Owens said boards are guilty of "extending a parental hand" to Indians asking them to sit with them. Reserves must elect their own trustees just as white people do, which would give them the feeling of participation which they don't now have. This would also improve the attendance of Indian board members, he said.

George Slater of the Prince Albert separate board said doubts about integration caused some of the problems. "We must have faith in the Indians and give them an opportunity to contribute to running their own education."

Mrs. Elizabeth Pinay, the Indian representative on the Balcarres board, said she didn't feel the schools should be on the reserves. "We need less criticism and more understanding," she said, describing her early days on the board as: "Board business was new to me and I found I was looking on but not participating."

R. N. Anderson of the Cando central board said an Indian representative on the board during the past year had "created considerable interest on the part of the Indians." He said integration meant integrating the white children, too, and if the

additional financial costs of integration are not met, “the toll will be taken in human costs.”

“What on earth do you mean by that?”¹⁴⁰ (1968)

SASKATOON (Staff) – “What is the current attitude on Indian integration in the schools?” Ken Howard of the Prince Albert New Start project asked trustees representing all boards with integrated schools, Saturday.

“Is it a partnership, with some partners holding more shares? Is it a subordinate-superior relationship? A relationship of equals? With some more equal? Paternalistic?” he questioned those attending a special meeting on Indian integration called by the Saskatchewan School Trustees’ Association.

He told the trustees to stop looking for roadblocks in legislation passed 1,000 years ago, or 50 years ago, and to look where they were starting now.

“The first thing is to clarify the objectives of integration – to teach the Indian child about the white society, starting with his home base,” Mr. Howard said.

He said the key areas were students, teachers, curriculum, the community, and the Indian community, and none could be considered in isolation.

“You talk about the Indian. There were 50 separate entities when the white man discovered America. There were 200,000 Indians in Canada then, and now there are 210,000 on welfare.”

He said many Indian students came from one or two-room shacks, and it wasn’t uncommon for these to be shared by a dozen people. “What kind of study space does that student have? What kind of clothing? What if his parents are the first generation to give up a nomadic life? What if they don’t speak English?” he said.

He asked the trustees how relevant schools would be to them if their children went to schools that taught Roman culture and only in Latin. He criticized the “Dick and Jane” approach to the curriculum.

He said it was mythology to talk of integrating the Indians into “the mainstream of Canadian life.” “What on earth do you mean by that? Whose mainstream? The industrialist’s? The farmer’s? The prison inmates?”

Trustees are responsible for the quality of education, and an amendment to legislation allowing the Indian to vote for trustees and to sit on school boards doesn’t solve the problem, Mr. Howard said.

“You talk about integrated schools and in the same breath complain of Indian absenteeism. You say you have Indians sitting on school boards, and add they don’t attend. You don’t have integration. You have empty chairs,” he said.

He said someone had suggested the only problem in the past was that Indians weren’t ratepayers of school districts (weren’t allowed to vote on school issues). “Does this legislative change make them ready to take up a trustee role? What training do trustees have? Who tells them what is expected of them?” he asked.

¹⁴⁰ From Clarify attitude trustees told. (1968, April 22). *The Leader-Post*, p. 11.

He told the trustees not to under-rate what they were capable of doing. Much good is enabled by the legislative changes, but it will not come into being without real commitment and dedication, he said.

He called for a “reactivation of the partnership between professional teachers and lay trustees,” saying it was the only way trustees could evaluate the needs of the community and maintain the quality of education.

“People in the north are washing cars and holding bingos to see the south, by which they mean Saskatoon and Regina,” Mr. Howard said. He suggested trustees should show the same sort of initiative in wanting to see the northern areas in which the Indians live, if they are serious about wanting integrated schools.

“An era is coming to an end”¹⁴¹ (1968)

KAMLOOPS – For nearly half a century the Kamloops Indian Residential School – a long, three-storey, red brick building reminiscent of Edwardian days – has stood majestically overlooking the South Thompson River where it sweeps from between sun-bleached rocky hills into Kamloops.

Here, Kamloops Indian band chief Clarence Jules studied in the polished, wooden walled classrooms, as did U.B.C. graduate Leonard Marchand, executive assistant to Indian Affairs Minister Arthur Laing. Since it was constructed in 1923, thousands of Indian children have [studied here] and gone out into the world from its stately corridors, balustraded staircases and long halls.

But today, progress dictated by a white man’s world is catching up with the Indian Residential School – the largest in B.C. By September 1969, classroom education will be completely phased out and an era will come to an end.

“Of course, it won’t be the end,” declared Principal Rev. Allan F. Noonan, a lively, fast-talking Catholic priest who hailed originally from Prince Edward Island. “The school will be known as the Kamloops Students’ Residence, a hostel for Indian children, and we’ll have a new role to play and our responsibilities will be greater.

“People appear to misunderstand the conception of phasing out. Only classroom education is being discontinued; in fact, higher grade classes have already been terminated here.”

Until 1959, the 350-student school was completely segregated with its own teachers and administration staff looking after 12 grades. Since then, Grades 7 and up have been gradually integrated, either with St. Ann’s Academy, or public schools in Kamloops.

Classes for Grades 4, 5 and 6 will come to an end this September, and a year later the three primary grades will be integrated with public schools.

“Integration cannot be rushed, and the students are going at a rate they can handle in Kamloops,” said Father Noonan, adding that similar integration programs are also taking place in Williams Lake, Lytton and Alberni. Two huge classroom blocks, standing apart from the main building, and [which] were later additions, will

¹⁴¹ From An era is coming to an end at red brick Indian school. (1968, May 13). *The Province*, p. 33.

not fall into disuse. The Oblate Fathers who govern and run the Residential School – it's financed by the federal government – have offered use of one block to the Kamloops School District, always hard pressed for accommodation.

The school, or hostel as it will be known, will continue to pay an important role in the lives of the Indian children while they are out of city schools.

Father Noonan envisages the hostel's future role as developing culture and encouraging full participation in sports and social activities.

"You can't take a young kid off the reserve and put him in a public school, just like that. For most of them it's a strange world – the world of the white man – and it's too much of a shock. One of our roles will be to prepare children for this new world."

He admits the necessity and practical advantages of integration, but sadly points out there is not one Indian teacher in Kamloops schools. "There is a great need for Indian teachers in public schools, someone the kids can identify themselves with and look up to.

"Some things really worry me. Public schools have a wide open education system. Do we or the educators really know what value it has? How valid is it? Does it help Indian kids? How many people understand Indian culture sufficiently to be able to tell them more than just they are descended from the Chinese? [sic.] Culture is not something that rubs off from one person to another."

For an Indian boy and girl to walk along holding hands is a common event in their society; it is a traditional and accepted practice. "Indians are like that, but if they do it in a public school, white children will laugh with embarrassment and it could lead to trouble through failure to understand each other's society. Integration is not an easy accomplishment."

The Kamloops Indian Residential School already acts as a hostel for the 50 boys and 50 girls who daily catch the buses for the city high school. They are accommodated in a modern, airy annex, built several years ago. Here the students live in bright dormitories – six to a room – eat in a well furnished dining hall which could put many Canadian restaurants in the shade, and study or relax in large recreation rooms in the basement.

Record players, television sets, a billiard table, deep, comfortable settees and armchairs, [and] a comprehensive library of fiction, non-fiction and text books, have been adopted from a white man's world, and only paintings, drawings and picture mosaics of Indian scenes and people, decorating the walls and corridors, indicate the presence of another culture, another world.

Regular socials, parties and Saturday night dances are now being attended by white friends met in city high schools, and sometimes Indian students spend evenings at the homes of school friends in the city. "Integration is easier for older students. There is far more understanding," said Father Noonan.

Since before the turn of the century, there has been an Indian school on the Kamloops Reserve. A fire prompted the building of the present school in 1923. Only a few years ago, the school operated a large farm and a prize dairy herd helped support the establishment with vegetables and milk, and afforded agricultural

training for older students. It even possessed its own slaughter house. Through the years, the farm gave way to playing fields, avenues of trees and a large swimming pool, and land not required was handed back to the Indian band.

The students come from reserves in such areas as Lillooet, Merritt, Salmon Arm, Vernon and the Kamloops region.

“The children are not here from broken homes,” said Father Noonan. “That is a common misunderstanding. They are here because they have the choice of staying on a reserve where housing may be inadequate and conditions are not suitable for study, or coming here for a good secondary school education.

“Some people think all the kids here are on welfare. We have only 14 in that position out of 350. This may sound harsh, but we don’t want welfare kids because we are geared to handle children who have parents, who have a place of permanency, and can go home during the holidays. Welfare kids come to a dead end when they leave school here because there is no follow up program, no one to take an interest in them.”

The welfare department agrees and is doing its best to find foster homes for the 14 children. “It’s really rough to find foster homes – good Indian foster homes.”

Assistance and encouragement in integration is given by the school in that all students belong to some form of youth club or organization, such as cadet forces, cubs, brownies, scouts and guides. The students have made a name for themselves in sports, and recently brought home the B.C. Indian Basketball trophy, while the polished sounds of their trumpet band and displays by the dancing group are now familiar and welcome events in district ceremonies and functions.

One of the major advantages of Indian students attending public schools, said Father Noonan, is the vocational training which enables students to go on to become nurses, secretaries, hairdressers, heavy duty mechanics, carpenters, bakers, chefs and foresters.

Recently, three girls living at the Residential School and attending St. Ann’s Academy in Kamloops were selected to present a paper at the University of Victoria’s Second Annual Humanities and Science Symposium. They were Nancy Michel, Mary Jane Sterling and Judy Swakum, who dealt with the culture past and present of the interior Salish Indian, an informative, thought-provoking work which compared the two cultures, emphasized the necessity and advantages of a modern education for Indians, but concluded by saying: “No matter how modern the Indians become, they should never forget their native language, their culture and their heritage.”

When classroom education at the Kamloops Indian Residential School is phased out in September 1969, promotion of culture is one of the important roles the hostel will continue to play.

“Truants ‘Criminals’”¹⁴² (1969)

KAMLOOPS – A little-known section of the Indian Act defines as criminals Indian youths who skip school classes or are expelled from school, two band chiefs said here Friday.

Chief Frank Tibbetts of the Burns Lake band told a conference on Indian integration that section 119 of the Indian Act “Makes kids into criminals before they even start.”

Chief Nicholas Prince of the Fort St. James band said the section describes truant or expelled Indian youngsters as juvenile delinquents.

“Juvenile delinquency comes under the Criminal Code, and the youngsters don’t even know about this. It means that a child of six or seven years old can be called a criminal.”

The section reads:

“An Indian child who (a) is expelled or suspended from school, or (b) refuses or fails to attend school regularly, shall be deemed to be a juvenile delinquent within the meaning of the Juvenile Delinquent Act.”

“Is this the government’s plan?”¹⁴³ (1969)

KAMLOOPS – “What’s wrong with this conference is that the white man is telling us Indians what is good for the Indians.”

That’s how an Indian public health nurse described the three-day conference here on Indian integration in the schools. It was attended by about 230 white and 70 Indian delegates – mostly school trustees, administrators and teachers.

Mrs. Seraphine Stewart, of Kamloops, said the so-called solutions proposed by most delegates are education, integration and “fitting in” by the Indian.

“Is this the government’s plan to exterminate us Indians by assimilation?” she demanded.

Mrs. Stewart said integration does not mean Indian and white children sitting next to each other in school for five hours a day – only one-fifth of the time.

Social reforms are not getting anywhere in white society, so why is this imperfect society being foisted on the Indians? she asked.

Mrs. Stewart said integration is too often a one-way street.

“Why are large groups of Indian children being transported 20 miles to schools with only eight or 10 white pupils? This is not integration. Why not have the eight white children go to the Indian settlement for their schooling?”

Mrs. Stewart looked at the relatively small number of Indian delegates present and said: “There should have been delegates invited from every B.C. reserve – there is no real representation here.”

She questioned whether Indians want to integrate into white society.

¹⁴² From Truants ‘Criminals’. (1969, May 17). *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 10.

¹⁴³ From Indian Deplores White ‘Solutions’. (1969, May 17). *The Vancouver Sun*, p. 10.

“I will always be an Indian. I have been exposed to whites for about as long as I can stand,” she said.

“Sure, we Indians have got to fit in to survive, but what’s the survival? There is so much unhappiness in white society. There is tranquility on the reserve.”

Mrs. Stewart, who holds three nursing degrees, was speaking during a panel discussion by Indian leaders.

“Indian integration victim of haste?”¹⁴⁴ (1970)

The Indian Association of Alberta’s brief to the legislative committee hearings on the proposed new School Act raised some disturbing and important questions about the integration of Indian children into the provincial school system.

The alleged cases of outright racial discrimination against Indian children in provincial schools outlined in the brief are tragic enough in themselves. They can and should be investigated by provincial authorities. In all fairness, the teachers’ and local authorities’ side of the story must also be heard.

But there are even more serious implications in that the cases corroborate the fears expressed last month by Professor H. B. Hawthorn of the University of British Columbia that such integration was taking place with undue haste and thoughtlessness. [...] The difficulties being encountered by Indian children indicates that inadequate preparation and planning were done before such children were “dumped into” provincial school systems.

And more serious are charges in the brief that the Indian affairs department is entering into agreements with provincial school systems on matters seriously affecting Indian people, without the Indians’ consent – a shameful denial of human rights which would never be tolerated in any white community.

The school integration program warrants special attention because it is the prototype for the entire new federal government Indian integration policy. What seems to have happened here further undermines Ottawa’s hopes for an instant solution to the “Indian problem.”

Why was it left to the Indian Association to uncover and act upon these cases? Did the Indian affairs department, trying to work itself out of a job in a hurry, enrol the students and then assume that the province was “looking after it?” The provincial school systems, of course, are merely carrying out a contractual agreement and “non-resident” students remain the responsibility of the place they where they come from – in this case, the federal jurisdiction. Thus, no one is “responsible.” And no one seems to care.

This situation must be rectified. Integration, as Dr. Hawthorne suggests, should proceed only as fast as Indian children and their parents are ready and agree to. And both federal and provincial governments must take responsibility for seeing that it works.

¹⁴⁴ From Indian integration victim of haste? (1970, March 6). *The Edmonton Journal*, p. 4.

Appendix: The life of Peter Jones

“Romance in Real Life”¹⁴⁵ (1833)

About two years ago, an Indian¹⁴⁶ of the Chippewa nation, formerly said to have been a man of some rank in his tribe, but now a Missionary of the Methodist church among his red brethren, was sent to England to obtain pecuniary aid for the Indian mission cause in Upper Canada. What his native cognomen was – whether it was the “Red Lightning,” or the “Storm King,” or “Walk-in-the-Water,” – we know not; but in plain English he is known as Peter Jones. An Indian is a rare spectacle in England. Poets and romancers have alike invested the primitive sons of the American forest with noble and exalted characteristics, which are seldom discernable to duller perceptions of plain-matter-of-fact people; and which English eyes alone could discover in the hero of the present story. But no matter; Mr. Peter Jones was not only a Missionary from the wilderness, and, as we doubt not, a pious and useful man among his own people, but he was a *bona fide* Indian – and he was of course made a *lion* of in London. He was feasted by the rich and great. Carriages and servants in livery awaited his pleasure, and bright eyes sparkled when he was named. He was looked upon as a great chief – a prince – an Indian king; and many romantic young ladies, who had never passed beyond the sound of Bow bell, dreamed the charms of solitude amid the great wilds – “the antres vast and desert idle”¹⁴⁷ – of the greater West – of the roaring of mighty cataracts, and the bounding of buffaloes over the illimitable prairies – of noble chieftains leading armies of plumed and lofty warriors – dusky as the proud forms of giants in the twilight – of forays and stag hunts – and bows and arrows – and the wild notes of the piercing war whoop, in those halcyon days when, unsophisticated by contact with the pale faces, “Wild in woods the noble savage ran,”¹⁴⁸ and that sort of thing, as Matthews would most unpoetically have wound off such a flourishing sentence. But it was so:

“In crowds the ladies to his levees ran-
All wished to gaze upon the tawny man-
Happy were those who saw his stately stride-
Thrice happy those who tripp’d it at his side.”

¹⁴⁵ From Thorburn, G. (1833, September 27). ROMANCE IN REAL LIFE. *The New Bern Spectator*, p. 1. Written by Grant Thorburn (1773-1863).

¹⁴⁶ Peter Jones, Kahkewaquonaby (Ojibwa: ‘Sacred Waving Feathers’) (1802 – 1856).

¹⁴⁷ From Shakespeare’s *Othello*, Act I, Scene 3: “Her father loved me, oft invited me, / Still questioned me the story of my life / [...] / Wherein of antres vast and deserts idle, / Rough quarries, rocks, hills whose heads touch heaven / It was my hint to speak”.

¹⁴⁸ A famous passage from John Dryden’s play, *The Conquest of Granada* (1672): “I alone am king of me. / I am as free as nature first made man, / Ere the base laws of servitude began, / When wild in woods the noble savage ran.” This is thought to be the first time the phrase ‘noble savage’ appeared in print in English.

Among others who perchance may have thought of “Kings barbaric, pearls and gold,”¹⁴⁹ was the daughter¹⁵⁰ of a gentleman of Lambeth, of wealth and respectability. But she thought not of wedding an Indian, even though he were a great chief – or half a king – not she! But Peter Jones saw, or thought he saw – for the Indian cupids are not blind – that the young lady had a susceptible heart. Availing himself, therefore, of a ride with the fair creature, he said something to her which she chose not to understand – but told it to her mother. Peter Jones sought other opportunities of saying similar things, which the damsel could not comprehend – *before him* – but she continued to repeat them to her mother. He sought an interview with her. It was refused. He repeated the request. It was still refused, but in a less positive manner. Finally an interview was granted him with the mother – and the result was, that before Peter Jones embarked on his return to his native woods, it was agreed that they might breathe their thoughts to each other on paper across the great waters. Thus was another point gained. And, in the end, to make a long story short, a meeting was agreed upon, to take place the present season in this city, with a view of marriage. The idea is very unpleasant with us, of such ill-sorted mixtures of colours. But prejudices against red and dusky skins are not so strong in Europe as they are here. They do not believe in England, that

Those brown tribes who snuff the desert air,
Are cousins-german to the wolf and bear.

The proud Britons, moreover, were red men, when conquered by Julius Caesar. What harm in their becoming so again? But we must hasten our story.

On Tuesday morning of last week, a beautiful young lady, with fairy form, “grace in her step, and heaven in her eye,”¹⁵¹ stepped on shore from the elegant packet ship *United States*. She was attended by two clerical friends of high respectability, who, by the way, were no friends of her romantic enterprise. She waited with impatience for her princely lover to the end of the week, but he came not. Still she doubted not his faith, and, as the result proved, she had no need to doubt. For, on Sunday morning, Peter Jones arrived, and presented himself at the side of his mistress! The meeting was affectionate, though becoming. The day was spent by them together in the interchange of conversation, thoughts, and emotions, which we will leave it to those better skilled in the Romance of Love than ourselves to imagine.

Though a Chippewa, Peter Jones is nevertheless a man of business, and has a just notion of the value and importance of time. He may also have heard of the adage “there’s many a slip,”¹⁵² &c., or, perchance of the other – “a bird in the hand,”¹⁵³ &c. But no matter. He took part, with much propriety, in the religious exercises of the

¹⁴⁹ From the beginning of John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667), Book II: “High on a throne of royal state, which far / Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind, / Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand / Show’rs on her Kings Barbaric Pearl and Gold, / Satan exalted sat, by merit rais’d / To that bad eminence”.

¹⁵⁰¹⁵⁰ Then named Eliza Field (1804 – 1890).

¹⁵¹ Adapted from Adam’s description of Eve in John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, book VIII: “Grace was in all her steps, Heaven in her eye, / In every gesture dignity and love.”

¹⁵² “There’s many a slip ‘twixt the cup and the lip.”

¹⁵³ “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.”

John Street Church, where we happened to be present – which services were ended at 9 o'clock, by an impressive recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the Chippewa dialect. Stepping into the house of a friend near by, we remarked an unusual ingathering of clergymen, and divers ladies and gentlemen. We asked a reverend friend if there was to be another religious meeting. "No," he replied; "but a wedding!" "A wedding?" we exclaimed with surprise. "Pray, who are the happy couple?" "Peter Jones, the Indian Missionary," he replied, "and a sweet girl from England!"

It was then evident to our previously unsuspecting eyes, that an unwonted degree of anxious and curious interested pervaded the countenances of the assembling group. – In a short time chairs were placed in a suspicious position at the head of the drawing room, their backs to the pier table. A movement was next perceptible at the door, which instantly drew all eyes to the spot, and who should enter but the same tall Indian whom we had so recently seen in the pulpit, bearing upon his arm the light, fragile, and delicate form of the young lady before mentioned; her eye dropping modestly upon the carpet, and her face fair as the lily. Thereupon rose a distinguished clergyman, and the parties were addressed upon the subject of the divine institution of marriage – its propriety, convenience, and necessity, to the welfare of society and human happiness. This brief and pertinent address being ended, the reverend gentleman stated the purpose for which the couple had presented themselves, and demanded if any person or persons present could show cause why the proposed union should not take place? If so, they were requested to make their objections then, or forever hold their peace. A solemn pause ensued. Nothing could be heard but a few smothered sighs. There they stood, objects of deep and universal interest, [and,] we may add, of commiseration.

Our emotions were tumultuous and painful. A stronger contrast was never seen. She all in white, and adorned with the sweetest simplicity. Her face as white as the gloves and dress she wore – rendering her ebon tresses, placed *a la Madonna* on her fair forehead, still darker. He in rather common attire – a tall, dark, high boned, muscular Indian. She, a delicate European lady. He a hardy, iron-framed son of the forest. – She, accustomed to every luxury and indulgence; well educated, accomplished, and well beloved at home – possessing a handsome income – leaving her comforts, the charms of civilized and cultivated society, and sacrificing them all to the cause she had espoused – here she stood, about to make a self-immolation; and, far away from country and kindred, and all the endearments of a fond father's house, resign herself into the arms of a man of the woods¹⁵⁴, who could not appreciate the sacrifice! A sweeter bride we never saw. We almost grew wild. We thought of Othello

¹⁵⁴ "The Rev. Peter Jones, the Indian Missionary, in no way resembles either *Othello*, or 'the Satyr,' [...] and there is quite as little ground for the assertion that the fair bride performed an act of "immolation" in bestowing her hand upon him. Mr. Jones was *educated* by the Wesleyan Missionaries in Upper Canada; he is no barbarous 'man of the woods;' on the contrary, his unassuming deportment and amiable manners secured him the friendship of every individual who had the pleasure of his acquaintance whilst in this country." IMPROVEMENTS IN HYDE PARK. (1833, October 24). *The London Standard*, p. 1.

– of Hyperion and the satyr¹⁵⁵ – of the bright-eyed Hindoo and the funeral pile! She looked like a drooping flower by the side of a rugged hemlock! We longed to interpose and rescue her. But it was none of our business. She was in that situation by choice – and she was among her friends. The ceremonies went on – she promised to “love, honor, and obey” the Chippewa, and, all tremulous as she stood, we heard the Indian and herself pronounced man and wife!

It was the first time we ever heard the words “man and wife” sound hatefully. All, however, knelt down and united with the clergyman in prayers for a blessing; and when the minister lifted his voice in supplication for blessings on *her*, - that she might be sustained in her undertaking – and have health and strength to endure her destined hardships and privations – the room resounded with the deep-toned, and heartfelt, and tearful response – Amen! – The audience then rose, and after attempting, with moistened eyes, to extend their congratulations to the “happy pair,” slowly and pensively retired. The sweet creature is now on her way to the wilds of Upper Canada – the Indian’s Bride!

“Gracefully adjusted in a convenient Block house”¹⁵⁶ (1833)

Accident has thrown in my way some facts in relation to the Rev. Peter Jones, the half-breed Indian minister lately married to an English lady in New York, some account of which you recently published. Believing these facts will be interesting to your readers, I communicate them for publication and beg leave to remark that they are authentic, and entitled to the most implicit belief.

His father, Mr. August Jones, went into Canada at an early day; to prosecute the business of Surveyor, and married a relative of the celebrated Maj. Brandt. – He then settled and still resides near Burlington Heights, in Upper Canada. He is now a good practical farmer, and lives in fashionable style, to which his wife in all things conforms, with the single exception of her adherence to Leggings, which, by the way, cannot be an objection with the *pantilette* *fashionables* of modern days. They are both humble and devout servants of the Lord Jesus, and their house has long been the home of his minister, and indeed the temple of his worship.

Their two sons, Peter and John, were among the first fruits of the missionary labor of the indefatigable Case, whose success in Indian reform shed an imperishable glory upon his name. Peter, like the converted woman of Sychar, went immediately to tell his acquaintances and friends that he had found a man who had told him all things that he had ever done. His first object was to extend the light of science and salvation among the children and youth of his tawny brethren. For this purpose, he collected them together under his father’s roof and taught them the first principles of education.

¹⁵⁵ From Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 2: “So excellent a king, that was to this / Hyperion to a satyr.”

¹⁵⁶ From Comstock, O. C. Jr. (1833, December 9). REV. PETER JONES. *The Danville North Star*, p. 1.

Written by Oliver C. Comstock, Jr. (1806 – 1895).

Feeling the want of more general information himself, he and his brother John, made and burnt a brick kiln, with the avails of which they then attended an English school, where John laid the foundation of surveying, his present employment. Peter evinced such a zeal for God that his brethren gave him an exhorter's license, and their confidence and trust was well reposed. He was ultimately authorized to preach in a local capacity, and was thus engaged, till he was employed in a more extensive field by the Missionary before mentioned. With the advice of Mr. Case, Jones went to England to solicit pecuniary aid in publishing the Bible in the Chippewa language, and while in London in the discharge of the duties assigned him he formed an acquaintance with his present wife, in the following manner.

Mr. Jones preached by invitation in the Chapel of the venerable Rowland Hill, the well known opponent of the Rev. John Wesley. At this meeting, the missionary zeal of a female member of his church was kindled by the eloquence of Jones in portraying the blessed effects of the Gospel upon the Indian character, and she voluntarily offered her life and fortune to the cause of Indian Missions in Canada. This led to an introduction of the Chippewa Minister to the family of his father-in-law, a wealthy citizen of London. As might have been anticipated, two hearts, beating in such perfect unison upon the same object, and that object merging every other, a mutual attachment ensued, and *she offered* to live with him henceforth, "according to God's ordinance in the holy estate of matrimony." The Parents yielded their reluctant assent to this proposition, and it was agreed that Jones should return to the field of his former labors, & after the elapse of a given period, return to England and consummate their solemn vows.

Before the arrival of the time specified, Providence seemed to advise her setting sail with the delegates (among whom was the Rev. Mr. Marsden) to the Canada Conference, and she cheerfully acquiesced, arrived in New York, was married, repaired with her husband to Canada, and is now teaching young immortals the way to everlasting life. And in lieu of "decorating an Indian Wigwam with turkey Carpets & China Vases," they are gracefully adjusted in a convenient Block House, clapboarded without and sealed within, and [rather than] associating with ruthless savages, she is most delightfully associating with some hundreds of "new creatures in Christ Jesus."

Bearing in mind the fact, that Jones is a half-breed, brought up from infancy in European manners, attaining by his own industry and perseverance a good education, and is now clothed from on high with the authority of a minister of reconciliation, where, we ask, is the heaven daring audacity of his accepting the voluntary offering of the heart and band of one, who felt constrained by the love of God and the souls of men, to exchange the fascinations of the British Metropolis, the attractions of refined society, and the caresses of parents and friends, for all the privations and sufferings of a Missionary life?

“To see a central school”¹⁵⁷ (1838)

The Rev. Peter Jones, a converted Canadian chief, [said that] his object in returning to England was to get the title deeds of the lands which the natives were now improving in his country; for his Christianized countrymen had forsaken their wig-wams and left off their wanderings, and were striving to improve their condition (cheers). Lately, their fears had been excited very much; the Americans had attempted the removal of the Indians, and something like the same spirit appeared to exist in the late British government, and the Indians determined not to improve their land until they were assured it would not be taken from them.

They had sent him with a large petition to the Queen: he had not presented it, but had seen a great lord, Greenleg (laughter) – no, that was not the word, it was a hard word; well, he had seen the lord, and although he was very cautious in his promises, he had sent a dispatch to the present governor, desiring him to accede to their wishes. Another object was to induce the government to fulfil the conditions of a contract with the Indians, upon their giving up the land, to pay them a stipulated sum per year in goods, and which sum had, for the last 20 years, been reduced to the amount of 50*l.* per annum. And a third object was to procure the establishment of a central school in Canada, for the education of the Indian children (hear).

What good the children were taught at school was counteracted by the evil example of their parents; and what he wished was, to see a central school, where the children could be removed from their parents, and made good farmers, good mechanics, and good Christians. The Indians were quite ready to give up their children, and he was sure the establishment of such a school would do the utmost good (cheers).

“They had now begun to imitate the English”¹⁵⁸ (1838)

The Rev. PETER JONES, a converted Indian chief from Upper Canada, then rose. His appearance excited considerable interest among those present; and though he spoke good English, it was with considerable diffidence that he at first addressed the meeting. He commenced by giving an account of the mode of life among his Indian brethren, between which and the manners and customs of this country he drew a somewhat humorous contrast – much, it is unnecessary to add, to the advantage of the latter. The introduction of Christianity, he was happy to say, had produced a great change among his countrymen. They had now begun to imitate the English in the useful and ornamental arts of life, and to make improvements in their dress and the articles of furniture in their wigwams. They never sat down to their meals without in the first place asking God’s blessing upon them.

¹⁵⁷ From WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONS. (1838, May 19). *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ From Wesleyan Foreign Missions. (1838, June 1). *The Hull Packet*, p. 3.

Before the gospel was preached to them, they were in the habit of throwing all the heavy work which they had upon the women. But now the case was different. The men performed the heavy work, and the women had only to take care of the house. Before the gospel was preached to them, their wives were always in the habit of walking a great way behind them. Now, however, husbands and wives walked side by side, and sometimes arm in arm; and shared between them any burden which they might happen to bear. [...]

He was glad to be able to inform the meeting that the Indian converts were gradually advancing both in religious knowledge and in the arts of life. Many of them had now commenced to cultivate the ground, and were rearing horses, oxen, pigs, and other animals upon their little farms.

The principal object which he had in coming over a second time to this country, was to endeavour to prevail on the Missionary Society to establish a school among his tribe on a different plan from any which had been hitherto established. At present the children lived with their fathers and mothers. This he conceived not to be right, because it prevented the missionaries from seeing the amount of good that actually resulted from the school, and because from their living with their parents the children still continued to retain many of their old habits, and much good was thereby counteracted. He was anxious that a central school should be established, where the children being taken altogether from their parents, and boarded with persons appointed for the purpose, should be taught to read, write and work; where some of them should be taught farming, and others to be carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, and other useful trades; so that when the children grew up they might teach the same things to those in the interior of the country.

He had mentioned his plan to the Missionary Society in London, who had agreed it should be carried into execution, provided the funds of the society allowed it, and that the collections were very large during the present year.

“Indians for Husbands”¹⁵⁹ (1888)

In the summer of 1832 Kah-he-wa-quon-aby, an educated chief of the Ojibway tribe, visited England to raise funds for a manual training school for Indians. Kah-he-wa-quon-aby's English name was Peter Jones, honestly derived from a Welsh father, Augustus Jones, a government engineer and surveyor, who married an Ojibway squaw. He was at that time of courtly address, and in his complexion Peter showed hardly a trace of white blood. He seemed a full-blooded Indian. Before his departure he was ordained to the ministry. In England, at Bristol, in full Indian costume, he delivered an address. In the audience was Miss Eliza Field, whose father, a prosperous wax merchant, lived on “Surrey Side,” London, opposite Lambeth Palace. Miss Field made Peter's acquaintance the same evening at the home of a mutual friend, and when a few weeks later, he visited London, Mr. Field invited him to make the Field residence his home during his stay in the city.

¹⁵⁹ From *Indians for Husbands*. (1888, August 31). *The Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, p. 7.

The acquaintance of Miss Field and the Indian soon ripened into love, and when late in the year he returned to Canada it was with the understanding that if he remained true to his sweetheart she would follow him in two years.

Miss Field sailed for America in the summer of 1833¹⁶⁰ with Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, a Canadian. Kah-he-wa-quon-aby met them in New York, and on Sunday, just a week after their arrival, Dr. Ryerson performed the wedding ceremony at the house of a friend in John street. Then followed the tedious journey to the comfortable home near this city¹⁶¹. Soon after their arrival Mrs. Jones was formally adopted into the Ojibway tribe under the name of “Kehe-aghah-mequa,” or “The-Woman-from-Beyond-the-Great-Waters.” It is related that, though she was a most accomplished lady, she knew so little about housekeeping at this time that it was necessary to employ a woman to teach her how to make beds and prepare the coffee. Five years after their marriage, Kah-he-wa-quon-aby and Kehe-aghah-mequa visited England. They were received in London with distinguished honors, and made an extensive tour throughout Great Britain. Mrs. Jones never again saw her native land.

For nearly twenty years they lived and worked together, and then Mr. Jones died, leaving the widow in very comfortable circumstances. Some years later she married a Mr. Carey. She is nearly eighty years old now and totally blind. She lives in a beautiful home in this city, “Lambeth Cottage,” with loving friends and all the comforts that wealth can buy. In closing a long conversation to-day she said: “I wish with all my heart that every white woman had in her white husband as good, as intelligent, and as useful a partner as I had in my noble Indian.”

Appendix: A Christian History of the Mohawks¹⁶² (1840)

The Mohawks, formerly called the Iroquois, were a most noted tribe in the Six-Nation confederacy, and inhabited at the discovery of America, and for a considerable time after, the rich and beautiful tract of country south of Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence. Immediately after the formation of the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,” in 1701, a Missionary was sent among this tribe of Indians, which for some time had been on the most amicable terms with the British Government. The Divine blessing was soon bestowed upon their pious endeavours; and we find that early in the reign of Queen Anne, the greater part of the Mohawk nation, and many individuals of other tribes, were converted to Christianity. It appears that this Sovereign took no ordinary interest in their spiritual welfare; and among other proofs of her affection, I may mention the erection of a neat and commodious Chapel on the Mohawk River, and the gift of a valuable silver communion service.

¹⁶⁰ The original text reads ‘1834’, but this must be an error, since an account of the Jones-Field wedding was published in September, 1833.

¹⁶¹ Brantford, Ontario.

¹⁶² From Givins, S. & Anonymous. (1840, December 15) We have perused. *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2. Written by Salteen [sic.] Givins, a missionary to the Mohawk of the Bay of Quinté.

As Christianity leads to civilization, it soon followed that the Mohawks forsook their wandering life and for many years previous to the breaking out of the troubles in America, resided in two villages upon the banks of the western branch of the Hudson, called, after them, the Mohawk River. One of these villages was known by the name of Canajoharie, or boiling pot, which name is still retained by the American village upon its site; the other, Fort Hunter, the site of which is near the Erie Canal, and its ruins, still perceptible, are pointed to the traveler as an object of interest. Near this village, on the spot where one of the Canal locks is placed, (oh! the desecration!) stood the Indian Church, called, after its royal founder, “Queen Anne’s Chapel.”

In these villages, under the fostering care of the British Government, and the supervision of a resident Missionary, they long enjoyed the blessings of peace and of partially civilized life.

When rebellion convulsed that previously happy country, the Mohawks, who before had sided with the British Government against the French, were not at a loss what course to pursue. Gratitude – a principle deeply implanted in the breast of the Indian in his natural state – at once pointed out to them the propriety of aiding the Government from which they had received so many blessings. Although without reproach, or immediate loss, they might have yielded to the repeated solicitations and afterwards threats of the rebellious, and remained neutral during the struggle, the gallant spirit of their Chiefs forbade this, and they came forward unanimously to maintain “the Unity of the Empire,” at the risk of their possessions and their lives.

Their attachment to the royal cause naturally excited the hostility of the republicans, and they were eventually compelled to flee their native country – “the country,” as they termed it, “which the Great Spirit had given to their fore fathers.” Although the Indian is naturally a wanderer, yet it is within a given sphere, and his local attachments are strong; it is not, therefore, easy to estimate the cost of this expropriation.

One party, consisting of a majority of the Nation, fled in the year 1776, under the guidance of the celebrated Captain Joseph Brant, to Niagara, and eventually settled at the Grand River, where they still reside. The other party, under Captain John Deserontyon, escaped to Lower Canada. After a sojourn of seven years at Lachine, in that Province, they proceeded to the spot selected by their Chief, on the Bay of Quinté, in the Upper Province, which they reached on the 15th of May, 1784, and have occupied ever since. This tract of land was immediately surveyed, and called Tyendenaga, in honour of the principal Chief of the Nation.

The exigencies of a country so recently settled, and the division of the tribe, deprived them of their Missionary. The Society, however, ever faithful to her engagements, secured the occasional visits of Missionaries to these settlements, and provided Catechists and School Masters to prevent their lapsing into heathenism. Soon after they settled in this township, a Church was erected, partly through the influence of the late Rev. Dr. Stuart, who had been their Missionary on the Mohawk River. This venerable and patriotic Clergyman, at the revolt of the American Colonies, also fled to Canada, and eventually settled at Kingston as the Minister of a

small but intelligent congregation of loyalists, who, true to their principles as British subjects, unhesitatingly forfeited their estates in the rebellious Colonies, and sought a home under the British Crown, even in a wilderness.

This Church was originally a square wooden building, used both as a school house and place of worship; but as the congregation increased, it was lengthened, and a spire and belfry added. Since which it has been confined to sacred uses exclusively. It stands on a gentle elevation on the borders of the Bay of Quinté, and affords accommodation to about two hundred persons. The spot selected for its location does credit to the taste of its founder. Its white walls and tin spire, among the trees, present an interesting spectacle to the eye of the Christian, testifying that even here God is not forgotten, and that the red man of the forest is taught to worship the God of the Christian “in spirit and in truth.” The first cottages of the Indians, which have long since fallen to decay, stood along the margin of the Bay, having the church in the centre, forming what was called the “Mohawk Village.” The occupants of these subsisted partly by tilling the soil and partly upon the produce of the chase and waters. But the rapid settlement of the adjacent townships and the increase of steamers which ply upon the Bay, have so diminished these last resources, that their descendants have been obligated to disperse over the tract, to seek a livelihood by the more laborious but certain process of farming.

This Church is furnished with a neat altarpiece containing the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the Mohawk language, surmounted by the Royal Arms of England, handsomely carved and gilt, as well as with a fine toned bell, cast in 1787. These were the gift of His Majesty George the Third, and were brought from England by the late Sir John Johnson. The altarpiece was prepared under the direction of Colonel Daniel Claus, who was employed by the Government as an agent among the Indians. This gentleman seems to have felt a lively interest in their spiritual welfare, for during his stay in England, being conversant with the Mohawk tongue, he superintended a new and enlarged edition of the Common Prayer in that language. The expense of this publication was borne by Government, and has proved a signal blessing to all the tribes speaking the Mohawk, and its cognate dialects, of which there are a number.

Besides the church furniture, already alluded to, they have in possession, and value most highly, a part of the Communion Plate – “The gift,” as the inscription on it denotes, “of Her Majesty, Anne, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and her Plantations in North America, Queen, to her Indian Chapel of the Mohawks.”

This service of plate, being originally intended for the Nation collectively, has been divided, and a part retained by their brethren on the Grand River; and although it has been confided to the care of individuals of the Nation for at least one hundred and thirty years, the articles we have here in use are in an excellent state of preservation. Even “the fair white linen cloth for the Communion Table,” beautifully inwrought with devices, emblematical of the rank of the Royal donor, although unfit for use, is still in such a state of preservation as to admit of these being easily traced. The gray-haired matron, a descendant of the Chief, the present guardian of these

treasures, which she considers as the heir-loom of her family, accounts for the mutilated state of the cloth, by observing, that, during the Revolutionary war, it was burned to prevent its falling into the hands of their enemies.

The interest felt by Dr. Stuart for the members of his former flock, after his separation from them, did not abate; and although thirty miles distant, and the intermediate country a wilderness, he continued to visit them periodically till his death in 1811, when his place was supplied for a number of years by his son and successor, the present Venerable Archdeacon of Kingston, for whom the Mohawks entertain so much respect and affection.

Soon after their settlement on the Bay of Quinté, finding that these visits were very insufficient for their instruction, Dr. Stuart authorized faithful and intelligent Indians to act as Catechiste, to conduct the public worship in the Church by use of that “form of sound words” which they had so frequently “heard of him.” This has been translated, as I have already observed, into their language.

In the year 1810, the office of Catechist (the duties of which were performed for very small emoluments) fell vacant, and John Hill – alias Oche-chus-kough, signifying flowers [...], a young man of exemplary character, who had made some advances in piety and knowledge, was appointed by Dr. Stuart to the situation. Mr. Hill was born of Mohawk parents, during their stay at La Chine, and came to this settlement with his tribe in 1784. He received at first for his service the moderate allowance of £10 per annum, but the sum was augmented in 1826 to £20.

Appendix: Treaty Annuities in Upper Canada¹⁶³ (1837)

The Lieutenant Governor transmits to the House of Assembly a list of annuities charged upon the Crown Revenues, being the considerations agreed to be paid to certain Indian tribes, for the surrender or cession of territories in their possession. These annuities, being considered as the purchase monies of Indian lands, the Lieutenant Governor conceives there can be no question as to the necessity of provision being made for them. [...]

<i>1. Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté</i>	[l.] ¹⁶⁴	[s.]	[d.]
A perpetual annuity of 50s. to each man, woman, and child, but in no case to exceed £450 per annum. In 1836, the number of the Tribe was 312	450	0	0
<i>2. Mississaguas of the Bay of Quinté</i>			
A like perpetual annuity; the number of persons entitled in no case to exceed 257. In 1836 the number of the Tribe was 212 only.	642	10	0
<i>3. Chippewas of the River Thames</i>			
A like perpetual annuity; the number of persons in no case to exceed 240.	600	0	0
<i>4. Chippewas of Chenail Ecarté and St. Clair</i>			
An annuity of £1100, no reduction to take place so long as their number equals 220. In 1836 their number was 473. In case their number shall fall below 220, then the annuity to be reduced one half, and to continue so reduced till the residue be decreased one half, when the annuity is to be reduced in proportion	1100	0	0
<i>5. Chippewas of Lakes Huron and Simcoe</i>			
A perpetual annuity of	1200	0	0
<i>6. Mississaguas of the River Credit</i>			
A perpetual annuity of	522	10	0
<i>7. Chippewas of the Rice and Mud Lakes</i>			
A perpetual annuity of	740	0	0
<i>8. Moravian Indians of the River Thames</i>			
A perpetual annuity of	150	0	0
Total Amount of Annuities	5405	0	0

¹⁶³ From PARLIAMENT OF CANADA. (1837, March 4). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ The l., s. & d. stand for 'pounds, shillings and pence'. The 'd.' is derived from 'denarius', a low-value Roman coin.

Appendix: A Case of Indian Law¹⁶⁵ (1835)

BERNARD St. GERMAIN vs. GEORGE DELORIMIER

This was an action instituted by the plaintiff, an interpreter in the Indian Department, against the defendant, under the ordinance of the Legislative Council of 1777, cap. 7. sec. 3, by which it is expressly enacted, that any person going to settle in any Indian country or village within this Province, without a permission in writing from the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief, should incur a penalty of £10 for the first, and £20 for every subsequent offence.

The complaint was returnable on the 30th Sept. and was heard before Austin Cuvilier, Esq. Mr. Charles Mondelet (with whom were associated Messrs. J. C. Bruneau and E. E. Rodier) pleaded on the behalf of the defendant, that he was Iroquois by birth, born, brought up and educated among the Iroquois of Caughnawaga, where he had always resided, and where he had never “gone to settle” and that there was nothing in the law of 1777 upon which the action could be maintained. Parties went to proof on the 7th October and on several subsequent days.

On the part of the plaintiff, for whom Mr. Boston was engaged, a certificate of the marriage of Chevalier Guillaume de Lorimier and Anne Skawennetsi, on the 27th February 1801, and of the birth of Antoine George, their son, on the 16th May 1805, were produced.

Mr. Mondelet filed a memorandum of a conference of Sir George Murray with two deputies and an interpreter of the Iroquois tribe, in *Downing Street* on the 15th January 1830.

On the behalf of the plaintiff were produced James Hughes, Esq., of the Indian Department, Lazarre Sakowinnoriaghon, Shenonton, and Sawanowane, three chiefs of the tribe at Caughnawaga. The substance of their evidence was the following purport:- that the father of the defendant was of white blood – that the mother of the defendant was the daughter of an English prisoner and had white blood in her – that the defendant was not deemed a savage, but was denounced by a majority of the tribe – that he did not follow the Indian mode of life, but lived like a white man, kept a shop, and carried on business – that though he had at one time received presents from the Government, yet a stop had been put to that, on its being discovered that several whites were improperly receiving what was intended only for Indians – that defendant went to England not as a chief but as an interpreter in 1830, and wore the dress of the whites. Lazarre (who is a white, adopted by the nation when a mere infant) and Shenonton admitted that latterly some of the chiefs of the village had been displaced and others named in their stead, for being favorable to the cause of the defendant.

The witnesses for the defendant were the Rev. N. Dufresne, the former, and the Rev. J. Marcoux the present Missionary at Caughnawaga, G. Macomber, interpreter at that village and two Indians named Katsirakeron, and Arriongo. These witnesses proved fully that the mother of the defendant was deemed an Indian – that

¹⁶⁵ From Bernard St. Germain vs. George Delorimier. (1835, January 3). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 2.

among the Indians, the child always follows the condition of the mother, belongs to her band (of which there are six in general, named after the *bear, wolf, turtle, beaver, &c.*) follows the usage and customs of that band, owes obedience to its chief, and receives a name from its members. That while the defendant was baptized, like all other Indians and called Antoine George, he had received the name of Oronhiateka from the band of his mother, (the *bear* tribe) and was known by that name throughout the Indian villages. His father had been duly admitted as a member of the tribe or nation by solemn act. He had constantly lived with his mother, was brought up by her, had never spoken any other language for twenty years but that of his mother, who spoke Indian only. At the suggestion of the present Missionary, he commenced learning French a few years ago and had become a great proficient, from possessing extraordinary talents. His father had by preceding marriages two families who lived in the same house with him as whites, but that the defendant's mother with her family, composed of two or three children, had a separate establishment, and brought up that third family according to the manners and customs of the Indians.

The defendant partook of his first communion and performed all his other religious services in the Indian language with the Indians and in their garb. The defendant sat with the Indians at church, separate from the whites, and wore a blanket like them. He has hunted with the Indians and performed with them the labour on their lands. He had been sent by order of the chiefs as a deputy to England in 1829 – and had an interview with Sir George Murray, then Colonial Secretary, on business of the nation, during which conference Sir George expressed his desire that the Indians should gradually assimilate themselves to the whites, in their customs, manners, and habits of life.

The defendant had repeatedly received presents from the Government as an Indian, and that no question had ever been mooted as to his right to a settlement at Caughnawaga, until he had obtained from the Quarter Sessions, a ferry license, in opposition to a favorite of the prosecutor in the cause. Numerous petitions had been got up to have the defendant expelled [from] the village, the signatures to which were obtained by threats and through fear of losing the annual presents; chiefs had been displaced for being favorable to the defendant, and others hostile to him named by the Indian Department, in order to obtain a majority against him.

It was distinctly stated that a white child, if adopted by the tribe, brought up entirely according to their customs, speaking their language, and adopting their habits, was always deemed and reputed an Indian, and that consequently one who had Indian blood, had stronger claims to recognition. The defendant's wearing the dress of the whites was not singular, as the use of the Indian garb was gradually diminishing; his keeping a shop was not without precedent in the village, nor his knowledge of other languages without example.

Katsirakeron stated that he was deemed an Indian and had been a chief, although his father was a German, the son of two German prisoners who had intermarried during their captivity among the Iroquois.

After the evidence had been gone through, Mr. Robert Armour, Jr., as *amicus curiae* drew the attention of the Court to the ordinance of 1791, cap. 1, sec. 6, by which

he conceived that the clause of the act of 1777, under which the defendant was now prosecuted, had been completely repealed, and settlement in Indian villages permitted to all His Majesty's liege subjects; and that the defendant was a subject of the King, having been proved such by the *extrait baptistaire* filed in the cause by the plaintiff.

The case having been fixed for argument on the merits, on the 10th October, Messrs. Mondelet and Bruneau stated that they did not wish to avail themselves of the objection above alluded to, but were anxious for a decision on the merits of the case.

Mr. Boston, for the plaintiff, cited a very great number of authorities from Denizart, Pothier, *Repertoire de Jurisprudence* and other works, with a view to establish that the child born in lawful wedlock followed the condition of the father. The counsel for the defendant, on the contrary, laid much stress upon the customs and usages of the Indian nations, and particularly the tribe to which the defendant belonged. They contended that the authorities cited by Mr. Boston would have been applicable to the defendant, had the question at issue been to determine his rights as an heir, &c. but in the present case, they were wholly inapplicable, the point to be decided being of a different nature. It is unnecessary to enter into any details of the numerous arguments of counsel on either side, as the luminous judgment of Mr. Cuvillier completely embodies the most striking features of the case.

On the 23d December, that gentleman pronounced the following judgment:

In pronouncing judgment in this case, I am fully aware of the importance which attaches to it; and I do sincerely regret that the parties have not selected among my colleagues, a person better qualified to decide the questions of law involved in this decision. This regret has considerably augmented, since I have convinced myself, by a careful perusal of the ordinance, that no appeal lies from my decision. The appeal permitted by the ordinance has reference to goods being seized for unlawful commerce with the Indians. Any person aggrieved by the judgment or determination of the Commissioners of the Peace, in such case, may appeal therefrom to the Governor and Council – but in no other case – and even this right of appeal becomes nugatory by an extension of the trade in virtue of the ordinances of 1788 and 1791. However, since I am required to pronounce between the parties before me, I shall do so to the best of my judgment.

During the progress of the inquiry, and nearly at its termination, my attention was directed by the counsel for the defendant, to the ordinance 31st Geo.III, cap. 1, alleging that by the terms of the 6th section, no action could be maintained against his client upon the ordinance of 1777, because the said ordinance repealed the prohibition to settlement, and permitted it in all the Indian villages within the Province, to all His Majesty's liege subjects, and that the defendant being born within His Majesty's allegiance – the action could not lie.

After a minute perusal and mature consideration of the two ordinances above cited, I am of opinion that the ground at that time assumed by the learned counsel, was perfectly tenable, and would alone have justified me in law in adjudging favourably for his client by a dismissal of the action; and although, in a subsequent

stage of the proceeding, he abandoned that ground, and declared that he did not intend to avail himself of it, preferring to rest his cause on its own merits; yet the ordinances thus cited are laws that regard the whole community, and courts of law are bound to take notice of them judicially and *ex officio*, without being particularly pleaded.

The ordinance of 1777 is prohibitory – that of 1791 is remedial – the one to be construed strictly – the other liberally. That of '77 is to prevent the selling of strong liquors to the Indians, to deter persons from buying their arms and clothing, and from trading and settling among them without licence. That of '91 explains and amends not the ordinance of '77, but that of 1788, intitled “an ordinance for promoting the Inland Navigation,” and, after making provision for giving greater freedom to the trade of the “*Western Countries*,” and to every part off His Majesty’s inland dominions and territories whatsoever, enacts by the 3d clause “that it shall no longer be necessary to take out *any where* or from any person or persons any license, pass, permit or other writing whatsoever, for going into or trading with the Indians or other inhabitants of the *Western Countries, Districts or Counties of this Province, or Territories* whatsoever, “nor to subject traders to take licenses for the sale of strong liquors to Indians, except at a fixed residence in a settled part of the Province, for keeping a house of public entertainment, as is required by an Act of Parliament passed in the 14th year of His Majesty’s reign, cap. 88, any law, ordinance or regulation of this Province heretofore made or passed to the contrary notwithstanding.”

Here is a formal repeal of that part of the ordinance of '77 which prohibits the sale of spiritous liquors to the Indians, confining such sale to fixed residences in settled parts of the Province, under a licence, although the ordinance is professedly passed solely to explain and amend another, namely that of 1788, in which no such provision exists.

The 4th section of the ordinance of 1791 goes still farther, and empowers the Governor in Chief “to restrain the trade and commerce to any part or place of the said western countries and inland territories, &c. and to restrain and regulate the sale and distribution of spiritous liquors, in all forts and garrisons and *other places* where Indians resort, and of arms, ammunition, &c. declaring the same from time to time by proclamation under the great seal.”

It is evident from these extracts of the ordinance of '91, that the sale of spiritous liquors to the Indians can only be restrained by proclamation under the great seal.

The 6th section is still stronger: “Whereas it is made penal to settle in the Indian villages without licence, by an act or ordinance of this Province passed in the 17th year of His Majesty’s reign, intitled ‘*an ordinance to prevent the selling of strong liquors to Indians in the Province of Quebec, as also to deter persons from buying their arms or clothing, and for other purposes relative to the trade and intercourse with the said Indians*,’ be it enacted that nothing in the said act shall affect such as are lawfully employed in the inland commerce, or such as resort to this Province, &c. or to *any other of His Majesty’s liege subjects*,” and the penalty mentioned in the

ordinance of 1777 is transferred to those only who are not subjects of the King, and who neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

It is clear to any understanding that the Legislature of 1791 had in view the entire repeal of the ordinance of 1777, as every part of it is repealed by the 3d, 4th and 6th sections of the ordinance passed in that year, and upon the general principle of universal law, *leges posteriores priores contrarias abrogant*, I must declare it as my opinion that the ordinance of 1777 is repealed by that of 1791.

If, notwithstanding which, I should be told that my construction of the law is erroneous, and that the ordinance of 1777 is still the law of the land, I should unhesitatingly reply – it is a dead letter, it is an obsolete law, and, in the present condition of the Province, it cannot be enforced.

Admitting, however, that the ordinance of 1791 was intended solely to benefit the commercial intercourse with the western countries, and to leave undisturbed the limited intercourse, or, in other words, the non-intercourse of the whites with the Indian tribes of the Lower Province (a construction which the words of the ordinance forbids) we should witness what the history of modern times has not yet recorded, a people, spreading themselves over the face of the country in all the relations of civilized society, and retaining, by coercive and penal laws, the aborigines in a state of barbarism.

An attempt has been made by the learned counsel for the prosecution, in the course or argument, to justify this unnatural state of things by declaring it to be the obvious policy of Government to allow these tribes to become extinct. Now it is evident to all that the acts of Government have had the reverse in view – from its solicitude to ameliorate their religious and civil condition.

We have in the *Memoire* of Sir George Murray, filed in this case, the correct and noble views of the British Government in relation to these Indian tribes. “That they should depart gradually from their old habits of life, and bring up their children in a manner more in conformity with the habits of life of the white people.” “That the white population, by the habits of cultivation, were spreading everywhere over the country, like a flood of water, and that unless the Indians would conform themselves to those habits of life, and would bring up their children to occupy farms and cultivate the grounds in the same manner with the white people, that they would be gradually swept away by this flood and would be altogether lost; but that by accepting grants of land, and cultivating farms, they would gradually *increase their numbers* and their wealth, and retain their station in a country in which they were so well entitled to have a share, and in which he had a very sincere wish to see them prosperous and happy.” But setting aside all these considerations, let us try the question on its merits.

The plaintiff, relying on the law he holds in his hand, says to the defendant, you are not an Indian and consequently you cannot remain among them as a settler. The defendant answers, I am an Indian, and your law does not affect me. It appears in evidence that the defendant is the legitimate issue of the marriage of Guillaume de Lorimier, Interpreter in the Indian Department, residing in the village of Caughnawaga, of French origin, and of Anne Skawannetsi, a squaw, widow of Louis

Torioniongo, an Indian, also residing in the said village, and this origin of the defendant, it is contended, is sufficient to deprive him of the character of Indian. In support of this pretension various law authorities have been cited and referred to – all to shew that children born in lawful wedlock acquire father's rights. One case in particular has been referred to in the *Repertoire*, where a decision of the *Conseil Supérieur* of St. Domingo against this principle, had been reversed by the *Conseil du Roi* in France.

If I had been called upon to pronounce on the civil rights of the defendant, I should in all probability have adopted the same rule of decision as that most comfortable to reason and justice. But I am called upon to decide on the *origin* of the defendant, upon which rests the whole merits of the case.

Civil rights are regulated by the laws of man, for the protection and maintenance of civilized society – natural rights, by the immutable laws of nature; and where are these better understood and better appreciated than by men in a state of nature? This has led me to adopt as the rule of my decision in this case, the laws, usages, manners and customs of these children of nature, in a comparative state of nature. And what are these laws, usages and customs? Why that adoption alone fixes origin – that residence, education, learning, the language, adopting their manners and dress, and following their habits of life, is sufficient to become one of the nation, eligible to its highest dignities. Let us hear the evidence.

“A white child adopted by the Indians is considered as an Indian.” – *Evidence of Lazarre, a Chief, himself a white man.*

“The system of adoption has always been recognized to the knowledge of the officers of the Government.” – *Evidence of Mr. Marcoux, the Missionary.*

“Children perfectly white, adopted and brought up by the savages are considered as such, and have even been made chiefs.” – *Idem.*

“A white intermarrying with an Indian woman and having children by her, those children are considered as Indian.” – *Evidence of Mr. Dufresne.*

“Half breeds, or *Métis*, brought up in the Indian manner, taught in the Indian language, speaking exclusively Indian, ought to be regarded as Indian, according to the ideas I have of the Indians, and which I believe to be correct.” – *Idem.*

“I consider that the Indian tribes have customs widely different from those of civilized people, and if they are to be deemed as anything, they ought to be adhered to.” – *Idem.*

“The custom in the Indian villages, is for the band of the mother to name the child. The defendant belongs to the bear tribe, and so does his mother. The children always take their names from the band of their mother.” – *Idem.*

“The *Métis* receive equipments as other Indians, without distinction, and are all considered as Indians and on the same footing – defendant always ‘received his equipments.’” – *Evidence of Jarvis, Indian Interpreter.*

This evidence appears to me to be conclusive, and I do therefore adjudge that this action be dismissed with costs.

Appendix: Health in Alberta's Residential Schools¹⁶⁶

“Below par in health and appearance” (December, 1920)

F. A. CORBETT¹⁶⁷ TO W. M. GRAHAM¹⁶⁸

I herewith present my report upon Indian Schools visited in Alberta from 19th Nov. to 27th Nov. 1920:-

OLD SUN SCHOOL

Near Gleichen on the Blackfoot Reserve. The Children of this school are generally below par in health and appearance. There are fifty pupils and 70% of them have somewhat enlarged lymphatic glands of the neck. Five of these have scrofulous sores requiring active treatment; first surgical and afterward tonics and fresh air. In the case of three others with enlarged tuberculous glands, the same treatment should be recommended, while the remaining twenty five of those affected with this scrofulous disease should have tonics and as much fresh air and highly nutritious food as possible. Milk and eggs should be used very largely and such tonics as Cod Liver Oil and Comp. Syrup of Hypophosphites, or other preparation of Iron administered over a considerable period.

One little girl, E.¹⁶⁹, has a large tuberculous abscess of the neck and jaw requiring prompt surgical attention, while M. is suffering from tuberculous ulcers of the chest and neck and requires equally urgent treatment. The cases of F., S. and A. should also have prompt attention for tubercular glands. W. is suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs, especially of the left apex and should not be in the school, as he is a danger to the other pupils as well as in a precarious state of health himself.

Five boys and three girls, are suffering from disease of the eye sufficiently acute to require active treatment.

Sixty per cent. of the pupils have scabies or itch, many of them in an aggravated form. The condition has been neglected or unrecognized and has plainly gone on for months. The hands and arms, and in fact the whole bodies of many of the children being covered with crusts and sores from this disgusting disease.

Two of the girls – J. and E., have sores on the backs of their heads fully three inches across and heaped up with crusts nearly a half inch deep. This condition urgently requires active treatment as it can be cleaned up in a short time with efficient treatment. The clothing and all articles coming into contact with the affected parts will require sterilization by boiling or being well washed with antiseptic. It

¹⁶⁶ From *Report on Boarding Schools in Alberta by Dr. F. A. Corbett*. RG10, Volume number: 4092, Microfilm reel number: C-10186, C-10186, File number: 546898. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada.

¹⁶⁷ Dr. Frederick A. F. Corbett (1870 – 1954)

¹⁶⁸ William Morris Graham (1867 – 1940), then Indian Commissioner.

¹⁶⁹ For ethical reasons, I have replaced the full names in the report with a single initial. Multiple students may share the same initial. If the full names are required, please see the original file at Library and Archives Canada.

would be advisable that a competent nurse be engaged to look after this process for a couple of weeks.

The building in which the children are housed is far short of ideal. The dormitories are overcrowded and the ceilings are low. The floors are of soft wood and are not varnished and hence very hard to keep clean, especially as the children play through the halls and rooms since there is no proper play room. This also applies to the classroom, which is in a detached building heated by a stove and in no sense modern. This could be made into a fair gymnasium if modern class rooms were provided elsewhere.

There is no infirmary in the building and only two small balconies, but as these are off the staff rooms they are not available for the pupils. This constitutes a very serious defect in the building as an Indian School, for an abundance of fresh air is essential for the health of all children, and much more so for the Indian, who has been for many centuries an out of doors animal and who, in the process of becoming a house dweller, suffers so severely from these diseases which may be classed as house diseases among these, particularly, Tuberculosis.

Spacious balconies should be provided on the south side of this and all other Indian boarding schools, where the pupils may sleep in the open air, during the great part, if not throughout the whole year. It is a constant experience that Indian children being taken ill with tuberculous diseases while in the schools and sent home, make remarkable recoveries in the open air life of the tent, even though the surroundings may be otherwise very undesirable. If the sanatorium principle were adopted as far as possible in the construction of all Indian schools and hospitals, the result could not be otherwise than gratifying and the prevalence of scrofulous glands and pulmonary consumption would be reduced to a minimum.

The beds should be kept in the dormitories during the day in order to avoid dust during the summer and the chilling of the mattress and clothes during the winter when much heat would be abstracted from the bodies of the children before the bed would become warm enough to sleep upon, if the beds had been left out doors during the day. The pupils should dress and undress in comfortable rooms and after being warmly covered in bed should be pushed out into the open air for the night.

CROWFOOT SCHOOL, CLUNY

Here we find 30 girls and 40 boys housed in a building that is thoroughly up to date and modern in every particular. Though this school is only seven miles from the Old Sun School the contrast is most marked, and exemplifies what may be accomplished with the same people under different school conditions. Here all the pupils are fully up to a high standard of health and appearance. They are plainly well fed and clothed, clean and wholesome, standing erect and soldierly, strong and vigorous and would compare well with the children of any school.

Gross evidence of tuberculosis was almost absent. [Only] one child in the 70 [was] showing any scrofulous sore on the neck, and that child [was] in good general condition, one side of the neck having been completely healed and the affected side how healing nicely. Another boy is noticed to be somewhat anemic, but examination of his lungs shows no active disease present. Both these children are young and are

late arrivals in the school There is little doubt that they will become quite well under the ordinary treatment of the school. Here any children below par are especially fed with milk and eggs between meals, and sleep out on the roomy balcony on the south side of the building and make speedy recovery.

One older girl has a tubercular gland on one side of the neck, which it would be well to have removed before she goes up to take up the duties of a home. During her stay in the school, the good treatment she has received has kept the trouble under control and prevented its spread, but only the removal of the gland can insure her safety once she is removed from the wholesome surroundings of this most excellent school.

The children's eyes are well cared for, and though a few cases of ancient trachoma are found, they are all cured so far as possible and are not at present a menace to the children themselves or their fellows.

The teeth are all in good condition and no evidence of enlarged tonsils or adenoids [was] found. Neither are there any suppurating ears or skin diseases present. One boy requires glasses, and the sisters have arranged that these shall be supplied.

For the number of inmates in the school at present, the building itself leaves but little to be desired, and in favour of the administration too much praise cannot be given. Every part is kept most scrupulously clean and sanitary. The woodwork and floors are varnished and polished allowing no possible lodgment for dust or dirt.

The dormitories are roomy, well lighted and ventilated and open upon wide balconies to the south which are used for sleeping balconies and would be used much more if they were provided with proper screening.

The cloak rooms are a perfect model of neatness and cleanliness, the apparel of each pupil being clean and neatly folded and kept in a separate locker. The halls, corridors and classrooms, especially the desks in the classrooms, are in a state so perfect that it seems difficult to believe they have been in constant use for six years.

There is a pleasing infirmary for the girls and one for the boys and a well filled and spotless pharmacy insures the sick of all necessary aids to recovery.

The out buildings and grounds are sanitary and attractive and a well kept garden gives wholesome out door occupation for many of the children. The whole air of the school breathes care and cleanliness and I doubt if another school could be found in Canada that could equal, and I am sure none could surpass, this school in its thorough neatness and in preservation of the original state of its equipment.

THE SARCEE SCHOOL, NEAR CALGARY

Here are 17 boys and 16 girls in a condition bad in the extreme. All the children except four show the presence of tuberculosis in a state that requires active treatment as the children are now fighting a losing battle with this dread disease. Sixteen of the 33 have been affected with suppurating glands or open ulcers and many sit at their desks with unsightly bandages around their necks to cover up their large swellings and foul sores.

Thirty five per cent. of the children show some involvement of the lungs in various stages. One girl has only two weeks ago had a hemorrhage from the lungs and is now in active pulmonary disease.

The condition of one little girl found in the infirmary is pitiable indeed. She lies curled up in a bed that is filthy, in a room that is untidy, dirty and dilapidated, in the north-west corner of the building with no provision of balcony, sunshine or fresh air. Both sides of her neck and chest are swollen and five foul ulcers are discovered when we lift the bandages. This gives her pain, and her tears from her fear of being touched, intensifies the picture of her misery.

Twelve of the pupils have sore eyes, many have teeth that require attention and the general condition of nearly all the pupils is much below even a passable standard of health, which is likely to become still lower through the oncoming winter, while the children are kept more closely housed.

The building is reported to have been very cold in previous winters, but a new furnace has been installed and the outside of the main buildings have been covered with shingles so there should be no further trouble from this source. The inside of the house and school room is neither clean, tidy nor sanitary, and in its present condition and management is unfit for carrying on the work of a boarding school.

It is unlikely, however, that the unhealthy condition of the children can be charged against the school alone, for home conditions on the Reserve are bad, and most of the children must come to the school in very poor health. I visited 10 of the homes and found their condition truly deplorable. The buildings themselves are quite new and of good construction and could be made quite sanitary.

A brick fireplace has been built in each with the idea of making ventilation. We did not, however, find one of these in use and in fact they were all blocked up to prevent the cold air from coming in that way. The occupants claim these fireplaces smoke so badly they cannot be used, and of course a fireplace will only ventilate well when there is a fire burning in it to cause the hot air to rise and draw the foul air out. It would be well to have these fireplaces fixed so they would not smoke, and then encourage their use.

A¹⁷⁰ vigorous and prolonged campaign of education in sanitary house dwelling will be very necessary among these people, for the present condition of the interior of their houses renders them unfit for habitation. Dirt and debris are allowed to accumulate freely, and the use of soap and water for washing clothing and floors [is] quite neglected.

The occupants of the first house visited consisted of an old man partially blind with the apex of his right lung chronically tuberculous, a very old and helpless woman [who] sat on a pile of rags in one corner, while a second old woman who has not been able to walk for four years, sat on a very dirty bed. Both these women are also partially blind from what I believe to be tertiary syphilis. These people have had six children, four of whom have died from tuberculosis, and the house now presents a condition in which order and cleanliness are totally disregarded.

¹⁷⁰ The original here has 'But a'.

In the second home the mother, though looking fairly well, has a distinct tuberculous cavity in the apex of the right lung. A daughter, who had been sent home some years ago from the school, has very large suppurating glands, abscesses and ulcers on both sides of her neck. She has had three children, all dead. [The] first was born dead, the second lived two months, and the third two years. Here it would seem that syphilis and tuberculosis have wrought havoc, for the father has a charcot knee denoting tertiary syphilis.

In a third home there were five children all showing some evidence of tuberculosis. The mother has a tuberculous lung and the father has on both sides of his neck the scars of scrofula.

The conditions were very much the same in the whole ten houses visited. In all of them the floors were unswept and unwashed, and the bed clothing scant and filthy. Many of the occupants have sore eyes and nearly all some form of tuberculosis. Mostly glandular but many with chronic lung disease held somewhat in check by the outdoor and tent living which Indians practice through the summer months.

I examined twenty of the men of the band at the Agency, paying particular attention to their lungs and to the glands of the neck as well as to their eyes and to the good condition of their bones. Only three of the twenty could be classified as up to average good health. Not more than these three would be considered as capable of military service, and one of these three is not a Sarcee, but a late addition to the band, which in all numbers about 165. It is likely that this band will shrink much further in number, for many of the people are old and the children are very unhealthy. To remedy the present state of this band, vigorous, prolonged and radical measures are an absolute necessity, both as regards the school and the home life.

I would urge that the school be closed and the building remodeled and converted into a hospital along Sanatorium lines and placed under the charge of a competent medical man and trained nurses, who would give needed medical care and instructions in hygienic living not only to the children but to all suffering adults on the Reserve, and that a campaign of visiting the homes be instituted and rigorously continued until these houses are all cleaned up and the occupants taught to keep them clean, and until the habits of cleanliness be thoroughly established and all active disease eradicated.

Many will need surgical attention in hospitals where major surgery can be properly performed and the patients then transferred to the hospital on the Reserve, where prolonged care may be given by Sanatorium methods, such as abundant open air living on balconies, good food and suitable tonics, in order that these people may reach a place of comparative safety and future usefulness.

ERMINESKIN SCHOOL, AT HOBHEMA

Here are 33 girls and 27 boys. Examination of these children showed none requiring surgical or hospital treatment. There are no cases of suppurating glands of the neck or other parts and though fully 50% have enlarged glands of the neck, they would not be looked upon as requiring anything more than good hygienic surroundings, food and fresh air to become cured.

There are no children in the school who should be sent home, though four boys and three girls are found to be below par in general condition, are anemic and have enlarged glands, but I believe the extra care now being given them viz. extra diets of milk and eggs, cod liver oil and iron tonics, and their being kept out of doors as much as possible, should be sufficient to bring them up to a standard of good health. The eyes are in good condition, though in the case of four pupils the usual bathing with Boric acid solution and the occasional use of Argyrol are necessary to keep them in good condition. Two pupils have blindness of one eye from infantile infections and two others have partial blindness from the scar of an old ulceration of the cornea long ago healed. The teeth of all are passably good, and none are showing signs of any active involvement of the lungs. The general health, weight and color of the pupils of this school are fully up to the standard.

The building itself is an old one but fairly good, is kept very clean and is fairly light and airy. The dormitories are somewhat crowded. Thirty three now sleep in one room where the maximum capacity should be 28. The windows are very small, though fairly numerous, and the ceiling is a foot or two lower than is desirable. There are several fairly good balconies but they are not used as much as they should be. The addition of a modern building to the one now in use is very desirable as the present capacity is overtaxed and there are still a number of children on the reserve not attending school. The present building is too good to be condemned, but in time should be replaced by one more modern.

ST. ALBERT SCHOOL, NEAR EDMONTON

Here we find 43 boys and 37 girls very healthy and well cared for in a new and thoroughly modern building and under a most competent administration. There are 290 pupils altogether in this school, of whom 80 to 83 are Indians. In looking over the Indian children carefully, I did not discover any who should be sent home. In general health and appearance they are all fully up to the standard of good health. Though a number have enlarged glands of the neck there are none suppurating or ulcerating, and I am satisfied the very efficient care they receive in this institution should meet all requirements, and I can cheerfully commend this school as being well equipped and well managed in every particular.

[CONCLUSION]

In conclusion, I would again mention only to emphasize the desirability that all Indian schools be provided with wide balconies properly screened so that the children may be kept in the open air to sleep during as much of the year as is practicable, and all the better it be throughout the whole year, after sanatorium methods, as in this way alone can the prevalence of tuberculous disease among the Indians be reduced and the health of the bands be brought up to a desirable standard.

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) F. A. Corbett

“Valuable Information” (1920)

W. M. GRAHAM TO D. C. SCOTT¹⁷¹

I herewith enclose for your information a report from Doctor F. A. Corbett of Regina, who made a thorough inspection of the following schools in Alberta, during the latter part of November; – Old Sun, Crowfoot, Sarcee, Ermineskin, and St. Albert.

I find the report very thorough, and the Department are now in possession of valuable information with regard to the health and sanitary conditions at the various schools mentioned, information that I doubt would ever have been obtained had not this special Officer been instructed to go to the institutions and make a report as to the actual conditions existing.

With regard to the situation at the Old Sun School; while the building is not all that could be desired, there appears to have been gross carelessness on the part of those in charge of the School, to allow such a loathsome condition to exist. The local Doctor is not by any means excluded from this remark.

The School building is badly out up, and it seems to me that when the plans were drawn up, more attention was given to the accommodation of the staff than of the pupils. I consider the building very badly arranged. I understand Doctor Corbett saw the Medical Officer, and gave him instructions to clean up the situation at once. He also told the Principal what to do with regard to the treatment of the children. Doctor Corbett tells me, with proper care and treatment the Scabies should be cleared up in two weeks' time. I have instructed Mr. Gooderham to do what he could in the way of getting what is required to carry the work out successfully.

With regard to the Sarcee Boarding School, I do not think the Doctor's report will be a surprise to you. To my mind it would be a mistake to carry on this Institution as a School; however, as the Doctor goes very thoroughly into the conditions here, it is needless for me to add much further to say that the conditions on the Reserve could not be much worse, from a sanitary standpoint. I never saw such dirty houses in my thirty-five years' experience living among Indians. I cannot help thinking Agent Gordon has not given all the attention to the sanitary end of the work that he should have given to it, particularly at an Agency like the Sarcee, where an Agent has so little to do compared with other Agents, where there are four or five times as many Indians, and where farming and stock raising are carried on extensively. Something will have to be done at once to straighten up the situation, and the question is, can the present Agent carry on the work? I doubt it.

The situation at Hobbema is very satisfactory, although the School and Dormitories are not what you would call ideal; however, I do not consider the children's health is in any way impaired through attending the School. The building is old, but kept spotlessly clean – and above all, the children are well clad and well fed. I understand there are between forty and forty-five Roman Catholic children still on the Reserve at this Agency, who are not attending School. A request was made to have additional accommodation provided. This matter will no doubt have to receive

¹⁷¹ Duncan Campbell Scott (1862 – 1947), then Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

the attention of the Department at an early date, as educational facilities will have to be obtained.

I was exceedingly pleased with what I saw at St. Albert School. This is truly a wonderful place. The school building, just completed, is without doubt the finest Indian Institution I was ever in, large, airy and well lighted. The beds and bedding could not be better. There was no crowding, and the food was good and wholesome. The children looked the picture of health, as the Doctor's report bears out.

Mostly everything in the way of food used in this Institution is produced on the premises. The wheat is ground into flour at the mill nearby; the beef, pork, eggs, milk and fruit used in the School are raised or grown on the home farm.

I was particularly pleased at what I saw at the Crowfoot School. The building is large, airy and well lighted. The Dormitories were in excellent shape. The beds clean and comfortable; the Classrooms large and well ventilated; and above all, the children looked the very picture of health. They were clean and well clad. There was nothing in the whole Institution, that a person looking for trouble, could find fault with. In fact I can say nothing but praise for the school, for such it deserves.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Wm. Graham

“Important reports” (1920)

D. C. SCOTT TO SIR JAMES LOUGHEED¹⁷²

I beg to send herewith important reports from the Indian Commissioner and Doctor F. A. Corbett, of Regina.

When I was in Regina last summer I had an interview with Doctor Corbett, and it was arranged that he should make these inspections. Doctor Corbett is greatly interested in the welfare of the Indians, and his report justifies the inspection.

I regret extremely that it is possible to draw such a comparison between the Protestant and Roman Catholic schools. The Crowfoot, Ermineskin's and St. Albert schools are all conducted by the Roman Catholic Church, and the Old Sun's and Sarcee are conducted by the Church of England. The comparison does not hold good over the whole field, however, as we have excellent Protestant schools in other parts of the country. The Anglican schools in the diocese of Calgary have always unfortunately been badly managed.

The conditions at the Old Sun's school are disgraceful, and the principal and medical attendant worthy of serious censure for allowing such health conditions to exist.

As you are personally aware of the general conditions at the Sarcee reserve, this additional information with reference to the school and the Indians there will be of particular interest. If this band is to be saved at all we must take vigorous measures, and I would propose to turn the school into a hospital and to treat the whole reserve as a hospital area. These Indians have a large reserve and more of it

¹⁷² Sir James Alexander Lougheed (1854 – 1925), then Minister of the Interior.

should be turned into cash as soon as possible and used for their benefit, and the funds we have on hand should be fully used.

It would be advantageous if Doctor Corbett could continue his inspections and visit all our reserves and schools, but as he has a very large practice in Regina, I do not think we could expect him to spend the necessary time in making inspectorial visits.

I should like to discuss¹⁷³ these matters with you.

(Signed) Duncan C. Scott
Deputy Superintendent General

“Our opinions agree” (1920)

D. C. SCOTT TO W. M. GRAHAM

I have read with great interest your letter of December 7th and Dr. Corbett's report of the same date. I sent it to the Minister with my own report, and he has taken communication of it, but I intend to discuss it with him further.

As you had instructed Agent Gooderham to take the necessary steps to deal with the situation at the Old Sun School I need not give any directions as to what should be done, but I would like to have a report as soon as possible showing what has been done.

As regards the Sarcee boarding school, I think our opinions agree that it should be turned into a hospital, and that the whole reserve should be considered a hospital area. I will write to Canon Gould and communicate Dr. Corbett's findings and suggest that we should immediately put in a staff of nurses and discontinue the educational work for the present. Mrs. Hannington called upon me this morning with reference to the scheme that we had previously discussed, of which you are aware. I think she might be able to help us out with nurses for the Sarcee Hospital if we require them. There is some possibility of our getting a hospital outfit from the Guelph Hospital, which has been conducted by the Hospital Commission, and if we succeed in this it will place us in control of a fine lot of hospital equipment. I told Mrs. Hannington that I expected you at headquarters next month and that we should have a conference, and I look forward to that as being important.

Meanwhile, will you send me a report on the present condition at the Old Sun's school and give me any further ideas you may have with reference to the Sarcee situation?

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Duncan C. Scott
Deputy Superintendent General

¹⁷³ A subsequent memorandum was written by a private secretary with an illegible signature. Since I cannot be sure of the secretary's year of death, I have omitted the memorandum. The substance of the memorandum was that the Minister of the Interior had been notified of the reports, and authorized taking all necessary steps to improve conditions at the schools.

“Read with concern and regret” (1921)

D. C. SCOTT TO CANON GOULD¹⁷⁴

Upon my recent visit to the West I arranged that Dr. F. A. Corbett, of Regina, should make an inspection of the Old Sun’s and Sarcee schools. Dr. Corbett completed his inspections in due course, and I am enclosing herewith, for your information, copies of his reports, which I have myself read with concern and regret.

The Department has taken prompt measures to alleviate the shocking conditions existing at these schools. The Indian agent has been instructed to take the necessary steps to deal with the situation at the Old Sun’s school, and I have asked that a report with regard to present conditions there should be forwarded to the Department as soon as possible.

In view of Dr. Corbett’s report, it now seems more urgent than ever that steps should be at once taken to turn the Sarcee school into a hospital and the whole reserve into a hospital area. It would appear necessary to suspend the educational work for the present, and there certainly would be nothing gained in transferring the children to the Old Sun’s school, until there is a change in the condition at that institution.

I shall communicate with you, further, when I receive the report asked for with regard to this school. The existence of such a situation is indeed discouraging, but I hope that by a vigorous effort we shall be able to effect a rapid improvement.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Duncan C. Scott

Deputy Superintendent General.

The Missionary Society’s Reply (1921)

The Executive Committee of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, having had before it the letter, dated Jan. 8th, of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, together with the accompanying copies of the Reports of Dr. Corbett of his medical inspection of the children in the Old Sun’s Boarding School, Blackfoot Reserve and in the Sarcee Boarding Schools, begs permission to bring the following points, in connection therewith, to the attention of the Deputy Superintendent General:

1. That although Dr. Corbett’s inspection was made on a date prior to Nov. 25th, 1920, a copy of his report was not mailed by the Department to this Committee until Jan. 8th, 1921.

2. That the children in question were, for some time previous to Dr. Corbett’s visit, under the treatment directed by the local medical man. Writing to the Executive Committee under date Nov. 25th, 1920 the Acting Principal of the School says in part: “Mrs. Gentleman and Miss Bloomer spent a great deal of time treating sore places on the girls. Dr. Corbett pronounced this to be ‘itch’ and claimed that the treatment

¹⁷⁴ Canon Sidney Gould (d. 1938), then General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England.

directed by the local Doctor was entirely wrong.” And further: “Mr. Scott ... can be assured that the directions of the local doctor had strict attention and that Dr. Corbett’s desires are being carried out.”

The Executive Committee submits therefore, since the children in the Old Sun’s Boarding School were, prior to the visit of Dr. Corbett, under the care of the local medical man, and that the latter’s instructions were carefully observed by the School staff, that the staff cannot fairly be held responsible for the results of the wrong diagnosis made by the local medical man.

3. That the report of Dr. Corbett presents a strong condemnation of the adequacy and satisfactory character of the building occupied by the Old Sun’s Boarding School – a building erected wholly by the Department.

The Acting-Principal writes that the recent work done in connection with the heating system has improved matters but little if at all, and that during a recent cold snap he was obliged to go himself and spend a great deal of time in the boiler room in the effort to secure some fair degree of heat in the building.

4. That the Executive Committee, at its meeting on May 5th, 1920, adopted the following resolution:

“THAT a Sub-Committee be appointed to interview the authorities of the Department of Indian Affairs with regard to the condition of the children in the Sarcee Boarding School and the future of that Institution. Consideration of the estimates being deferred pending report of this Sub-Committee.”

And that on the 27th of the same month, the Sub-Committee in question – G. B. Nicholson, Esq., M.P., and the General Secretary – had an interview with the Deputy Superintendent General in his office on this matter. At this interview the Deputy Superintendent General agreed to the views set forward by this Executive, through its representative, to the effect

(1) that the physical condition of the great majority of the children in the Sarcee Boarding School made it imperative that the Institution should cease to be operated as a Boarding School, and

(2) that the few healthy children should be transferred to the enlarged building at Old Sun’s.

The conclusions arrived at and accepted at this interview were set out in the letter, dated June 2nd, 1920, of the General Secretary to the Deputy Superintendent General, as follows:

“Dear Mr. Scott, –

In view of my departure for England tomorrow, I am placing before you, in writing, the results, as I understand them, of the recent interview which you kindly granted to Mr. G. B. Nicholson and me, as follows:

(1) The heating systems of the Sarcee and Old Sun’s Boarding Schools to be immediately overhauled, and, if necessary, new systems to be installed adequate to the heating of the buildings.

(2) Provision to be made in the estimates of the Department for the next year:

(a) for the erection, on a site to be selected, of the new joint boarding school for the Blood and Peigan Indians.

(b) the remodeling and enlarging of the building used as the Old Sun's Boarding School, to make it possible to remove the Girls' Dormitory, at least, from the ground floor, and to provide such additional accommodation as may be needed for the Anglican children on the Blackfoot Reserve who are not now in the School, and for the few Sarcee children, who are free from tuberculosis infection; providing that satisfactory arrangements can be made for the transfer of the latter from the Sarcee to the Old Sun's Boarding School.

Trusting you will agree with the above as stating the results of our interview, and thanking you for your ready kindness and sympathy in our efforts to place the Anglican work on behalf of the Indians upon a more efficient basis.

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sgd.) S. Gould,

General Secretary"

and acknowledged by the Deputy Superintendent General in his reply, dated June 10th, 1920.

"Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, June 10, 1920.

Dear Canon Gould,

I have your letter of June 2nd last, placing on record your understanding of our recent interview in Ottawa.

A few days after your visit here I reported to the Minister and I may state that my report to him of the interview practically coincides with the report submitted by you. I may say that I have taken action by way of communicating with our agents regarding the heating system at both the Old Sun's and the Sarcee Schools.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd) Duncan C. Scott,

Deputy Superintendent General."

The Executive Committee therefore resolves:

(I) That this Executive Committee, having brought the physical condition of the children in the Sarcee Boarding School to the notice of the Department, as long ago as last May, renewed its grant to that Institution for the current year with great reluctance, and only as an interim measure, pending the taking by the Department of the action recommended that the Institution be disestablished as a Boarding School and provided with the staff and equipment necessary for the efficient medical treatment of the children. Further, that this Committee now earnestly requests the Deputy Superintendent to put this change into effect at once, reliving this Committee of the responsibility for the Sarcee Boarding School at a date to be set, which date should not be later than April 1st, of the present year.

(II) That this Executive Committee requests the Deputy Superintendent to issue, forthwith, an order prohibiting the continuance of the practice, at the Old Sun's Boarding School, under which the Indians have been in the habit of tracking their children out of the School for Saturday or other short periods of absence; that the Department define the holidays or vacations during which either the parents, or guardians, may remove children from the Schools, or during which the Principal may give them leave; that no local official either of the Department or of the Missionary Society shall have power to vary the rule in question, and should the Indians, under the enforcement of the rule, carry out their threat to remove their children from the School, then the Department shall assume responsibility for the return of the children, so removed, to the School, or, in the event of their non-return by the Department, the Department continue to pay the per capita grants, involved, towards the maintenance of the School.

(III) That this Executive Committee assure the Deputy Superintendent General of its earnest desire to place the Indian Boarding Schools, under the Church of England in Canada, upon a basis of efficiency in the shortest possible time. It points out to him the fact that its ability to accomplish its aim depends, almost altogether, upon the replacement by the Department of such wholly unsatisfactory and worn-out buildings as those at present occupied for Boarding School purposes on the Blood and Peigan Reserves, and upon the remodeling, enlargement and re-equipment of such modern but very inadequate buildings, as those of the Old Sun's School.

This Committee, further, expresses its great regret that the limitations placed upon the plans of the Department by the very great calls which the Minister of Finance is required to meet in other directions, has prevented the Deputy Superintendent General from placing in his estimates for the forthcoming year, a sum sufficient to cover the whole of the building operations agreed upon as urgently needed, at the interview on May 27th last, and as set out in this correspondence quoted above.

This Committee further urges the Deputy Inspector General to make financial provision as soon as possible for the erection of the New Joint Boarding School for the Blood and Peigan Reserves, and, following the enlargement and re-equipment of the Old Sun's Boarding School, give the claims of this Joint Institution, right of way as far as [the] Church of England in Canada is concerned, over all other needs for building.

(IV) That this Executive Committee submits to the Deputy Superintendent General the following immediate proposal:

1. This Committee [is] to select, employ, and pay a thoroughly qualified nurse who shall be appointed to the nursing care of the Indian children in the Boarding Schools under this Committee. The nurse [is] to travel from institution to institution seeing that the instructions of the medical officers of the Department are properly carried out, and [is charged with] spending in any one institution the amount of time which any special needs of the children there may require.

2. The Department to be responsible for

- (1) the nurse's traveling expenses between institutions, and

(2) the needed medical and surgical supplies.

3. If this proposal is accepted and found to be satisfactory in operation, this Committee will in due time, if the need be shown to exist, consider sympathetically the appointment of a second nurse on the same conditions.

Signed:

S. Gould
General Secretary

“The active search for a competent farmer” (1921)

S. GOULD TO D. C. SCOTT

We are engaged in the active search for a competent farmer for the Old Sun’s School, and I shall be glad if you are in a position to let me know what steps have been taken by the Indian Commissioner with a view to securing, for the use of the School, the additional land.

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,
(Signed) S. Gould
General Secretary

P.S.¹⁷⁵ If you [think] that under some system of special grants sufficient to enable the Missionary Society to pay the qualified agents needed, and to meet the [overt?] equipment expenses, we could conduct, as a Missionary Society, the Sarcee Institution as a Sanatorium. I shall be glad to submit your views to the Executive Committee. Needless to add, we are most anxious to do all in our power to meet and alleviate the [illegible] conditions [existing at present?]. S. G.

“The very best chance” (1922)

DR. A. H. N. KENNEDY¹⁷⁶ TO W. M. GRAHAM

While I have been doing the medical work for the Indian Department on the Blood Reserve for the past year, I could not help being struck by the number of cases of Tuberculosis, and Tubercular affections, particularly Scrofula, that have come to my attention, and I have been wondering if something could be done to try and eliminate this condition to a certain extent, particularly among the children, and more particularly still, among those children who are in the schools, and under confinement and to a certain extent, restraint.

In reading this question up, and talking it over with other medical men, I have come to the conclusion that the generally accepted theory at the present time, among medical men, is that the tonsils are one of the main, if not the main, source of infection thru which the Tubercular micro-organism gains entrance to the human system. The

¹⁷⁵ This post-script is handwritten, and difficult to read.

¹⁷⁶ Dr. Allan Hugh N. Kennedy (1885 – 1954)

tonsil is, as a matter of fact, a filter, and as much, is a receptacle for any and all of these germs, and these germs are constantly present in Tonsillar tissue. The individual becomes a little run down, his resisting powers become a little lowered, and he is then, in a fit state, for these micro-organisms, previously stored up in the tonsils, to gain entrance and a foothold on the individual, with the disastrous results that we are all aware of, the gradual killing off of the Indian race.

With this end in view, I made it a point to inspect all the children, both at the Roman Catholic School, and the Protestant School at St. Paul's Mission, and to me, the result was surprising, and opened my eyes, and one that I think will surprise you. At the Roman Catholic School, out of sixty pupils examined, forty-two of them have enlarged tonsils and adenoids; at St. Paul's School, out of fifty-five children examined, twenty-six of them were in the same condition. Out of a total of one Hundred and fifteen children, sixty-eight of them, or nearly six per cent, have large unhealthy tonsils and adenoids, which are, outside of any possible Tubercular infection, a decided menace to their health, large, spongy, infected tonsils, from which they are constantly absorbing, and which are, unquestionably, a very decided hindrance to their development, from a purely health point of view.

However, the question of Tuberculosis, is to my mind the most important consideration, and I have no hesitation in stating my opinion, and I am satisfied that this opinion will be backed by all the medical men and throat specialists, that were those children's throats put in good condition by removal of unhealthy hypertrophied tonsils and adenoids, there would be much less danger of their becoming Tubercular, and they would be given the chance of health, to which they are entitled.

Out of these hundred and fifteen children, thirty of them have from one to six or seven decayed rotten roots of teeth in their mouths that also should be attended to.

If the Indian Department wish to do a good work for the preservation of the health of the Indian, and the maintenance of the Indian as a race, I do not think that they can do better, than by giving the rising generation of children a chance, and I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that the very best chance that these children can be given, would be to remove the very evident cause of infection by Tuberculosis, by putting them in decent physical condition, by removing the unhealthy, diseased tonsils, adenoids and teeth. Among my own private practice, among families whose family physician I am, I would feel that I were negligent in my duty, did I not give them the same advice as I am now giving you, in regard to every single one of those sixty-eight children.

As to ways and means, I think that this could be very easily managed and arranged. You have a Hospital at Stand Off, which, by the way, is one of the best institutions I have ever had anything to do with, and operating room, plenty of adequate help, and every faculty for the carrying out of this work. I do not do this work myself, as I consider it a specialist's operation, but I have no doubt that the arrangements could be made with Dr. Gunn of Calgary, who is an excellent nose and throat man, to come down and give two or three days to this work, when the whole thing could be cleaned up. I would suggest, too, that if this were done, a dentist be

taken out, and while the children are under the anaesthetic, the teeth that require extracting, be taken out. I am sure that three days at the outside would clean up this whole work, and I am satisfied that it could be very easily and conveniently carried out at your own Hospital at Stand Off. I have suggested Dr. Gunn, for, in my opinion, he is the best man to get. I get him for all my own special work and besides, I understand that he has been doing [a] considerable [amount] of this same work for Dr. Murray on the Sarcee Reserve.

There is no question about it, that this will be a considerable expense to the Indian Department, but I consider that it will be money well spent, if the ravages of Tuberculosis [are] to be checked among the Indian children and if the Indian Department is sincere in its wish to help in the preservation of the Indian race.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed.) Allan H. N. Kennedy, M.D.

“Most unusual and impracticable” (1922)

W. M. GRAHAM TO D. C. SCOTT

I am enclosing, herewith, copy of a letter which I have received from Dr. Kennedy of Macleod, the Medical Officer for the Blood Reserve. It seems to me that he is suggesting something most unusual and impracticable with Indians, especially with the Blood Indians. I would not like to take the responsibility of such an undertaking, and doubt whether all Doctors would agree with Dr. Kennedy in the plan he suggests. We all know that the removal of tonsils and adenoids is necessary at times, but to ask the Department to send in a Doctor to remove tonsils and adenoids of 60% of the pupils attending our schools is unusual to say the least, and certainly requires investigation by another Doctor.

I showed Dr. Kennedy's letter to Dr. Corbett, and from what I could gather I should say he would be loath to recommend such an undertaking. However, he was not in a position to say definitely what should be done before a thorough examination had been made.

Dr. Corbett was on the Blackfoot Reserve just a little over a year ago, when he did some excellent work for the Department, and as the Bloods are the same people he was naturally surprised to learn of Dr. Kennedy's recommendation.

My suggestion is that Dr. Corbett should, at some future date that is convenient to him, be allowed to make another trip on behalf of the Department, and visit the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Hobbema and any other Agencies in the West which he might find time to make a trip to, with a view to making a report on the health of the Indians.

He would only charge the Department the nominal sum of \$10.00 per day for his services – which would just cover his personal expenses – as the trip would be taken with a view to having a rest from his practice, which is a very heavy one. He is interested in Indians and charges the Department for operations about 25% less than

the usual fee. I think the Department should approve of Dr. Corbett making this trip some time in the near future, provided he is able to leave his practice.

I shall be glad to hear from you in regard to this matter.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) W. M. Graham

Indian Commissioner.

“Should the matter end there?” (1922)

W. M. GRAHAM TO D. C. SCOTT

I have your letter of the 15th instant, No. 546898, with reference to Dr. Kennedy's report on the two Boarding Schools on the Blood Reserve, and wish to state that you are quite right that you did say sufficient in your letter to enable me to notify Dr. Kennedy that we did not intend to send for Dr. Gunn, and this information was conveyed to Dr. Kennedy after I received your letter.

What was concerning me was, should the matter end there? There is no doubt that some attention had to be given to Dr. Kennedy's report, and I thought that if Dr. Corbett were going to visit the various schools, he might be able to operate on any cases requiring attention, and by following this procedure he would probably have the advantage of his inspection of the various schools and have this surgical work done at considerably less cost than would be entailed in bringing Dr. Gunn from Calgary for the sole purpose of operating on the children.

I think Dr. Corbett agrees with me that it is unusual to find in a school of 60 children half of them requiring tonsils and adenoids removed. As far as Dr. Corbett is concerned, he told me he could go any time in the Spring.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) W. M. Graham

Indian Commissioner.

“I herewith submit my report” (1922)

DR. F. A. CORBETT TO W. M. GRAHAM

I herewith submit my report of [my] visit to Indian Reserves in Alberta.

[BLACKFOOT SCHOOL, CLUNY]

I left Regina Saturday evening, June 3rd. 1922, and arrived in Gleichen [on] Sunday [at] 8 a.m. [I] visited the Blackfoot School, Cluny, and examined all the children and found seven boys and four girls urgently needing removal of tonsils and adenoids. [I found] one boy and one girl with tuberculous abscesses of glands of neck demanding attention.

The school buildings are well kept, very clean and sanitary, and the health of the children good. They are plainly well cared for, clean and under good discipline. The sisters were courteous and very helpful, and gladly gave fullest co-operation in arranging for and later carrying out operations on the above cases, which were done

at the school on Monday afternoon, after obtaining the consent of the parents at the school before operation, and [we] had no difficulty in obtaining their consent to operate on the children.

[OLD SUN SCHOOL]

On Sunday afternoon I visited Old Sun School and examined all the children; [I] found three boys and two girls urgently requiring removal of tonsils and adenoids. This I did on Tuesday morning after having obtained the consent of the parents. The sanitary conditions of this school are no better¹⁷⁷ than last year. The classroom of the older children has been much improved by a new hard wood floor, but the north end has been so cold all winter that the young children have for their classroom the former play room in the basement in the main building. The windows are very small and high, and the room utterly unfit¹⁷⁸ for a classroom.

The health of the children is about as it was last year, with the exception that no scabies is now found. There are twenty cases of enlarged tuberculous glands of the neck, but many are likely to recover during the outdoor life that is practiced by the Indians during the summer. Owing to the lack of suitable surroundings I deemed it unwise to operate at the school, so had the children removed to a hospital in the town of Gleichen for the one day of operation. There is no doubt that the health of these children whose tonsils and adenoids were removed and abscesses curetted will be greatly improved by the operation.

[THE BLOOD RESERVE]

Tuesday evening [at] 6 p.m. [I] left for Calgary, arriving the same evening at 10 p.m. Wednesday it rained all day, so [I] did not get out to [the] Sarcee reserve. [I] saw Dr. Murray and left for Macleod Thursday morning. [I] met Dr. Kennedy, Mr. Faunt and Rev. Middleton. [I] drove to [the] Blood reserve, arriving there for supper Thursday night. [I] saw children and arranged to operate [the] next morning on twelve children for tonsils and adenoids, two gland cases and several teeth.

[THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL AT STANDOFF]

Friday afternoon I drove to the Catholic School at Standoff with Dr. Kennedy and picked out nine cases for tonsils and adenoids, which I did Saturday morning at 9:30, having spent the previous night at the Agency. [I] spent Saturday and Sunday at the Blood reserve until 6. P.M., then drove through Macleod to [the] Peigan Agency, had supper there, then took the 12:30 train for Calgary.

[THE SARCEE RESERVE]

I arrived in Calgary Monday morning [at] 9 a.m. and went to [the] Sarcee reserve, [arriving at] 10 a.m. [I] looked over [the] school and found eight children requiring the removal of tonsils – four boys and five girls, and two requiring [an] operation [on the] glands of [the] neck. These operations I performed with the assistance of Dr. Murray at two p.m., and [I] drove back to Calgary the same evening.

¹⁷⁷ Extensive alterations are to be carried out at the [start of] the summer. [Hand-written note in the original.]

¹⁷⁸ In the original, 'fit' is typed, and an illegible scrawl in pen suggests an annotation to its immediate left. In context, I believe the annotation meant to amend 'fit' to 'unfit', which is what I have transcribed above. -C.W.

There has been a gratifying change for the better in this Agency since my visit a year ago last Fall. The children have the appearance of being well fed and cared for, and seem happy. There were only two cases of open sores on the necks, and these I operated on. Dr. Murray and his staff deserve high commendation for the good work done here in improving the health of the people. Twenty eight gallons of milk [are] being used in the school per day, and the diets of the children cannot be improved upon. There are no cases of sore eyes. The older Sarcee Indians too show quite an improvement in health and their houses and tents are much improved in cleanliness and sanitation.

The school building is clean but still lacks some most essential requirements. There are no screens on any of the doors or windows, so flies cannot be kept out and they abound in the building, though their presence is disgusting and unhealthy. There are no out of door balconies, and these are absolutely necessary if the children are to regain health and remain healthy. These two absolute essentials should be provided at once, and with them a continuance of the present system. I feel satisfied that the reserve will be reclaimed from what seemed to be impending disaster.

[HOBHEMA SCHOOL]

Monday evening we left Calgary for Hobbema, where we arrived on Tuesday morning. The children of this school are the most wholesome lot of Indian children I have ever seen in a school. There is not a single case of visible scrofula and not a case of sore eyes in the school. There were nine cases of greatly enlarged and diseased tonsils and adenoids. These I operated on that afternoon with the assistance of Dr. McColgan. An abundance of milk is used, and the herd of cows are well kept, fat and apparently healthy. The sisters are to be congratulated upon the excellence of this school from every standpoint.

[THE SCHOOL AT ST. ALBERT]

From Hobbema we went to Edmonton and inspected the children in the school at St. Albert. This school has reached a high standard of excellence both as [to] the health and the general care of the children. One Indian child is suffering from ulceration of the corner of the eye, and I advised her removal to a hospital where effort can be made to save the sight of the eye. There were no cases of enlarged scrofulous glands, and no surgery was required here. There is abundance of milk used in the school, and all the children had the appearance of health and happiness.

Respectfully submitted,

F. A. Corbett.

“His expenses amounted to very little” (1922)

W. M. GRAHAM TO D. C. SCOTT

I am enclosing, herewith, a copy of Dr. Corbett’s report of his recent visit to the Old Sun’s, Crowfoot, Blood Roman Catholic, Blood Anglican, Hobbema and St. Albert Boarding Schools, and the Sarcee Hospital and School.

The Doctor on his tour operated on about sixty children for tuberculous glands, tonsils and adenoids, and also made a thorough inspection of the various schools. I consider that a saving of \$1,000.00 to \$1,500.00 has been effected in having this work performed in the manner in which it has been, as otherwise it would have been necessary to have sent most of the cases to hospital, and there would have been the hospital charges in each case.

It was my intention to have the Doctor also visit our schools in Northern Saskatchewan – in the Duck Lake and Carlton Agencies – but he had not the time to do so on this occasion. He will, however, visit these institutions on any future trip he may make.

The Doctor’s charges were approximately \$15.00 per day, and his expenses amounted to very little.

It is trips of this kind that accomplish most good, and as far as I am personally concerned we cannot be accused of neglecting the Indian children who are in our schools, and there is satisfaction in this.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) W. M. Graham
Indian Commissioner.

Appendix: Corporal Punishment and Canadian Education

Cases and discussions of corporal punishment are presented below to 1934, the year in which the Royal Commission decision on the residential school flogging case was arrived at.

“Modern thought against it”¹⁷⁹ (1905)

Thoughts on the matter by J. L. Hughes, who inspected Toronto’s schools from 1874 to 1913.

I do not believe in corporal punishment. The whole trend of modern educational thought is against it. Corporal punishment is prohibited in France, Italy, Switzerland and Finland, and the new superintendent of education for Austria recently issued

¹⁷⁹ From Hughes, J. L. (1905, November 6). NO CORPORAL PUNISHMENT. *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 10. By James Laughlin Hughes (1846 – 1935), School Inspector from 1874 to 1913. Misidentified as ‘John’ in the original article.

instructions that any teacher who uses corporal punishment will be dismissed. Corporal punishment is prohibited in Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Toronto [Ohio], Syracuse, Albany, Philadelphia, Washington, Savannah, and in many other cities in the United States it is not used.

In some European countries, in addition to those mentioned, girls are not allowed to be whipped. In some countries the children over nine years of age are not subject to corporal punishment, and in others those under 9 years are free from corporal punishment by law, or by regulation. A society has been organized in England and Scotland for the sole purpose of doing away with corporal punishment in these countries.

Even if it is to be granted that in some cases corporal punishment may be of advantage, there are always other methods of dealing with a child which are better. Corporal punishment is less effective, more dangerous, and more humiliating, both to the teachers and pupils, than any other method of effecting reforms in the character of children. When teachers say, as many honestly do, that the best thing they can do for a child is to whip it, it is a confession that he or she has studied neither his own powers of influencing character, nor the character of the child to be influenced, as fully as should have been done.

There are many other higher and better ways of moulding character than by fear of punishment. THE best ideal yet understood by teachers is to employ the child's self-activity in interesting work adapted to the child's state of development. The best way to stimulate the child's highest motives is to intimate sympathy with the child. Teachers who have a reverent sympathy with the child, and who recognize the rights of children, never have any trouble with what used to be called discipline.

A very large proportion of teachers in Toronto [Ontario] do not require to use corporal punishment. It is worthy to note that in Philadelphia and Washington, the decision to do without corporal punishment was reached by the teachers of these cities, and not by order of the school board.

The discipline in the classes in Toronto is not affected injuriously in the classes of those teachers who do not use corporal punishment. We have not one blow now for every hundred we had in the corresponding number of classes thirty years ago. I am confident that as soon as all the teachers in Toronto are convinced that there are other and better ways for the training of character, both the training and teaching will be easier and more satisfactory to parents, teachers and pupils.

“Nature's own punishment”¹⁸⁰ (1908)

If the attention of the Government civic authorities and charitable organizations now devoting their attention to conditions in the jails and among the criminal classes, were turned toward institutions in which the young people of the country were being reared, improved conditions in citizenship among the lawless would rapidly ensue, seemed to be the consensus of opinion brought out during a

¹⁸⁰ From PROBLEMS OF YOUNG. (1908, March 19). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 5.

symposium upon the topic of child problems and work for the young at a conference arranged by the Montreal Local Council of Women for those interested and engaged in work for children, held in Strathcona Hall yesterday afternoon, with Mrs. Learmont in the chair.

What was best to be done for the wayward child who would be remedially ruined if allowed to be sent to jail along with the case-hardened criminal, was the question receiving most attention, along with that which concerned itself with the best means of upbringing those youngsters deprived of the influence of a good home, either through the death or indulgence of their parents.

Out of 470 New York teachers questioned last month as to whether they favored corporal punishment, 270 of them, or 57 per cent., were for it, and 200, or 43 per cent., were against. Of those in favor, 37 per cent. were women and 67 per cent. men.

Arguments against corporal punishment were given as follows: It was not reformatory, produced hypocrisy and animosity. It impaired the ethical influence of the institution where used; it brutalized the person inflicting it, and generally fell on feeble, sickly and deformed children, and brutalized the children, giving wrong motives for obedience. The body should not be punished for evil designed by the soul. Discipline had not deteriorated since the abolition of corporal punishment.

Arguments in favor of this method of chastisement were: The power to punish corporeally would obviate the necessity for inflicting it. Physical pain was nature's own punishment for law-breaking. It helped to self-control, inculcated respect for law, [and] checked incipient criminals.

As to whether discipline had been improved or impaired in those institutions, where corporal punishment had been abolished, there was a wide diversity of opinion among those asked. In the schools of Savannah, Ga., where it had been abolished for twenty-two years, corporal punishment had been unanimously restored, also at Allegheny. Most of those questioned seemed to agree that the knowledge of abolition of corporal punishment in an institution interfered with the power to maintain discipline, and many urged that permission to use the strap would obviate necessity for using it.

As to alternatives for corporal punishment which were mentioned by Mrs. Plumptre, in the course of her remarks, culled from the report of the Board of Education of New York city, suspension, fines, transference to other schools, isolation, detention, conduct to count for promotion, and children's courts were among the suggestions.

In connection with the subject before the conference, Mr. Wellington Dixon, rector of the Montreal High School, said he favored corporal punishment in so far as that, in his opinion, the power of inflicting corporal punishment generally obviated the necessity for using it.

In dealing with the question as to whether the natural development of a child could be carried out with any degree of satisfaction in institutions, Mrs. John Savage said that it could, and that even the child of the drunkard or the criminal, if removed early enough to the wholesome environment of an institution, where its comfort and

well-being were his excuse for existence, such a child would accomplish, and had in the past accomplished, as great and good things as the child favored with all the careful upbringing in a Christian home.

Under the circumstances, then, said Mrs. Savage, since the state was responsible for its children, it was the child's right that the state should rear it wholesomely, if its parents, through death or indigence, were incapable of doing so. Children naturally loved company and each other, and the spirit of rivalry and competition among the young had been turned to good instead of base use by institutions interested in child welfare. The opinion was expressed that if authorities had their attention called away from the jails long enough to concentrate it upon institutions for the orphaned and unfortunate ones, within less time than might be supposed, jails and penitentiaries would not be taxed for accommodation.

In dealing in "Home Influence," Miss Hurlbatt, of the Royal Victoria College, brought out that while she believed there was much in home influence that the child of the institution would forever lack, namely social development and experience with those in the home circle, she thought that the home was responsible for some flagrant abuses. Such as indulging the young in an unreasonable sense of the importance of the pursuit of pleasure, resultant in late hours, impaired digestion and general injuriousness of influence. However, even institutions were trying to inculcate as much of the wholesome home atmosphere by, as far as possible, a boarding-out system and cottage system, whereby institution children, wherever possible, were boarded out with respectable families, to be brought up along with the children of the family.

"Corporal punishment of Ottawa school children"¹⁸¹ (1922)

Ottawa school children are either exceptionally good as compared with those of other cities, or else the administration of corporal punishment is under stricter and wiser supervision, if comparative figures are anything to go by.

In Toronto, for instance, in a group of ten schools there are 323 whippings in the course of three months, according to recently published figures, while in the whole of the Ottawa schools, including the Protestant Orphanage, there are only 215 cases of corporal punishment in the course of the full school year of ten months.

THEIR GOOD MONTHS

Some interesting and instructive inferences may be drawn from some of the figures of the last published details of the public school board of Ottawa along these lines. In the month of September the number of whippings is down to its minimum. There were only 12 cases entered in the books for that month. This is the month when school is fresh again, after summer holidays, and when the novelty of new classes, new books and in some cases new teachers, have their influence on the kiddies in keeping them interested. They are not tired so early in the school year, and

¹⁸¹ From CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF OTTAWA SCHOOL CHILDREN IS INFREQUENT. (1922, October 4). *The Ottawa Citizen*, p. 8.

everybody, even the Tom Sawyers, are on their good behaviour. By October the number of whippings has risen to 27. In November it has jumped to 39. But in December it drops to 14. Human nature is much the same in the child as the man. Christmas is in sight, and Old Santa is in the offing as a rewarder of good behaviour and diligence at school. Only the incorrigibles are whipped during December, or such bairns as have no "Santa" to look forward to. By the time January has gone there are 18 cases, and February sees the number back close to the top with 29 cases.

A PERPLEXING PROBLEM

It may be perplexing to some people to find out that the small schools are the ones where most of the whipping is done. In one school with a registered attendance of 171 and an average attendance of about 145, there were 29 whippings in the school year, while in another school, with a registration of 646 scholars, and an average attendance of 550 there were only 9 cases of corporal punishment. Do such figures indicate that the discipline in the bigger school is better than in the smaller school?

Here is another matter confusing comparison. In another school with a registration of 626, and an average attendance of 490, approximately, there were 42 cases of whippings. The feature about this school is that it is located in one of the better residential districts and where there is a mixture of nationalities. This is one of the naughtiest schools in the city, if punishment is any indication.

It is possible that much of the variation in these comparisons is due to the teachers themselves rather than to the boys and girls whom they whip. Some teachers possibly have more faith in the efficacy of the rod than others, or they are possibly more easily provoked to its use than others.

The regulations of the public school board are interesting in this connection, and may furnish part of the explanation of the small percentage of whippings in the Ottawa schools. It is the policy of the school officials of this city to reduce the use of the rod to the bare requirements necessary.

The rule covering the use of corporal punishment is as follows: "Corporal punishment shall not be inflicted except in the presence of a witness, who will be either a teacher or an officer or employé of the board. Before the punishment is administered the teacher shall enter in the school diary, the name of the pupil to be punished; the offence; the names and evidence of all witnesses examined; the amount of punishment ordered to be inflicted; the name of the person who is to administer it; the name of the person who is to witness the punishment."

It would be superfluous to remark that after all these entries have been properly made, the hot feelings of the angry teacher would have time to cool off. There would be little danger of hitting the culprit in hot blood, so to speak.

Further instruction is given to the teaching staff in connection with punishment, as follows: "All such methods of punishment as pulling or boxing the ears, slapping with the hand, striking with a book or pointer, shaking the pupil or hitting him suddenly or without warning are strictly forbidden."

The compiler of these last instructions must have gone to school himself in the days before such regulations were thought of for teachers. He must surely have a

sympathetic recollection of some of the sudden poundings on the head that were so common an experience of the youth thirty years ago or more.

AFTER INVESTIGATION

Speaking of the use of corporal punishment in the Ottawa schools, Dr. J. H. Putman, public school inspector for this city, says that in his opinion it should be administered with caution, and only after proper investigation into the real circumstances of the offence to be corrected.

Some of the offences that are punished with the stick or strap on the hand in the schools are, according to the school diaries: dishonesty, disobedience, truancy, persistent disobedience, impudence, and a few cases of indecent conduct. On the whole it is gratifying to know that punishment in the schools is administered with consideration and moderation, and that there is to be found in the schools, a complete record of every offence considered serious enough to deserve such correction.

But the main satisfaction will be gained from the discovery that Ottawa boys and girls are better than their fellow students in other cities according to the published records.

“Still popular”¹⁸² (1926)

“Spare the rod and spoil the child,” a wise maxim in its day, is still popular in the Capital [city of Ottawa], although it has many opponents.

A Journal reporter questioned local authorities and found that opinion was divided on corporal punishment. Even Mayor Balharrie, when questioned, refused to comment. “Half the people might agree with me, but on the other hand the other half might not,” said Ottawa’s mayor cannily.

The police department to a man were all strong for corporate punishment, Sergeant John Barlow declaring that he believed in laying it on strong on the mischievous young offender.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR IT

Though school authorities throughout the country seem to frown on the “strap,” the Ottawa Public School Board still recognize corporal punishment as an effective method of discipline, according to Dr. J. H. Putman, senior inspector.

“This is a highly debatable question,” asserted Dr. Putnam. “The board is very strict in the administering of corporal punishment, but generally speaking school offences are generally dealt with by the teacher, who does not shift responsibility to the parent for the mischief that the young hopeful commits at school.” Dr. Putnam added that the teachers consult the parent of an unruly child.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS OPPOSED

On the other hand the Separate School Board frowns upon corporal punishment, according to Mr. Samuel M. Genest, the chairman. “Unruly children are generally sent home to their parents for punishment,” said Mr. Genest. “They either

¹⁸² From FIND CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IS DEBATABLE SUBJECT HERE. (1926, January 16). *The Ottawa Journal*, p. 26.

behave or are expelled. In a couple of cases we have been obliged to expel unruly children. The board does not believe in corporal punishment, but leaves the matter entirely to the discretion of the principal of the school."

Chairman Genest pointed out that the Separate School Board believes that the parent has more influence than anybody else over a child, and so if a child is unruly at school he, or she, as the case may be, is sent home for discipline.

ROD SPARED AT COLLEGIATE

Dr. A. H. McDougall, principal of the Lisgar Street Collegiate, and one of the foremost educators in Ottawa, said that corporal punishment, while not officially prohibited by the Ottawa Collegiate Board, was very rare at the various high schools of the city.

"For minor offences we give detentions," said Dr. McDougall. "The students at the Collegiate are too old for corporal punishment and it has been allowed to drop." Dr. McDougall said that the system of class officers and students' council were a good influence for order, although they were not held responsible for mischief done by students.

ROD AT ST. PATRICK'S HOME

The Sister Superior at St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum was a doughty champion of corporal punishment. "Moral suasion failing," she said, "the only remedy is a whipping; it will bring the erring boy quickly to his senses. If the child is taught to obey when young, he will do so nearly always, and if he has not been taught, a strapping will teach him quicker than anything else."

"Girls, while not as mischievous as boys, are more underhand in their mischief," said the Sister Superior. "I have taught boys all my life and my experience is that corporal punishment, properly dealt, is effective."

MRS. BINKS' VIEWS

On the other hand Mrs. Anna E. Binks, superintendent of the Protestant Orphans' Home, declared that she does not approve of "thrashings," but that the most successful disciplinary measure was to deprive the mischievous child of a pleasure as a punishment. "It's not fair to whip the child, but sending him to bed early if he is naughty or depriving him of some little pleasure is much more satisfactory than a whipping."

COURT CAN'T "THRASH"

Mr. A. G. Cameron, chief probation officer of the Ottawa Juvenile Court, believes in corporal punishment for the mischievous, but pointed out that the statute strictly forbids any juvenile judge or court to punish children by corporal punishment.

“Nothing more serious than a misdemeanour”¹⁸³ (1927)

MOOSE JAW, April 12. – Magistrate G. N. Broatch frowned upon the practice of administering corporal punishment in public schools of the city when he found William H. Metcalfe, principal of the Prince Arthur school, guilty of assault and fined him \$2 and costs for strapping M.¹⁸⁴, aged 10, 1027 Athabasca Street East.

According to four witnesses for the prosecution, classmates of M., Principal Metcalfe had entered the class room which is under the charge of Miss A. Metheral, last Friday morning. He had then picked the girl up and placed her over a chair and administered a thorough whipping with the strap. Cross-examined, the witnesses stated that after punishing the child, he had turned to the class and asked if the girl deserved the punishment and in reply, he received a unanimous answer in the affirmative.

Released from the class at noon, the girl had gone to her father limping and crying and told him what had occurred. He told his daughter not to return to school that afternoon and had later taken her to a doctor and to the police matron for examination. The police matron, giving evidence, stated that there were three red welts surrounded by black and blue bruises on the buttock of the child. Dr. R. H. Smith, who examined the girl Monday in the presence of the magistrate and counsel, gave similar evidence to that of the police matron.

In defence, it was admitted, while the beating had been administered, it was perfectly justified, owing to the conduct of the child in the past, who had been willfully disobeying school rules and had also been disobedient in class. Miss A. Metheral, a teacher at the Prince Arthur school for the past three years, said she had taught M. during two grades of public school. She was the cause of much trouble, she said, both in grade one and in grade three, her present grade. M. had been strapped several times during the past year, she said.

A week ago last Friday, M. was strapped by Miss Metheral and, when reports came back to her that she had abused the child, Miss Metheral declared that she would not strap her again. Last Friday she left the case in Mr. Metcalfe's hands. “She is the most obstinate child I have ever taught,” said Miss Metheral.

Principal Metcalfe stated that he had been called in to correct the child and in doing so he did not believe that he had been unduly severe.

N. R. Craig, K.C., represented the accused. A dozen witnesses were called on to give evidence and the hearing lasted four hours.

Mr. Dunn, in summing up the case, declared that if the magistrate found Principal Metcalfe guilty it would be impossible to enforce discipline in the public schools. The attention of the whole city had been attracted to the case and if Mr. Metcalfe was not upheld in his action by the courts, the scholastic authorities of the

¹⁸³ From Find School Principal Guilty of Assault When He Straps Young Pupil. (1927, April 13). *The Morning Ledger*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁴ I've replaced the child's name, and later those of her family members, with initials for ethical reasons. While a few quick Internet, etc. searches will render identification trivial for the determined reader, I did not think it proper to volunteer the child's name in my transcription.

city would hesitate to administer punishment, if they were going to be brought into court to answer for it.

WENT TOO FAR

Mr. Craig brought the matter before the magistrate in a very personal manner when he asked: "Would you be satisfied if your child received this treatment?" While Mr. Craig believed that corporal punishment should be administered, if necessary, he expressed the opinion that in this particular instance Principal Metcalfe had gone a little too far. In reply to argument raised by Mr. Dunn that a conviction would place Principal Metcalfe in the category of a criminal, Mr. Craig declared that this was not the case, and while the charge had been laid under the criminal code, the offence was nothing more serious than a misdemeanour.

Magistrate Broatch informed the court that he gave his decision with hesitancy. He believed that Mr. Metcalfe had no intentions of marking the child when administering the punishment and would deal leniently with him.

In giving his decision, the magistrate stated that if corporal punishment was necessary there should be a graduated weight of straps used for this purpose. For the younger pupils, he suggested that a lighter strap be used and for the older grades, the strap at present in use was of sufficient heft.

"Had right to punish child, judge finds"¹⁸⁵ (1927)

MOOSE JAW, Aug. 30. – The wisdom of the adage that "He who spares the rod, spoils the child," was upheld by the courts of Saskatchewan today. In a judgment handed down this morning by Judge F. A. G. Ouseley¹⁸⁶, in District Court, it was held that a schoolmaster has the right to inflict corporal punishment on a pupil. Legal authorities dating back 200 years were the foundation for the judgment, for they held that when a parent sent his child to school, he gave the teacher the power to punish the child if necessary.

Conviction of W. H. Metcalfe, principal of Prince Arthur School, found guilty in police court of assaulting M., 10-year-old pupil, was quashed by Judge Ouseley, who allowed costs for the appellant, both in appeal and city police court trials. W. F. Dunn, K. C., appeared for Metcalfe, and LeRoy Johnson for C.¹⁸⁷, father of the girl. In quashing the conviction, Judge Ouseley held that Mr. Metcalfe had the authority to inflict corporal punishment and in this particular instance the punishment inflicted on M. was not excessive.

School teachers throughout the province have evinced the keenest interest in this case ever since the charge was laid against Mr. Metcalfe, and after he had been convicted and fined in city police court, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance went on

¹⁸⁵ From HAD RIGHT TO PUNISH CHILD, JUDGE FINDS. (1927, August 31). *The Morning Leader (Regina)*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1872 – 1941).

¹⁸⁷ In the 1921 census we learn that C. was a Methodist house mason who emigrated from England to Canada in 1913. He married a fellow Methodist from New Brunswick, F., and lived in Alberta for the births of their first two children, M. and C. Jr. A third child, C., was born in Saskatchewan.

record as being opposed to it. The Moose Jaw Public School Board passed a resolution stating that they would support him in his appeal action, for the punishment had been inflicted with the strap, which was issued by the board as the official "corrector."

TEXT OF JUDGMENT

The full text of the judgment follows:

On the 8th day of April 1927 the appellant, who is the principal of Prince Arthur School, in this city [of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan], administered, in his capacity as principal of said school, corporal punishment to a pupil, a young girl of tender years, one M..

On the 12th day of April 1927, the appellant was convicted by the learned Police Magistrate of the City of Moose Jaw for having unlawfully committed an assault on the said M. by reason of the infliction of said punishment. From said conviction the appellant launches this appeal.

DISOBEYED SCHOOL RULES

The evidence discloses the following facts:

M., ten years of age, a pupil of Prince Arthur School, on the 8th day of April 1927 contravened the rules of the school of which the Appellant is the principal.

For such breach, the Appellant administered punishment to the said M., the punishment being administered on that part of the anatomy which seems to have been specially designed by nature for the receipt of corporal punishment. This was due to the fact that this young girl refused to hold out her hand, so that the Appellant could strap her hands instead of any other portion of her body.

I further find that M. has been, through the various grades of Prince Arthur School, in which she has received instruction, a disobedient and provoking pupil.

I further find that the instrument with which the punishment was inflicted was, in my opinion, a proper one to use under the circumstances.

I further find that in administering the punishment the Appellant was not guilty of malicious intent or ill will toward M.; in fact, did not know her until he was called in by Miss Metheral, in whose grade M. was at the time a pupil, Miss Metheral having declined to punish M. because of the fact that a week or so previous she had punished M. for a breach of the school discipline, and M. had stayed away or been kept away from school after she was punished, and only returned when the truant officer called upon her farther.

I further find on the evidence, that the effect of the punishment upon this young girl was such as to cause her flesh to become black and blue, and according to the evidence of Dr. Smith, who examined the young girl after the whipping, [when] he found black and blue marks and weals. In answer to the question as to what he meant by 'weals', he says "raised portions of the skin." Dr. Smith, in his evidence further says that whatever weals or bruises were inflicted would disappear in the course of a few days. The evidence of Dr. Smith and Mr. Robinson further shows that so far as bruises on the body are concerned, some people, especially young children, may be bruised at the slightest provocation, and that others are less susceptible in this regard. There is no evidence to show in which class this young girl is to be placed.

TWO ISSUES ARISE

Two questions arise on this Appeal, one a question of law and the other a pure question of fact. The legal question is as to the right of the appellant as schoolmaster or principal, to punish a pupil; and the question of fact is, assuming that he has such a right, has he inflicted unnecessary punishment on the child, or, as it was succinctly put by Mr. Johnstone in his argument, has he gone further than a wise, firm and judicious parent would do?

So far as the question of law is concerned, there is no difficulty whatever. Blackstone, the eminent commentator on the law of England, summarized the Law of England on this point as follows:-

“The parent may lawfully correct his child, being under age, in a reasonable manner, for this is for the benefit of his education. He may also delegate part of his parental authority during his life to the tutor or schoolmaster of his child, who is then in loco parentis, and has, as such, a portion of the power of the parent committed to his charge, viz: that of restraint and correction as may be necessary to answer the purpose for which he is employed.” 1 Blackstone Com. 452 and 453.

This dictum of Blackstone has been approved and confirmed in the comparatively recent case of Cleary V. Booth. The head note reads thus:

“The authority delegated by the parent of a pupil to a school master to inflict reasonable personal chastisement upon him is not limited to offences committed by the pupil upon the premises of the school, but may extend to acts done while on the way to school.”

AUTHORITY NOT CURTAILED

This, of course, carries the doctrine further than it is necessary to go in the case at bar, and shows that the authority of the schoolmaster, of the principal, has not been curtailed since the time of Blackstone, but has rather been amplified. In the case of Cleary V. Booth Collins J., in his opinion said:

“It is clear that a father has a right to inflict reasonable personal chastisement on his son. It is equally the law, and it is in accordance with very ancient practice, that he may delegate this right to the schoolmaster. Such a right has always commended itself to the common sense of mankind. It is clear that the relation of master and pupil carries with it the right of reasonable corporal punishment.

“As a matter of common sense, how far is this power delegated by the parent to the schoolmaster? Is it limited to the schoolmaster? Is it limited to the time during which the boy is within the four walls of the school, or does it extend in any sense beyond that limit? In my opinion, the purpose with which the parental authority is delegated to the schoolmaster who is entrusted with the bringing up and discipline of the child, must to some extent include an authority over the child while he is outside the four walls. It may be a question of fact in each case whether the conduct of the master in inflicting corporal punishment is right. Very grave consequences would result if it were held that the parents’ authority was exclusive up to the door of the school, and that then, and only then, the master’s authority commenced; it would be a most anomalous result to hold that in such cases as the present the boy who has been assaulted had no remedy by complaint to his master, who could punish his

assailant by a thrashing, but must go before the magistrate to enforce a remedy between them as citizens. ...

“In such a case as the present, it is obvious that the desired impression is best brought about by a summary and immediate punishment. In my opinion, parents do contemplate such an exercise of authority by the schoolmaster. I should be sorry if I felt myself driven to come to the opposite conclusion, and am glad to be able to say that the principle shews that the authority delegated to the schoolmaster is not limited to the four walls of the school. It is always a question of fact whether the act done was outside the delegated authority; but in the present case, I am satisfied of the facts, that it was obviously within it.”

It may well be pointed out here that it is apparent from what Collins J. says in his judgment and from other reported cases, both in England, Canada and the United States, that parents who send their children to school “contemplate such an exercise of authority by the schoolmaster” as necessary for the welfare and education of the child and the preservation of discipline in the school.

QUOTE ENGLISH DECISION

The leading English decision on this question is the case of *Mansell v. Griffin* 1908, 1 K.B., p. 160. Walton J, in delivering judgment in this case, at page 169 says:

“It must be taken that the parents gave to the authorities of the school that ordinary authority which is presumed from the fact of a parent sending a child to a school. The defendant was the responsible mistress of the class in which the plaintiff was; she was responsible for the teaching and discipline of that class. It seems to me that the authority to administer moderate and reasonable corporal punishment, which any parent who sends a child to school is presumed to give to the authorities of the school, extends to a mistress occupying the position which the defendant occupied in this school at the time when the punishment in question was inflicted.

“There may be domestic regulations at the school of which the parent may know nothing, which may be changed at any time, without any permission asked or any notice to the parent, which regulate when, where, and by whom corporal punishment is to be inflicted. It does not seem to me that such regulations of which the parent knows nothing qualify or limit the ordinary authority as to the administering of corporal punishment which a parent must be supposed to give to the school authorities when he sends the child to school.”

I refer also to the case of *Queen v. Sobinson*, 7 C.C.C. p. 52, where Chipman J., after referring to the case of *Cleary v. Booth*, and the American decisions, at p. 58 says: “It will be readily perceived from a perusal of the above authorities, cited at considerable length, that there is a consensus of opinion in the United States decisions, and I have no difficulty whatever in deciding the issue of law herein in favor of the defendant.”

Some of the English and American decisions referred to by Chipman J., are: *Anderson v. State*, 3 Head (Tenn) 455 and 457, where Carruthers J. said “Where the alleged assault is by a parent on his child, or teacher on his pupil, or the like, in chastisement, it is probably the better doctrine, that if the relationship appears, the

chastisement will be presumed to be reasonable, and for sufficient cause until the contrary is shewn.”

See also *State v. Pendergrass*, 2 Dev., & B., (N. Car.) 365, 31 Am. Dec., 415. “The law confides to school masters and teachers a discretionary power of punishment upon their pupils, and will not hold them responsible criminally, unless the punishment be such as to occasion permanent injury to the child, or be inflicted merely to gratify their own evil passions.”

In *Cooper vs. McJunkin*, 4 Ind., 240, it was said: “A teacher, in the exercise of the power of corporal punishment, must not make such power a pretext for cruelty and oppression; but the cause must be sufficient, the instrument suitable, and the manner and extent of the correction, the part of the person to which it is applied, and the temper in which it is inflicted, should be distinguished with the kindness, prudence, and propriety which becomes the station.”

In *Gardner vs. Bygrave* (1889), 53 J.P. 743, “The master of a board school was charged with assaulting a pupil by caning him on the hand, and the magistrate being of the opinion that the caning on the hand was attended by the risk of serious injury to the hand, convicted the defendant, although the punishment was not excessive and there was no evidence of any serious injury to the hand [...] having resulted in the particular case. On appeal it was held that the reason given by the magistrate for convicting was insufficient, and the conviction was quashed.”

“Whether a chastisement is moderate or excessive must necessarily depend upon the age, sex, condition and disposition of the scholar, with all the attendant and surrounding circumstances, to be judged by the jury under the direction of the court as to the law of the case.” *Dollman vs. State*, 114 T.X. App. 61.

“If the punishment is clearly excessive, then the master should be held liable for such excess, though he acted from good motives in inflicting the punishment and in his own judgment considered it was necessary and not excessive, but if there is any reasonable doubt whether the punishment was excessive the master should have the benefit of the doubt.” *Lander vs. Seaver*, 32 Bt. 114.

LEADING U.S. CASE

The leading case in the United States is *State vs. Pendergrass*, 31 Am. Decisions 416. The judgment in that case in part reads as follows:

“It is not easy to state with precision the powers which the law grants to school masters with respect to the correction of their pupils. It is analogous in that which belongs to parents, and the authority of the teacher is regarded as a delegation of parental authority.

“One of the most sacred duties of parents is to train up and qualify their children for becoming useful and virtuous members of society; this duty cannot be effectually performed without the ability to command obedience, to control stubbornness, to quicken diligence, to reform bad habits; and to enable him to exercise this salutary sway he is armed with the power to administer moderate correction, when he shall believe it to be just and necessary.

“The teacher, as the substitute of the parent, is charged in part with the performance of his duties, and in the exercise of these delegated duties is invested

with his power. The law has not undertaken to prescribe stated punishments for particular offences, but has contented itself with the general grant of the power of moderate correction, and has confided the graduation of punishment within the limits of this grant to the discretion of the teacher.

“The line which separates moderate correction from immoderate correction can only be ascertained by reference to general principles. The welfare of the child is the main purpose for which pain is permitted to be inflicted. Any punishment, therefore, which may seriously endanger life, limbs, or health, or shall disfigure the child, or cause any other permanent injury, may be pronounced in itself immoderate, as not only being unnecessary for, but inconsistent with the purpose for which correction is authorized. But any correction, however severe, which produces temporary pain and no permanent ill, cannot be so pronounced, since it may have been necessary for the reformation of the child, and does not injuriously affect its future welfare.”

This decision is considered in a judgment rendered in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia on Appeal in *Rex vs. Gall*, 36, N.S.R. p. 504 where it was held that there is warrant in the Code for the test applied in the American case of *State vs. Pendergrass*; that it is necessary for the prosecution to prove either that the person inflicting the punishment was actuated by malice or that his act resulted in permanent injury to the child. In giving judgment of a strong court, Townsend J., at p. 508 says:

“This is a case stated for the opinion of the Court by the Stipendiary Magistrate for the City of Halifax. The defendant, a schoolmaster, was charged for assaulting, beating and ill-using John Orman, a boy of nine years of age, one of the pupils. The stipendiary magistrate states being of the opinion that it was necessary for the prosecutor to prove either (1) that Reginald E. Gaul was actuated by malice, or (2) that his act had resulted in permanent injury to the child, neither of which was proof, he expressly refrained from deciding anything else and solely on that ground, dismissed the information following the *State vs. Pendergrass*, 2 D. & B. (North Carolina) 365, 31 Am. Dec. 416, where it was decided that teachers exceeded the limit of their authority when they cause lasting mischief, but act within the limit of their power when they, without malice by way of correction, inflict temporary pain without the result of permanent injury to the child.”

In citing Section 55, now Section 63, of our Code, the learned judge says:

“Now it seems to me that the stipendiary has refrained from deciding the only question properly before him, that is to say, whether the punishment was reasonable under the circumstances, or in other words whether there was excess. He has applied a test taken from an American decision as to the defendant’s responsibility for which, so far as I can understand, there is no warrant in our Code.”

DECIDED SIMILAR ISSUE BEFORE

I may further say that this very question was before me in the case of *Rex vs. Hilton*, decided by me in the month of March, 1919, in which case Mr. T. J. Emerson, who appeared for the respondent, successfully argued that where the punishment inflicted by a school mistress caused temporary pain and discoloration for a few days, that no pain or inconvenience so far as the evidence showed outside the first two days,

and where the instrument with which the punishment was inflicted was a fit and proper instrument to use, and there was no malice or ill will, or ungovernable anger at the time the punishment was inflicted, the school mistress could not be convicted under the Code for an assault.

In the Hilton case, I used the following language:

“It seems to me therefore that under these authorities I am in this appeal bound to find that taking into consideration the doctrine laid down in the case of State vs. Pendergrass as explained by the case of Rex vs. Gall that the force used ... was reasonable under the circumstances.

“I have consulted many authorities and so far as my reading extends, the only case in which the schoolmaster or mistress has been found guilty of an assault is where the act was done with a dangerous weapon, improper for correction, and likely (the age and strength of the pupil being duly considered) to kill or maim, such as an iron bar, etc., or where the pupil is kicked to the ground or otherwise ill-treated, or where the chastisement is flagrantly excessive, or the master has been actuated with malice or ill will towards the pupil, but I have found no case which goes nearly the length that the respondent on this appeal is asking me to do, namely to hold that because a punishment inflicted by the schoolmistress caused temporary pain and discoloration of the flesh for a few days, that no pain or inconvenience was experienced so far as the evidence shows, outside the first two days, I should hold that the punishment inflicted was excessive or was not reasonable under the circumstances.”

This language is very applicable to the case at bar, and taking all circumstances into consideration I have no hesitation in finding (1) that the schoolmaster, both under Section 63 of the Code, as well as of common law, has the right to inflict corporal punishment on a pupil, and (2) that the punishment under the circumstances as disclosed in the evidence on this Appeal, was not excessive. In the result therefore, this Appeal will be allowed and the conviction below quashed, with costs here and below.

Dated at Moose Jaw this 30th day of August, A.D. 1927.

“A test of the right”¹⁸⁸ (1927)

INDIAN HEAD, Nov. 27 – The re-hearing of the charge of assault laid by O.¹⁸⁹ against A. H. Mitchell, principal of the Indian Head high school, occupied over seven hours of the District Court’s time Saturday afternoon. The conviction was quashed and appeal allowed with costs.

Mr. Mitchell had been convicted in October for punishing O., a student in the school. The case aroused a great deal of interest in the province because it was regarded as a test of the right of a secondary school teacher to discipline a pupil or to detain a class after school hours. H. G. Wilson, K.C., Indian Head, appeared for O.

¹⁸⁸ From Conviction of Teacher Is Quashed, and Appeal Is Allowed With Costs. (1927, November 28). *The Morning Leader (Regina)*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ For ethical reasons, I have replaced the student’s name with an initial.

and P. M. Anderson, K.C., instructed by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance, defended Mr. Mitchell.

After hearing a number of witnesses, counsel for Mr. Godfrey contended that as the offence for which John Godfrey was punished occurred after 12 noon, during the detention of the class for a reprimand by the principal for carving the initials of the teachers in the basement, Mr. Mitchell exceeded his authority in administering corporal punishment.

The Secondary School Act gives no specific right to teachers to discipline pupils, but on the other hand, places this responsibility on the school board, further contended Mr. Wilson. Any teacher exercising this method of punishment, said Mr. Wilson, does so at his own risk. The agreement of a teacher is similar to all other agreements, which places it under the Master and Servant Act, hence lacking the specific authority under the Secondary School Act, the teacher is liable to a charge of assault for administering the punishment complained of. The doctrine of the teacher being "in loco parentis" does not apply to secondary teachers. Further, it was stated that the action of Mr. Mitchell in shaking, slapping and striking O. was not the kind of punishment which would be administered by a kind and judicious parent. Mr. Wilson submitted the conviction should stand.

CITES IMPORTANCE

Mr. Anderson, K.C., stressed the importance of the case in the administration of secondary schools of the province. The prosecution was challenging the right of every secondary teacher in the province to discipline his students for misbehavior, and what was worse, the conviction, if allowed to stand, branded the teacher as a criminal, for this charge was laid under the Criminal Code.

In this case he submitted two main points; first, that the punishment, if administered, was not excessive but was exactly what a wise father would do to his son [...] and; secondly, that the weight of evidence was against O.'s contention that the principal either slapped or struck the boy with his fist. The boy and his witnesses agreed that if these blows were administered they were very trivial; so trivial that they left no mark and the boy left the room smiling.

He submitted that the boy's conduct towards the teacher both prior and after the punishment, showed that his attitude was not what it should have been. He also argued that Mr. Mitchell's treatment of O. was no different to his treatment of any of the students and hence the prosecution could show no malice on the teacher's part which would be necessary to secure conviction.

As to the contention that the teacher has no right to detain or to administer corporal punishment, he submitted that where the Secondary School Act was silent, the School Ordinance and the Common Law prevailed. He cited authorities to show that under these the teacher had the right to do what he did. He therefore asked that the appeal be allowed and the conviction quashed.

FAIL IN PROOF

Judge Farrell, in giving his decision, stated that the prosecution had failed to prove that the boy was slapped or struck by the teacher. All witnesses admitted the shaking, but did this constitute an assault?

Whether this was the most judicious manner of dealing with the student or not, was a matter of opinion. O. admitted looking around and smiling during the principal's address, and hence correction was necessary. The boys' subsequent conduct showed very clearly that he suffered no after-effect. The judge held that the time was not a factor; the teacher clearly has the right to detain his pupils. As to the punishment, common law gives the teacher the same rights as parents, and there is no distinction between secondary and public school. Teachers are therefore entitled to inflict corporal punishment in high schools.

Judge Farrell gave it as his opinion that "in this age of irreverence and lack of discipline school boards and parents ought to back up the teachers."

"Eight straps across the palm of the hand"¹⁹⁰ (1934)

Corporal punishment [...] will be under discussion in tonight's meeting of the Edmonton Public School board. The school management committee, which met on Monday, will bring in a recommendation that full reports on all corporal punishment administered be submitted to the board.

In committee it was brought out that the maximum punishment for an offence in school is eight straps across the palm of the hand. The recommendation of the committee was made on a motion by Trustee Dr. W. Morrish who suggested that it would act as a check on teachers.

In a list of some 50 offences punishable by "the strap," brought in by Supt. G. A. McKee, some of those noted were theft, fighting, smoking, rudeness to teachers and a number of misdemeanors which tended to upset classroom order.

"Vented his spleen upon them"¹⁹¹ (1934)

Chagrined because his wife, witnessing a debate in his school, had voiced unfavorable comments, a district school teacher lined up 15 of his 17 pupils and vented his spleen upon them with a wholesale administration of the strap, a board of reference on alleged wrongful dismissal of school teachers was told Friday. Judge Macdonald, of Calgary, is presiding over the board, which holds its sessions in the courthouse here.

The same teacher, the chairman of the school board told the court, had been incompetent to teach grade VIII arithmetic and grade IX algebra. One of the older girls in the class had been called upon to teach the teacher to solve algebraic problems, it was said.

The pedagogue had informed the pupils that the wholesale punishment had been for "talking during the week," the trustee said. "But if this were the case, I think the punishment should have been given when the different offences occurred."

¹⁹⁰ From Heavy Agenda Facing School Trustees Meet. (1934, May 8). *The Edmonton Bulletin*, p. 3.

¹⁹¹ From Teacher's Wife Critical, So 15 Pupils Get Strap. (1934, August 17). *The Edmonton Journal*, p. 13.

“Corporal Punishment Needed”¹⁹² (1934)

Once more the question of the abolition of corporal punishment in the schools has bobbed up in the [Toronto] board of education. It has been referred to a committee for investigation. Just what is to be gained by investigation is not apparent. The figures as to the extent of corporal punishment in Toronto schools were before the board. In the opinion of Dr. C. C. Goldring, superintendent of schools, with 105,000 children attending school 20 days a month, 621 cases are not excessive. And no amount of investigation will produce anything to offset the experiences of Dr. Goldring that it is possible to develop a sense of responsibility in perhaps 98 per cent. of children without such punishment, but that there are some to whom an appeal cannot be made by reason. His view is that it is a grave mistake to let these latter think that they can get away with what they like is based on the interests of the children themselves.

With children who are unresponsive to other forms of discipline, the only alternative to corporal punishment are either to let them run wild or to expel them. In later life they will find that they are always subject to discipline. It is well that they should learn it in the schools.

Consideration of the question does not involve discussion of the adage, “Spare the rod and spoil the child.” That motto might be advanced as an excuse for conditions that could not be justified. It is as abstract as the proposition to abolish corporal punishment. The board of education will best serve the interests of the children if it confines its attention to specific instances to make sure that there is no abuse of a wholesome form of correction.

¹⁹² From Corporal Punishment Needed. (1934, October 17). *The Calgary Daily Herald*, p. 4.